



IMAGO CRUCIFIXI, SEDENTIS AD IUDICIUM.

En ego iusticie typus, atq; figura, tribunal
Sic ascendo meum, dextra assertoribus alta
Assipulo Veri, quibus hec mea lilia merces.

At si quis contra sentit, demissa sinistra
In stygios Iubet Ire lacus, gladioq; feriri.

EDINBURGI, ex ædibus Thomæ Davidson regii impressoris. CVM privilegio.

*The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made
be James the Fifth kyng of Scottis. 1540*

THE SEARCH FOR SALVATION:

LAY FAITH IN SCOTLAND, 1480 TO 1560

by

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ABSTRACT

The subject of Scottish lay religious faith in the eighty years prior to the Reformation of 1559-60 is one in which a variety of concepts and concerns emerge. The choice which has been made reflects the constraints of time and space. Some attempt has also been made to address those areas which have been overlooked by historians, or rarely discussed, such as the role of Mary in lay religious faith. It was necessary to explain lay images of the afterlife in order to understand the path which laypeople chose to attain salvation, so chapters on the Day of Judgment, heaven, hell and purgatory should be seen as the context for understanding the chapters on God, Mary and Jesus.

The first chapter discusses the Day of Judgment, an event which must be understood in order to interpret all lay religious attitudes and actions. The basic assumption of the Scots was that all people would be judged at the Day of Judgment, so decisions were made on earth in terms of their understanding of God's expectations on this final day. There were, in effect, two "Days of Judgment", a particular and a general one. An understanding of the nature of these two Days of Judgment illuminates understanding of the laity's conception of the function of purgatory, in particular, and also the importance to salvation of church rituals such as the Eucharist, as well as saintly and human intercession after death.

Part of the thesis discusses heaven, hell and purgatory, those states of being which were the laity's future after death. As the idealised place of perfect happiness, heaven was the goal sought by those on earth. However, laypeople mostly dwelt upon images of

hell, seeking to understand the nature of its inhabitants in order to avoid being sent to hell themselves, for from hell there was no escape. Hell and the devil also served as images of evil which helped the laity to deal with its own strong sense of external danger and internal sinfulness, and to make sense of a world in which omnipotent God allowed war, famine, plague and other human miseries to exist.

The state of being which was purgatory provided the laity with a means of dealing with increasing anxiety about personal holiness; there was a growing lay conviction that the sinful nature of humanity made it unlikely that souls would be allowed to enter heaven directly after death and the particular judgment. However, for those souls who had attained sufficient spiritual worthiness not to be sent to hell after death, purgatory offered the possibility of suffering as expiation for sin, with the possibility of leaving purgatory more quickly through the prayers and masses offered by the living. It became increasingly important to understand which rituals were most efficacious to bring God's mercy and forgiveness, bringing the shortest time in purgatory, or, at the very least, which rituals best avoided a final sentence of hell on the general Day of Judgment.

The final part of the thesis explores those topics which best reveal the complexity and nature of lay faith in terms of laypeople's understanding of the role of supernatural beings in the attainment of spiritual happiness in the afterlife. Lay understanding of the nature and functioning of God, Mary and Jesus informed lay attitudes and actions; laypeople's understanding of these supernatural beings was heavily reliant upon their conception of the nature and function of heaven, hell and purgatory. Thus

images of the states of being in the afterlife, and laypeople's understanding of the nature and function of supernatural beings, together were the basis upon which laypeople made their decisions about the best means of gaining supernatural support in the attainment of salvation.

God is the first supernatural being to be discussed in the final section of the thesis. The subject of God is impossible to treat except in a very selective manner, thus Chapter 5 focuses upon the laity's conception of God as father and judge. The laity feared dying and God's judgment. These fears commonly were expressed in the foundation of obits and the completion of testaments, by which lay sins were recognised, Jesus' Passion offered as satisfaction, and God's mercy sought. Chapter 6 constitutes a case study of Ayrshire obits and testaments, using the under-used Obit Book of the church of St. John the Baptist of Ayr, and the commissariot records of Glasgow diocese which are a rich source for the historian, particularly for laywomen, for whom records are particularly scarce. Unfortunately these testaments cover only a short period of time in the late 1540's to mid-1550's, but there are many of them, offering an unusual opportunity to gain insight into a common lay response to images of the nature and function of God.

Mary has been treated extensively in the thesis because of the gap which has hitherto existed in studies of pre-Reformation Scottish religion. Her roles as mother and virgin were of primary importance in understanding her role as supreme intercessor with God, so Chapter 7 has been devoted entirely to these roles. Chapter 8 discusses Mary's role as supreme intercessor with God; devotion to Mary exemplifies devotion to saints in general, but her singular

nature as mother of God made her unique and of much greater value to the laity than the average saint.

A discussion of lay faith and its relationship to the rituals of the church is the subject of Chapters 9 and 10. Jesus' nature as sacrifice in the Eucharist led laypeople to emphasise the celebration of the Eucharist as a sure means of securing lay salvation. In order to gain an understanding of the relationship between church aims and liturgy and the expression of lay faith, Chapter 9 discusses the general function of ritual. Studies of Scottish religion have been too content to dismiss pre-Reformation church rituals as irrelevant to lay needs and beliefs, and as clerical impositions on a credulous layfolk. European studies have been of utility throughout, for questions which have not been posed by historians of Scotland have long been of interest to Continental historians.

Thus this study of Scottish lay faith during the period 1480 to 1560 attempts to integrate lay beliefs about the afterlife and supernatural beings with the mechanisms offered by the church to express those beliefs. Based upon their understanding of the Day of Judgment, heaven, hell and purgatory, and the nature and function of God, Mary and Jesus, laypeople searched for ways to become spiritually acceptable to God, and worthy of the perfect joy of heaven.

To my mother, Margaret Fitch,

For her unstinting, varied and irreplaceable
support throughout this odyssey,

And to Linda Hartshorne,

Who kept me going and kept me sane.

Much love and gratitude.

*Allace, quhat cair, quhat weiping is and wo
Quhen saull and bodie departit ar in twane!
The bodie to the wormis keitching go,
The saull to fyre, to everlestand pane.*

. . .

*Best is bewar in maist prosperitie;
For in this warld thair is na thing lestand;
Is na man wait how lang his stait will stand,
His lyfe will lest, nor how that he sall end
Efter his deith, nor quhidder he sall wend.*

Robert Henryson
"The Preiching of the Swallow"

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

All money sums referred to are in £ Scots. Surnames and place names have been modernised where possible. Most titles in the chapter notes have been cited in their complete form when they first appear, and then are shortened to a recognisable form. However, certain shortened forms require explanation. They are:

<u>APS</u>	<u>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</u>
<u>IR</u>	<u>Innes Review</u>
<u>Proceedings</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</u>
<u>RMS</u>	<u>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</u>
<u>RSCHS</u>	<u>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</u>
<u>RSS</u>	<u>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland</u>
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>TDG</u>	<u>Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society</u>

INTRODUCTION

The value of a study of religion is that it offers insight into an important human cultural adaptation. Thus an understanding of religion aids in understanding the nature and function of society as a whole.¹ In the eighty years prior to the Reformation of 1559-60, Scottish society was in a state of flux, a number of religious ideas circulating which called into question the basis upon which the centuries old Christian church had functioned. A study of the fabric of religious faith² from 1480 to 1560 cannot help but illuminate the concerns and motivations behind many of the changes occurring in this period.

There can be no question that religion was of importance to the Scottish laity in the late Middle Ages, the provincial councils of the Scottish church in 1549, 1552 and 1559 testifying to the intensity of religious debate amongst certain segments of society, and the evidence from documentary records, literature and art revealing a society in which everyday life was imbued with religious meaning. The function of saints and images, the nature of purgatory and hell, the Day of Judgment and the Eucharist, all were subject to intense scrutiny, and their nature and function in relation to salvation of great significance to Scots who sought the spiritual worthiness which would bring them acceptance into heaven.³ Scotland was part of a general European upsurge in lay spirituality, which manifested itself in an increasing number of church foundations (egs. chaplainries, chapels)⁴ as well as the endowment of preacherships, enthusiasm for pilgrimages, saints and masses for the dead, and participation in processions and other expressions of

corporate faith. Indeed, in his study of European society in the late medieval and Reformation period, Steven Ozment stated that the Reformation came about largely because the late medieval church was unable to satisfy the laity's great spiritual craving.⁵

Because certain Scottish pre-Reformation religious practices and beliefs were criticised by contemporaries, who were strongly influenced by conditions and concerns on the Continent and in England, the tendency in Scotland has been to believe that the part describes the whole. That is, the tendency has been to believe that much of Scottish society shared the criticisms and concerns of certain Reformers, many of whom were former Catholic clerics and therefore literate and aware of theological principles, those of the upper clergy who convened councils and instituted reforms, and those of the lay authorities who passed laws against heresy and chided the institutional church for its lax standards and concern with worldly matters. According to Ian B. Cowan, historical writing has continued to emphasise the rightness of the Protestant reforms, and to assume great contemporary support for the changes brought about by the reformed church after the Reformation:

Interpretations of the Scottish Reformation have altered little since the actual event itself. An unassailable protestantism bred by the iniquities and shortcomings of the old church rose in 1559/60 at the command of Knox, swept away the old church and established in its stead a vigorous and dynamic protestant establishment. . . The accuracy of this summary may, however, be questioned. Protestantism in Scotland before 1559 was not an all-embracing force which commanded universal support.⁶

Thus study of contemporary complaints about the decline in the health of the institutional structures of the church, which were clearly in need of reform, and the reforming theology of a small, literate group, has controlled the dialogue in terms of studies of Scottish religion prior to the Reformation. Further, studies of lay

faith immediately prior to the Reformation have had as their aim an explanation of the triumph of Protestantism, rather than an attempt to understand the concerns and religious values of the laity of this period, for their own sake. Thus the questions asked of the evidence by historians have been largely determined by perceptions of the important issues of the Protestant era. This present work studies the faith of the average Scot in the period 1480 to 1560 with an awareness of the later, Protestant, period, but primarily seeks to ask questions of the evidence based upon the spiritual concerns, expectations, and understanding of Scots living in the period under study. As a result, the key to understanding contemporary religious attitudes and assumptions often has been found to be continuity rather than disjunction.

The thesis has two main sections which are preceded by a chapter on the Day of Judgment (Chapter 1), a concept which must be understood in order to comprehend the nature of lay faith in the period under study. The first major section discusses images of states of being in the afterlife, these states being heaven (Chapter 2), hell (Chapter 3) and purgatory (Chapter 4). It is necessary to gain an understanding of contemporary images of the nature and function of these states of being in order to interpret lay religious activities, many of which were directed toward avoiding hell, minimising time spent in purgatory, and ensuring acceptance into heaven. The final section of the thesis treats lay notions of the nature and function of supernatural beings in the afterlife, and lay responses to these notions. The most significant supernatural beings in this period were God (Chapters 5 and 6), Mary (Chapters 7 and 8) and Jesus (Chapters 9 and 10); the approach has been to discuss lay images of their nature and function, and then to discuss

major ways in which laypeople responded to these images in hopes of obtaining their aid and favour in attaining salvation.

The approach of this thesis has been to study lay faith in Scotland through the medium of the imagery which reflected and informed that faith. It is difficult to gain access to the religious outlook of the average Scottish layperson, although there are some indications of the general nature of lay religious devotion in Scotland just prior to the Reformation, one of these being a report written in 1548 by William Patten of London. Patten wrote his report in the form of a diary in which he discussed the general state of religion in Scotland; he testified to general support for church institutions and rituals, mentioning pilgrimage, veneration of saints and saints' images, offerings to wax images, the saying of the rosary in churches, bell-ringing to gain divine favour, and numerous and varied suffrages.⁷ Thus a study of the imagery associated with religious institutions, rituals, art and literature will contribute to an historical understanding of the basis and consequences of the laity's fears of dying and sense of intense personal sinfulness,⁸ and the effect that images had on the laity's conceptions of the afterlife and supernatural beings. That is, establishing the basic relationship between thought and action makes it possible to attempt an understanding of religious motivation.

A basic premise for this work is that people were inspired to act in a religious manner based upon an image or conception which they had in their minds.⁹ Common religious beliefs and outlook are by their very nature difficult to ascertain, as they are so well understood and so widely shared by members of society that they form the basis for action rather than the subject for discussion.¹⁰ Further, lay attitudes, however personal, were overwhelmingly

articulated in action rather than words. Consequently, in questions of common religious assumptions or beliefs, "action" is taken to represent "thought", which has made documentary records a vital source, particularly for the final section of the thesis, which includes an examination of lay responses to conceptions of the nature and function of supernatural beings.

The sources of imagery utilised in this thesis are varied, balanced between documentary records and literary, artistic and theological works, all of which, to varying degrees, both reflected and influenced lay attitudes.¹¹ However, since lay faith was expressed in action rather than words, there is a certain reliance upon the writings of the literate minority, usually clerics,¹² in discussions of religious motivation. Not only was the clergy the literate segment of society, it was also the clergy's role to aid laypeople in their pursuit of spiritual purity and acceptability to God, so many clerics felt a responsibility to instruct laypeople about the nature of the faith and how to live their lives and so achieve salvation.¹³ Consequently some attempt has been made to discuss lay faith with reference to theology, although the theology of greatest relevance was that which laypeople were most likely to encounter, through the advice of their parish priests, the preaching of friars, and the expressions of faith found in art and literature. The Catechism compiled in 1552 by theologians under the aegis of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, has been cited frequently. Although it was published near the end of the period, it was intended to codify the theology of greatest relevance to lay salvation, and it has been taken to represent the "orthodox" teaching of the church by that point in time, and to represent the

core theology which would have been directed at the laity in a variety of ways (egs. preaching, religious art, church ceremonies).

However, it is necessary to make a distinction between religious theories and practices and lay religious faith, which religious sociology has indicated do not always go hand in hand,¹⁴ so a strong attempt has been made not to assume that the writings of those in positions of authority, whether cleric or lay, nor the rituals of the church, necessarily reflected the beliefs of the lay majority. That is, sources and methodology have been modified to suit the different requirements of the subject, the forms and functioning of lay faith not necessarily mirroring those of theologically-trained Reformers or orthodox clergy in the pre-Reformation church. The inevitable reliance upon clerical writings has been offset by a firm grounding in the documentary evidence of the period, which records the activities of lairds, magnates and the more prosperous members of burgh society, as well as literary evidence from people whose livelihood did not heavily depend upon the religious establishment, such as Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, and artistic evidence in paintings, carvings and book illustrations.

Rather than debates on theology and institutional structure, the advice of religious sociology has been followed, to look for expressions of lay faith in the daily life of the people.¹⁵ The laity's understanding and outlook was shaped and reflected by religious imagery in processions, churches and market squares, on burgh seals, abbey walls and secular buildings, and in devotional books.¹⁶ The preaching of friars, attendance at the Eucharistic rite, ceremonies of baptism and burial, and masses and prayers for the dead, also provided images which helped form religious conceptions, but these influences must not be held to be the sole

means by which laypeople constructed their images of the afterlife and supernatural beings. A broadening of the source base to include documentary records, literature, art, and the insights of psychologically and sociologically-based theories of religion assists in interpreting the laity's conception of the meaning of church rituals, the afterlife and supernatural beings. However, while care must be taken not to attribute high theological motives to lay activities, one cannot discount the possibility of theologically informed religious behaviour, especially amongst the more educated lay classes, those best provided with devotional books, preachers and other sources of theological imagery and ideas. Thus clerical articulation of religious ideas will be used, with caution, as a context for interpreting the actions of the laity and the theological understanding which these actions revealed.

The reality of daily life in late medieval Scotland also helps to explain the religious beliefs and spiritually motivated actions of contemporaries. From 1480 to 1560, Scotland experienced devastating military invasions (eg. Flodden in 1513, "Rough Wooing" in 1544-5),¹⁷ repeated outbreaks of plague,¹⁸ the daily dangers associated with agriculture and common illness, and the ever-present threat of famine.¹⁹ Death was no stranger to the average Scot. The constant threat of inevitable death, and the uncertain time of its coming, had a profound influence on laypeople's conceptions of the meaning of their life and death, and what awaited them in the afterlife.²⁰

The stait of man dois change and vary,
 Now sound, now seik, now blith, now sary,
 Now dansand mery, now like to dee:
Timor mortis conturbat me.

. . .
 Sen for the deid remeid is none,
 Best is that we for ded dispone
 Eftir our deid that life may we;
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*²¹

The secular structure of society also helped form lay conceptions of the afterlife. Scotland was a monarchical state in which the king administered justice; this structure helped to create a lay image of heaven as a celestial kingdom in which God, a stern and impartial king, dispensed perfect justice. The perfect, idealised heavenly kingdom was a stark contrast to the imperfect earthly kingdom, in which kings often abused their power, leading their angry and disillusioned subjects to look even more longingly to that spiritual kingdom where the good were rewarded and the evil punished.²² The image created by earthly experience was reinforced by artistic and literary imagery, such as the discussions of medieval justice in "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" and the panel painting of the Day of Judgment at Guthrie Castle.²³

Late medieval Scots were deeply concerned about their spiritual future beyond death, basing their conceptions of the world beyond the grave on the realities of earthly life. Thus heaven was seen as a place of exquisite beauty and happiness, hell as a place of excruciating torment, and purgatory as a place of lesser suffering from which one could eventually escape. These "states of being" were peopled by supernatural beings such as God, Mary and Jesus, as well as dead souls, demons and angels, each of which played a role in the functioning of this other world, and which were idealisations of human characters with whom laypeople could identify. In heaven, God was the authoritarian judge and father, Mary the compassionate and loving mother, Jesus the kind, self-sacrificing son, and the angels and saints the messengers of the godhead and helpers of sinful humanity. In purgatory, sinful souls suffered physical, emotional and mental torment, encouraged to

persevere and endure by Sts. Gabriel and Michael, who helped them on their slow journey through purgatory and on to heaven. In hell, the devil and his demons, fierce destroyers of human happiness and tempters to sinful humanity, punished the wicked. Final spiritual judgment took place in the highest spiritual court on the Day of Judgment, whence, after the particular judgment, people would be sent to heaven, hell or purgatory, and after the general judgment, to heaven or hell.²⁴

The images laypeople had of these unearthly places and their inhabitants were based upon centuries of creative endeavour by the writers of the Gospels, hymns and the Christian liturgy and by theologians, poets, preachers, artists and playwrights. Laypeople relied upon these images to develop an understanding of how to ensure success in the afterlife; historians also rely upon these images to help them to reconstruct the beliefs of another time and to determine how those beliefs were translated into action.

Laypeople's imagery was formed by experiences arising from daily life as well as from the visual and literary creations of interpreters of Christianity. Any discussion of lay faith in Scotland from 1480 to 1560 must give full weight to all of the images which inspired and informed it. As these images were integral to the laity's beliefs, so they must be integral to a discussion of the nature and function of those beliefs, and the laity's response to them.

Laypeople appear to have accepted the truth of the images or concepts of the afterlife offered to them in art, literature and theology, since these images accorded with their own psychological needs and their imaginative visions of the other reality that was the afterlife. Their acceptance of these images led them to support

the church rituals and institutions which seemed most appropriate.²⁵ However, lay acceptance of the truth of the religious imagery does not mean that laypeople were uncritical of religious institutions or the clerics who worked in them. Laypeople in pre-Reformation Scotland were as capable of critical thought as later generations, and were as quick to condemn badly run rituals and poor clerical qualifications and moral standards, although it may have often suited contemporary reforming commentators to portray them as credulous, led astray by a conniving clerical elite.²⁶ Nevertheless, recognising the fallibility of God's clerical servants did not mean that laypeople lost faith in the power of God Himself, nor in the power of Mary, Jesus and the saints. Nor did most laypeople reject the institutions of the church which helped them to attain the spiritual worthiness necessary for acceptance into heaven. The deep lay conviction that humanity was sinful and in need of divine grace could easily encompass the imperfections of clerics and of the church institutions which they staffed.

A diversity of images met the needs of all socio-economic classes in the period under study. Most Scots were illiterate and not trained in theology, but they were well-trained in the religious symbolism of the time, as it was expressed in a visual (egs. painting, sculpture), literary (egs. devotional works, poetry) and oral manner (egs. preaching,²⁷ recitation of poetry, hymns, prayers).

Images or conceptions of states of being and supernatural beings served as focal points for religious ideas and personal concerns. For example, the concept of purgatory focused late medieval concerns about life after death, individual sinfulness and the belief that earthly calamities were God's punishment for

collective sins, and revealed an enduring hope of better times ahead after a period of contrition and suffering. Individual worries and self-doubts could be transferred to this institutionally sanctioned doctrine of purgatory, and the rituals of the church employed to deal with these concerns, such as participation in the public ritual of the Eucharist, or personal acts of penance such as pilgrimage and the foundation of religious institutions (eg. chaplainries).

Visual expressions of imagery included the paintings, statues and carvings in shrines and churches,²⁸ monstrances, images and costuming in processions and pageants,²⁹ woodcuts and painted illustrations in Prayer Books and other devotional works,³⁰ and statues and carvings on the exterior of buildings. Such images gave religious concepts a form and content. For example, the sculpture, architecture and painting of the late medieval period gave the concept of purgatory a location, substance and content, linking it closely to Passion imagery.³¹

Defenders of the orthodox faith and reforming writers alike understood the great role visual imagery played in instructing the laity about the faith. This understanding explains the Reformers' fear of the influence of certain Catholic imagery on the lay imagination, and the official church's defence of the variety of visual imagery surrounding laypeople in church and everyday life.³²

It was visual imagery which occasioned the greatest outcry from Reformers, for visual imagery was believed to encourage "idolatry", or worship of images.³³ The strong aversion to "images" expressed by writers such as Sir David Lyndsay, John Gau and John Knox confirm the tremendous influence such visual images had on lay religious conceptions.³⁴

The defenders of imagery insisted on its great value as a teaching aid. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie quoted Archbishop of St. Andrews James Beaton's (c. 1480-1539) comments on the instructional value of visual images upon the occasion of the trial of Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528), Commendator of Fearn, in 1525: "Knawis thow not, the buik of imagerie is the buik of laud and prais, to put the commoun people in remembrance of his holy sanctis that wrought for their salvatioun."³⁵

In 1563 Ninian Winzet defended the use of visual imagery in his work "The Book of Four Score Three Questions". He derided the Reformers' concerns about images, stating that, if all kinds of imagery had been forbidden by the Second Commandment, then even beasts on noble heraldic shields and images of kings on coins would be wrong. Furthermore, the refusal to allow any imagery was biblically unsound, for when Solomon had built his temple he had covered it with images of angels and beasts, and had done so at God's command. Winzet accepted that images could be abused, but pointed out that the Reformers themselves had encouraged misinterpretation and heresy by encouraging the laity to read the Bible.³⁶ Winzet's comments reflected the customary attitude of the literate classes, that "the people" were ignorant and prone to religious error; Winzet agreed with the Reformers about the laity's susceptibility to religious misunderstanding but disagreed with them about how best to minimise lay confusion whilst maximising the laity's opportunity to increase its level of spiritual worthiness.

The literary and theological imagery which described states of being in the afterlife and the supernatural beings who resided there had great influence on laypeople, who were able to understand the

symbolic language of spiritual imagery in literature as they did in visual representations.

The Reformers were much happier with imagery conveyed through the written word than they were with visual imagery, seeing less chance for the laity to become confused about the object of worship if there were fewer associated visual images.³⁷ Many pre-Reformation images of the afterlife and supernatural beings continued to be acceptable to church authorities into the Reformation period, most notably the emphasis on God as Judge, Jesus as suffering human sacrifice for human sin, the fierce torments of hell and the unutterable bliss of heaven. This is partially explained by the psychological underpinnings of images related to lay fears about death and dying, strong belief in an afterlife³⁸ and divine justice, and great desire for supernatural comfort.

The limiting factor for the impact of literary imagery upon laypeople was the low level of literacy during the period under study. Very few laypeople were literate in the modern sense, or suffered from the lack of that ability. For example, only one person needed to be able to read for a small Protestant cell to meet in secret in a Scottish burgh. Robert Scribner has investigated the concept of "reading" in his study of the effect of printed propaganda on the masses in the German Reformation, and has established three levels of "reading" ability. Reading could involve actually reading the printed word, listening to the words being read aloud, or simply looking at the accompanying illustrations.³⁹ In Scotland, as on the Continent, printed books in the sixteenth century were full of illustrations, often woodcuts. Apart from those laypeople who were literate and could afford to buy such books, preachers and other clerics who had access to printed

works could use these works as a basis for biblical or hagiographical stories;⁴⁰ those who listened to these stories re-created images of the afterlife and supernatural beings in their own minds through the prism of their own experiences and ideas, and developed their own personal relationship with the subjects of such stories. Further, "literary" and theological imagery deriving from the printed word could be conveyed orally in poetry or plays, such as the didactic "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis" by Sir David Lyndsay, or William Dunbar's religious poetry written for a court audience.

It is primarily through the imagery of the printed word that the historian finds access to the spiritual aspirations and conceptions of past societies, these literary images reflecting the spiritual attitudes of society at large. Jacques Le Goff cited Dominican theologian Father Y.M. Congar's theory that thought is possible only through imagery,⁴¹ and Miriam Usher Chrisman emphasised that language influences the manner in which thought is formulated.⁴² Thus a study of the language of imagery is of crucial importance to understanding the thoughts of pre-Reformation Scottish society. Laypeople, as well as the clerics whose religious conceptualisations greatly influenced them, used words to represent states of being in the afterlife and supernatural beings which revealed the value and nature attributed to them.⁴³ For example, the Blessed Virgin Mary sometimes was described as "queen of heaven", and "mediatrix" for humanity, coupled with rhapsodic descriptions of heaven's delights, indicating clearly that Mary was in a position of authority and influence in a wondrously happy place in the afterlife, and that gaining her aid would be of immense utility to laypeople seeking entry to heaven.

Documentary sources such the financial accounts of the king, records of the Great Seal and Privy Seal and various foundation documents, are most easily accepted as good sources because they were usually written as records for contemporaries rather than as a method of influencing contemporary opinion. These sources have been used throughout the thesis, particularly the Great Seal, but excellent sources of imagery also include literary works such as chronicles, devotional works, poetry and plays, which were often written with an instructional purpose. Such literary works reflect contemporary social reality, literary tradition and the personal outlook of the writer, who had to fit his own ideas about subject, form and treatment to the needs and attitudes of his intended audience.⁴⁴

Imagery in art, drama, preaching, the rituals of prayer and worship, literature, and documentary records such as foundation charters and testaments, provided a gateway through which the laity could enter a world different from the everyday.⁴⁵ By experiencing the afterlife in this manner, laypeople were reminded of their role in shaping their own destiny after death, and were offered a basis for modifying their attitudes and behaviour to maximise the chance for salvation, rather than merely being paralysed by frightened anxiety.⁴⁶ Images of God, the Day of Judgment, heaven, purgatory and hell allowed laypeople to experience what they believed to be their final destiny; it is these images of the afterlife which form the basis of the first part of the thesis.

The literary or visual iconography of the afterlife was believed to be a literal description of reality, not merely metaphor, so the realities which the images represented had a great impact on the lay observer.⁴⁷ The images were reinforced by

religious doctrines, the truth of which was agreed upon by most of Scottish society, including the church and secular authorities.⁴⁸

By experiencing through art, literature and church ritual the "realities" of the afterlife, laypeople could be taken beyond the daily world of immediate individual needs and wants; they could envision themselves as part of a larger cosmic order in which good and evil battled and in which order was brought to the cosmos through the final judgment of God on the Day of Judgment.⁴⁹

In a personal sense, lay envisioning of the afterlife gave laypeople the impetus and tools to take steps to ensure their happiness in the life beyond death. The church promoted visions of the afterlife which convinced laypeople that attaining heaven and avoiding hell was important, that the Day of Judgment was the moment at which their fate was decided, and that purgatory was an interim period between the particular and general Days of Judgment.

Purgatory provided the opportunity to utilise the frequent prayers and masses of the living to enhance spiritual worthiness, and while on earth the pursuit of personal and societal holiness were deemed crucial to gaining the comfort and intercession of the saints, Mary and Jesus, and winning the final approval of God the Judge at the Day of Judgment.

The final part of the thesis discusses lay images of God, Mary and Jesus in their roles as father and judge (God), virgin, mother and intercessor (Mary), and sacrifice in the Eucharist (Jesus), an understanding of this imagery necessitating a full understanding of the states of being in the afterlife which were discussed in the first part of the thesis.⁵⁰ This final part of the thesis also discusses how laypeople responded to their images of supernatural

beings, modifying their attitudes and activities in order to ensure success at the Day of Judgment.⁵¹

The key to salvation was the attainment of spiritual acceptability, the final decision about entry to heaven being made by God Himself. However, laypeople did not limit themselves to pleasing God and gaining His favour. Rather, an integrated approach was used, involving the spiritual purification of the individual and society and the honouring of God, Jesus and the saints, particularly Mary, through support for church rituals and institutions and personal devotion to supernatural beings. The images which influenced laypeople's views of the afterlife and its supernatural inhabitants derived from literary, artistic and theological sources, were transmitted in visual, literary and oral form, and were mediated through individual experiences and human psychology. These images helped laypeople to select the best means of becoming spiritually worthy and sufficiently acceptable to enter the gates of the heavenly kingdom.

NOTES

1. Weston La Barre, Weston, The Ghost Dance. Origins of Religion (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972), p. 40.

2. Note that Bernard Hamilton defined faith, as understood by the church in the Middle Ages, as "a living tradition of belief, preserved by a community united in religious practice, which was capable of receiving fresh insights into the meaning of Christ's revelation", in Bernard Hamilton, Religion in the Medieval West (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), p. 37.

3. ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), p. 126 and passim. The increasing concern with preaching as a means of controlling the laity's images of religion can be found in both the reforming and orthodox camps during this period. For example, on 19 April, 1559, the Archbishop of Glasgow wrote to the rural dean of Teviotdale regarding the implementation of decisions made by the provincial council of 1559, indicating that the suggestions made by the councils were being implemented. The Archbishop passed on instructions about increasing the level of preaching by rectors and diocesan clergy with cure of souls who were "able and fit to expound the rudiments of the faith to their parishioners", better education of young priests so that they were fit to preach, and provision by priests over fifty years of age of substitutes to preach on their behalf, in ed. Charles S. Romanes, Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose and from the Manuscripts of the Earl of Haddington, Vol. III, 1547-1706 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1917), pp. 168-9. In 1552, the provincial council believed that it had stemmed the "frightful heresies" which had run riot in the previous few years in various parts of Scotland. However, by 1559 the authorities once more felt alarmed by the level of heresy in the country. The council mentioned a number of heresies such as Lutheranism and Calvinism, the proponents of which the council believed were intent upon destroying the Scottish church, in Patrick, #253, p. 143 and #255, pp. 149-50. In 1532, in a letter to Frederick I, James V had referred to growing Lutheran heresy in Scotland, these heretics holding religious sites and churchmen "in detestation and contempt", in eds. Robert Kerr Hannay and Denys Hay, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), pp. 231-2. In March 1541, the Scottish Parliament passed an act to suppress the holding of Bible study groups in private homes, and attempted to break social ties by threatening to prosecute anyone who did not inform on such "heretics", or who harboured them in their homes, in ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. II, A.D. MCCCCXXIV-A.D. MDLXVII (Edinburgh: H.M. Register House, 1814), p. 370.

4. Note that Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, testified to the religious motivations of founders of religious institutions when he stated that the people who built places of prayer did so out of a desire that God be worshipped there, in ed. Agnes Mure Mackenzie, Scottish Pageant 1513-1625 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1948), pp. 115-6.

5. Steven Ozment, The Age of Reform 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 205-8.

6. I. B. Cowan, "The Reformation in Dumfriesshire", TDG, Third series, (Dumfries, 1981), LVI, p. 82. Cowan's solution to this misunderstanding of the true nature of the Scottish Reformation was the carrying out of regional studies of the strengths and weaknesses of Protestantism. An example of the type of partisan writing about the Scottish Reformation which flourished to the twentieth century is the work of David Hay Fleming, editor of a number of Scottish public records in the late nineteenth century. His introduction to the publication of the Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews 1559-1582 provides one example of the accepted "truths" of the Scottish Reformation:

. . . it reveals the deplorable state into which the people had been allowed to sink, and the earnest and unflagging efforts of the Reformers to cure the festering sores; . . . Reference has already been made to the profligacy and ignorance of the pre-Reformation clergy. . . The effects of such ignorance, and of the pernicious lives of the clergy on the people, combined with the evils which had arisen from the extension of the Levitical prohibitions of inter-marriage, were the chief heritage which the Reformers derived from their predecessors. Yet they set themselves to teach the nation and to instil into it the principles of a high-toned morality.

in ed. David Hay Fleming, Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, Vol. I of 2 vols., 1559-1582 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1889), pp. v and ix-x.

7. Patten wrote his letter, in the form of a diary, to Sir William Paget, knight of the Garter, comptroller of Edward VI's household, a privy councillor and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Patten's patron. Patten was disgusted by the level of devotion to Catholic practices in Scotland, referring to it as "servile thraldome and bondage under the hydeous monster, that venemous Aspis and very Antichriste the Bishop of Rome", and claiming great relief that his own country no longer engaged in such practices, which would have been "to the great offence of God's dignitee and utter parell of our soulis". Of note was his description of the laity's devotion to the rosary, its major means of relating to Mary and gaining her intercession (as well as invoking God). Patten described the environment in churches as one filled with the "knakkyng of beadstones in every pewe", in NLS AdvMS 28/3/12, ff. 57v and 61r-v. cf. Robert Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People. Popular Religion and the English Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 48 (regarding use of the rosary). Patten's comments cannot be construed as the fond imaginings of an Englishman sympathetic to the spiritual attitudes of the northern kingdom, and thus provides strong evidence of lay spiritual activities in Scotland only twelve years before the Reformation. Clearly what Patten judged to be practices which imperilled lay souls were believed by the majority of Scots to be practices which enhanced their chance of salvation.

8. Etienne Delaruelle believed that the main reason for the popularity of the sacrament of penance in the late Middle Ages was the laity's obsession with sin and resultant fear of the general Day of Judgment, cited in Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland, p. 174. The evidence in Scotland bears out this claim.

9. Jacques Le Goff, The Medieval Imagination, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 5.

10. Thus it is often difficult to ascertain the rationale behind certain religious acts, such as the foundation of obits and testaments, which, in the period under study, were common expressions of religious faith and methods of obtaining God's favour.

11. cf. Work done by Miriam Usher Chrisman, in which she discussed how printed books recorded the ideas which were in circulation at the time of printing, and also acted as a fount of ideas for laypeople who were formulating their own world view. Thus the books used as sources in this thesis aid in understanding the general ideas circulating in the period 1480 to 1560, although the books themselves might have had only a few owners (egs. Arbuthnott Prayer Book belonging to Sir Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott, BM Arundel MS 285). Further, Chrisman emphasised the importance of the language used in these books, language influencing the way thoughts were formulated. Thus the use of Latin resulted in ideas having a "logical, conceptual form", with Roman ethics and philosophy having an influence as well as the Church Fathers and the Bible. On the other hand, the use of the vernacular resulted in more descriptive works, biblical laws and Commandments being of the greatest importance, in Miriam Usher Chrisman, Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. xix-xx. This present study of lay faith in Scotland emphasises vernacular works, on the understanding that these were the most likely to have had the greatest influence on lay religious views.

12. Note that the source of much of the Reformers' anger seems to have been the great hold which the church had on the hearts and minds of the people. That is, the fulminations of Knox and other Protestant preachers partly were directed at what they believed to be the clergy's wilful misleading of the people, allowing laypeople to hold "superstitious" beliefs or engage in practices which encouraged a magical interpretation of religion (egs. prayers to saints, pilgrimages). When John Knox attacked Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, about his attitudes to the Eucharist, Knox became particularly angry when he discovered that he could find little to quibble about with regards to Kennedy's theological explanation of the Eucharist. Thus he accused Kennedy of lying to him about his ideas. Actually, Knox was being faced with the great disparity between the theological understanding of an educated elite, the upper clergy of the Catholic church, and the religious understanding of the majority of lay Scots. That is, just because Kennedy's explanation of the Eucharist did not include "idolatrous" elements such as worship of the Host as magical did not mean that laypeople agreed with Kennedy, or at least, it did not mean that they acted as if they agreed with him. Thus, in order to "improve"

matters, or rather, to bring lay faith into line with accepted theological interpretations, greater influence over lay religious conceptions was required. This could be achieved by improving the standard and frequency of preaching, initiating large-scale reforms in education, and placing a greater demand upon the laity to gain an understanding of church practices. These changes were made in the post-Reformation period, Kirk Session records indicating that laypeople were criticised for being unable to recite the Lord's Prayer, or being unable to produce other evidence of theological understanding. cf. John Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox Concerning the Mass, 1562", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. VI of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1864), pp. 185-220.

13. For example, the author of "The Craft of Deyng" stated that he wrote his work partly to reassure the many people who were afraid of dying, and to help the clergy who instructed laypeople about death. It was important for laypeople to realise how to prepare for death properly so as to gain spiritual merit and avoid undoing the spiritual benefits of having lived a good life, in ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", in Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), p. 1. John of Ireland avowedly wrote "Of Penance and Confession" at the behest of his "masteris and frendis" and because he was worried about the spiritual welfare of the people, and wished to write about those elements of theology which were directly relevant to the safety of lay souls and the strengthening of lay consciences. He wished to remind laypeople to trust in God and His aid in resisting the devil (*enemy*) and all temptations. To do this, they were to emphasise the Passion of Jesus and the sacraments of the church, particularly the sacrament of penance, which Ireland felt was the major defence against sin and was therefore necessary to salvation. Ireland felt that the spiritual danger confronting the laity was largely due to the faults and negligence of the clergy whose role it was to teach the laity, partly by setting a good example. Ireland felt that the people loved God, but that many, especially the youth, thought that they could wait to do penance until they were older, but that this put them in danger of being sent to hell (*perpetuall dampnacoun*), in John of Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome. Books I-II, ed. Charles MacPherson, Vol. I of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1926), pp. 2-4.

14. F. Boulard, An Introduction to Religious Sociology, trans. and intro. M.J. Jackson (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1960), p. 87.

15. Boulard stated that strong lay faith arises in societies in which the fabric of everyday life is infused with religion, in Ibid., p. 87. Ozment catalogued the religious practices which organised everyday life for the average European, giving it security and meaning, and which, when removed at the Reformation, were not properly replaced, leading to increased lay spiritual anxiety and an upsurge in interest in witchcraft and the occult. These religious practices included: the veneration of saints in relics, processions, pilgrimages and festivals; rituals within the church such as the Eucharist and masses for the dead; and matters of

personal spiritual development such as fasting, auricular confession, and extreme unction, in Ozment, The Age of Reform 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe, pp. 435-6.

16.egs. A number of burghs had seals which contained images of saints, particularly the Blessed Virgin Mary (See Chapter 7), Banff had a carving of Mary and the baby Jesus on the market cross, a number of burgh seals contained religious imagery, the wall surrounding Paisley abbey had niches for saints (including one of the Blessed Virgin Mary), and Falkland Palace had Passion imagery carved along the wall facing the village, in R.M. Urquhart, Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry (London: Heraldry Today, 1973), p. 79 and passim, John Malden, The Abbey and Monastery of Paisley (Renfrew District Council, 1993), p. 21, and Falkland Palace, Fife. cf. Discussions of the sacralisation of the secular space, and its effect on lay attitudes, in Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner: The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities", in Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation, ed. Steven Ozment, Vol. XI of Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, gen. ed. Charles G. Nauert, Jr. (Kirkville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), pp. 25-40, Etienne Delaruelle's comments as cited in Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 174.

17.Note that in Edinburgh in 1515, fines for the infringing of commercial and trade regulations, normally spent on the kirkwork at St. Giles, were to be used for the walling of the burgh, in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869), pp. 154-5. Heavy military expenditures were made by the Crown in the immediate post-Flodden period. For example, in the accounting of 1515, it was recorded that £428 7s.4d. had been paid for labour, equipment, food and gun transport for ships at Dumbarton, in ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. V, A.D. 1515-1531 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1903), pp. 16-7. In 1532 in Aberdeen, the burgh council was forced to divert all debts owing to St. Nicholas church to defence purposes, such as the purchase of artillery and powder, and in 1525, materials for the kirkwork had been diverted to build up the ports, two examples of how a decline in spending on church buildings could have causes which owed nothing to a decline in religious concerns, in ed. John Stuart, Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844), p. 145 and 113. On 21 May, 1550, Walter Scott of Braxhelme, knight, and a number of other Scotts, agreed to help Regent Arran to "put gud ordour in the cuntre" which had been burned, harried and reduced to poverty by the English, in William Fraser, The Scotts of Buccleuch, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 197-8.

18.For a discussion of plague from the mid-fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, see Audrey-Beth Fitch, "Assumptions about Plague in Late Medieval Scotland", SCOTIA: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (Norfolk, 1987), XI, pp. 30-40 and T.C. Smout, "Coping with Plague in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Scotland", SCOTIA:

American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (Norfolk, April, 1978), II, pp. 19-33.

19. The chroniclers consistently mourned the threefold threats of famine, war and pest, often blaming the sins of society for God's punishment through these three calamities.

20. In Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603, Dickinson and Duncan ably pointed the way for studies of pre-Reformation faith, emphasising the lay-driven element of religion, or rather, the importance of lay concerns and expectations to the functioning of religion, which consisted of a great fear of death, strong desire to understand death's meaning, and attempts to find the most efficacious means of obtaining God's mercy and thus ameliorating one's fate in the afterlife (eg. foundation of collegiate churches and burgh and craft altars). This work emphasised the role of the Mass, faith and works, and the crucial role of the clergy in obtaining the merits of Jesus' Passion, and summarised the main aim of the laity prior to the Reformation to be the attainment of salvation, in William Croft Dickinson, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603, revision A.A.M. Duncan, Third edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 314-8 and passim. Although short and part of a general work on Scottish history, the chapter on religion contained elements of great relevance to studies of lay faith, which later works failed to address. That is, writers following in the steps of Gordon Donaldson tended to pursue a positivist approach to Scottish religious history, achieving greater objectivity through an emphasis on the institutions of the church, a worthy aim, but not one which led to sufficient emphasis on the nature of lay faith. However, recently work has begun to place greater emphasis on interior faith rather than institutional efficacy, partly as an outgrowth of a number of works centring on the Scottish burghs in the fifteenth century. Donaldson himself helped to fill the gap with his final book, The Faith of the Scots, a work of great breadth and merit, one touching upon many issues relevant to this present work, and one which placed late medieval lay faith within the context of the whole of Scottish religious history to the present day. However, Donaldson's single chapter on the late medieval period only serves as a guideline for future work, for there is much scope for studies of religious faith in the century prior to the Reformation, in Gordon Donaldson, The Faith of the Scots (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1990).

21. William Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 9-12, p. 20 and ll. 97-100, p. 23.

22. Brown indicated that from the early 1540's to the late 1590's, Scotland's political climate was "chronically unstable", in Keith M. Brown, Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625. Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1986), p. 266. This situation would have contributed to laypeople's sense of frustration and powerlessness. Living in an authoritarian political structure meant that, when the rules governing behaviour broke down, those at the bottom of the social pyramid had little means of preventing their oppression by the upper orders. cf. Robert Henryson's complaints about misgovernment and the oppression of the common people by the higher

orders of society, in Robert Henryson, Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), *passim*.

23. The late fifteenth century tale "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" described God's impartial justice on the Day of Judgment, the "first friend", Riches, refusing to accompany the protagonist to judgment:

"The Deuil of Hell," he said, "now mot [may] me hing
And I compeir befoir that crabit [ill-natured] King:
He is sa ful of justice, richt and ressoun,
I lufe him not in ocht that wil me chessoun [object];
He lufis not na riches, be the Rude,
Nor hilynes in hart [disdainful pride] nor euil won gude;
Than euil won gude to gar men giue agane
Thar may be na war vse now in ane. [There can be no worse
habit than to cause one to restore ill-gotten gear.]
Agane him can I get na gude defence,
Sa just he is and stark in his conscience;"

in ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis, New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), ll. 1067-1076, p. 46, and Guthrie panel painting in which laypeople shuffled past to be judged, reinforcing the sense of absolute subjection to royal authority already present in civil society, in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. cf. M.R. Apted, The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), p. 2. To laypeople, God was an absolutely powerful ruler, one who sat on a tall throne high up in heaven, and upon whose mercy the whole world depended.

24. There were two judgments, the first being the particular judgment and the second being the general judgment (See Chapter 1). William of Touris described the particular judgment as:

Perticular is, and callit personall:
Quhen efter ded sall follow sensment,
And euery saule sall pas in speciall
To purgatory, hell, or ioy celistiall.

The general judgment was:

". . . iugement generall,
Quhilk salbe plane in proces, & compleit,
Nocht as yir twa for-said in speciall,
Quhilk ar bot half-lang, misty, and secreit.
Bot in yat dome, ye dreidabill diat,
In saule and body we sall ressaif ye wage,
Ane sentence quhilk is passing sour or sweit,
Outhir hell or hevin, perpetuall heritage.

After offering images of the two Days of Judgment to readers, reminding them that death could claim them at any time, threatening the horrors of hell, and reminding them that no action could save them from hell itself, he advised a course of action, inviting the reader to turn from sin and do penance, in William of Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 657-661, p. 108, ll. 681-2 and 694-6, p. 110.

25. For example, Jesus as effective sacrifice in the Eucharist required lay devotion to the rite and faith in its efficacy, and obits were a response to belief in the concept of purgatory and the

value of masses for the dead, as well as the necessity of making reparation to God as stern judge.

26. John Knox's writings, especially his "History of the Reformation in Scotland", have been profoundly influential in establishing the interpretation of the state of pre-Reformation lay faith, not least because he is the key source for much of the detail about the Reformation, both political and religious. The writing of Scottish history from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries was of a heavily partisan nature, having in Knox a superb source with which to decry the abuses of the pre-Reformation Scottish church and clergy and the credulous nature of the average layperson, and to intimate that any rational layperson capable of critical thought inevitably rejected the beliefs and institutions of the Catholic church. cf. John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846-8), passim.

27. For example, sermons and popular preaching about the concept of purgatory were deemed to be extremely influential with the laity. Previous to the mendicant friars it had been the Cistercians who had been the great popularisers of the concept in Europe, in Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scholar Press, 1984, first edition 1981 by Editions Gallimard, Paris), p. 326. Scotland had a strong tradition of Cistercian houses, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the vitriol of the Reformers directed against the friars was equalled by the laity's support for the friars through donations and obit foundations. (See Chapter 6)

28. Note that paintings in rood lofts made a great impression on the laity, who attended services in full view of the rood loft. Images also appeared in retables behind altars, on altars as wax or wooden images, or on niches along walls, and certain images were painted or even clothed, in Whiting, p. 49. cf. Foulis Easter Crucifixion rood loft painting, Angus, niche for image of the Blessed Virgin Mary above main altar in Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, sculpture of St. Eloy, in Museum of Religious Life and Art, Glasgow.

29. Scribner described religious processions as being primarily visual in form and function, in which the sacrament, images of saints, and church hierarchy were displayed, although litanies of the saints also might have been chanted. The procession was intended to bring God's intervention and to affirm the religious and social solidarity of the community, in R.W. Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 95-6.

30. egs. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, in Paisley Museum, Paisley, BM Arundel MS 285, and the The Historeis of the Bible in Figures, the latter being owned by Mary, Queen of Scots, in ed. Joseph Robertson, Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse Douairiere de France. Catalogues of the Jewels, Dresses, Furniture, Books, and Paintings of Mary Queen of Scots. 1556-1569 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1863), p. cxlvi.

31. What little remains of the rich architectural and artistic pre-Reformation heritage of Scotland attests to the influence of the concept of purgatory. The strong European link between the concept of purgatory and the cult of the Passion began with the Beguines' concern for souls in purgatory, peaking with St. Catherine of Genoa's (1447-1510) mystical devotion, worship of the Sacred Heart, and her Treatise on Purgatory, in Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, pp. 356-7. In fifteenth century Scotland, sculptured insets representing scenes from the Passion were carved on the walls of Falkland Palace, announcing to all passersby the devotion to the Passion of James V, who had commissioned the work. Seton collegiate church, East Lothian, had stone carvings with Passion imagery, as did Roslin Chapel in Midlothian. Gordon Donaldson's interpretation, that the Passion was coming to replace prayers and masses in the late medieval period, is not borne out by the evidence, for there is much evidence of devotion to saints, particularly Mary, and a number of payments were being made to altars and other religious foundations up to the Reformation. cf. Donaldson, pp. 68-7. If one looks solely at the literary evidence one finds a great deal of emphasis on the Passion, it is true, but not to the exclusion of those acts of satisfaction which laypeople could undertake to improve their chance of salvation. Rather, intensifying devotion to Jesus and His Passion grew within the context of a strong belief in the existence of purgatory, and the function of prayers and masses by the living to remove souls from purgatory.

32. Sir David Lyndsay took particular note of the influence of images at pilgrimage sites. He related that people fell on their knees in front of images at pilgrimage sites, and prayed devoutly to these images for aid. He expressed great anger that the clergy did not explain properly to laypeople to whom they should address their prayers and did not warn laypeople of the Bible's Commandment against the worship of idols, in Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, Vol. I of 4 vols., Text of the Poems, ed. Douglas Hamer, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), ll. 2645-2652, pp. 278-9, ll. 2685-2697, p. 279 and passim.

33. An association of the "image" with worship of an inanimate object was expressed in 1574 by the clerical staff of Trinity college, who considered that the common seal of their college, with its "ymage of the Trinitie efter the auld maner", would contribute to "Idolatrie". Thus they decided to forsake the power of visual imagery for traditional Protestant literary imagery, replacing the image with the words *Santa Trinitas Vnus Deus*, in Mackinlay, I, p. 33.

34. egs. In his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", Sir David Lyndsay challenged friars to preach against idolatry, or worship of images, and accused monarchs and clergy of encouraging idolatry amongst the people, in Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), Book 2, pp. 310 and 325. Lyndsay shared the outlook of many of his contemporaries that it was the role of the upper and clerical classes of society to

lead the way in matters of religion as in other aspects of life, and the clergy had been given the authority to preach and administer the rites of the church, and thus could be held responsible for a misinformed and wrong-thinking lay populace. John Gau testified to the power of the visual image, as well as the power of the written word to encourage trust in the visual image, in his "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", written in 1533. Gau mentioned that the laity were encouraged, for example, to believe that those who prayed to St. Christopher and saw his "ymage" would not that day be beset by adversity or die in an unChristian fashion, in John Gau, "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", The Bannatyne Miscellany, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), p. 348. John Knox believed that the erecting of images in churches or other public places was against the will of God, in Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox Concerning the Mass, 1562", p. 192. Knox's emphasis on the prohibition against imagery in public places provides some indication of his understanding of the power of such religious imagery to shape the religious attitudes and behaviour of laypeople.

35. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, The Cronicles of Scotland, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co, 1814), pp. 315-6.

36. Ninian Winzet, Certain Tractates together with the Book of Four Score Three Questions and a Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis, ed. James King Hewison, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1888), #76, p. 123.

37. In his book War Against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin, Eire stated that religion in reformed Scotland became completely wedded to the imagery of words, primarily as expressed from the pulpit, and divorced from the visual imagery of the Catholic era (egs. in altar appurtenances and rituals), in Carlos M.N. Eire, War Against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 315.

38. A strong belief in an afterlife was necessary to lay Scots in the medieval period. The sufferings and privations of earthly life were made easier to bear if one believed in a happier place after death, and belief in an afterlife made separation from loved ones easier to bear. However, according to modern bereavement studies, if bereavement occurs in an unexpected and untimely fashion, belief in God does not help bereaved persons cope with the loss, because it shakes their faith in God as a loving and protective spirit, in Colin Murray Parkes, Bereavement. Studies of Grief in Adult Life (London: Penguin Books, 1975 (reprint 1988), pp. 177-8. This understanding of the psychology of loss helps to explain the great fear of sudden death expressed by laypeople before and after the Reformation, and their desire to make spiritual preparations to ensure that they were not taken in a state of such sinfulness that God would send them directly to hell. In pre-Reformation Scotland, unlike today, "God" was not the only spiritual entity in whom Christians put their trust - the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ and the saints were the protective and loving figures, with "God" a stern judge who swept one away at His convenience, whether unexpected and untimely or not. Laypeople relied on Mary, Jesus and the saints to

make separation from their loved ones less uncertain, the consequences of this separation easier to bear, and their spiritual happiness a surety through intercession on the Day of Judgment.

39. In Germany in the sixteenth century, Scribner estimates that 10-30% of people in towns were literate, while only about 5% in rural areas were literate. As in Scotland, the largest literate group in society was the clergy, in R.W. Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 2. Note that in devotional work BM Arundel MS 285 and Emmanuel College S9/2/51, The Book Intytulid the Art of Good Lywyng and Good Deyng by Thomas Lewington (Paris: Verard, 1503), the woodcuts clearly expressed the main religious message and atmosphere conveyed by the text on the facing page, such as in BM Arundel MS 285's illustrations of Mary being stabbed with large swords to represent her great grief at the Crucifixion of her son, in BM Arundel MS 285, ff. 187 and 204v.

40. Note that most of the people who owned books were clerics, such as preacher John Watson, canon of Aberdeen, whose library contained a number of volumes useful for sermons, such as Hughes de Vinac's Sermones super evangelia, tempore hyemali, John Royard's Homiliae in omnes epistolas dominicales (Paris, 1544) and a Roman Breviary (Lyons, 1546). Note that Alexander Myln, Abbot of Dunkeld, had a Missal of the Use of Rome (Paris, 1521) which had a title page depicting the vase of lilies which were part of most Annunciation scenes in Scotland, in John Durkan and Anthony Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1961), pp 157 and facing p. 156, and passim. The lay-out of Myln's Missal demonstrates how symbols could appear in a variety of media and be readily understood, and thus form part of people's conceptions of religious issues and personalities.

41. Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, p. 359.

42. Chrisman, p. xx.

43. An example of the way in which thought was constructed through images is the medieval conception of purgatory. The concept served a spiritual function, that is, to provide a more precise justice and complete purification for souls prior to entering heaven. Its existence provided assurance of salvation. Although the imagery with which it was described was "infernal imagery", it was nevertheless a privileged, intermediate place available only to the future elect awaiting entry into heaven, the proof of its privileged position being its location closer to heaven than to earth, in Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, pp. 6 and 358-9.

44. J.E. Ruiz-Domenec, "Lit  rature et Soci  t   M  di  vale: Vision d'Ensemble", Le Moyen Age. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie (Brussels, 1982), LXXXVIII, 1, pp. 82-3.

45. A.C. Moore, "The Transforming Vision of God in Religion and Art", The Scottish Journal of Religious Studies (Stirling, Autumn 1983), IV, 2, pp. 112-3.

46. Note that the General Statutes of the Scottish church in its 1558-9 session emphasised that the images of Jesus and the saints were intended to provide the laity with examples to imitate, in ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), p. 174.

47. Note that as late as 1581 the General Assembly was demanding that an Act of Parliament be passed to punish people who engaged in superstitious practices related to images, in ed. Thomas Thomson, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland From the Year MDLX (The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland), Vol. II of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1840), p. 535.

48. Moore, p. 110.

49. Ibid., p. 111.

50. The laity responded in a variety of ways to imagery of these supernatural beings, but it has been necessary to select a limited number of the most significant responses. One significant response which has not received full treatment in this present work is the theme of Jesus' suffering humanity. It was His value as a human sufferer on the Cross which had brought God's forgiveness and promised lay salvation. Laypeople also attributed to Jesus loving human characteristics and loyalty to His human mother, Mary, which gave them confidence in His willingness to aid them in their search for salvation. Further, there is a great deal of evidence in art, literature and documentary records for the laity's emphasis on Jesus' humanity and the significance of his human physical, emotional and mental suffering. However, due to space constraints a discussion of Jesus' suffering humanity has not been possible, but partial treatment of this theme has occurred in Chapter 7 in relation to His mother, Mary, and in Chapter 9, in relation to His role as sacrifice in the Eucharist. It was decided to discuss Jesus as sacrificial element in the Eucharist rather than as self-sacrificing friend to humanity in order to provide a balance to the thesis. That is, the study of the Eucharist in Chapters 9 and 10 provides one example of the relationship between lay images of a supernatural being and the theology of an important ritual of the church, and describes the lay behaviours which arose as a result of views about the nature and value of the Eucharist. Chapter 8 discusses the role of Mary as supernatural aid to humanity, and in many respects the relationship of the laity to Mary mirrored the laity's relationship to Jesus; thus a similar study of Jesus was not as crucial as was a detailed study of a central church ritual.

51. In particular, the late medieval emphasis on the human sufferings of Jesus and the maternal grief of Mary at the foot of the Cross gave laypeople the opportunity to enter into the separate reality of the afterlife by empathising with Jesus and Mary at the Crucifixion, joining in their triumph over pain, death and hell. Jesus achieved His spiritual triumph by descending into hell and then being resurrected, and Mary achieved hers through the Assumption. Note that the images in preachers' anecdotal *exempla* and various stories about saints offered the laity an opportunity to learn by example. That is, laypeople were taught about the consequences in the

afterlife of certain earthly attitudes and activities; laypeople were encouraged to empathise with those who had endeavoured to live holy lives under adverse conditions and had risen above the materiality and misery of earthly existence, thereby becoming acceptable to God and worthy of heaven. cf. Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, p. 298.

CHAPTER 1: THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

INTRODUCTION

A full understanding of the late medieval Scots and their religious behaviour requires an understanding of the concept of the Day of Judgment. Scots were assured of success at the final Day of Judgment only if they arrived in a state of spiritual worthiness. In general, they believed that God would decide the fate of their souls on the Last Day, when He assigned them to heaven or hell for all eternity. Further, they believed that becoming worthy of heaven was a human responsibility. A successful outcome depended upon their own attitudes and behaviour while on earth, the intercession of others on their behalf after they had died, and the intercession of supernatural beings such as Mary, Jesus and the saints.

This chapter explores the theological, literary and artistic environment of lay belief within which lay conceptions of the nature and function of the Day of Judgment were formed. Lay understanding of the nature of Judgment was informed and modified by perceptions of the collective and individual aspects of judgment, the distinction between the particular and general Days of Judgment, and belief in the separation of body and soul at death. The concept of the Day of Judgment gave meaning to life, offered a route to heaven, and satisfied expectations of justice.

The laity's responses to its perceptions of the nature and function of the Day of Judgment were expressed in concerns about "dying well", for ideas about death and dying placed a prominent part in lay perceptions of the Day of Judgment. This meant pursuing

spiritual worthiness while on earth and having others do so on one's behalf after death. Ideas about the nature and function of the Judgment also influenced lay perceptions of the nature and function of God, Jesus and Mary, and their utility to achieving spiritual acceptability. Since the decision made on the Day of Judgment decided one's future in heaven, hell or purgatory, imagery related to the Last Day also influenced perceptions of these states of being.¹

NATURE OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

The Catholic hierarchy's teaching on the Day of Judgment, as expressed in the Catechism of 1552, was that there were, in effect, two "judgments". The day of "particular judgment" occurred at the time of physical death. On this day the good and bad deeds were judged, and souls were sent to heaven, hell or purgatory. If sent to purgatory, the individual would be cleansed of venial sins and of those deadly sins for which sufficient recompense had not been made while on earth.² In this manner the soul would be prepared for the day of general judgment, referred to by Sir David Lyndsay as "Jugement Generall". At this point the bodies and souls of the dead would reunite, and accompany the bodies and souls of the living to face general judgment.³ The Catechism indicated that the general Day of Judgment was when the Lord would come openly to judge the living and the dead, and decide who was to go to heaven or hell, based upon their works and penitential behaviour.

The theology of the Day of Judgment appears clear, yet the logic of the concept is not fully apparent. Even the 1552 Catechism, written to help the average person understand the basic tenets of the faith, confuses the reader as to the proper course of action to take on the Day of Judgment. That is, the Catechism

maintained that one should prepare for death by doing penance and good works, and that prayers and masses could raise souls more quickly out of purgatory.⁴ This reassured the laity that paying for suffrages was useful to dead souls. Yet the Catechism confused the issue by insisting that on the general Day of Judgment God would judge all people, living and dead.⁵ This implied that all people went to purgatory after the particular Day of Judgment and stayed there until the general Day of Judgment when they would be judged collectively, and that no one was sent to heaven or hell after the particular judgment. Such a theory would have contradicted theories of human free will and God's omnipotence, whereby He could raise souls from purgatory to heaven at different times, send committers of mortal sin to hell immediately if they had not done sufficient earthly satisfaction, and bring directly to heaven extremely worthy people such as saints, concepts all maintained by the Catechism.⁶

Lay views of the nature of the Day of Judgment involved an understanding of the relationship between death and the particular and general Days of Judgment and the separation of body and soul at death. Laypeople also understood "judgment" to occur in a collective as well as an individual sense.

The laity's grasp of the difference between the particular and the general Days of Judgment was not always clear. The literature of the period often discussed issues relevant to "Judgment", but it is not always clear if the writers meant "particular" or "general" judgment, or whether indeed the concepts were somewhat confused. The particular judgment which occurred directly after one died was most closely associated with fears of dying, and the mechanisms which the church offered to the laity to deal with its fear of dying and the afterlife seem to have provided an acceptable means of

dealing with the stress and fear. However, some writers disagree with this assessment. Philippe Ariès maintained that part of the great fear of dying exhibited by late medieval Europeans arose from recognition of physical death as an "end and decomposition", an annihilation of the self, rather than a stage in a continuum, or a time of "sleep" before the Day of Judgment, as Sir David Lyndsay maintained.⁷ Thus Ariès interpreted the mass for the dead not as a "requiem mass" or *requies dormitio* but as an end. Physical death brought fear and revulsion, which by the fourteenth century resulted in macabre art and literature.⁸ Earthly life was increasingly seen as an end in itself, not just as a stage on the journey to heaven, and its joys and rewards were valued for their own sake.⁹

Yet the Scottish evidence points clearly to a strong lay understanding of death not as an "end and decomposition", but as a necessary stage on the way to eternal life. While fear of the unknown, as well as loss of goods and loved ones on earth,¹⁰ caused people to cling to life, nevertheless the evidence points to a strong belief in purgatory and the accessibility of heaven. The founding of perpetual religious services was a means of ensuring success in the journey through purgatory and on to heaven, such services being pointless unless a "particular" judgment preceded the "general" one, and left sufficient time for souls to expiate sin in purgatory. When Thomas Kennedy of Knockdaw, Ayrshire, made his testament in 1549, he arranged for twenty-four masses to be celebrated for his soul, and he commended his soul to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel and the rest of the saints. The inclusion of St. Michael in such a manner may have revealed particular concern for the saint's accompaniment of his soul after death. (See Chapter 4) Along with the unusually large

number of masses, it would be fair to assume that Kennedy was in some fear for his soul, but that he felt that the assistance of powerful saints (Mary and St. Michael) and the celebration of masses while he reposed in purgatory would help him reach heaven eventually.¹¹

While fears of dying may have centred on the particular Day of Judgment as the first test of spiritual acceptability, the real test of humanity was on the general Day of Judgment. In his poem "The Bludy Serk", Robert Henryson noted that on "Domysday", which was the general Day of Judgment, laws would be strictly enforced, this outlook reflecting official church teaching that at the general Day of Judgment impartial justice, not mercy, was to be the order of the day.¹² William Dunbar stated that on this day of "extreme" justice, God would administer impartial justice at his "justice court extreme", and reunited bodies and souls would be judged fit for the "palice of lycht" (heaven) or the "pit obscure" (hell).¹³ The general Day of Judgment was to be the end of the world,¹⁴ unlike the particular Day of Judgment, after which the earthly world continued and living souls could provide for the spiritual future of the dead.

Those writers of a reforming outlook emphasised the general Day of Judgment more than most Scots, Sir David Lyndsay telling his audience that their own death was merely a slumber,¹⁵ and that all would be judged at general judgment, at the last day of the world. Protestant sympathiser Robert Colville of Cleisch, who made his testament on 25 December, 1559, thought that his body would "sleip in the eirth" at God's pleasure until the Day of Judgment, at which point God would glorify both soul and body to reign with him eternally.¹⁶ Judging by the surviving testamentary and other documentary sources, as well as literary works, Lyndsay and Colville

did not reflect the majority opinion, most Scots believing that the soul would be very busy suffering in purgatory during this interim period between the particular and general Days of Judgment, rather than slumbering peacefully. Nevertheless there was general agreement that the general Day of Judgment was most to be feared.

There is both visual and literary evidence for the concept of the general Day of Judgment when God would judge both the living and the dead and send their souls either to hell or to heaven. That artists often chose to portray the Judgment rather than another significant Christian scene indicates its importance to Scots of the period. Guthrie Castle at Foulis Easter had such a scene on a wooden vault in a family burial aisle. In the scene Jesus as Judge sat on a rainbow with Mary and St. John, of traditional importance as intercessors, kneeling before Him, interceding for the dead. The dead rose from the grave and passed before Him in Judgment. This is a visual version of similar scenarios described in contemporary literature.¹⁷ Books owned by the laity which dealt with the subject of the Day of Judgment would be one indication of the laity's understanding of the concept. Unfortunately almost all of the evidence is for clerical book-owners. One of the few lay bookowners of whom we have a record, Henry Scott, burgess of Montrose, is known to have owned the Commentarius in Apocalypsim by Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, published in Cologne in 1529; this book discussed the general Day of Judgment.¹⁸

Late medieval Christian teaching was that the body and soul separated at death, but would rejoin and pass before God at the general Day of Judgment. Scottish literature, art and documentary evidence indicated that the laity understood this separation. Belief that the body and soul separated at death must have

exacerbated fears of death, conjuring up visions of dismemberment and loss, despite reassurances about later re-forming. In the anthropological literature this separation of body and soul is characterised as the separation of the profane (associated with the body) from the sacred (associated with the soul).¹⁹ Ideas about separation of the sacred and the profane entered into many areas of life and religious belief, such as ideas about Mary's motherhood, in which spiritual purity and bodily function were reconciled. (See Chapter 7)

Scottish literature supported this image of the separation of body and soul. William of Touris warned the laity to think of the "dreidfull day of deid" when their soul would sadly separate from their body and judgment would follow, when their words and works would be weighed.²⁰ William of Touris' description was of the separation of body and soul after death and before the particular Day of Judgment. William Dunbar presupposed an initial separation of body and soul before the general Day of Judgment, describing the Day of "dome" as one in which the soul would reunite with the body and present itself in front of the "Juge and Lord of see and landis" for salvation in a "state of grace"; the "state of grace" was the form necessary to enter the "state of being" which was heaven.²¹ This concept of the separation of body and soul at death survived in the Highland oral tradition. In a "Supplication" recorded in the nineteenth century, the separation of body and soul at death emphasised the sacred nature of the soul in contrast to the profane nature of the body.²²

Late medieval Scottish art depicted the separation of body and soul by having the "soul" of the dying person carried by angels toward God. The souls were small, vulnerable, white-skinned babies,

totally at the mercy of the angels and God sitting in judgment. One example of such an image can be found in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book of Sir John of Arbuthnott, written c. 1482-3. It depicted a woman on her deathbed, her husband and two children solemnly leaning over her bedside, a priest sprinkling her with holy water as part of the last rites. Above her prone body two angels held her soul aloft in a white sheet, her soul represented as a small, pale child. The angels carried the "child" upward toward God sitting in judgment. This was to be her first, "particular" judgment, when God decided if she deserved to go to heaven, hell or purgatory.²³

Another such visual representation of the rising upward of the soul toward God in heaven was the Crucifixion painting in Foulis Easter collegiate church. In this painting the souls were painted as naked and vulnerable white babies. These "babies" were the repentant and unrepentant criminals crucified with Jesus. The soul of the repentant criminal was carried by an angel toward heaven, and the soul of the unrepentant criminal was carried by a winged devil toward hell.²⁴ Repentance was seen as critical to achieving acceptability with God and thus access to heaven.

Testamentary evidence made it clear that the laity understood the separation of body and soul, the "body" being designated for burial, usually in the parish church, and the "soul" being commended to God, Mary and the saints. The reliance of the testator on the goodwill of the supernatural beings toward the soul was made plain in the testament of Bessete Boyle (*Boyll*) from Irvine in 1547. She ordered her body to be buried in the dust of the parish church of Irvine, and left the "health of her soul" to omnipotent God and the celestial court, encouraging God to look kindly upon her soul by leaving money to a variety of different religious institutions in

the locality, including the Carmelites and Friars Minor of Ayr and the Trinitarian "friars" of Failford.²⁵

In the later Middle Ages the "Day of Judgment" may have been a somewhat murky concept for some laypeople, with images of the particular and general judgments conflating, leading to an emphasis on the individual judgment which occurred immediately after dying.²⁶ Why this occurred may be attributed in part to a growing emphasis on personal salvation, in contrast to the idea of "collective salvation" on the general Day of Judgment which had held sway from the twelfth century. Thus death came to be seen as the ending of one's life as an individual, the decomposition and ending of the self, rather than as part of a larger picture, in which humanity as it existed on earth was transformed into a new "state of being" in the afterlife.²⁷

The general theological interpretation of the two Days of Judgment allowed for individual and collective interpretations of "judgment", describing the particular Day of Judgment as the day of individual judgment, and the general Day of Judgment as the day of collective judgment. However, the growing emphasis on the quality of personal religious attitudes and deeds, which helped to determine one's interim fate in the afterlife after the particular Day of Judgment, altered the lay outlook on the general Day of Judgment. That is, whereas the general Day of Judgment was a collective judgment, expressed in art in the Guthrie painting showing the living and dead passing in judgment before God,²⁸ it was also a moment at which people were judged as individuals. Thus one's actions on earth as an individual were extremely important not only for the particular Day of Judgment but for the general Day of Judgment as well.

There is Scottish evidence for this shift in emphasis away from judgment as part of a community or nation, to judgment as an individual. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there was less emphasis on the sins of Scottish society as a whole as the cause of divine punishment.²⁹ There was more emphasis on personal sinfulness and the idea that lack of spiritual preparation for death would result in personal damnation.³⁰ The emphasis on the unexpectedness and finality of the general Day of Judgment and the importance of personal spiritual worthiness to individual salvation led authors to urge laypeople to conquer their sinful nature and prepare for death, such that God would be pleased and look favourably upon them at the Day of Judgment.³¹ Robert Henryson was an ardent proponent of personal action to ensure salvation.

Sum bene also, throw consuetude and ryte,
 Vincust with carnall sensualitie;
 Suppose thay be as for the tyme contryte,
 Can not forbeir, nor fra thair sinnis fle;

. . .
 Ceis of your sin, remord your conscience;
 Obey unto your God, and ye sall wend
 Efter your deith to blis withouttin end.³²

Although by the late fifteenth century the sinfulness of the collectivity was viewed as less important than that of the individual, and judgment was viewed more in individual terms, people continued to comprehend the general Day of Judgment as having a partially collective nature. That is, there remained the concept of collective destiny, wherein "the group" would survive together at the general Day of Judgment.³³ As a fifteenth century writer, Robert Henryson exhibited a greater belief in collective judgment and punishment than, for example, Sir David Lyndsay in the mid-sixteenth century, who emphasised personal sinfulness and judgment to a greater degree. Henryson attributed the late fifteenth century plague, swiftly approaching his own burgh of Dunfermline, to God's

anger at the sinfulness of Scottish society. General hunger, derth, war and pestilence he attributed to various segments of society indulging in the seven deadly sins (eg. covetousness).³⁴ Authors John Major and John Leslie agreed with Henryson that God punished the entire society for the sins of individuals or groups within that society.³⁵

The collective aspect of judgment meshed well with the community-oriented society of late medieval Scotland. The collectivity and collective judgment were emphasised particularly by societal groups such as craft guilds (eg. in their biblical pageants and craft altars). Certain events also emphasised the collective nature shared by all burgh-dwellers or members of rural parishes (egs. burgh processions, rogations). The emphasis of craft guilds was that of collectively-achieved salvation. Each member of the guild contributed weekly fees to the support of the craft altar dedicated to the patron saint, and entry fees, fines for breaking craft rules, and duties on goods sold by outsiders with the burgh were used to ornament the altar, support the chaplain celebrating there, and generally make available to all craft members the spiritual benefits of the craft altar. The patron saint of the craft, to whom the altar was dedicated, would take particular care to intercede on behalf of the members of the craft at the Day of Judgment.

This emphasis on collective salvation also operated in the case of the patron saint of the parish, who interceded for the whole parish, or the patron saint of a family, who interceded for the members of that family. Church processions attended by lay burgh-dwellers would honour the burgh's patron, such as St. Giles in Edinburgh, and provide spiritual benefits to the whole community.

Secular penitential rituals also maintained the unity of the community. They were staged by the provost and bailies to reconcile warring individuals within the burgh, and thus to restore the amity between neighbours demanded by God as a condition of spiritual acceptability. They took the form of church penitential rites, and used the penitential format of barefoot procession to the church while holding a candle to be donated to the church and the seeking of forgiveness on one's knees at the altar. The provost would take the place of the priest in providing absolution for the penitent offender, granting forgiveness on behalf of the community.³⁶

FUNCTION OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

The concept of the Day of Judgment served several functions in the lives of late medieval Scots. They understood it to provide them with the opportunity for salvation, or rather, entry to heaven. It also gave meaning to their lives by setting down expectations of earthly behaviour, and making clear the consequences in the afterlife of various earthly attitudes and behaviours. Thus it answered a deep-seated expectation of spiritual justice.

Images of heaven were cherished by Scots in the period under study. Fear of being denied such perfect happiness translated into fear of the Day of Judgment, when a decision would be taken that might send one to the waking nightmare that was hell. The fear to be experienced on the Day of Judgment was expressed in a woodcut of the general Day of Judgment found in the Catechism of 1552. The woodcut portrayed a human Jesus arriving for judgment; the living, stricken with fear, knelt on the ground with hands flung up as if to ward off the full rigours of judgment.³⁷

In William Dunbar's poem "None May Assure in this World", he pleaded with God not to worry overmuch about aiding him on earth,

but to ensure that he was received into the kingdom of heaven. He made it clear that entry into heaven would occur after the general Day of Judgment, a time "Quhone flude and fyre sall our it frak, / And frelie frustir feild and fure, / With tempest keyne and thundir crak".³⁸

The concept of the Day of Judgment had great resonance for Scots of the period under study. Their understanding of it coloured their view of the afterlife, their attitude to the nature and function of the supernatural beings of God, Jesus and Mary, and their understanding of how best to act on earth in order to succeed on the "last day". Philosopher Wittgenstein's theory of "lebensformen", or "forms of life", offers an explanation of how this concept of the Day of Judgment functioned within Scottish society.

Ideas about the Day of Judgment were influential in the "form of life" that was Scottish religion. That is, the concept played a key role in laypeople's understanding of the actions of themselves and others. A form of life is a pattern of living, or a background of shared practices, interests and activities against which the individual's actions make sense, a background which gives meaning to those actions. Biological factors such as hearing and seeing are given form through a social context (rules), a pattern of living which is trained into the members of the society to give them a common way of interpreting their world.³⁹ Wittgenstein saw certain distinctively human activities as part of the human form of life, although they could take different forms in different cultures (egs. grieving, language). Use of language is a fundamental human activity. Along with behaviour, language reveals a great deal about what a social group believes (eg. religious belief), and changes in

language over time can reveal shifting ways of viewing the world.⁴⁰ Hence even a Scottish translation of a Latin work, if looked at closely, can reveal the translator's viewpoint, and provide insight into his cultural milieu or form of life. This is obvious in cases where a metaphor used by the translator was itself peculiar to the translation, such as the addition of ship imagery in BM Arundel MS 285's prayer to the Virgin, where she was referred to as a "reiver of souls".⁴¹ The "form of life" that was Scottish religion in the period under study included the concept of the Day of Judgment into which average Scots could place their anxiety about dying and life beyond death, their yearning for a promise of hope, their desire for a meaningful explanation of an often harsh and unhappy life and the existence of evil in the world, and their desire for justice, personified by God himself, who in Scotland was described most often as the eternal, impartial judge.

Considering how fearful the Scots were of dying, and the theological, literary and artistic environment of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it is unlikely that their words to describe the Day of Judgment would be happy ones. The terms used in testaments, devotional works and poetry included: "day of Doum" (testament of 1456),⁴² "Day of Jugement" (testaments of 1547, 1548 and 1552),⁴³ the "dreidfull hour" (prayer in devotional work),⁴⁴ "General Judgment",⁴⁵ "gret day of Judgement",⁴⁶ "the last day"⁴⁷ and "domisday" (poetry).⁴⁸

The terms used to describe the "Day of Judgment" emphasised that it was viewed as the "day" on which God's promise of perfect justice would be fulfilled, "justice" being the rewarding of "good" and the punishment of "bad". Philippe Ariès referred to the application of justice as the "purest manifestation of power",

stating that in the Middle Ages people saw justice as extremely important as a moral force as well as in its application in daily life.⁴⁹ In spiritual terms, it was God who administered justice, being portrayed as an omnipotent, stern judge administering impartial justice in His spiritual court of law. In the nineteenth century the image remained: "When the judge shall take the throne / And the cause is fully pleaded . . ."⁵⁰ It is significant that the term "judge" was used most often by late medieval poets and laypeople when describing God, and His position as final court of appeal was emphasised by naming him "supreme" or "highest" Judge.⁵¹ Almost every Scottish will studied in the years between 1480 and 1560 finished by threatening the executor with the reality of the final reckoning at the Day of Judgment. As early as 1456, Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath (*Dumbeth*) required his son to go on pilgrimage to Rome on his behalf, and reminded him to do so "as he will answer befor the hieast Juge upoun the day of Doum."⁵² In 1553 the threat was the same, James Grant of Freuchie reminding his executor to act for the welfare of his soul, as his executor would answer before the highest judge.⁵³

The Catechism taught that the day of "extreme" judgment, which was the general Day of Judgment, was that moment at which "mercy" would end and "justice" would begin. The extreme judgment was to be feared, for at that moment the "insuperabil powar of our Juge" would be turned to dispensing "inflexibil justice", and the judgment of thoughts, words and deeds would decide the fate of all humanity, living and dead. Hell itself was the ultimate expression of God's perfect justice, being an "instrument of goddis justice" for the perpetual torment of sinners' souls. To escape the "dangeir" of judgment, and the "wraith" to come, people had to concentrate on the

sacraments, particularly penance, as "instrumentis of goddis mercy and grace", as well as praying, fasting and doing good works. In this manner, God's love would be attained, just as the love of a "temporal king" would be attained if one trod the path of good.⁵⁴

Belief in the importance of "justice" was the basis of late medieval society, both secular and spiritual. For example, poets enthusiastically offered advice to kings about how to rule justly. (egs. "The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian" of Robert Henryson, "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis"). Other members of society responsible for administering justice were given advice and warning. In a poem entitled "A Morality", written pre-1461, the poet threatened advisors of the king to give only good advice to him, as they would answer at the "hee judgement".⁵⁵ In the "moralitas" of "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig", Robert Henryson attacked earthly judges who were directed by their own self-interest rather than the truth, to the great detriment of the common people. As part of the general corruption and sinfulness of Scottish society, bad justice brought divine punishment through hunger, derth, pestilence and war.⁵⁶ Part of Henryson's analysis of the situation was that, as the common people were so oppressed on earth, they would receive redress for their suffering in heaven. Thus the notion of compensation for suffering (the opposite of punishment for wrongdoing) operated in terms of notions of justice, just as it functioned in the all-important notion of Jesus' suffering as compensation for the sins of humanity.

In Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a number of literary works were directed at changing people's behaviour to create a more "just" society. Sometimes poets spoke for the plight of the common man when justice had fled, as in Lyndsay's "Ane Satyre

of the Thrie Estaitis"; they always contained a strong moral element, where leaders were chastised for their actions. Authority figures were also attacked in the first story of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" and in Sir David Lyndsay's "Ane Satyre of the Thre Estaitis" and "The Dreame".⁵⁷

The chroniclers, from Fordun to Bishop Leslie, believed that part of their task was to advise monarchs on good governance, a major part of which was acting justly and dispensing "good" justice to their people. It is unsurprising that most of these writers' complaints were directed at those in positions of authority, particularly kings, as the average Scot relied on those in authority to dispense impartial justice, and hence those who were corrupt were viewed as morally criminal. In Sir David Lyndsay's "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis", the character "Gude Counsel" was the mouthpiece of the author. Gude Counsel advised the "king" to read the chroniclers in order to learn how kings' reputations were founded on their administration of justice.

The principal point, sir of ane king's office,
Is for to do to every man justice,
And for to mix his justice with mercy,
Without rigour, favour or partiality,
Wha guides them weel, they win immortal fame;
Wha the contrair, they get perpetual shame.
The Chronicles to know, I you exhort;
There sall ye find baith gude and evil report;
For every prince, after his quality,
Though he be deid, his deeds sall never die!
Sir, if you please for to use my counsel,
Your fame and name sall be perpetual.⁵⁸

In order to understand late medieval religious faith and the significance of belief in the Day of Judgment, one must consider the deep-seated fear of death and dying which undermined the confidence of individuals and the nation as a whole. The mid-fifteenth century author of "The Craft of Deyng" testified to the laity's fear of death and dying, writing his tract for all those engaged in advising

the laity about such matters. He wanted to address the laity's fear, death being "harde, perelus, ande rycht horreble to mony men" because it was unknown.⁵⁹ All human beings share a certain love of life and fear of death, but late medieval society was unlike modern society in that early death was much more common, infant mortality being higher, average lifespans shorter and medical science not so advanced. Society did not attempt to shut away the dying and the bereaved as occurs today when the living are deprived of familiarity with death. Further, the late medieval church appears to have had influence with a larger proportion of the laity than the church does in modern times, in terms of offering explanations for death, comforting the dying and the bereaved, and providing a greater number of religious outlets for those afraid of dying and wishing to aid dead souls (egs. multiple masses for the dead, confraternities).⁶⁰ In order to understand the role of fears of dying in late medieval Scottish society, it is helpful to consider fears of dying common to all societies, and to note the particular environment and images which added to the laity's fears in the period under study.

Elisabeth Kübler-Ross' studies of terminally ill patients shed some light on the emotions of people who feel helpless to control their own fate, as the Scots of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries felt when confronted by a certain death controlled by an omnipotent God. Further, the more people feel buffeted by circumstance and the will of the supernatural being, and wish to control their existence, the more the unpredictability and inevitability of death frightens them.⁶¹ Kübler-Ross defined the major stages experienced by all people when confronted with the

inevitability of their own death: denial, anger and resentment, bargaining, depression and acceptance.

The "anger/resentment" and "bargaining" modes were quite clear in a number of contemporary Scottish sources, such as Henryson's "Ane Prayer for the Pest". He chided God for wasting Jesus' sacrifice for sinful humanity by punishing the Scots with death by plague, and he tried to convince God that the Scots were prepared to mend their ways if He would only lift the shadow of plague from the country.⁶²

"Depression" was clearly in evidence in the literature of the period, where death was characterised as a strong-armed henchman of an all-powerful monarch, impossible to resist despite a desperate desire to do so. In the "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", death was an "Officer of the King" (God) who marched a rich man off to Judgment, suffering no resistance, and refusing all bribes.

"Is nane his power agane may repleid;
Is nane sa wicht, na wyse, na of sik wit
Agare his summond suithly that may sit.

His straik it is sa sharpe it will not stint,
Is nane in eird that may indure his dint."⁶³

Death was viewed as a "horrible port" through which everyone had to pass "on the way to that dulefull day".⁶⁴ It is clear that despite the vicissitudes of earthly life, Scots desperately clung to its known joys and pains.

"Acceptance" of death was evident in a plethora of writings. The inevitability of death and the need to prepare for it are made clear by authors such as the writer of "The Craft of Deyng", who reminded readers that death should be welcomed as the natural ending of earthly life and the beginning of eternal joy with the Father.⁶⁵ The wills of the period all referred to the certainty of death; the

will itself was an admission that preparations had to be made to dispose of one's goods and to pay one's debts, such that one's soul would be "purified" and prosper in the hereafter. Writers such as Gavin Douglas, William Dunbar, Robert Henryson and the writer of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" also urged their readers to accept the ending of life and to reconcile themselves to the event.⁶⁶

All people share a fear of sudden death, but perhaps the late medieval Scot had more cause to be worried than the average modern Scot, with the medieval levels of disease, warfare, general mortality, unsafe work environments and strong belief in divine punishment.⁶⁷ The Vigils of the Dead in a sixteenth century French Book of Hours of the Roman Use revealed intense anxiety about death and the perils of hell, the suppliant tearfully pleading with God for mercy and the liberation of his soul.⁶⁸

The Catechism of 1552 warned Scots that death could come "as the theif cummis in nycht."⁶⁹ The fear of dying suddenly, before preparation for death could take place, permeated testamentary and literary evidence as well as theological writings. (See Chapter 4).⁷⁰ The rationale for drawing up a testament almost always included the testator's awareness of the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time of death.⁷¹ The fear of sudden death was exacerbated by worries about the particular Day of Judgment, when God decided if one went to heaven, hell or purgatory. The unspoken assumption was that most "gude folke" would go to purgatory after particular judgment, but there was always the chance that God would send one to hell.

This suddand deith and unprovysit end
Of this fals tod, without provisioun,
Exempill is exhortand folk to amend,
For dreid of sic ane lyke confusioun;

For mony now hes gude professioun,
 Yit not repentis nor for thair sinnis greit,
 Because thay think thair lustie lyfe sa sweit.⁷²

Walter Kennedy reminded his readers not to run any risks, but rather to dread God and "domisday" and defy the devil, knowing that all would be called to account on the Day of Judgment.⁷³ Certainly people who had committed mortal crimes had to contend with the fear of sudden death, for if satisfaction was not made prior to death, then hell was a certainty.⁷⁴ Purgatory could only purge venial sins and complete the satisfaction due for mortal sins between the time of particular and general judgment.⁷⁵ Hence those who had committed mortal sin, or who felt that their personal load of sin was great, would be in a state of anxiety about sudden death, fearing that they would die before they had begun to expiate their sins. The worry about sudden death helps to explain the number of feuding lairds who set off for foreign pilgrimage sites in the period under study, often after having committed the mortal sin of murder. (See Chapter 4)

The laity's fear of sudden death was made plain in devotional and poetic literature. For example, in BM Arundel MS 285 Mary was believed to give laypeople advance warning of the time of death, if they said a certain prayer to her.⁷⁶ Robert Henryson accepted that death was inevitable and its time and place uncertain, but he expected that death would normally come to the old. When he warned "wantone yowth" to think about death, flee from vice and use psalms and prayers to gain God's mercy, his concern was primarily that they might fail to make good use of their opportunities rather than that their lives would end prematurely.⁷⁷ Consequently Henryson was outraged and fearful at the savagery of the plague epidemics which swept Scotland during his lifetime, which indiscriminately killed

the young as well as the old.⁷⁸ A large part of his anxiety related to the suddenness of death by plague. He believed that the disease had been inflicted by God on society as punishment for sin; he could not understand God "wasting" Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross by allowing people to "dye as beistis without confessioun", confession being necessary to make the soul spiritually acceptable to God and a candidate for heaven.⁷⁹ Highland prayers recorded in the nineteenth century testified to this understanding that God controlled the time and place of death, and that one's fate in the afterlife depended upon Him.⁸⁰

If the general Day of Judgment came while one was still alive, the threat of hell was very real, for one would not have the chance to go to purgatory and suffer for one's sins while the living prayed for one's soul. Thus it was worth making as much headway as possible in fighting sin while still on earth. It is made clear in Matthew Chapter XXV, the source of much of the imagery of the Day of Judgment, that one must prepare for death as if each day were one's last:

Two women shall be grinding at the mill: one shall be taken, and one shall be left.

Watch ye therefore, because ye know not what hour your Lord will come.

. . .
But if that evil servant shall say in his heart: My lord is long a-coming:

And shall begin to strike his fellow-servants, and shall eat and drink with drunkards:

The lord of that servant shall come in a day that he hopeth not, and at an hour that he knoweth not:

And shall separate him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.⁸¹

Sir David Lyndsay echoed this imagery, stating that the Day of Judgment was to come very suddenly, without warning, and that the good were to be taken to heaven and the bad left alone, "Gretand with mony gryslie grone."⁸² The "Day of Judgment" to which Lyndsay

referred was the general Day of Judgment. His image of this separation of loved ones was powerful.⁸³

Separation has been recognised as a major source of psychological pain, Buddhism putting separation at the top of its list of sources of anguish, and Murray Parkes' modern studies of bereavement revealing that separation from loved ones leads to intense psychological fear and anguish.⁸⁴ Mwalimu Imara explained that death is feared because it is a final separation, and that the fear of death is proportional to the love of life. That is, the experience of earthly life leads to a psychic fear of "loss of life" because the end of life means the end of love. Thus a soul tortured by the fear of death is a soul tortured by its attachment to life, and helpless to prevent feelings of isolation and powerlessness.⁸⁵ Clearly the author of "The Craft of Deyng" understood this mechanism well when he spent so much of his short treatise discussing the attachment of the dying to their loved ones and the environment which they knew so well.⁸⁶ Because this intense love of life expressed itself in great fear and resistance to death, the promise of "eternal life" was an effective means of comforting those confronting the inevitability of death. Descriptions of heaven as a place of eternal life were common during the period under study, heaven being even more attractive than earth because it lacked earth's drawbacks, such as hunger, death and war.⁸⁷

LAY RESPONSES TO THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

Great emphasis was placed upon the Day of Judgment by theologians, artists and poets,⁸⁸ who were concerned that the laity be fully prepared for death and the particular and general Days of Judgment, and thus would be successful in their pursuit of God's mercy and favour. The laity's own absorption with the Day of

Judgment arose from basic human desires to find meaning in life and to see justice done, its anxieties about dying, and its longing for heaven's bliss. Consequently laypeople acted to ensure that the outcome of judgment would be in their favour, utilising the rituals and practices of the church to do so.

Laypeople understood that most people would be sent to purgatory after the particular Day of Judgment where they would suffer until the general Day of Judgment. Thus earthly life was to be dedicated to ensuring that one's soul went to purgatory and not to hell, this being achieved by doing sufficient satisfaction for one's inherently sinful nature and the sins committed during life. Once in purgatory, assisted by the prayers and masses of the living, souls could complete the satisfaction due to God and thus be raised to heaven at the general Day of Judgment.⁸⁹ Laypeople were convinced that, by the time of death, their spiritual standing would still be in great need of improvement, so they concentrated their efforts on founding prayers and masses to be celebrated after their deaths, and on proper burial in preparation for the rejoining of body and soul at the general Day of Judgment. However, a sin against one's neighbour was also a sin against God, so it was important to make earthly satisfaction to one's neighbour, as well as to participate in the church rituals and practices which brought greater personal spiritual worthiness while still alive and to "die well", or rather, to die in conformity with the beliefs and practices of the orthodox church.

SATISFACTION, MASSES, AND THE ART OF DYING WELL

Founding masses for the souls of others was a means of offering "satisfaction" to God, and it also satisfied a psychological desire to contribute in a positive manner to the

happiness and welfare of others.⁹⁰ For example, James III made a gift to St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews University, in July of 1480, requiring masses for the soul of his younger brother John, Earl of Mar. Presumably he was worried that God might blame him for the unfair accusation and death of his brother John, and might send him straight to hell after the particular Day of Judgment, so wished to take action to ensure that he had a chance to go to purgatory. The king's various religious foundations, such as the church of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity and St. Mary the Virgin, were designed to help his soul in purgatory. However, it was up to the king to ensure that he made it to purgatory by achieving sufficient spiritual worthiness on earth, primarily through the sacrament of penance.⁹¹

It was normal for kings to require suffrages to be said for their souls as part of their payment for confirming charters and other documents for their subjects in the Great Seal. For example, in 1488, James IV confirmed the foundation of a chaplainry in the chapel of St. Ninian the Confessor in Haddington by George Ker of Samuelston (*Samelstoun*). As part of the confirmation, suffrages and orisons were reserved for the king.⁹² It is unclear whether chancery clerks or the king himself decided to insert this requirement into this charter and other religious foundation charters. Whichever may be the case, the important point is that suffrages for royal souls were an important fringe benefit for the king as the head of the royal government. Further, the king's lay subjects were aware that the king shared their belief in the efficacy of suffrages for souls, and thus they gained royal favour by including the king in foundations. Medieval society emphasised community and mutual dependence. Thus by ensuring the spiritual

welfare of the king, who was the head of that society, donors and founders improved their own spiritual lot.

A number of people included kings in the souls named in religious foundations or donations. For example, in 1506, John, Earl of Crawford, included James III and IV in the list of souls named to benefit from his donation of 20 merks in annual rents to the Friars Minor of Dundee.⁹³ When Peter Falconer (*Falconar*), a neighbour (*vicinus*) in the Leith area, founded an obit and chaplainry dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle in 1490 in the new church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Leith, he named James III, Queen Margaret of Denmark and James IV in his obit.⁹⁴ In 1482, in return for being allowed to appoint its elected provost as sheriff, the community of Edinburgh agreed to express its gratitude to James III by having a yearly mass of requiem with *Placebo* and *Dirige* celebrated for James II's soul on 4 August in the collegiate church of St. Giles, Edinburgh.⁹⁵ Often regard for the king's spiritual welfare was indicated in the simple phrase "quhome God assolze", indicating lay belief in the power of God to absolve human sin. Thus in the 1550 royal accounting, £40 was paid to organist Calderwood as a yearly fee granted by "oure soverane Lord, quhome God assolze".⁹⁶ These minor examples of lay awareness of human sin and divine judgment contribute to the general picture of a society in which the sacred and the profane were completely entwined. That is, in late medieval Scotland, myriad actions were relevant to ethics, morality, and the spiritual future of the individual and/or the nation - few acts, however mundane, were entirely devoid of religious value.

God's "justice" could be revealed through reward and punishment of the living, James V interpreting Christian II's

possession of "gifted and fair children" as "a hopeful sign that God is still mindful of him", despite his recent widowhood.⁹⁷ However, punishment or rewards in the afterlife were more important than those on earth, for punishment after the general Day of Judgment lasted for eternity. Images of the general Day of Judgment were used to frighten laypeople into amending their lives while on earth, in case the Final Day arrived before they had had a chance to become spiritually pure in purgatory. Part of spiritual purification on earth involved making satisfaction for earthly sins, as love for one's neighbour was an expression of love for God. Thus many of the laity's penitential efforts on earth were directed at making satisfaction to those on earth whom they had wronged, in order to improve their own stock with God and minimise danger to their soul in the afterlife.

James MacCalman (*Makcalman*), son and heir of the late Gilbert MacCalman in Little Bennane, attempted to minimise danger to his soul by freely confessing in 1549 that his father Gilbert had bought some old land deeds which had been stolen. MacCalman believed that God knew if one lied, and that such a lie endangered one's soul, reportedly stating that: "fraud might not be hidden nor truth suppressed" so he was admitting to his father's possession of the documents, "for his soul's safety".⁹⁸ The Catechism emphasised the sacrament of penance as the major means of achieving spiritual acceptability while on earth, and contrition and confession were major steps in the process.⁹⁹ Thus MacCalman's public declaration would have been construed as showing a willingness to take part in this process.

Another means of making satisfaction to God was to acknowledge one's unfair deeds and to repay one's debts, as was ordered in the

Catechism.¹⁰⁰ The wills of the period always included a section naming people to whom money was owed. In 1486, James, first Earl of Morton, augmented the foundation made in 1474 of the hospital of St. Marthe of Aberdour. Morton intended the foundation to be for the solace of pilgrims and sustaining of the poor, and to obtain forgiveness for his transgressions from God and the Virgin Mary.¹⁰¹

Executors of testaments were expected to show their love of God and neighbour by disposing of the testator's goods for the benefit of the testator's soul. The majority of executors in the late 1540's were reminded by testators they would have to answer for their actions to the "high judge" (God) on the Day of Judgment.¹⁰² The general Day of Judgment would have been a more terrifying threat than the particular Day of Judgment, since the decision taken by God on the general Day of Judgment was a final one, whereas the decision taken by Him on the particular Day of Judgment was not necessarily so. Most testators, founders, poets and theologians assumed that the majority of "good Christian men and women" who had died in the Catholic faith¹⁰³ would go to purgatory, where the suffering of their souls and the prayers and masses done for them by the living would raise their spiritual standing and give them eventual access to heaven. Thus psychologically the particular Day of Judgment was easier to deal with, as it could be prepared for by modifying behaviour and attitudes. Belief in the particular Day of Judgment allowed laypeople to take action to deal with their fears of dying, but to contemplate the general Day of Judgment was truly to face the abyss - the hell from which there was no appeal.

Elisabeth Kübler-Ross defined death as the final stage of life.¹⁰⁴ In late medieval terms, the process of dying was the most crucial stage of life. This was the time when God watched closely

to see how the dying individual behaved during his or her trial, in order to decide on his or her spiritual worthiness and place in the afterlife in that interim period between the particular and general Days of Judgment. It was also the time considered most "perillous", because the devil lurked about nearby like a "ramping lyon", attempting to devour the soul by tempting the person to forsake God, the devil knowing that if he did not win out at the time of death, he would never prevail.¹⁰⁵ Thus, as people were dying, God judged whether they despaired upon viewing the final tally of sins in their personal book of good and bad deeds, whether they were smug about the good deeds, were too attached to goods or loved ones, or were succumbing to the devil's lure. In fact, at this moment the dying person exercised a fair degree of control. The ritual of death was controlled by the dying person,¹⁰⁶ and his or her attitudes or last acts could have a significant effect upon status in the afterlife.¹⁰⁷

Catholic rituals and belief in free will meant that anxiety over one's fate could be reduced by "dying well", or rather, adhering to orthodox beliefs, participating in the rites and practices of the church, surrendering one's devotion to family and goods, and making religious foundations and donations.¹⁰⁸ Faithfully carrying out such activities improved one's chances for salvation, and all were undertaken by Scots in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in their search for personal acceptability and assurance of salvation. The notion of "dying well" might seem to have related only to those acts which took place near the time of death. However, writers encouraged laypeople to act throughout life as if preparing for death, so "dying well" might be interpreted as a pattern of living throughout life.

The term used to describe the techniques for dying well was the *ars moriendi*, and Scotland was not without its own late medieval writers on this subject. William Dunbar wrote a number of poems outlining correct behaviour and attitudes, directing his advice to a court audience. Some of these poems were "The Maner of Passing to Confessioun", "The Tabill of Confession", and "Of the Passioun of Christ".¹⁰⁹ Robert Henryson wrote "The Bludy Serk" and "The Preiching of the Swallow",¹¹⁰ Walter Kennedy wrote "Honour with Age",¹¹¹ John of Ireland wrote "Of Penance and Confession",¹¹² an anonymous fifteenth century clerical author wrote "The Craft of Deyng",¹¹³ and Thomas Lewington translated a French treatise on the art of dying, entitling it "The book intytulid the art of good lywyng and good deyng" (1503).¹¹⁴ These works emphasised the importance of good deeds and gave advice about the correct religious attitude to be assumed when dying.

Poetry offers evidence that good works and the rites and practices of the church were believed to be necessary to prosper in the afterlife. One example was William Dunbar's poem, "The Tabill of Confession", in which the refrain entreated Jesus' mercy and asked for leisure to repent. In the name of the wounds He suffered for the sake of human salvation, Jesus was entreated to "mak my schip in blissit port to arryif / That sailis heir in stormis violent".¹¹⁵ However, the bulk of the poem was a description of the numerous attitudes and behaviours which were required to ensure full spiritual acceptability at the "justice court extreme". Dunbar mentioned the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the seven commands of the church (ie. paying of teinds, eschewing of cursing, keeping of festival and fasting days, attendance at Sunday Mass, confession, and yearly communion), various requirements of personal holiness

(egs. meditation on Jesus' Passion, eschewing of flattery and lust), and comfort of the poor. However, he singled out the Eucharist as the "holy satisfacioun" for human "gilt" and recompense for human sin.¹¹⁶

Writers exhorted laypeople not to cling to earthly life and that which it represented, namely goods and loved ones. The author of "The Craft of Deyng" stated that people did not like to leave their earthly goods nor to pay their debts, wishing to leave as much as possible to their families, rather than disposing of their goods to help benefit their souls in the afterlife.¹¹⁷ William Dunbar urged his listeners to "Think, man, amang all uthir sport, / *Quod tu in cinerem reverteris*".¹¹⁸ He made much of humanity's desperate and wrongful desire to cling to earthly life and its refusal to face the reality of death. He warned his listeners to eschew worldly vanities and as pilgrims to prepare for their journey: "Sen thow mon go, be grathing to thy gait; [prepare for your journey] / Remeid in tyme and rew nocht all to lait".¹¹⁹

By their actions, laypeople showed that they were willing to begin early to prepare for the afterlife, although some waited until they were ill and having their testament drawn up to make arrangements for their soul.¹²⁰ This attitude is visible in the wills and obits of the period under study, when people's money and obits were being diverted, at least in part, to benefit souls after death. Arthur Forbes of Reres (*Reross*) and his spouse Elizabeth Weems donated lands in 1488 to the Dominican convent of Aberdeen. They believed that all people had to appear on the final Day of Judgment, that their actions on earth would be weighed, and that they could please God by sustaining divine services not only for themselves but also for the souls of their progenitors and

successors and all the faithful dead.¹²¹ A number of chaplainry and mass foundations were intended to benefit the souls of the living as well. (See Chapters 9 and 10)

DESIRE FOR PROPER BURIAL

Since the laity believed that the body and soul rejoined at the general Day of Judgment, the body had to be taken care of in the interim. Consequently concern for one's burial accompanied belief in the general Day of Judgment, Catholics and Protestants before and after the Reformation agreeing on the importance of proper burial. John Knox himself articulated the view that the burial of the body symbolised that the body would not "utterlie perish" but would rise again on the final Day of Judgment. Knox felt that serious, ceremonial burial services were important reminders of the reality of God's judgment, and would cause people to hate sin and fear judgment.¹²²

Concern to designate one's burial site is clear from collegiate church foundation documents, obit foundations, and testamentary records, the Decretum of Gratian having given the laity the right to choose its burial site.¹²³ From the poorest craftsman to the king, the laity expressed a desire to be buried in consecrated ground, either church or churchyard.¹²⁴ This ensured that the body would be fit to be re-united with the soul at the Day of Judgment. The dead also tended to be buried facing eastward, as Jesus was supposed to come from the East on the Day of Judgment. The importance of the sanctity of holy ground is visible in the case of John Purdy, who had threatened priest William Larde with a knife. His punishment was commensurate with his crime against God's "holy place", the cemetery of the parish church of Durisdere,

Dumfriesshire. He was ordered to engage in a penitential ritual and to ask God's and the priest's forgiveness on his knees.¹²⁵

Almost all contemporary Scottish testators named their preferred burial place as the parish church. As there was a canonical prohibition against burial in the church proper, fees had to be paid so that the lairs could be inside the church.¹²⁶ The parish church was the preferred burial site for Henry Currie (*Curre*) in Blairdaff, Aberdeenshire. In 1535, he chose to be buried in his parish church of St. Ninian of Fetternear.¹²⁷ There are a series of burgh and court books from the 1550's in Dundee which record numerous payments for lairs in the parish church, the burgh subsidising those people who were unable to pay for their own lairs.¹²⁸ Usually people were buried alongside their relatives, possibly in a tomb in the cemetery.¹²⁹ They also might be buried in a site provided by a guild for guild members and their families.¹³⁰ The situation was the same throughout Scotland; the diocesan commissariat records from 1545 to 1559 reveal that most testators wished to be buried in their parish church, even people of laird and magnate class.¹³¹

There were some exceptions to the general rule regarding burial site. Some testators simply requested a "Christian" burial, or a burial "where God wills", or they left it up to their executors to choose a site, assuming that the proper burial rites would be observed and their bodies placed in consecrated ground. A "Christian" burial was requested by James Sym, apothecary, in 1558,¹³² and in 1547, Margaret Hutcheson (*Huchatson*), making her testament at "Russall's Mill" in the archdiocese of St. Andrews, asked to be buried where God willed. Since the worth of her goods was only £4 9s.4d., it was possible that she could only expect a

very modest burial place. She left 30s. to Sir Walter Airth (*Arth*), who may have celebrated her funeral services. This amount was a substantial percentage of her net worth, far greater proportionally than the amount left by others of greater financial means. She appeared to share the concerns of her wealthier neighbours that her goods be disposed of for the welfare of her soul, warning John Wilson, her son and executor, that he would answer for his actions before God on the Day of Judgment.¹³³ Another female testator of Glasgow diocese left money to the vicars of the choir of Glasgow and to the Friars Minor of Glasgow, and asked that she be buried in holy ground (*terra sancta*).¹³⁴

Some noble or royal persons preferred to be buried in their collegiate church or a monastic house, either for reasons of personal preference or family tradition. The testator might have endowed a wealthy chaplainry in a particular monastic house or collegiate church, or even installed a group of chaplains, who were paid to say prayers continuously for the soul of the testator, and thus increase his or her chances of reaching heaven. James III, for example, preferred to be buried in Cambuskenneth Abbey. Thus the Scottish situation echoed that of the rest of Europe, where the parish church was the primary burial site, and individual foundations and regular houses were the alternative for the select few.¹³⁵

The position of the burial site in the church was of importance to one's success on the Day of Judgment, for intercession took place on behalf of people while his or her body lay in the ground, preparatory to its joining the soul on the Day of Judgment. Philippe Ariès noted in his work The Hour of Our Death that the closer one was buried to the high altar and the salvific power

associated with the Eucharist, the closer one was to heaven. The Scottish laity also believed that benefits came to people buried in close proximity to the site of clerical ceremonies. It was in the choir of the church that many of the sacred prayers and rituals took place, so the choir was a popular burial site. Hence, in 1535, William Forbes of Corsindae (*Corsindave*), Aberdeenshire, chose to be buried "in the choir of the Virgin Mary" in the parish church of Monymusk.¹³⁶ Thus Forbes was to be buried close enough to the high altar to be sure of receiving the fruits of grace purchased by Jesus in His Crucifixion, and close enough to the statue of Mary at the high altar to benefit from her intercessory prayers.

Concern for priestly standards of service accompanied belief in the utility of clerical activities to body and soul at the Day of Judgment. Thus James Cleland (*Kneland*) of that Ilk required that his obsequies be done "honestly" in the church of Bothwell, and that an "honest obit" be celebrated each year on the date of his death.¹³⁷ John Barbour testified to the importance placed upon clerical prayer by stating that the prayers still being said for Robert the Bruce in the abbey of Melrose where he was buried were intended to ensure that he and his went to heaven.¹³⁸

Being buried near to a saint's tomb or altar brought spiritual benefits on the general Day of Judgment as one was closer to the intercessory power of the saint, and an added advantage was that one's body was protected from falling into sin and hell. Further, the prayers said by the living for a dead person buried near a saint were more efficacious because of the body's physical proximity to the saint's tomb.¹³⁹ A Scottish example of burial near a saint's altar is that of Robert Gray, senior, burgess of Edinburgh. On 21 January, 1503/4, he made a gift of a burial space under his flat

gravestone (*thruch*), which lay before the altar of St. Cuthbert, to Master Thomas Anderson, chaplain at the altar of St. Cuthbert in St. Giles church, Edinburgh. This gift was an honour, as burial in the church proper was a special privilege. It was a reward for Anderson's service and on account of the "singular favour" which Gray bore toward him. The only condition of the gift was that Gray also be buried under the gravestone; clearly Gray did not want to lose out on the advantages of being buried close to a source of spiritual power. Most likely Gray hoped that his charity in sharing his burial site with a chaplain would encourage God to look kindly upon him for his "good work" and St. Cuthbert to notice his generosity and show extra care when interceding with God on his behalf on the Day of Judgment.¹⁴⁰

Persons planning their burials wanted to be noticed, and this was achieved through candles or ornamentation at the tomb and/or by a flat gravestone. James IV paid £36 17s. for black cloth as a pall (*mort claitht*) for James II's tomb.¹⁴¹ At the time of the funeral or yearly obit, payment often was made for candles to illuminate the sepulchre, as was the case with Walter Bertram (*Bertrem*) of Edinburgh, who made his obit foundation on 4 February, 1494/5.¹⁴² Janet Paterson (*Jonete Patersoun*) of Edinburgh did likewise on 1 June, 1523, requiring four candles for the illumination of the tombs of her parents, and assigning 7s. for this purpose.¹⁴³ Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath (*Dumbeth*) requested a flat gravestone in 1456, in order that his grave be identifiable.¹⁴⁴ A century before the period under study, attitudes were similar. John Barbour stated that it behoved a "worthy" person to have rich tomb carvings, as was the case with the tomb of Sir James Douglas, Lord of Douglas.¹⁴⁵

The Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books provide excellent insight into the long term practice of lair purchase in Dundee. It is worth noting that, by the 1550's, lair payments appear to have been viewed by Dundee burgh council as contributions to burgh finances, not as clerical impositions, whatever the canonical basis of the fees may have been. The burgh subsidised or waived fees for the poor, thereby exhibiting a sense of collective responsibility for lay spiritual welfare and a belief that God would look well on those who showed charity to the poor. From 1474 to 1496, forty-four men or couples purchased lairs in the church, offering as payment money, building materials or ornaments for the church. The normal payment for those who paid the lair fee was about 20s., and sometimes as high as 30s. Usually the purchaser was a man, who bought it for himself and his spouse. This was the case with Thomas of Cairncross, (*Carnkors*) who gave two chandeliers to the high altar in return for lairs in the church for himself and his wife. James of Crail (*Carail*), kirkmaster, gave seven stones of lead for the choir in 1474 in return for his lair. In 1486, Andrew Buchan, baxter, and his spouse Jonet, paid 30s. for their lairs.¹⁴⁶

Dundee burgh council dismissed fees if it felt that the purchaser had performed some particular service to the burgh, as in the case of Wat Ellis (*Ellys*) in 1496, or had contributed to the kirkwork, with which the burgh associated itself entirely, as in the case of John Fernie (*Fferny*) in 1514, who had done good service with the "lady werk".¹⁴⁷

Records of lair payments are available up to 1516, when Elspat Monorgun (*Monnorgund*), widow of the late Sym of Barry, paid 10s. to the kirkmaster for her lair in the church of Dundee. It is perhaps a sign of the difficult times of the 1550's that on 18 March,

1556/6, officers of the burgh were sent by James Forrester (*Forestar*), kirkmaster, to collect "our lady annuallis" and money owed for lairs in the church. As lairs were often paid for over a period of time, often in two installments, presumably some reminding of accounts due was normal in good times, and even more necessary in an uncertain political and economic climate. For example, in 1547-8, a number of burgesses were killed in English attacks on Dundee, and so were buried without a fee. It was only later that the kirkmaster attempted to recover the monies owed.¹⁴⁸

On 31 December, 1551, the burgh council is reported to have asked the crafts to collect lair fees from their members.¹⁴⁹ A year earlier on 25 February, 1550/1, the bailies warned John Huny, collector of the crafts, to remind the craftsmen on 3 March to declare their intentions as regards church alms, and to settle any outstanding accounts for lairs. Thus, on 3 March, a reckoning was made of which craftsmen owed lair money.¹⁵⁰

A lair in the choir, whilst coveted for its proximity to the salvific power of the altar, was an expensive proposition. On 30 September, 1521, the burgh stated that the fee for burial in the choir was 10 merks. Further, no one was to be buried there unless his "freyndis" had paid this sum.¹⁵¹ Presumably this immediate payment was required in order to avoid extra work for the burgh officers responsible for collecting unpaid accounts.

The burgh was conscious of its responsibility to the less wealthy segments of its population, setting maximum charges for lair fees for the poor. On 5 October, 1556, the burgh council stated that it was to cost 12d. for an old man's lair and a "plak" (about 4d.), and there was to be no charge if the poor were unable to pay.

Further, the bellman was to take no more than 2s. for graves which were in the church.¹⁵²

The ringing of the church bells was considered efficacious in obtaining God's mercy for the deceased on the Day of Judgment.¹⁵³ Hence in 1516, Dundee parish church lairs were offered free of charge to common clerks Robert Seres, elder, and Robert Seres, younger, with bells at their funerals also to be rung for free. The lairs and bells were provided as gifts to reward them for past and future service on behalf of the burgh.¹⁵⁴ Many lay founders of obits required frequent ringing of the bells at their funerals and obits. They left money for this purpose, as was the case in the obit foundation of Janet Paterson (*Jonete Patersoun*) of Edinburgh, who left 32d. for the ringing of the great bells.¹⁵⁵

The extent to which the laity felt that it was controlled by God and the judgment process can be seen by the laity's belief that even the weather was controlled by God, and that good weather foretold success at one's trial on the particular Day of Judgment. A perceived lack of control led to attempts to control affairs as much as possible. Thus, in 1530, Thomas Neill (*Nele*), burgess of Ayr, and his spouse Agnes Wishart (*Vischart*), asked that on the day of their obit the people attending be exhorted to pray for the temperance of the weather as well as for the soul of the founders and the king.¹⁵⁶ Much later, in 1598, the presbytery of Glasgow ordained that fasting occur to convince God to eliminate the plague from the area, and to grant "fair and sessionabill wedder" for the bringing in of the harvests.¹⁵⁷ In a hymn entitled "The Day of Death" recorded in the Highlands in the nineteenth century, a sunny day was defined as a day of salvation. God's wrath toward the

departing soul was indicated by a gloomy or stormy one, this auguring ill for one's reception in heaven.¹⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

In the period 1480 to 1560, Scottish laypeople wanted to assure themselves of a future in heaven. Their greatest hope was to enter heaven directly after the particular Day of Judgment. However, since that was considered highly unlikely for most laypeople, the next best option was to enter heaven after a short sentence in purgatory. Failing that, they wished to ensure that the joys of heaven would be theirs after the general Day of Judgment.

In order to best plan for spiritual happiness in the afterlife, laypeople needed to understand the nature and function of the "Day of Judgment" so that they could respond in the appropriate manner. Images of the nature and function of the "Day of Judgment" were offered to the laity by Scotland's religious elite, mediated by local clerics through church rituals and preaching and through art and literature. Clerical writers established that there were both particular and general Days of Judgment, the first occurring after physical death and the latter occurring at the end of the world. After the particular judgment, purgatory was the likely destination of those people who had died in "a state of grace", but after the general judgment, souls would be sent either to heaven or to hell.

Laypeople based their attitudes and actions on these theologically defined Days of Judgment, although the distinction between the two may not always have been clear to the average Scot. Death and "judgment" were understood to involve the separation of body and soul at death and their reunion on the general Day of Judgment, and "judgment" was believed to have both individual and collective elements. Laypeople's understanding of the Day of

Judgment gave meaning to their lives, offered a means of attaining heaven's bliss, and satisfied expectations of God's absolute justice.

Emphasis on the Day of Judgment also sharpened anxieties about death, particularly sudden death, at the same time as it ameliorated natural human fears about dying and the afterlife. Clerical writers and poets discussed the means of "dying well", offering laypeople concrete advice about the correct manner of living one's life and preparing for death. It was important to die in the sacraments of holy church, in conformity with orthodox beliefs, and having made proper satisfaction to God and one's neighbour. Thus laypeople made satisfaction for sins while still on earth and participated in church rituals and practices, but most important, they founded masses and prayers for souls to be celebrated after death. Further, the short-term object of penitential acts and foundations dedicated to perpetual prayers and masses may have been to reduce time in purgatory, but the long-term object was to make sufficient recompense to God for sin such that the joys of heaven would be granted at the general Day of Judgment. Proper burial was also considered important to eventual spiritual success, body and soul being rejoined at the final, general Day of Judgment.

That the Day of Judgment was a frightening and awe-inspiring image for the Scots is clear from their descriptions of this "Day of Doum",¹⁵⁹ and their worried strategies to ensure a successful outcome. Images of heaven, hell and purgatory helped to form lay perceptions of the nature and meaning of the Day of Judgment and to dictate the best attitudes and behaviour to ensure success on this dismal day. Part of the laity's fear of the Day of Judgment was based upon its images of God as a stern, impartial and remorseless

judge, and these images encouraged devotion to Jesus and Mary. That is, the laity sought a mediating force for the terrifying journey after death, and turned to the maternal and merciful figure of Mary for aid, and to an increasingly "humanised" Jesus, to whom they transferred all the loving, self-sacrificing and empathetic attributes of the godhead. Art, literature, theology and documentary records offer a clear picture of Scottish lay faith in the late medieval period; it was a time of anxious and urgent searching for spiritual acceptability and salvation, the laity employing all means at its command to please God and arrive at "hevynnis blyss".¹⁶⁰

NOTES

1. A nineteenth century Highland prayer for protection conceptualised life on earth and after death as states of being:

May God lift me up from the state of death,
From the state of torments to the state of grace,
From the earthly state of the world below,
To the holy state of the high heaven.

ed. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), III, p. 101.

2. John Hamilton, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559, ed. Alex F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), f. ccv.

3. Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", in The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), Book 4, pp. 69 and 78.

4. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxxxviii.

5. Ibid., ff. cxiii-v.

6. Ibid., ff. ccv and clxxxxvi.

7. Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, p. 105, and "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 102.

8. Philippe Aries, The Hour of Our Death, trans. Helen Weaver (London: Penguin Books, 1981), pp. 128 and 130, and Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, p. 105.

9. Aries, The Hour of Our Death, pp. 129-30.

10. cf. 30 July, 1545, testament of James, Master of Ogilvy, who made his testament because of great concern for the welfare of his spouse Katherine Campbell and his children in that time of trouble and war with the English, in SRO GD16/43/1.

11. SRO CC9/7/1. Note that there is post-Reformation evidence to testify to the laity's belief in the saints' efficacy as pathways to God. One such record occurs in the Presbytery records of Glasgow in 1599. On 20 November, a bookseller named Alexander Master was reported to have said that people should pray to saints, for they were more familiar with God than was the average layperson. A month earlier Alexander Muir had sold the Aurea Legenda and other books to the Lady Levingstoun, in eds. Alexander Macdonald and James Dennistoun, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. I of 4 vols., History and Literature of Scotland (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1834), XXV, p. 95.

12. Robert Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", Poems., ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series. gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), ll. 111-2, p. 133, and Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxiv.

13. William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 163, p. 167, and Dunbar, "None May Assure in this World", l. 68, p. 45.

14. Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, p. 33.

15. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 102.

16. SRO GD150/2233/2.

17. M.R. Apted, The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), p. 2. The assumption has been that this was St. John the Baptist, but medieval literary and artistic evidence often coupled Mary with St. John the Evangelist.

18. John Durkan and Anthony Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1961), p. 141.

19. Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 300. cf. Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London: Ark, 1984, first published 1966), passim, and Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. A Study in Religious Sociology, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1915), pp. 409-10 and passim.

20. William of Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 523-8, p. 206.

21. Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", ll. 67-71, p. 164.

22. The Highland "Supplication" states:

When the soul separates from the body,
From the perverse body,
And goes in bursts of light
Up from out its human frame,

. . .
Thou holy God of eternity,
Come to seek me and to find me.

in ed. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, III, p. 395.

23. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

24. Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

25. SRO CC9/7/1. However, Boyll's testament differed from the norm in that the phrase commending her soul did not include Mary's name along with that of "God" and the "whole celestial court".

26.cf. Philippe Aries felt strongly that in Europe the Day of Judgment had become a judgment which occurred immediately after death, the fear of judgment overshadowing the promise of the resurrection, in Philippe Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 107.

27.cf. Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, p. 28 and Aries, The Hour of Our Death, pp. 138-9.

28.Guthrie panel painting of the Day of Judgment, National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

29.eg. The author of the Book of Pluscarden held David II responsible for having brought plague upon the nation in 1362 by inciting God's wrath through his adultery, in The Book of Pluscarden (Liber Pluscardensis), ed. Felix J.H. Skene, Vol. I of 2 vols. Vol. X of The Historians of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1880), p. 232.

30.Aries, The Hour of Our Death, pp. 103-5.

31.cf. ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", in Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), passim. (mid-fifteenth century work)

32.Robert Henryson, "The Taill how this foirsaid Tod maid his Confessioun to Freir Wolf Waitskaith", ll. 782-5, p. 24 and ll. 793-5, p. 25.

33.Jonathan Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries. Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1988), p. 330-1.

34.Robert Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), passim, and Robert Henryson, "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), ll. 1258-1320, pp. 38-40.

35.John Major believed that the plague outbreak of 1380/1 was occasioned by the raid into Penrith of William, Earl of Douglas, who brought God's wrath down upon the nation in the form of the plague, in John Major, A History of Greater Britain as well as England as Scotland 1521, trans. and ed. Archibald Constable (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1892), X, p. 312. John Leslie believed that the 1439 plague was a "just and dew punishment for the offencis baithe of the reularis and people", in John Lesley, The History of Scotland, From the Death of King James I in the Year M.CCCC.XXXVI, to the Year M.D.LXI, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830), p. 14.

36.cf. Various Dundee and Aberdeen burgh records (see bibliography). Note that the Catechism emphasised love for one's neighbour as the fulfilment of the law of God, for to love one's neighbour completely was to love God completely, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. xxxviii.

37.Ibid., f. lxxxii.

38.William Dunbar, "None May Assure in this World", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 77-9, p. 46.

39.Nicholas F. Gier, "Wittgenstein and Forms of Life", Philosophy of Social Science (1980), X, pp. 250 and 257-8.

40.Ibid., pp. 241-4.

41.See Chapter 8.

42.ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), XIXB, p. 97.

43.SRO CC9/7/1, testaments of James Kneland of that Ilk, Lanarkshire, in 1548 and Katherine Carmichael, lady of Cambusnethan, Lanarkshire, in 1552, and SRO CC20/4/1, testament of John Pade and spouse, St. Andrews, in 1547.

44.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Jesus Psalter", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, p. 199. This series of prose prayers is contained in BM Arundel MS 285.

45."Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 64 and 102.

46.Ibid., I, Book 2, p. 314 and II, Book 4, p. 95.

47.Ibid., II, Book 4, p. 103.

48.ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #27, p. 58, and Walter Kennedy, "Honour with Age", The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse, eds. John MacQueen and Tom Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 99.

49.Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 102.

50.Alexander Carmichael, "The Battle to Come", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1928), I, p. 112.

51.cf. Hamilton's Catechism referred to the place of judgment as the "jugement seit of our salviour", in Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxxxii.

52.Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, III, p. 97. Alexander predeceased his father, Note that Sutherland's daughter Marjory had married William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. II of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1905), p. 334. Sutherland himself married Mariota, the sister of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, c. 1439, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VII of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910), p. 244.

53.ed. William Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, Vol. III, Charters (Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 108-10.

54.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxiv-cxv.

55.ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis, New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), VIII, p. xxxvii, citing "A Morality", in A History of Scotland, Book XI. Robb believes that the poem may have been written by Maurice Buchanan, a cadet of the house of Lennox.

56.Henryson, "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig", ll. 1300-6 and 1314-6, p. 40.

57.Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis, pp. 7-27, Sir David Lyndsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites, Robert Kemp (acting text) (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1985), pp. 13-4 and 36, and Sir David Lyndsay, "The Dreame", in The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse, eds. MacQueen and Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 179-81.

58.Lyndsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites, p. 36.

59.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 1.

60.Note that joining a confraternity provided laypeople with a means of confronting and dealing with fears of dying and sinfulness. For example, individuals who joined the preceptory of St. Anthony's of Leith, founded by a layman in 1439, were offered daily prayers, as well as a yearly obit with *Placebo*, *Dirige* and mass of requiem, and one thousand years deducted from their sentence in purgatory, in SRO RH2/3/12, pp. 6-7.

61.Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, Death. The Final Stage of Growth (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), p. 5.

62.Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", ll. 49-56, pp. 138.

63.Robb, ll. 1246-8 and 1255-6, p. 52.

64.Sir David Lyndsay, "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene", in The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), p. 126.

65.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", pp. 1-2.

66.Gavin Douglas, The Palice of Honour (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), XVII, passim, William Dunbar, The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), passim, Robert Henryson, Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott. Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), passim, and Robb, passim.

67.Note that in a sonnet written by Mary, Queen of Scots, she referred to the uncertainty of life, in Clifford Bax, Letters and Poems by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (New York: Philosophical

Library, 1947), p. 60. In general, the Scots lived on a thin line between survival and death, making their commitment to attaining God's forgiveness and mercy readily understandable.

68.BM EG.2125.

69.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cciv. cf. Matthew XXIV:43.

70.Note that the Catechism agreed that war, pestilence, sudden death, hunger, derth, sickness, prison, and natural calamities were used by God as punishment for human sin, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxxii.

71.SRO CC9/7/1, CC20/4/1 and CC8/8/1A, passim.

72.Robert Henryson, "The Taill how this foirsaid Tod maid his Confessioun to Freir Wolf Waitskaith" Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 775-81, p. 24.

73.Walter Kennedy, "Honour with Age", pp. 99-100.

74.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cci.

75.Ibid., f. ccv. Note that the sacrament of penance was the major means of making satisfaction for mortal or "dedlie" sin.

76.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, rubric to the orison "O Clementissime", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 3-5, p. 279.

77.Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid-Pollis", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 11-3 and 14-32, p. 134 and ll. 52-4, p. 135. cf. William Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 6-7 and 17-92, pp. 20-2.

78.Dates of plague outbreaks in the fifteenth century were: 1401/2, 1431/2, 1439-42, 1455/6, 1468-72, 1475-80, 1496-1500, in Audrey-Beth Fitch, "Assumptions about Plague in Late Medieval Scotland", SCOTIA: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (Norfolk: Institute of Scottish Studies, 1987), XI, p. 39.

79.Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", ll. 17-24 and 28-30, p. 137. cf. Chapter 4.

80. I must needs die,
Nor know I where or when;
If I die without Thy grace
I am thus lost everlastingly.
A death hymn recorded in Carmichael, III, p. 373.

81.Matthew XXIV:41-2 and 48-51.

82.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 76-7.

83.Lyndsay's use of imagery and rational persuasion, and his ability to play on people's anxieties and emotions, made him a powerful propagandist; he tried to convince people to give up religious practices which he felt were theologically unsound and spiritually unhealthy. His audience during his lifetime was limited primarily to the court, but he was widely read in the post-Reformation period, the inventory of printer Thomas Bassandyne in 1579 including hundreds of copies of his work, in Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1890), p. 197. Lyndsay's "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World" has been an extremely rich source for this study of lay faith, and its contemporary popularity is indicated by the publication history of the work. It was published in 1554 and again in 1559, in Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904).

84.Colin Murray Parkes, Bereavement. Studies of Grief in Adult Life, Second edition (London: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 60.

85.Mwalimu Imara, "Dying as the Last Stage of Growth", Death. The Final Stage of Growth (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), p. 149.

86.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", passim.

87.eg. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 5.

88.Note also that the central event in the Christian calendar was Easter. It celebrated the supreme moment of Judgment, when Jesus died on the Cross as payment for human sins, then descended into hell and triumphed over Satan, and brought back the souls which had been languishing there since the sin of the Garden of Eden. Then Jesus was resurrected and finally rose into heaven to sit at God's right hand, proof positive of the functioning of God's heavenly justice.

89.Note that the Catechism dealt with the problem of the Passion of Jesus as complete satisfaction for human sin by stating that, while the Passion had done complete satisfaction for "actual" human sin, it was still necessary for laypeople to do another form of satisfaction for the "dreggis of syn", or rather inclinations to sinfulness, which led them to continue to sin. Thus, through the sacrament of penance, humanity suffered some temporal pain as satisfaction according to the individual quantity and quality of sin, although it was Jesus who had saved humanity from the danger of eternal pain in hell, in Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clv-clvi.

90.Note that satisfaction including praying, fasting and "almous deids" as well as the internal proof of penance, "murning and lamentatioun of our hart", in Hamilton, Catechism, f. clvi. For a discussion of the concerns of those contemplating death, see Kubler-Ross, p. xi.

91. Norman Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982), p. 133, citing RMS, II, #1446, and Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses. Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), p. 224.

92.ed. James Balfour Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1424-1513, (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1882), II, Part 2, #1836, p. 389.

93.ed. James Balfour Paul and John Maitland Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1513-1546, (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1883), III, Part 1, #1572, p. 350.

94. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #1972, p. 414.

95. Ibid., II, Part 1, #1526, p. 319.

96.ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. IX, A.D. 1546-51 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1911), p. 449.

97.ed. Denys Hays, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), p. 134.

98. SRO GD60/9.

99. Contrition was described as sorrow for sinfulness, encompassing an intent to confess and make satisfaction, and confession was described as a declaration of sin before a priest who was ordained to offer divine forgiveness for sins, in Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cliii-cliv.

100. Hamilton, Catechism, "The tabil", III.

101.ed. Thomas Thomson, Alexander Macdonald and Cosmo Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, Vol. II of 2 vols., Ancient Charters (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1853), XCIVB, p. 236.

102.cf. SRO CC9/7/1/, SRO CC20/4/1, SRO CC8/8/1A.

103. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cc.

104. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, "Death: The Final Stage of Growth", in Death. The Final Stage of Growth (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), p. 145.

105. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clix. Note that the woodcut of the general Day of Judgment in the Catechism portrays a man with Jesus' face, but wearing horns, holding the book of the laws open. This appears to be an artistic representation of Jesus' warning that the Second Coming would be preceded by false prophets who would attempt to seduce people and lure them to their doom, in Matthew XXIV:11. Note that the devil often was portrayed with horns in contemporary art. (eg. Foulis Easter Crucifixion painting, Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus)

106. Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, pp. 36-7.

107. The holy oil and prayer of faith of the priest could, in the name of the Lord, give spiritual healing and comfort to the dying person and bring God's forgiveness by virtue of Jesus' Passion. However, it was up to the dying person to request the sacrament. Note that extreme unction was considered a "sacrament" because it had a certain form of words, was a sensible and effective sign of grace, and was a promise of that grace, in Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clix-x.

108. The Catechism stated that people freely surrendered themselves to the "concupiscence of the flesche, to the world and the diuel", after having been tempted by "spiritual enemies". Therefore, people had to voluntarily submit themselves to the discipline, correction and penance decided upon by the priest during confession, that they might achieve "reformatioun of . . . lyfe", in Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clv and clix.

109. William Dunbar, "The Maner of Passing to Confessioun", "The Tabill of Confession" and "Of the Passioun of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 155-159 and 163-9.

110. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", pp. 130-3 and Robert Henryson, "The Preiching of the Swallow", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 49-58.

111. Kennedy, "Honour with Age", pp. 99-100.

112. John of Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie. Vol. I of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), XIV, p. 1-80.

113. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", pp. 1-8.

114. Thomas Lewington [Lewyngton], "The book intytulid the art of good lywyng and good deyng" (Paris, Verard, 1503) in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The English version of this Scottish translation is "The Crafte to Lyue Well and to Dye Well" (1505), attributed to Alexander Barclay in James Fowler Kellas Johnstone and Alexander Webster Robertson, Bibliographia Aberdonensis Being an Account of Books relating to or Printed in the Shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine or Written by Natives or Residents or by Officers, Graduates or Alumni of the Universities of Aberdeen 1472-1640 (Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1929), pp. 8-9. However, F.H. Stubbings, Hon. Keeper of Rare Books, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has identified the Aberdonian writer as Thomas Lewington (letter of 3 May, 1991). cf. Short Title Catalogue of English Books before 1641, #791.

115. Note that ship imagery was very popular in this period, the Catechism describing God's law as the "spiritual compas" by which a layperson, like the skipper of a ship, was to navigate the stormy sea to reach the "glorious port and havin of the hevinly Paradise,

quhair we sall rest the schip of our nature in perpetual tranquillitie and securitie of bayth bodie and saul", in Hamilton, Catechism, f. lxxx. In a Highland "Ocean Blessing" recorded in the nineteenth century, ship imagery re-emerged: Be thou, King of the elements, seated at our helm, / And lead us in peace to the end of our journey." in Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, I, p. 329.

116.Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", pp. 163-7. cf. In his poem, "None May Assure in this Warld", Dunbar consoled himself regarding life's disappointments with the thought that people's earthly riches did not allow them to evade Judgment or hell, in Dunbar, "None May Assure in this Warld", pp. 45-6.

117.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", pp. 5-6.

118.William Dunbar, "Of Manis Mortalitie", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 23-4, p. 150.

119.William Dunbar, "Of the Warldis Vanitie", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 4-5, p. 150.

120.SRO CC9/7/1, SRO CC20/4/1 and SRO CC8/8/1A, passim.

121.SRO GD220/1.

122.John Knox, "The Buke of Discipline", The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848), CXII, 2, p. 249.

123.M. Sheehan. The Will in Medieval England (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1963), p. 123.

124.eg. In 1508 James IV paid 28s. to the German (*Almayn*) who was to make his "lair" or burial place, in ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. IV, A.D. 1507-1513 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1902), p. 132. Note that "lair" could be in the church or the cemetery.

125.SRO RH2/8/35, pp. 58-60. This document is not dated. In the document John Doby and Robert Clerk, canons and commissaries general of James, Archbishop of Glasgow, confirmed the validity of the penitential rite enjoined upon Purdy, and chastised him for failing to keep his word and thus committing "public perjury" as well as failing to carry out his penance. Doby and Clerk commanded Purdy to undergo "special correction and new salutary penance, especially for non-fulfilment and violation of oath". The ritual in which Purdy had failed to take part required him to come to the church on Sunday, "prone, bare footed and bare headed", holding a candle in his right hand and a bare knife in his left. Once before the south gate of the church at time of divine service, he would have prostrated himself on his knees and there publicly, "in presence of the parishioners, as is the wont of penitents, beg to be received to the fold of Holy Mother Church". After having been received by the curate, Purdy would have been led to the font to the step of the

high altar, and there, on his knees, "ask[ed] pardon of God and the foresaid sir William" (whom he'd threatened and who was to be at the church). Once he had received his pardon he was to leave the candle and knife in the church, which would remain there as a warning to others. Doby and Clerk remonstrated with Purdy for attempting to make a secret penance, away from the parishioners and Sir William Lard, thereby indicating the value put upon reconciliation with the community, as well as with God, after commission of a crime.

126.Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 50.

127.ed. R.H. Lindsay, Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone 1518-1551 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), I, #158, p. 39.

128.SRO RH2/8/47, p. 182, f. 72b.

129.Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 76. cf. Plat Pays region near Lyon, France, in Marie-Therese Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", Le Moyen Age. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie (Brussels, 1972), LXXVIII, 2, p. 292.

130.Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 76.

131.SRO CC/9/7, SRO CC20/4/1, SRO CC8/8/1A, passim.

132.RH2/1/19, p. 82.

133.SRO CC20/4/1.

134.SRO CC9/7/1.

135.Marie-Therese Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", pp. 292-3.

136.Lindsay, Protocol Book of John Cristisone, I, #155, p. 38. Note that the notary, or Forbes himself, testified in the preamble to the importance of drawing up a testament while still sound of mind. The notarial instrument stated: "William Forbes of Corsindave, after a reference to the effect which severe sickness of body has upon the mind, and because he knows not God's will, lest he should die intestate, knowing that the soul is more precious than the body, he made up and ordered his testament in this manner: . . .", in Ibid.

137.SRO CC9/7/1.

138.John Barbour, The Brus (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1856).

39.cf. Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 33.

140.Marguerite Wood, Protocol Book of John Foular 1503-1513, Vol. I (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1941), LXXII, #34, p. 7, and Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 47. The exact site of burial is sometimes difficult to determine, since in the Middle Ages the term "church" included the nave, belfrey and cemetery of each parish church. People could be buried in the church, next to its walls, in the surrounding area (*in porticu*), or in the outer part of the

church (= courtyard, cemetery, churchyard, or *atrium*), in Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, p. 18.

141. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IV, p. 195.

142. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #2238, p. 474.

143. Paul and Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #234, p. 53. Note that Paterson founded a perpetual chaplainry at the altar of St. Gabriel the Archangel for her husbands in June of 1523, and the anniversary she founded in the same month (for which she donated monies to the chaplains of the choir) was intended to benefit her two husbands' souls, viz. Alexander Lawdir of Blyth, knight, and John Carkettill, as well as those of her parents. The arrangements for the obit were carefully laid out, indicating that Paterson shared the growing concern of sixteenth-century laypeople to ensure that high standards of service were maintained during spiritual services. Paterson came from a family which arranged for its spiritual welfare by founding such spiritual services, for her father, burgess John Paterson, had founded a secular chaplainry at the altar of St. Sebastian for the benefit of his soul and that of his wife on 2 September, 1494, in Ibid., pp. 52-3.

144. Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, III, p. 96.

145. John Barbour, The Brus, ed. C. Innes (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, XXVIII, 1856), XXVIII, pp. 487. Note that in John Barbour's The Brus, he credited King Robert with attitudes toward death typical of the Middle Ages. That is, death was described by Barbour as "the comoun end, / That is the ded, quhen God will send", emphasising that death treated all people equally. King Robert stated that his would be a death without fear (*ded withouten dred*), thanking God for having given him time to prepare for death. This included doing penance for sins, deemed necessary as much innocent blood had been spilt during his lifetime. The king's penance included a demand that the large amounts of money he had left "for hele of his saul" be used for his soul's welfare, his words echoing testamentary language. Both nobles and monarchs, for whom warfare was an integral part of life in this period, expressed particular concern to repent of their sins, some by going on pilgrimage and doing various other acts of penance. (eg. The king wanted his heart to be taken to Rome, since he himself was unable to go, and James, Earl of Douglas, believed that his soul would benefit from this pilgrimage, giving him the opportunity to look on God's "fais". This desire to look on God's face was also expressed by the king, and in many types of documents this right was considered an important benefit of heaven.). (cf. "The Porteous of Noblenes", where the higher classes were reminded of the greater spiritual demands on them.) The king also thanked God for having given him sickness and pain as a punishment for sin, a concept mirrored by the mid-fifteenth century author of "The Craft of Deyng", who perceived illness as a form of "purgatory" suffered for sin on earth, Ibid., pp. 472-3 and 479.

146. SRO RH2/8/46, p. 261, f.164 and p. 263, f. 165b.

147.Ibid., p. 266, f. 167 and p. 267, f. 168b.

148.Henry Docherty, The Parish Church in the Medieval Scottish Burgh 1400-1560 (Glasgow University M.Litt., 1978), p. 202.

149.Ibid., p. 202.

150.SRO RH2/8/47.

151.SRO RH2/8/46, p. 62, f. 46b.

152.SRO RH2/8/47, p. 182, f. 72b.

153.Robert Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People. Popular Religion and the English Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 60.

154.SRO RH2/8/46, p. 267, f. 168b.

155.Paul and Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #234, p. 53.

156.ed. James Paterson, The Obit Book of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Ayr (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), p. 36.

157.Macdonald and Dennistoun, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, I, p. 91.

158.Carmichael, "The Day of Death", III, p. 369.

159."Testament of Alexander Sutherland of Dumbeth", The Bannatyne Miscellany, III, p. 100.

160.Robert Henryson, "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 136.

CHAPTER 2:

HEAVEN

INTRODUCTION

Lay Scots of the period 1480 to 1560 desperately sought to make themselves acceptable to God so that they could rise to heaven after the Day of Judgment. There was not much chance of going directly to heaven after death and the particular Day of Judgment, so it was accepted that a stint in purgatory would be required. However, after the "final day" or general Day of Judgment, there would be no interim place, so all hopes were pinned on heaven.

This thesis is predicated upon the understanding that Scottish laypeople believed in the existence of an afterlife where their souls would live forever. While heaven was their preferred destination, most people believed that their soul would spend some time in purgatory. The mandate of this chapter will be to define the nature and function of this place of perfection, to gain some understanding of the sense of urgency and longing which filled lay hearts at the prospect of heaven. Learning about the nature of heaven helped to define for laypeople what they should be seeking to achieve on earth. That is, understanding God's definition of "perfection" gave laypeople the opportunity to model their behaviour and attitudes upon this heavenly "perfection", and so come closer to achieving the spiritual acceptability that would give them a place in heaven. In this sense, the urgent desire of laypeople to understand the nature of heaven revealed that they wished to take responsibility for their own spiritual welfare. Laypeople responded to their images of heaven by pursuing personal and societal holiness

and placating and invoking Jesus and Mary, hoping to gain their sympathy and support on the path to heaven. The laity's pursuit of holiness and the intercession and comfort of supernatural beings is the subject of the following chapters, particularly those chapters found in the final part of the thesis. Consequently, this chapter will dispense with a detailed discussion of lay responses to images of heaven; in the larger sense, the entire thesis discusses lay responses to conceptions of heaven's nature and function.

NATURE AND FUNCTION OF IMAGES OF HEAVEN

In their images or conceptions of heaven, Scots gave expression to dreams of earthly perfection; rather than an extraordinary and foreign world, heaven was a perfect earthly world, a sought after place of peace, plenty, and happiness.¹ Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1552 related that heaven was the "eternal gloire" sought by all Christians.² Because this perfect world was an idealisation of the earthly world, its characterisation varied somewhat according to individual circumstances (eg. views of hierarchy), albeit lay and clerical writers tended to follow mainstream orthodox teaching on heaven's nature and function, and the means of arriving there.

Scottish characterisations of heaven's nature and function revealed an understanding that this state of being was located in a particular place, with specific inhabitants in definable relationships. It also had the structure of a kingdom and/or a court, and was a place of eternal happiness and sinlessness where humanity was purified to make it fit for eternal life.

LOCATION AND INHABITANTS OF THE HEAVENLY COURT

It was generally agreed that heaven was located in a place above earth. According to Sir David Lyndsay, heaven was "heych in the air".³ The anonymous author of the poem "Eternall king that

sittis in hevin so hie" (pre-1568) located heaven high in the heavens above Saturn.⁴ The image of heaven as being located high above the earth had not changed particularly in the centuries prior to the Reformation. John Barbour, author of The Brus, also had referred to heaven as high above the earth, stating that he hoped that the souls of the great Scottish men who had died fighting the Muslims in the Holy Land had been raised to "hevinis hicht".⁵

Heaven was more usually defined in terms of its inhabitants, most notably God Himself. Bartholomew Glendinning, son and heir of John of Glendinning of that Ilk, left his soul to "Almighty God in heaven" in his testament of 24 May, 1502,⁶ and John Lekprevik of the Lee did likewise on 25 May, 1502.⁷ Several decades earlier, on 15 November, 1456, Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath (*Dumbeth*) referred to God as the "God of hevin".⁸ Other testaments outlined more clearly the inhabitants of heaven, God's name being followed by that of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints in the "court of heaven", usually in that order.⁹

The laity believed in the sure salvation and prominent place of saints in heaven, and their ability to intercede on behalf of the living. James III shared this common viewpoint, going to great lengths to have his wife Margaret canonised after her death in 1486. The couple had been estranged for a period in 1482-3, the first tale of the "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" (written c. 1480) covertly accusing James of cheating on his wife. In terms of psychology, modern studies demonstrate that spouses who are bereaved when their marriage has been in trouble tend to experience greater guilt, and are more likely to make restitution in whatever way possible.¹⁰ Guilt may have played a role in the king's actions in attempting to have his wife canonised, but whether or not

that is true, he appears to have been sincerely impressed by the religious devotion and spiritual worthiness of his queen, and to have wished for her a sure place in heaven as one of the saints.¹¹

The spiritual worthiness of Queen Margaret may have been accepted by others in society as well as by her husband the king. However, the possibility for a laywoman to achieve spiritual worthiness was made difficult by the societal understanding of a woman's nature. The woodcut illustration of heaven in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland published in 1541 made it clear that women were important inhabitants of heaven, but that most women in heaven, or at least those nearest God, were virgins and/or virgin martyrs.¹² The negative association of women with the body and sexuality was strong in the late medieval period. (See Chapter 7) Thus, in order for women to have the best opportunity for salvation, it was necessary for them to disassociate themselves from sexuality. It is clear that the imagery of heaven available to laywomen made it more likely for them to believe that ready acceptance into heaven would come more easily if they kept themselves separate from society in some manner, their spiritual purity and "chastity" being most easily safeguarded within the walls of a convent.¹³ The "virgin martyrs" were deemed the most spiritually worthy women in history, apart from Mary, but clearly most women did not wish to go as far as martyrdom to become acceptable to God, nor did many women wish to remain unmarried. A compromise was achieved by a number of women, who led a normal life by marrying and having children, and then entered religious establishments where they could spend the final years of their lives in devotion to God, developing greater personal spiritual worthiness through denial of their sexuality.¹⁴

Most laypeople's interest in saints derived from the ability of the saints to aid the living while on earth, and to intercede for them with God; saints' prayers were known to be more efficacious than those of the average layperson. In the case of James III's desire for Queen Margaret to be canonised, no doubt he wished to help his wife to a position of perfect happiness close to God, but he also must have been aware of the benefit to himself of having his spouse in a position of importance in heaven. That is, if he did manage to convince the Pope to canonise Queen Margaret, she was likely to reward her husband's efforts by praying to God on his behalf.

Jesus was unquestionably a key inhabitant of heaven. The provincial synod of the Scottish church in 1558-9 stated that the saints lived with Jesus in heaven, and the Catechism of 1552 stated that, in heaven, Jesus sat at God's right hand.¹⁵ Jesus was crucial to the whole notion of heaven, for it was through Him that people were offered the chance of residing in heaven, if only after an extended time in purgatory. The Catechism of 1552, compiled under the auspices of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, stated clearly that heaven was a kingdom in which Jesus had gained believers a place through His death on the Cross.¹⁶ Because the laity became increasingly reliant upon Jesus' good offices to ascend to heaven, it became more necessary to assure the laity of Jesus' best intentions on its behalf. Hence the "humanising" of Jesus became more important so that the laity could convince itself of Jesus' kinship to itself. The Crucifixion was emphasised as the most telling proof of Jesus' devotion to humanity and His human sacrifice which had pacified God's wrath against humanity and given laypeople hope for salvation. Further, the Eucharist became increasingly

important as it was understood to re-enact the original sacrifice which had given humanity its promise of salvation, reminding God and Jesus of its significance, and proving the triumph of Jesus over human sin, death and hell. As John Wedderburn put it in the 1540's, in terms of the laity's hope of heaven, Jesus was "the way, trothe, lyfe, and licht, / The verray port till hevin full richt, / Quha enteris not be his greit micht, ane theif is he. . ." ¹⁷

The Blessed Virgin Mary was an important inhabitant of heaven. In the same woodcut illustration mentioned previously, she sat at God's right hand, holding the baby Jesus on her lap, the apostles, virgin martyrs, confessors, patriarchs and other inhabitants of heaven standing on levels below her. ¹⁸ Mary was invaluable to the late medieval laity as a bringer of the news of imminent death, ¹⁹ comforter and guide on the road to heaven, and supreme intercessor on the Day of Judgment. She could also help sinners to lead a moral life, eschewing sin. As mother of God and purest virgin she was humanity's exemplar, her bodily assumption into heaven and divine choice as mother of God proving that she was spiritually exceptional and beloved of God. In the "Ave Gloriosa" of BM Arundel MS 285, she was the "rute and crope of all vertu. . . [the] polist gem without offence". ²⁰ She was often called upon to take advantage of her position by interceding for humans with her son Jesus, thus helping them to reach heaven. She was asked to cry tears of mourning for human sins as she had cried for Jesus, her "weill-belouit sone", at His crucifixion, and to counsel repentant sinners and implore mercy from Jesus on their behalf. ²¹

"O Mary meik,
we the beseik,
Befor ye iuge quhen [we] sall meit,
Off thy prayer
We ye requir:
Defend ws fra our fa
On dreidfull domesday." ²²

In pre-Reformation Scotland, the assistance of Mary and Jesus was critical to the attainment of salvation, so images of heaven were entwined readily with poems and prayers describing the human sufferings and glorious ends of Jesus and Mary.²³ Appeals for aid were directed to Mary and Jesus in concert, Mary being described as the grieving mother and Jesus as the crucified son. (See Chapter 7) In BM Arundel MS 285, a psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary entitled the "The Thre Rois Garlandis" contained stories of the life and Passion of Jesus Christ, the favour of Mary being sought through devotion to the Passion of her son. The psalter stated that, if one recited these verses with a devout heart and clean conscience and closely followed the dictates of the rubric, Mary would be pleased and the suppliant would have a good life on earth, a good end, and a joyful life in heaven.²⁴ Since gaining the ear of the compassionate and merciful Mary was considered an important means of gaining the ear of Jesus the Mediator and God the Judge, pleasing Mary clearly was a good start to clearing the pathway to heaven, which was littered with one's sins.

Writers often referred to heaven as a court or kingdom, comparing the courtly magnificence of earthly courts to the magnificence of the heavenly court. Sir David Lyndsay's poem "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene" described the arrival of James V's first wife, Magdalene, into Edinburgh in 1537. He compared the pomp, rich array, happiness and hierarchical arrangement of the procession to that of the celestial court, describing the day as "ane sicht celestiall".²⁵ In his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", Lyndsay upgraded heaven to the status of an imperial court, where infinite pleasures, mirth, and "joy angelical" were the

rewards of the "glorifyit creatures" who had led a good life on earth. As a courtier the highest status Lyndsay could accord to heaven was that of a fabulous earthly court, one belonging to an emperor.²⁶

In his translation of the Aeneid of Virgil, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld and third son of the fifth Earl of Angus, referred to heaven as an eternal kingdom (*kynryk ay lestyng*), where God held court, surrounded by angels, saints and heavenly spirits. His descriptions evoked the imagery of a fabulous earthly royal court, reinforcing this image by referring to the Blessed Virgin Mary as "queyn maid".²⁷ In his long poem, "The Palice of Honour", Douglas described God in heaven as sitting on a throne, and mentioned princes walking around in plate and armour made of gold and inset with precious stones. Once again heaven was portrayed as a fabulously wealthy and grandiose earthly royal court.²⁸ The anonymous author of the pre-1568 poem "Eternall king that sittis in hevin so hie", part of The Bannatyne Manuscript, described heaven as a joyous place, inhabited by God as Lord and King in his "lusty palyce most delectable", high in the heavens above Saturn.²⁹

Testaments commonly described the inhabitants of heaven as members of a "court", as in the case of David Scott of Buccleuch, who died in 1492,³⁰ or burgess Michael Fleming of Glasgow on 18 August, 1513.³¹

Burgh-dweller Helen Stirk (*Stirke*) thought of heaven as a kingdom, but was not inclined to compare it to the magnificence of an earthly royal court, this not being her own background and therefore presumably not her own idea of perfect living. Stirk's husband James Finlayson was executed for heresy in Perth in 1543. Reportedly she comforted him at his execution by promising him that

they would meet again in the kingdom of heaven. Stirk used the image of the kingdom to denote a place of reward for true belief.³²

The common description of heaven as a kingdom or a court revealed that most writers assumed that there would be social distinctions of some sort in heaven, although aristocrats seemed to emphasise this fact most often, perhaps because their idea of celestial perfection included the maintenance of personal status. In any case, most people believed that there would be a hierarchy of virtue at the very least, with the saints, apostles and the Blessed Virgin Mary sitting nearest to God. Such a visual representation was presented in Thomas Davidson's publication of the Acts of the Parliaments in 1541, in which the various hierarchical levels of heaven were surrounded by the rosary and surmounted by the crucified Christ, showing that status followed people into heaven, even if it took a different form there, that of spiritual worthiness.³³ A literary description of the functioning of hierarchy in heaven comes from Gavin Douglas' "The Palice of Honour". In the poem, Douglas maintained that only "virtue" mattered in heaven, not earthly status or bloodline. When he described heaven it was as a royal court. God was an omnipotent king on a throne, and princes wandered about in golden armour inset with precious stones.³⁴

Sir David Lyndsay clearly stated that everyone would not be equal in heaven, although everyone would be happy.³⁵ This attitude was in keeping with the classic medieval view of the world; each person had a valuable role to play, but within the context of a hierarchical society. The fact that Lyndsay viewed heaven as a place with an authority structure did not distinguish him from the rest of his society, for most writers mentioned some form of hierarchical grouping, such as the presence of Mary, patriarchs,

prophets, doctors, angels, apostles, martyrs (especially virgin martyrs) and confessors around the high throne. Lyndsay himself echoed the usual description, except that he foreshadowed the later Calvinist emphasis on the "elect" by stating that those who were predestined to go to heaven would sit at the right hand of Jesus on the Day of Judgment. However, Lyndsay remained in step with most pre-Reformation writers by insisting that people who lived a "good" life would also go to heaven, being made immortal by fire, although he did not promise them a seat near Jesus' throne, just as one did not offer a person of lowly status a seat near the high table of a feudal lord or king on earth.³⁶

Robert Henryson, representing the less hierarchical viewpoint of the literate middle class, emphasised in his poem "The Thre Deid Pollis" that emperors, kings, queens, and the rich would be in the same position after death as the poorest, most unattractive, untalented and low-born persons - turned into ash, with a bare and hollow skull. In order for laypeople to reach heaven, he advised that they fall upon their knees, offering prayers and psalms to God and asking His mercy.³⁷ The author of "The Craft of Deyng" considered earthly sufferings as part of the "purgatory" which one suffered as a consequence of sinfulness. He counselled people to receive these tribulations patiently and joyfully, since this attitude would help them to win a place in heaven.³⁸

EVENTUAL HAPPINESS, SINLESSNESS AND PURIFICATION IN HEAVEN

The aspect of heaven common to all Scots of the period 1480 to 1560 was its status as a place of eternal, perfect happiness, where all the cares of the earthly world did not exist. The word used most often to describe the feelings experienced in heaven was "joy", often allied with "eternal" to remind the reader that, whereas the

cares of earthly life were finite, heavenly joy was infinite. John Wedderburn of Dundee referred to heaven as a place where there would be glory and joy without end.³⁹ In heaven, God reigned in glory and bliss without ending and angels sang praises to God.⁴⁰ David Lyndsay concurred with Wedderburn about the pleasures of heaven. He stated that the "glorifeit" people could look forward to "sensual plesouris delectabyll [and] heavenly music", all within the sight of Jesus the king, surrounded by Mary and the court of heaven.⁴¹

Church decoration, particularly carvings, reinforced this image of heaven as a music-filled celestial court. For example, the section of the Lady Chapel in Roslin Chapel dedicated to the Nativity of Jesus was covered in stars and angels playing musical instruments, one of the instruments being the familiar bagpipe, and Lincluden collegiate church possessed corbels carved as angels, some carrying musical instruments.⁴² It is unsurprising that laypeople were so concerned with musical standards in divine services, given that they perceived of music as an expression of devotion to God which occurred in heaven as on earth. (See Chapters 6 and 10)

In contrast to the sinful state of earthly life, heaven was a place of complete sinlessness. Thus heaven was often defined as a place where earthly sins were absent. Covetousness was one sin considered abominable by writers such as William Dunbar. (cf. "The Sevin Deidly Synnis") In his poem "The Dreame", Dunbar described heaven as a place where covetousness did not exist, because in heaven there was a sufficiency of all things.⁴³ Further, the absence of this vice meant that a multitude of other earthly miseries were also absent, miseries such as loss of freedom, honour, nobleness, mirth, gentleness and charity toward one's neighbour.⁴⁴

Heaven's sinless nature required that its inhabitants also be sinless, so heaven came to be viewed as a place of purification. Original Sin and the sins committed during life required purification prior to entry into heaven, whether on earth and/or in purgatory. (See Chapters 4, 7, 9 and 10) However, as the body was associated with sinfulness, and the soul with spiritual purity, heaven came to be seen as that place in which the impurity of the human bodily nature could be transformed or purified to a level commensurate with the human soul, thus ensuring complete acceptability to God and eternal bliss. In his "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld", Sir David Lyndsay stated that those who entered heaven would be purified and their mortal nature transformed into the "gret glore of immortalitie".⁴⁵ This emphasis on eternity or immortality convinced laypeople to do their utmost to avoid the eternal pains of hell and to seek the eternal joys of heaven. Walter Kennedy stated that there was no real joy except the "joy of hevin", encouraging the young to concentrate on defying the devil and fearing God and the Day of Judgment.⁴⁶ By believing in these visions of eternal, immortal happiness in the "afterlife", the laity itself was transformed, such that these visions took on a powerful symbolic nature and exerted a profound influence on daily life and moral behaviour. The concept of "transformation" in this sense forms part of general theories of the function of imagery in art and literature.⁴⁷

In order to define the perfect happiness of heaven, the miseries and vices of earth were often emphasised. This was the case with King James III, when he wrote a letter to John, King of Denmark and Norway, and brother to King James' wife Margaret,

informing him of her death. King James stated that Queen Margaret had lived in "great sanctity and devotion", and that now she could leave her earthly life of misery and enter an eternal life of joy.⁴⁸ Thus heaven was compensation for the miseries experienced on earth, the reward of patience and faithfulness, a release from earthly evil.⁴⁹

As fears of death and dying and the pains of hell were intense in the period under study, the characterisation of heaven as devoid of death and pain was a major lure to the laity, and a strong reason for ensuring that it was one's destination after death.⁵⁰ To Gavin Douglas, heaven was a place devoid of all enemies, both earthly and supernatural. In "The Palice of Honour", the protagonist went on a long journey to the gates of heaven, in courtly company. He found the palace of the king, or heaven, to be a place of total peace, rest, merriment and endless bliss, where there was no more fear of death or hell. Inside the gates of heaven he experienced "perfite Ioy", and was awed by the quality of the furnishings and literary company (eg. Virgil).⁵¹ In his Prologue to his translation of the tenth book of the Aeneid, completed in 1513, Douglas expressed the fervent hope that he would achieve this happy state in heaven.⁵²

Theologians emphasised the miseries of earth, the compilers of the Catechism of 1552 ("Twopenny Faith") describing heaven as a place of final rest after a life in the "wilderness" of the earthly world, a life only made bearable by the spiritual food offered by the Eucharist.⁵³ Authors such as the writer of the "Craft of Deyng" in the mid-fifteenth century were careful to remind the laity that earthly sufferings were not nearly as much as humanity's sinfulness warranted, and that it should suffer them blithely as part of

penance, and realise that the joys of heaven were much greater than any sufferings on earth.⁵⁴

Another means of reminding the laity of the perfect joys of heaven was to contrast them to the miseries of purgatory. (See Chapter 4) This was done in a comic manner by William Dunbar in his satirical poem "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling". The poem was written to convince James V to return to Edinburgh, William Dunbar using heaven and purgatory as metaphors for Edinburgh (heaven) and Stirling (purgatory). Heaven (Edinburgh) was a glorious paradise where people were blissfully happy, and where worship, wealth, welfare, song, dance, good wine, play, honesty and companionship were part of the lives of the inhabitants, who included a merry Blessed Virgin Mary, God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, the nine orders of the angels and all the heavenly court.⁵⁵ By contrast, purgatory (Stirling) was a miserable place, and the role of the saints was crucial in this regard, for it was the saints whose prayers could rescue souls from purgatory. Dunbar carried the metaphor through to the particulars, making the patron saint of Edinburgh, St. Giles, the saint who conveyed fortunate souls to heaven.⁵⁶

Heaven was seen as an ideal state of being which one would eventually attain, but not a place to be arrived at immediately after death, except for the select few (eg. saints). Most laypeople believed in the particular and general Days of Judgment, and the inherent sinfulness of humanity, which necessitated a period of suffering in purgatory, while the living on earth celebrated masses and prayed for the suffering soul. Poetry, theological works (eg. Catechism) and foundation activities revealed that most Scots believed that faith in Jesus and God's grace was insufficient to

achieve spiritual acceptability. God had given laypeople free will. This meant that, whilst Jesus' atonement for human sin through the Crucifixion provided the foundation for human spiritual worthiness, complete acceptability only came with suffering in the purgatorial fire, the masses and prayers of the living, and the pursuit of personal holiness while on earth (ie. sacraments, fulfilment of God's law, good works and meditation on the Passion). Thus George Wishart and the compilers of The Gude and Godlie Ballatis were in the minority when they rejected the idea that sin needed to be atoned for after death as well as on earth, and instead insisted that Jesus' Crucifixion had been sufficient to bring human salvation. George Wishart intended his ideas to change laypeople's attitudes and to relieve their feelings of unworthiness, preaching that eternal life was available instantly to those who firmly believed in Jesus.⁵⁷ At the time of his own execution in 1546, he told those watching that he would sup with Jesus Christ that very night in heaven.⁵⁸ In The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, it was reported that believers would rise to heaven through God's grace and belief in Jesus, and that Jesus would come from heaven to release them from sin.⁵⁹

LAY RESPONSES TO CONCEPTIONS OF HEAVEN'S NATURE

From the literary and documentary evidence it is clear that Scottish laypeople had good reason to wish fervently for heaven. Their conception of a perfect life was based upon their experience of daily life but was enhanced and transformed by powerful images of life after death, images they met in art, literature and theological ideas as expressed in church teaching and ritual. However, laypeople realised that the perfection of heaven had to be matched by the perfection of the human souls allowed to enter. Fears of

spiritual unworthiness thus dominated the laity's mind and formed the basis for its actions; this same theme of spiritual unworthiness occurs as a dominant theme throughout the thesis.

As the laity came to feel less and less able to claim spiritual worthiness, it looked more and more anxiously for a means of compensating for its sinfulness, looking to the saints in heaven, Jesus, Mary, the prayers and rituals of the church, and its own inner spiritual life and moral behaviour for answers. Its analysis of heaven as a place where a hierarchy existed, and its understanding of the nature of that hierarchy, affected its actions in terms of burial. Burial and the pursuit of personal holiness will be discussed as two examples of the laity's response to its conceptions of heaven.

Despite variations in attitude, most Scots in the period 1480 to 1560 seem to have assumed that there would be an hierarchy in heaven. Their choice of burial site reveals how they viewed the relative influence over God of various inhabitants of heaven.⁶⁰

Through his sacrifice in the Eucharist, Jesus offered one of the best routes to salvation, so burial near the high altar was believed to bring special benefits on the Day of Judgment, when soul and body would be re-joined before God sitting in Judgment. To a lesser extent it was advantageous to be buried in the choir, for many masses and other rituals were celebrated there, notably the Eucharist, all of these rituals assisting lay souls in becoming spiritual acceptable. Consequently, sites near the high altar and in the choir were the two most popular places of burial,⁶¹ the importance of the high altar and choir being reflected in the cost of burial places (*lair*s) there.⁶² (See Chapter 1)

Because Mary was considered very important as an intercessor on the Day of Judgment,⁶³ burial near her altar or in a Lady chapel was considered beneficial to one's spiritual welfare. As she also had a statue at the high altar, burial near the high altar would have gained her intercession as well as the benefits of the Passion as re-enacted in the Eucharist.

Burial near the altar of the patron saint of one's family, craft or burgh also increased one's chances of salvation. Dame Catrine Lauder, spouse of John Swinton of that Ilk, was one layperson who desired burial near the patron saint of the local church. On 8 October, 1515, she asked that she be buried before the altar of St. Ninian in the parish church of Cranshaws, Berwickshire. She further attempted to ensure that she reached "paradise" by donating alms in her testament to various religious bodies, poor chaplains and others of the needy poor, as well to those celebrating on her day of burial.⁶⁴ Note that "paradise" was the term she used for heaven, more usually described in testaments merely as the "court of heaven" or "heaven".

If one honoured the saint in some fashion, burial near his or her altar was especially efficacious. Saints could be honoured by having regular processions in their honour or augmenting foundations dedicated to them, both activities carried out by craft and merchant guilds or burgh councils with respect to their patron saints (eg. St. Giles' Day procession, Edinburgh). Private individuals could make chaplainry foundations or gifts to saints' altars of ornaments, monies, wax or images (eg. St. Bartholomew's image donated by a glover burgess of Perth, probably for the craft altar).⁶⁵ People could also donate alms to the poor or to bedesmen or women during

obit celebrations or masses dedicated to a saint at that saint's altar.⁶⁶

Theologians and various lay and clerical writers offered the laity various methods of achieving personal spiritual worthiness, these methods being the subject of much of the rest of the thesis. The pursuit of personal spiritual acceptability involved a strong concentration on the development of moral worth, or rather, an emphasis on the ethical elements of the Christian faith, particularly as they found expression in the Ten Commandments. The Catechism of 1552 reminded the laity that the key to attaining the "eternal blis of heuin", as promised by Jesus, was the keeping of the Commandments, the breaking of these Commandments resulting in temporal and eternal punishments, according to the gravity of the offence. The Catechism gave detailed instructions about the best means of following the Commandments, exhorting laypeople to follow them as best they could.⁶⁷ To assist the laity to learn about the faith and so be better able to follow God's laws, the higher clergy began to increase the level of preaching. In 1549, the Scottish provincial council promised to increase levels of preaching so that lay ignorance might be reduced, hell avoided, and the "glory of heaven" attained.⁶⁸

In his "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", published in 1533, John Gau also emphasised the learning and keeping of the Commandments as a means of reaching heaven. Gau believed that understanding of the Commandments led to an understanding of one's own "spiritual seiknes of the saul", and thus the ability to purify oneself of sin. However, he spent most of his tract inveighing against the laity's belief in the power of Mary and the saints to aid souls in purgatory. Gau made it clear that, while the laity may

have understood that personal spiritual worthiness was necessary to reach heaven, it relied most heavily upon the prayers and rituals of the living and of supernatural beings such as Mary to aid the souls of friends and relatives in purgatory.⁶⁹

Gavin Douglas encouraged laypeople to develop a spiritually-oriented outlook which ultimately would lead them to happiness in heaven. This was to be achieved by meditating on the nature of the states of being in the afterlife (heaven, hell, purgatory), by pleasing and calling upon the supernatural beings who were important to success at the Day of Judgment (God Mary, Jesus and the saints), and by living life in an ethical manner. For example, in his prologue to the eleventh book of the Aeneid, Douglas exhorted laypeople to think about the pains of hell and the endless glory of heaven, to meditate on the Passion of Jesus which brought salvation to believers, and to live their lives with spiritual chivalry in order to achieve virtue and goodness, since earthly actions affected status after death.⁷⁰

Ideas about personal holiness and the attainment of heaven were bound inextricably to notions of the Day of Judgment. On a wooden vault in the family burial aisle of Guthrie Castle, an illustration of the general Day of Judgment portrayed St. John and Mary kneeling before Jesus, interceding for the dead as they passed before Jesus in judgment on their way to heaven or hell.⁷¹ Such visual representations reminded the laity constantly of the reality of the world beyond the grave, and reminded them that part of their role while on earth was to honour the wishes of the dead.

Executors were particularly responsible for seeing to the spiritual welfare of the deceased; testators invariably made a general request that executors dispose of their goods for the

benefit of their souls (in purgatory), if they did not actually specify which prayers or masses they wished their executors to found.⁷² Further, paying one's debts on earth was necessary to be right with God (cf. Ninian Winzet and his "The Book of Four Score Three Questions" and "The Craft of Deyng"),⁷³ and executors were responsible for ensuring that these debts were paid. Testators invariably reminded their executors that they would have to answer for their actions at the Day of Judgment, when the executors would wish to enter heaven. For example, in 1489, Thomas Brown (*Broune*) of Langhirmanston firmly reminded his son and executor John Brown (*Browne*) that only by carrying out his wishes fully would John receive Thomas' blessing, and he reminded John that he also would be questioned by the "Highest Judge".⁷⁴ Thomas' concern was that John pay certain monies owed by Thomas to a number of children of the deceased John Andison (*Andesone*). Thomas wanted to ensure that John did not harm Thomas' chance of success at judgment by failing to make satisfaction to Andison's children; offering satisfaction to one's neighbour was an important part of making preparations for death, and of gaining the approval of God the Judge.

CONCLUSION

In their quest for salvation, laypeople cherished the promise of pure happiness in heaven and held fast to the examples of Mary, Jesus and the saints as guides to spiritual perfection and aids to salvation. Laypeople's understanding of the inhabitants of heaven and its structure as a court also helped them orient their various activities to attaining heaven's bliss. Personal holiness and careful choice of burial site were two areas where laypeople's conceptions of heaven dictated their behaviour.

NOTES

1. Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion", in Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948), p. 34.

2. John Hamilton, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559, ed. Alex F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882, Preface.

3. Sir David Lyndesay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 2 vols., Third series (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), Book 4, p. 80.

4. Anonymous, "Eternall king that sittis in hevin so hie", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), compiler George Bannatyne, ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), I, pp. 107-8.

5. These "great men" included Sir James Douglas, Lord of Douglas, Sir William Sinclair, Sir Robert Logan and Walter Logan, in John Barbour, The Brus (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1856), XXVIII, p. 483.

6. Gordon Donaldson, Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1952), #1242, pp. 285-6.

7. Ibid., #1243, p. 286.

8. SRO RH2/2/14.

9. eg. Michael Fleming, burgess of Glasgow, 18 August, 1513, in eds. Joseph Bain and Charles Rogers, Liber Protocolorum M. Cuthberti Simonis Notarii Publici et Scribae Capituli Glasguensis A.D. 1499-1513 and Rental Book of Diocese of Glasgow A.D. 1509-1570, Vol. I of 2 vols. (London: Grampian Club, 1875), #650, p. 557.

10. Colin Murray Parkes, Bereavement. Studies of Grief in Adult Life (London: Penguin Books, 1975, reprint 1988), p. 102.

11. SRO RH2/8/35, ff. 26-7, in which James III wrote to John, King of Denmark and Norway, after July, 1486, testifying to the "sanctity and devotion" of Queen Margaret, as well as "virtuous", which the king said would make her immortal, echoing the common theme of acceptance into heaven through the attainment of spiritual worthiness. Also Norman Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982, pp. 270-1 and 139.

12. The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540. Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson, 1541, f. 27v.

13. cf. The spouses of the Lords of Seton in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who were closely associated with improvements to the collegiate church of Seton, and who resided there or at the convent of St. Catherine of the Sciennes near Edinburgh. Further,

note that the request for an indulgence by a number of people in the dioceses of Brechin, Aberdeen and St. Andrews (copy made between 1502 and 1513) included a request by the women applicants for the right to visit other women in "monasteries of nuns" four times per year, "even those of the order of St. Clare" (very strict) "and converse with them", indicating that it was not uncommon to have one's family or friends move into a religious establishment later in life, in William Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, Vol. II of 2 vols., Correspondence and Charters (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 244.

14. One did not have to leave one's home to live a life of chastity and holiness. There was a strong tradition in Europe of women living in a strictly religious manner, sometimes within their own homes. Some European women joined the "humiliati" movement, and in Scotland some women joined the Third Order of the Franciscans, often along with their husbands.

15. David Patrick (intro and notes), Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), LIV, p. 174, and Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlvii.

16. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxlvi and cxlviii.

17. ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #10, p. 27.

18. The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540, f. 27v.

19. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Rubric to the "Orisouns", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 1-5, p. 279.

20. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Hail, quene of hevin and sterne of blis", Devotional Pieces of Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 6-7, p. 298.

21. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Clementissime", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, pp. 280-1.

22. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", Devotional Pieces of Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 49-55, p. 296.

23. Bennett, "The Thre Rois Garlandis", p. 299 and ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, passim.

24. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Rubric to "The Thre Rois Garlandis", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 1-14, p. 299.

25. Sir David Lyndsay, "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), I, p. 124.

26. Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), II, Book 4, p. 93.
27. Gavin Douglas, "Prologue to the Eleventh Book" and "Prologue to the Tenth Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, ed. George Dundas, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839), LXIV, 2, pp. 676 and 589.
28. Gavin Douglas, The Palice of Honour, John G. Kinnear (presented) (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), XVII, p. 63.
29. Anonymous, "Eternall king that sittis in hevin so hie", The Bannatyne Manuscript, George Bannatyne (compiler), ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), pp. 107-8.
30. William Fraser, The Scotts of Buccleuch, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878), p. 93.
31. Bain and Rogers, I, #650, p. 557.
32. ed. David Laing, The Works of John Knox, Vol. I of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), CXII, Appendix V, citing John Foxe's Actes and Monuments, pp. 525-6.
33. The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540, f. 27v.
34. Douglas, The Palice of Honour, pp. 63-5.
35. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 98.
36. Ibid., II, Book 4, pp. 79-80.
37. Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), p. 206.
38. ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), XLIII, p. 4.
39. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #32, p. 67.
40. Ibid., 28, pp. 59-60, and #32, p. 67.
41. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 93 and 97.
42. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, and Lincluden collegiate church, Kincardineshire.

43. Note that Dunbar made the comment sarcastically with respect to a pluralist who was complaining because the cures of seven churches seemed insufficient to him, in William Dunbar, "The Dreame", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 99, p. 130.

44. William Dunbar. "Fredome, Honour and Nobilnes", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), compiler George Bannatyne, ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), I, pp. 175-6.

45. Note that the title in the text of the chapters is the same but editors of versions are Laing or Hamer, in which case the spelling of the title changes slightly. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 101.

46. Walter Kennedy, "Honour with Age", in The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse, eds. John MacQueen and Tom Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 99-100.

47. A.C. Moore, "The Transforming Vision of God in Religion and Art", The Scottish Journal of Religious Studies (Stirling, Autumn, 1983), IV, 2, p. 111.

48. SRO RH2/8/35, ff. 26-7.

49. Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1965, first edition 1922), p. 142, and John Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 72.

50. cf. testaments of the period, and the number of foundations dedicated to masses and prayers for the dead to move souls from purgatory to heaven.

51. Gavin Douglas, "The Palice of Honour", c. 1501 in ed. Priscilla Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, Fourth series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1967), III, ll. 1257-9, p. 81 and passim. cf. NLS AdvMS 18/8/14 where heaven was described in similar terms as a "celestial kingdom".

52. Ibid., III, pp. xxviii and p. 590.

53. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxl.

54. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 4.

55. Dunbar, "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling", pp. 292-4.

56. Ibid., p. 294.

57. Ibid., I, p. 167.

58. John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), CXII, 1, p. 170.
59. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #7, p. 24.
60. Note also that proper burial was important as a means of ensuring that one's body was ready for the Day of Judgment, when it would be re-united with the soul preparatory to being judged.
61. Denis McKay, "Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), p. 111.
62. SRO RH2/8/46 and 47, passim.
63. cf. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", p. 296.
64. SRO GD12/80.
65. David McRoberts, "A Sixteenth Century Picture of St. Bartholomew from Perth", IR (Autumn, 1959), X, 2, p. 283.
66. cf. Bossy, p. 73.
67. Hamilton, Catechism, f. xii.
68. Patrick, #192-3, p. 101.
69. John Gau, "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), XIXB, pp. 347-59. Note that Gau also emphasised the value of the Passion of Jesus, and the grace and mercy of God which came through knowledge of the meaning of the Passion.
70. Gavin Douglas, Gavin Douglas. A Selection from his Poetry, ed. Sydney Goodsir Smith (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1959), pp. 27-8. cf. "The Porteous of Noblenes", which offered lairds and magnates a guidebook for living a moral and virtuous life, in John Asloan (compiler), "The Porteous of Noblenes", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. I of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), XIV, pp. 171-84.
71. M.R. Apted, The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650. (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), p. 2.
72. SRO CC20/4/1, CC8/8/1A and CC9/7/1, passim.
73. Ninian Winzet, The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions in Certain Tractates, ed. James King Hewison, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1888), p. 105, and Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 6.
74. Donaldson, Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515, #280, p. 65.
75. Alan Watts, Myth and Ritual in Christianity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1954), p. 22.

CHAPTER 3:

HELL

INTRODUCTION

Critical to the Scottish laity's concept of the afterlife was its characterisation of hell. Fears of dying, feelings of personal sinfulness, and fears of being controlled by evil external forces, all coalesced into a terrible fear of hell and the devil, which represented eternal isolation from God and the joys of heaven. As part of a discussion of hell, it is useful to discuss notions of evil and sin, and how these notions provided balance to the perfect goodness of heaven, and informed Scottish images or conceptions of hell. Hell was conceived of as embodying the worst miseries of earthly life, and as a place of punishment for sin. Its inhabitants embodied those human characteristics most likely to result in God's rejection, and supreme evil and sinfulness came to be represented by the figure of the devil (Satan or Lucifer). Hence the devil represented the worst sins of humanity as well as evil external forces which tried to draw humanity into sin, and thus prevent its acceptance by God and ascension into heaven. The exact nature of hell and its inhabitants was dwelt upon by the laity in an attempt to learn how to avoid the danger posed by personal sinfulness and the wiles of the devil. By pondering the nature and function of hell as understood by theologians, poets and artists, laypeople acquired the knowledge, inspiration and understanding necessary for the pursuit of salvation through the rituals of the church and through personal holiness. Supernatural beings also were involved in the laity's avoidance of hell. Jesus was of particular

importance, as he had triumphed over evil and hell as a sacrifice for human sin and as the supreme Christian knight he was more powerful than the devil.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

ON LAY VIEWS OF EVIL AND HELL

In psychological terms, lay perceptions of the absolute goodness and happiness of heaven necessitated the complementary presence of the absolute evil and despair of hell.¹ The late Middle Ages was a time when people seemed to revel in visions of the torments of the damned whilst trying desperately to avoid those torments themselves. Hence the paintings of Pieter Brueghel (1525-1569) and Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516) dwelt on the sufferings of the damned at the hands of the malicious fiends of hell. From the Renaissance through to the Counter-Reformation, Christian devotion in Europe emphasised the Passion of Jesus and the horrors of hell more than the glories of the Resurrection or the happiness of heaven.² Perhaps part of this willingness to revel in the torments of the damned stemmed from a need to feel virtuous and spiritually worthy by comparison, thus overcoming fears of the Day of Judgment. Visions of the damned in hell also reminded the laity that the powerful and rich on earth could be sent to hell. This may have offered some compensation to those laypeople who felt that they had received less than their fair share on earth. This was certainly the case with the poet William Dunbar, who tended to whine about his finances and social standing. In his poem "None May Assure in this World", Dunbar comforted himself with the thought that, although he had not been rewarded on earth, those who were rich on earth could not evade judgment and hell.³

That all were subject to death and the possibility of hell, no matter what their standing on earth, was reinforced visually in art. For example, in Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, a fifteenth century foundation of the Sinclairs of Roslin, the Dance of Death was carved near the main altar of the Lady Chapel. The figures carved in the scene, each representing a different trade or position in life, were accompanied by their skeletons, a stark reminder to the observer of the inevitability of death and its indifference to earthly distinctions.⁴ As Henryson put it in his poem "The Thre Deid Pollis":

For suth it is, that every man mortall,
 Mon suffer deid, and de, that lyfe hes tane;
 Na erdly stait aganis deid ma prevaill;

. . .
 the empriour, for all his excellenss,
 King & quene, & eik all erdly stait,
 peure & riche, sal be but differenss,
 Turnit in ass, and thus in erd translait.⁵

Awareness of the certainty of death, and faced with the prospect of excruciating suffering at the hands of infernal fiends, laypeople wanted to understand how a God of perfect goodness could have created such a world. Images of hell, and its nature as a place of supreme evil, provided a conceptual framework for laypeople's views about the evil threatened by external forces and the evil tendencies within themselves. Psychological and sociological studies attempt to explain the function of "evil" in societies. Carl Jung suggested in his Psychology and Western Religion that in the human unconscious there is a tendency to seek wholeness or balance when creating an image of the godhead. The unconscious seeks to reconcile the opposites of good and bad, love and fear, and it is in the concept of God that humans reconcile these opposites. In fact, God can only be seen as the *Summum Bonum*

if there is a "bad" to balance the "good", an essential dualism in one's religious outlook which provides the tension which is the source of religious energy and represents the "archetype" (psychic image) produced by the human unconscious.⁶ Note that Jung constructed a "God image", or what the collective unconscious chose as an archetype or image for God, through empirical research into the unconscious of many patients. Jung defined an archetype as an image which represented something real.⁷ It is possible to find examples of Scottish images that lend themselves to this sort of Jungian interpretation. The representation of the devil in a carving in Roslin Chapel as a fallen Angel, arms and wings bound with a rope, was "of God" and thus fulfilled the function of the evil aspect or manifestation of the godhead.⁸

Psychologically there was a need to account for forces of good and evil at work in the world, and also within laypeople themselves. Jung ascribed this need to name the evil within as a need to become whole by uniting the unconscious goals of the "inferior" personality with conscious goals, oriented to the attainment of goodness.⁹ In this sense, the naming of the "devil within" serves the function of bringing to the conscious level those evil passions and desires which exist in all people, accepting that they exist, and then dealing with them. In late medieval Scotland, it was clearly much more satisfying to the laity to name their feelings of evil and sinfulness as the workings of an evil supernatural force, the devil, thereby lessening their sense of personal culpability and their fears of the reckoning on the Day of Judgment. However, there was no denying that people were sinful and unworthy at some level, and that to reach heaven, this sinful nature had to be faced and the sins erased.

Whatever the psychological needs of the laity may have been, the Church's explanation of evil and the godhead allowed no room for dualism, or the presence of good and evil in the godhead, which would have made the presence of evil in humanity more acceptable rather than a source of spiritual despair. The Church maintained that God was all good and, therefore, that evil only existed as a diminution of the goodness that was God. According to this doctrine, the notion of evil was defined negatively in terms of the "absence of good" rather than as the positive presence of evil. This was the doctrine of *privatio boni* which denied the devil, as the personification of evil, any place in the godhead.¹⁰ Yet, these doctrines of *privatio boni* and *Summum Bonum* sat uneasily with the psychological needs of laypeople and the images and representations presented to them in their everyday religious experience. Nor did these doctrines jibe with the biblical depiction of the devil as a fallen angel, created of God, who had become the opposite of God and goodness and the eternal repository and guardian of evil.

It was difficult for the layperson to understand how a God of pure goodness could place the serpent in the Garden of Eden or that Mary, most perfect human and beloved of God, could be described as empress of hell as well as of heaven.¹¹ Even the Bible made it difficult to accept a godhead of perfect goodness. God allowed the devil to abuse Job as a means of testing Job's loyalty to God. Job accepted God's action in a resigned manner, insisting that the wholeness of God encompassed both good and evil:

Then said his wife unto him, Dost thou still retain thine integrity? Curse God and die. But he said unto her, thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? In all this Job did not sin with his lips.¹²

Consequently, a Trinity of perfect goodness made less sense than a quaternary of three parts good and one part evil.¹³ Jung reported few clinical cases of the godhead or spiritual "totality" or "wholeness" being construed as a trinity of pure goodness. A totality which was construed as a quaternary made room for a humanity that was a mixture of good and evil, a small image of the godhead.¹⁴ The theological construct that was the Trinity intensified the laity's sense of spiritual inadequacy, since its inherently sinful nature could not possibly be a true mirror of the perfect goodness of the godhead. Thus the susceptibility of the laity to feelings of personal sinfulness can be ascribed in part to theological as well as psychological influences.

Theological influences on the laity's understanding of evil and hell also included the concepts of free will and Original Sin. The "devil" as a construct had a therapeutic value, as it separated God from evil (ie. the devil), but then the concept of free will gave humanity much of the blame for evil.¹⁵ The Catechism of 1552 used the image of the fruit-bearing tree to represent humanity, noting that trees which did not bring forth good fruit would be cut down and cast into the fire of hell.¹⁶ In this fashion, God would take his revenge upon sinners.¹⁷ Further, the Catechism reminded the laity that no one could be saved except by his or her own free will, moved by grace and called by the word of God.¹⁸ The Catechism's main concern was that laypeople follow the Ten Commandments, and thus exercise their free will to achieve goodness.¹⁹

Sir David Lyndsay approached the question of humanity's responsibility for evil and sin from a different angle, warning the laity of the sin of idleness, which partly explained the susceptibility of Adam and Eve to the serpent, and which had resulted in the Fall and

the corruption of the whole world.²⁰ The sin first committed by Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden formed the basis for the notion of humanity as inherently evil. This theme was dwelt upon in the period 1480 to 1560, the parishioners of Foulis Easter church having a depiction of the Garden of Eden on their communion plate, reminding them each week of their inherent sinfulness and the punishment for disobeying God. In "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", Lyndsay laid out the basis for human unhappiness and fear about the afterlife. He noted that Adam's Fall had led to sin and death, and that this had condemned humanity to endless misery, which had been redeemed only by the saving power of Jesus' death on the Cross.²¹ The Catechism of 1552 stated clearly that God's worst punishment for the breakers of His laws was terrible and endless punishment in hell, which the devil and his angels had prepared for such cursed creatures.²²

Walter Kennedy made clear humanity's relationship to Adam, and its inheritance of his sin and disgrace, in the poem "The Passioun of Crist" in the sixteenth century BM Arundel MS 285. Lucifer, in the guise of a serpent, came to Eve and caused her to offer the apple to Adam. Adam took the apple, thinking that by tasting it he would "be lik to God" and know both good and evil. However, instead God banished him from paradise, and made him and his human descendents live in woe on earth, "put to the horn, exilit fra Goddis face", subject to death, and prisoners of God in hell, unable to make any appeal for release. Kennedy described Adam as being under the shadow of sin, the sin which humanity had inherited from him.²³

Thus, in common with Adam, Scottish laypeople of the period 1480 to 1560 had to contend with the reality of free will, which made them responsible for their own sinfulness, and they also had to deal with

the eternally sinful state in which Adam's action had placed them. The laity's only advantage over Adam while he lay in hell after death (three thousand years, according to Lyndsay)²⁴ was that in the interim, Jesus had died to atone for human sin. This gave sinful humanity the merits accrued by Jesus through his self-sacrifice, plus the opportunity to make an appeal to God to forgive them their sins and accept them into heaven. Jesus had made heaven possible, so it was up to the laity to do what it could to make amends, by trying to follow the Ten Commandments, completing the three penitential steps of confession, contrition and satisfaction, enlisting the support of the saints, especially Mary, and the prayers of the living, and following the dictates of the church, through whose sacraments God's grace was dispensed.

HELL AS PUNISHMENT FOR SIN AND MIRROR OF EARTHLY MISERY

Laypeople understood the concept of free will, and thus accepted a certain level of personal responsibility for sinfulness. Thus the images of hell which had the most meaning for them were those which emphasised human culpability and the notion of hell as a place for sins to be punished. Thus advice to laypeople on how best to avoid hell centred around the subject of sin, and the best means of avoiding sin and/or making reparation for it prior to death. Images of hell also emphasised its extremely vile nature in order to frighten laypeople into taking strong action to convince God not to send them there.

Imagery associated with hell is available in a rich array in the literature of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and artistic evidence confirms the form taken by this imagery. Writers agreed on hell's vile nature and the need to avoid being sent there. Both defenders of Catholic orthodoxy (eg. Gavin Douglas) and

promoters of reforming ideas (eg. John Wedderburn) agreed on the main features of hell. It was a place of never ending spiritual and temporal pain, the pain being similar to the pains of dying.

Writers of poetry, plays, devotional literature and admonitory tracts agreed with the theologians that the function of hell was as a place of eternal punishment for spiritual crimes (sins). However, writers chose to emphasise different crimes. The orthodox Catholic position, as represented by the Catechism of 1552, put somewhat more emphasis on church sacraments as the bearers of God's grace and hence salvation, and the laws of God as represented in the Ten Commandments;²⁵ hell was perceived as God's punishment for ignoring His Commandments. However, overall the trend in the period 1480 to 1560 was to regard hell as a punishment for personal sinfulness. A lack of charity toward one's poorer neighbours,²⁶ and the tyranny and oppression of the natural elites (kings, emperors, lords and barons) were considered sufficiently evil to be punishable by hell.²⁷ However, the emphasis was usually on sins of a more personal nature, involving the individual's relationship with God. That is, hell was the punishment for refusing to love God sufficiently, or to meditate on the Passion of Jesus and its promise, or to beg God's grace, or to submit to God and orient one's earthly life to the pursuit of holiness to attain salvation.²⁸ Sins might also include being too concerned with one's family,²⁹ needlessly pursuing women, joy and merriness,³⁰ or not believing that hell was the punishment for those whose hearts and deeds were evil.³¹

Laypeople tended to associate evil with human sexuality, and thus to believe that their sexuality had to be suppressed in order to attain absolute goodness and acceptability to God, and to avoid the pains of hell. In consequence, hell came to be associated with sexual excesses,

and many of the sinners sent there were believed to have sinned sexually. As sexuality was a powerful force of nature, society had to instil an equally powerful revulsion against all actions or notions which might incite people to lust. To this end the Blessed Virgin Mary's virginity was emphasised, as was the superior holiness of virgin women martyrs. The association of sexuality with women, and with sin, was visible in the work of Sir David Lyndsay. In the "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay" he described the people who were to go to hell. Women were singled out as a group, Lyndsay noting that most of the women who were in hell were there for sexual crimes which had not been repented and confessed.³² Most artistic representations of "holy" women in Scotland were of virgin martyrs, apart from Mary, mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalen, who exemplified the repentant sexual sinner. In Roslin Chapel, the choir of which was finished in 1484, the carvings of the seven deadly sins in an architrave next to the main altar put lechery, represented as lovers, right next to the devil, who raked sinners in to the jaws of the dragon that was hell.³³

Revulsion against sexuality, considered a cause of spiritual unworthiness, also helps to explain the anger directed against the clergy who broke the vow of chastity. A connection between the apparent delight in the torments of the damned and the suppression of sexuality was suggested by Alan Watts in his Myth and Ritual in Christianity. Watts maintained that the infliction of pain is a symbolic, unconscious substitution for sexual conquest. It was acceptable to show nakedness or sexual orgy if it was in the guise of devils punishing the damned.³⁴

The laity's mental image of hell was based upon its own sense of sinfulness and notions of justice, this place of spiritual punishment being necessarily vile, in stark contrast to the perfection of heaven.

It was also a place from which there was no return, so part of the fear associated with hell was its eternal nature. It had been only through the Passion of Jesus that humanity had been saved from hell and given the opportunity to rise to heaven (the expulsion from the Garden of Eden had condemned all humanity to hell). Such distinct voices as Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lyndsay and Patrick Hamilton agreed on this point.³⁵ However, the threat of hell was still real, for on the Day of Judgment, God would make a final decision about whom He would send to heaven and whom He would send to hell.³⁶ Thus images of hell emphasised its nature as a place from which one had no escape. Franciscan William of Touris, William Dunbar, Sir David Lyndsay and Robert Henryson all referred to hell as a dungeon, an image which would have had resonance for contemporaries.³⁷ Dunbar also referred to it as a prison, which may have had similar connotations for the listener or reader,³⁸ although prisons were often above ground, such as tolbooths or the prison carved in Roslin Chapel, and were places which one could leave after a time of captivity and penitent reflection.³⁹ The terms "dungeon" or "pit", however, had clear connotations of long stays for grave offences; the Arbuthnott Missal stated that sinners sent to the "depast pot of hel" would remain there forever "with cursit Nero the emperour and his cursit falowschip".⁴⁰

The nature of this dungeon, prison or "pit" was understandably vile,⁴¹ and images of it were based upon the laity's worst imaginings, the pains of hell being an extreme version of the pains experienced on earth, just as the joys of heaven were an extreme version of earthly joys.

When the laity imagined hell, aided by the preaching of the friars, the visual representations in art and architecture, and the creative imagination of poets, playwrights and their own friends and

relatives, they imagined the worst excesses of earthly pain, and especially those of dying. Fear of death involves fear of nothingness,⁴² an idea which is extremely difficult to comprehend and accept. However, fear of dying is more horrible to contemplate, because dying involves pain, and humans are well able to imagine that, having experienced pain in their daily lives and having witnessed it in others. Pain was an ever-present reality in late medieval Scotland, a society with little medical knowledge, frequent experience of war, and subject to disease, some of an epidemic nature such as bubonic and pneumonic plague. A common description of hell was that of "eternal death",⁴³ where the condemned were "ever deand but never . . . dede".⁴⁴ The threat posed by this horrible place of fire was intended to frighten the laity into preparing itself spiritually for death, the Catechism of 1552 reminding people that God used the pains of hell as a punishment for sin.⁴⁵ Apart from "dying" being more understandable than "death" to the laity, dying was a more appropriate metaphor because it was a process rather than a finite condition. Dying and hell both had a temporal dimension, as did life on earth. After the Day of Judgment it was believed that "time" would cease everywhere but in hell,⁴⁶ where the burning pain and torment would be never-ending, every minute seeming like one thousand years.⁴⁷

The earthly pain of which hell was a mirror was of a material, emotional and spiritual nature. Bodily pain in hell was assumed to exist because on the general Day of Judgment the soul and body were reunited.⁴⁸ Hence the Catechism of 1552 referred to the "corporal fyre of hell", bodily pain being experienced by captive souls,⁴⁹ and William of Touris clearly stated that the hot fires of hell punished both soul and body.⁵⁰ Many of the descriptions of hell in contemporary art and literature emphasised the derisive cruelty of the fiends in hell, and

the pains and torments experienced by sinners there. The panel painting of the Crucifixion in Foulis Easter church, which sat above the rood screen in full view of the laity, showed a vengeful winged fiend, jaws open, breathing fire, grasping a vulnerable child-like soul with its claws. Amongst the crowd about the Cross, dressed in medieval clothing to make the scene more real to the laity, was another dark-faced fiend, this time in human guise. The fiend wore a red hood with horns rising from it, and an evil grin, clearly delighting in the suffering and death of God in human form.⁵¹ Authors mentioned extremes of cold and heat (eg. fire),⁵² great hunger and thirst,⁵³ and the presence of animals such as toads and scorpions.⁵⁴ Of course, heaven was the complete reverse, with no hunger, thirst, pain, or eternal death, but rather immortality and perfect joy and bliss, largely due to Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross.⁵⁵ While the laity suffered in earth's "vale of misery", it was to rely primarily on the spiritual food of Jesus as experienced in the Mass, the Catechism mentioning Jesus as humanity's "special fude" or "spiritual food" on more than one occasion.⁵⁶ Some authors upheld the omnipotence of God by pointing out that the horrors of earth, of which hell was a mirror, would not end unless people mended their ways and turned their hearts and actions to being and doing good, at which point God would halt such miseries as hunger, pest and war.⁵⁷

The emotional pain associated with hell acted as a good deterrent to sin. One of the major attractions of purgatory was that the emotional connection between the living and the dead was never actually severed. Both purgatory and earthly life existed in a temporal dimension.⁵⁸ Souls were believed to communicate with the living through dreams and visions, and the actions of the living were appreciated by the souls in purgatory and could help them to ascend to

heaven more quickly. Souls in hell, however, were beyond the reach of the living, no actions of the living able to ease their torment.

Souls in hell were deprived of freedom of movement and of association, and condemned to helpless misery. Writers such as the Wedderburns, Sir David Lyndsay and John of Ireland used their literary works to warn and advise the laity on matters of doctrine and moral behaviour, as these writers were concerned that a large number of their compatriots would be sent to hell through ignorance or wilful sinfulness.⁵⁹ Writers reminded laypeople that, once in hell, no amount of regret would be able to save them, and that in hell they would suffer endless despair and anguish with no solace, terrible loneliness, the biting of conscience, and the knowledge that they shared their fate with the most envious, ireful, thieving, oppressing, cheating, and heretical human souls, as well as the derisive fiends whose task it was to torment them.⁶⁰ Condemned souls would be cast into the depths of sorrow, and be enveloped by helpless sobbing, groaning, mourning and chattering of teeth. This deep fear and despair would not be met by the gentle compassion of the Virgin Mary,⁶¹ nor even the reassurance of St. Gabriel, who encouraged the souls in purgatory, but rather by horrible yowls.⁶²

The spiritual pain associated with hell centred on its nature as a dark place where one was unable to view the face of God, a fate Sir David Lyndsay considered the worst aspect of hell, as only the sight of God could satisfy the human soul.⁶³ The Catechism of 1552 reinforced this view, threatening that if one died without making proper penance for Commandments broken, however few, one would be eternally denied the sight of God.⁶⁴

A variety of writers mentioned that one of the worst punishments possible was to be denied the sight of God, Jesus and/or Mary. Since

being in sight of the high table of heaven was considered such a joy, anticipation of its loss was depressing, to say the least. In the Bannatyne Manuscript's anonymous prayer "Eternall king, that sittis in hevin so hie", God was described as an all-powerful king upon whom the whole world depended. The suppliant was to plead with God to amend his sins so that he might be with God in endless joy, looking on God's "gratious visage".⁶⁵ Part of the influence carried by the threat of excommunication in the Arbuthnott Missal of the late fifteenth century was that it destined one for a hell where there was no chance to catch sight of God.⁶⁶

Concerns about seeing God, Jesus or Mary in heaven, and the inability to do so in hell, became associated in people's minds with ideas of light and darkness. Heaven epitomised light, where the heavenly table was visible, and hell epitomised darkness, where it was invisible. Sir David Lyndsay believed that when those condemned to hell descended into the everlasting fire, they yelled, howled and cried in distress as the fire touched them, and the light was blocked from their sight as the earth closed after them.⁶⁷ By contrast, heaven was where the pre-destined people lived in sensual pleasure within sight of Jesus the king, Mary and the court of heaven.⁶⁸ William of Touris referred to hell as a dark dungeon,⁶⁹ a good metaphor for hell, in which one was shut off from the light and happiness of heaven. William Dunbar made the comparison by describing heaven as a "palice of lycht" and hell as a "pit obscure".⁷⁰ The Catechism of 1552 described hell as the "outwart myrkness", an image which might have had some resonance for a communally-oriented society in which being banished or exiled, (egs. plague, crime) was a common and harsh fate.⁷¹ Lyndsay went further in describing the breakdown of normal community relationships by declaring that when a damned person was in hell suffering fire, cold

and violence, those who had been accepted into heaven would be rejoicing at the person's horrible fate.⁷²

In Robert Henryson's allegorical poem "The Bludy Serk", the knight (Jesus) rescued the fair maiden (the soul of humanity) from the dungeon (hell) where she was being kept in total darkness by the giant (devil), and had been suffering from hunger, cold and confusion.⁷³

Henryson's poem echoed the fate of Adam alleged by Sir David Lyndsay in his poem "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", in which Lyndsay stated that Adam had remained a prisoner in hell for three thousand years until Jesus had ransomed him by dying on the Cross.⁷⁴

Dungeons as such were none too common in Scotland, usually present only in major castles, especially royal castles, and reserved for those who had committed serious crimes. Normally the tolbooth was the site of internment for crimes, where the criminal was above-ground.⁷⁵ Sometimes the offender was even allowed out of the tolbooth on his or her parole in the evenings, it being considered sufficient punishment to be deprived of light and freedom to move during the day and the right to carry out one's trade. To have been punished with a "panefull" or "obscure" "pit", meaning a dark hole underground, was an unusual and shocking punishment befitting the worst of crimes,⁷⁶ and was perceived as a horrible place for truly horrible criminals. Just as many earthly dungeons belonged to kings, the spiritual dungeon of hell belonged to the heavenly king, who interned there those people who had committed the most dire of spiritual crimes.⁷⁷

Frequently, the concept of hell as a place where one was shut away from God was represented in European art of the period through the images of the earth opening up, or of a monstrous beast with jaws open. In each case the sinners were consumed by hell, whether by falling into

an abyss or being dragged in by fiends (eg. "Last Judgment" of Bosch). It was clear that, once the sinners were inside, the earth or jaws would snap shut. In Scotland the image was often that of gaping dragon jaws, waiting to consume sinful souls and to shut them off from the sight of God and light of heaven. An example of this is the carving of the seven deadly sins in Roslin Chapel, where laypeople were shown committing each of the seven deadly sins, the devil raking them in to the jaws of the dragon.⁷⁸ A Scottish literary equivalent of this image of the gaping jaws of hell was William Dunbar's image of the gates of hell. He created the image of the gates of hell to describe Jesus' triumph over the devil and the darkness of hell: "The yettis of hell ar brokin with a crak".⁷⁹

Lay desire to be within sight of important supernatural beings after death helps to explain attitudes to the Eucharist. In England and Europe during the late medieval period, there was an almost hysterical desire to watch the Host being raised during the Mass.⁸⁰ This was the moment when Jesus was "really present", and by witnessing the elevation one was imbued with His power. There were also thefts of the consecrated Host by those hoping to benefit from its miraculous powers, orthodox theology maintaining that the real presence continued after the Eucharistic service ended. The number of "leper squints" which allowed the contagious laity to "see" the elevation of the chalice and Host, and Scottish sacrament houses which protected the consecrated Host from theft and encouraged veneration of it, indicates that Scottish lay attitudes mirrored those of their European counterparts.⁸¹

By understanding the lay association of "seeing" with spiritual power, it is easier to make sense of the meaning of other symbols of the power of godhead, such as the Cross, described by William Dunbar as

the "signe triumphall" of Jesus' victory over hell.⁸² H. Flanders Dunbar has made the point that in the Middle Ages symbols were used not only as a medium of thought and expression, but also to look beyond for a deeper meaning, or rather a different reality, as people believed in the "continuity of essence through ever changing form". Just as Dante used the symbol of the sun to penetrate the mysteries of the light and life-giving universe, so too could late medieval Scots use the symbol of the Cross to penetrate the mysteries of the Passion of Jesus, the relationship of humanity to the divine, and the nature of God Himself.⁸³ In his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", Sir David Lyndsay approved of images of the Cross as a means of reminding people of the blood shed by Jesus for human salvation, and as a means of teaching the illiterate and strengthening their faith. Lyndsay also believed that images of Mary and the baby Jesus were helpful to remind people of Mary's status as both mother and virgin, and that images of the saints brought to mind their patient suffering.⁸⁴ Thus Lyndsay understood "seeing" or visual imagery as a means of entering into an understanding of spiritual "reality", and of being reassured of the validity of that reality.

PERSONIFIED SINS TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE TO THE LAITY

Writers provided laypeople with numerous images of the inhabitants of hell, revealing which sins were most likely to send one to hell. Thus these images gave laypeople the opportunity to modify their behaviour to make banishment to hell less likely.

The poem "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" by William Dunbar provides an excellent source for a study of the inhabitants of hell, as Dunbar associated certain types of people with each of the seven deadly sins of pride, anger (*ire*), envy, covetousness, sloth (*sweirness*),

lechery and gluttony.⁸⁵ Dunbar intended his courtly audience to recognise those characteristics in themselves which would doom them to hell, so that they could modify their behaviour before it was too late. At one point in the poem he stated outright that royal courts were full of hypocrites, flatterers, backbiters and whisperers of lies, such people being filled with the deadly sin of envy.⁸⁶

Sir David Lyndsay's "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay" and his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World" extensively addressed the matter of who would be sent to hell. His organisational method was not constructed in terms of individual morality as was Dunbar's, but rather in terms of one's social class or occupation.⁸⁷ Lyndsay felt strongly that each person in society had a specific role to play, and that society would break down if people succumbed to individual sinfulness and took advantage of their position to deceive or oppress others.⁸⁸

Dunbar's "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" began with the devil, or "Mahoun", commencing a dance, and being slowly joined by each of the personified "deadly sins" along with their sinful entourages. After describing each personified sin and its associated sinners, Dunbar described the punishment accorded the sinners, thus making it clear to his audience what the punishment would be if they behaved in like fashion.

The first sin to enter the dance was pride, and he was followed in by proud deceivers, who moved through scalding fire, grimacing and groaning hideously.⁸⁹

Sir David Lyndsay included in his list of those bound for hell, merchants who obtained goods illegally, lawyers who acted falsely, and labourers who were unlawful, all of whom might have been characterised as "proud deceivers". Lyndsay also mentioned that hell held many

craftsmen.⁹⁰ This indicated that Lyndsay was aware of the accusations being levelled in his day against craft guilds, whose restrictive practices were unpopular in certain circles and who were challenging merchant control of burgh government and thus the local economy.⁹¹ Apart from the craftsmen's political challenge, there were concerns expressed within and without the craft community about product quality, pricing, and various other economic matters; seals of cause were promoted as a means of regulating craft entry, level of workmanship and ensuring sufficient funding for craft religious activities such as the craft altar.⁹² The craft guilds were prominent in their support of religious activities associated with their patron saints and craft altars. They hoped to preserve their members from the pains of hell by financing prayers for the dead, participating in burgh-wide religious processions (egs. Candlemas and Corpus Christi), and generally supporting and augmenting their craft altars to the honour of God, Mary and their patron saints. Nevertheless, Lyndsay may have singled out the craftsmen in his warnings because their work practices meant they sinned on a grand scale, or because their attempts to change their status in the burgh disturbed the natural order, angered God, and thereby threatened the collective spiritual welfare of Scottish society. Further, certain craftsmen were at particular risk, those being the ones working with blood, such as fleshers, tanners and barber-surgeons.⁹³

A writer who mirrored Lyndsay's concern with the natural order was Sir Richard Holland, priest in the diocese of Caithness (c.1420-c.1490). He wrote "The Buke of the Howlat" about 1450. It was an allegory about the fall of the Livingston family, and it equated the sin of pride with the determination to rise above one's divinely

ordained station in life. Sir Richard made it clear that the punishment for this *hubris* was total disgrace.⁹⁴

Schoolmaster Robert Henryson wrote "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe" as an allegorical warning about the sin of pride. It stated clearly that the willingness to accept false flattery and adulation led one to become "puft up" with pride, and that this led inevitably to a fall. He warned the laity to beware of this sin and its consequences.

Tak witnes of the feyndis infernall,
 Quhilk houndit doun wes fra that hevinlie hall
 To hellis hole, and to that hiddeous hous,
 Because in pryde thay wer presumptuous.⁹⁵

All laypeople who understood themselves to suffer from the sin of pride were warned to take care, not only through preaching, pageants and poetry, but also through art. For example, a carving in Roslin Chapel expressed the sin of pride as a man with his chest puffed out. This signified a false sense of self-worth, important to remember for the family who owned Roslin Chapel, the wealthy, socially prominent and influential Sinclairs.

Ire (Anger) was the second deadly sin to enter Dunbar's "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", shown in Roslin Chapel as two men arguing.⁹⁶ Ire arrived with discord and strife, and behaved in a very violent fashion, his companion boasters, braggarts and bargainers being likewise arrayed in manner of war.⁹⁷ Lyndsay singled out commoners as being prone to ire, claiming that there were thousands upon thousands of commoners in hell because of ire, envy or refusal to restore "wrangous geir".⁹⁸ However, he also inveighed against those of royal blood who were unrighteous conquerors or who tyrannised their people, shedding innocent blood, and those of noble blood who oppressed their poor tenants.⁹⁹ One obtains a strong impression in Lyndsay's work that

to avoid the natural duties of one's class was the straightest route to hell. In "The Wife of Auchtermuchty" from the early sixteenth century, Sir John Moffat echoed this theme, insisting upon the importance of preventing confusion by keeping to one's designated role in life.¹⁰⁰

Robert Henryson, writing for a middle class audience, viewed the noble classes with an entirely jaundiced eye, in contrast to Sir David Lyndsay, who considered the lower classes the most sinful. Henryson threatened the "lestand panis" of hell to those who tyrannised and cheated the common people.¹⁰¹

When Envy entered William Dunbar's dance of the seven deadly sins, he was full of feud and felony, malice and spite, and he was followed by hypocrites, flatterers, backbiters and whisperers of lies.¹⁰² John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's History included a preface which mentioned negative human attributes such as envy and rage, which led to feuds and war.¹⁰³ Robert Henryson used many of his moral fables as a platform to criticise the actions of the ruling classes toward the common people, and to point out the terrible consequences of oppression or maladministration of justice. In his fable "The Swallow and the Other Birds", Henryson maintained that people were wont to engage in feuds and rebellions when they saw lords and princes refusing to administer justice properly.¹⁰⁴ Just actions by the governing classes were necessary to set an example and encourage the lower classes to avoid sin.¹⁰⁵

Covetousness was the fourth deadly sin to enter the dance, and Dunbar felt very strongly that this sin was the "rute of all evill and grund of vyce", making people discontented with what they had, and encouraging them to live in sin. Roslin Chapel's carving of the sin of covetousness gave it a strictly monetary emphasis, representing it as a

skinny man carrying a large purse of money.¹⁰⁶ In Dunbar's poem, Covetousness' companions were "catyvis", misers, usurers, hoarders and gatherers, which was in keeping with contemporary interpretations of covetousness.¹⁰⁷ Lyndsay echoed Dunbar's views by castigating merchants for hoarding gold. Lyndsay probably reserved a place in hell for reivers, thieves and keepers of ill-gotten gains because they exhibited the sin of covetousness.¹⁰⁸

Sloth (sweirness) was described by Dunbar as entering like a sow emerging from a midden. Sluggish and slovenly persons accompanied him; they were lashed by the devil with a bridle rein and given a hotter fire because they danced too slowly.¹⁰⁹ Neither Lyndsay nor other contemporary writers were particularly upset about the sin of sloth in their works, although Henryson's accusations of laziness on the part of the ruling elite of Scottish society may be related in some manner, an interpretation supported by the representation of sloth in Roslin Chapel as a careless warrior, an image appropriate as a warning to the knightly owners of Roslin Chapel.¹¹⁰

The deadly sin of lechery was one which received great attention in the period 1480 to 1560, partly because it was a sin which could be laid at the door of easily identifiable groups in society, most notably clerics and women, who were expected to set an example of purity to the rest of society. Dunbar wrote many poems celebrating women, and was not inclined to single them out in terms of the sin of lechery. In fact, in his poem "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", Dunbar personified lechery in distinctly male terms as a loathesome body, neighing like a stallion, and leading idleness by the hand. Clearly in Dunbar's mind there was a connection between having little to do and lechery, and thus he made his point very clearly to the somewhat idle ranks of the Scottish royal court.

The development of macabre images of death in the late medieval and early modern periods often resulted in images of death and sexuality being combined. As the body came to be closely associated with sexuality, the images of putrefying bodies being united with souls on the Day of Judgment took on sexual connotations. Some Scottish writers, such as Sir David Lyndsay, merely referred to the putrefaction of the body in preparation for the Day of Judgment.¹¹¹ However, others, such as William Dunbar, made a direct connection between sexuality and death. To emphasise the material aspect, Dunbar's character of Lechery was described as a "body", accompanied by stinking corpses that had died in sin. The sexual image then was made grotesque by saying that the ugly group, with countenances looking like a burning hot pair of smith's pincers, led each other by the penis, defiled by each other's asses, for which sins no remedy could be found.¹¹²

In contrast to Sir David Lyndsay, who emphasised the connection between women and sinful sexuality, William Dunbar only once defined women as a separate group in "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis". This reference was to harlots who appeared between the entries of Pride and Envy, and were ignored by the devil and his fiends. However, when some priests entered all of the fiends made lewd and mocking gestures.¹¹³ Although women's sexuality was discussed in Dunbar's work, it was not in the context of great female sinfulness,¹¹⁴ unless they were being gently reminded to eschew world vanities, along with everyone else in society.¹¹⁵ Dunbar's vitriol was reserved for the sexual immorality of the clergy, whom he berated at length for their sexual sins.¹¹⁶

Dunbar was joined in his criticisms of the clergy by Lyndsay, as well as by reformers such as the Wedderburns and John Knox.¹¹⁷ However, writers of a reforming mind such as Lyndsay dwelt heavily upon

the sin of lechery in relation to women, Lyndsay's imagery of lechery involving only women. Lyndsay saw woman as the bodily corruption of the spiritual aspirations of men, women being responsible for enticing men to lechery, "with thair provocatyve impudicitie".¹¹⁸ He represented men as the victims of powerful female sexuality, lured to their spiritual doom by the temptations of the female body. For example, in his criticism of pilgrimage, Lyndsay averred that pilgrimage drew "good" women to become sexually-obsessed, whereas he made no such claim for male pilgrims. Thus the implication was that even the "best" women were sexually-driven sinners, unable to control their base nature.¹¹⁹

When Lyndsay described the character of Queen Semiramis in his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", he attributed to her the sins of pride, ire, envy and lechery, mirroring Dunbar's general characterisations of sin, but locating them primarily with the female of the species, unlike Dunbar. Robert Henryson did not share Lyndsay's outlook, earnestly entreating all laypeople or "good folk", regardless of sex, to avoid sin. He emphasised avoidance of carnal lust, but also mentioned pride, covetousness and other sins, and never singled out women for special mention.¹²⁰

Lyndsay's Queen Semiramis demonstrated the sin of pride by seeking to rule her husband's kingdom.¹²¹ She exhibited the sin of ire because she brought strife to her husband's kingdom of Assyria (*Asseriay*), allegedly shedding more blood in her five days as queen than any monarch since the beginning of time.¹²² She was steeped in the sin of envy, wanting to rule her husband's kingdom when such a reversal of the natural order was doomed to disaster, no matter how valiant the woman. Further, she was fully prepared to lie and cheat to

gain her ends, hiding her ambition and wickedness.¹²³ This last point made Queen Semiramis the personification of the cruelty and maliciousness which sent many women to the fires of hell.¹²⁴

In terms of lechery, Queen Semiramis had no equal, setting up a house where she took young male lovers with whom she had sexual intercourse before she killed them, and even sleeping with her own son. Lyndsay accused her of a "luste insaciabyll", in keeping with his general attitude that women were creatures of the senses with a proclivity for adultery and lust, and therefore very dangerous to the souls of men as well as to themselves.¹²⁵ The final act of Lyndsay's portrait of Queen Semiramis described the murder of male lovers and the Queen's own murder at her son's hands, providing a link between death and sexuality, a link which Dunbar had made so plain in "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", and which expressed a deep sense of male powerlessness in the face of female sexuality.

In the early to mid-sixteenth century when Lyndsay was active and a government official, women were influential in politics (eg. Mary of Guise), so the subject of female sexual and political power and God's view of the "right order" must have seemed highly pertinent. Lyndsay probably felt that his works influenced those powerful women who were in a position to endanger the spiritual welfare of both men and women in Scotland. Lyndsay made sure that women members of his audience understood God's view of Queen Semiramis' attitudes and behaviour. He defined her as a "proude and presumptuous" woman who wrongly had wished to rule, a sexual abuser of young men, including her own son, and one whose death at the hands of her son had emphasised the unnaturalness of the whole situation, Lyndsay considering her death to be most probably divine punishment for her actions, although her son's desire for freedom may have been a factor. Queen Semiramis' sexual sins were

obvious, but her political sins were less so, so Lyndsay specifically warned women of the court against becoming involved in politics, a manly pursuit, and ordered them to be obedient to men.¹²⁶ He blamed Eve for the beginnings of this female interference in the male sphere: "Since that time [Garden of Eden] many noble men, / By the evil counsel of women, / Have altogether destroyed been, / As in the history may be seen . . ."¹²⁷ In his poem "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", Lyndsay made it impossible for his women listeners to misread his intent by naming the types of women who were in danger of suffering great pains in hell through sexual sins, or by refusing to confess or repent of their sins. He referred to all of the empresses, queens, ladies of honour, duchesses and countesses who were then crying out, ruing their refusal to change their ways when they had the chance on earth.¹²⁸

Other reformers were keen to point out that the desire to wield political power and influence was a dangerous sin in women. John Knox angrily described Lady Erskine as a "sweatt morsall for the devillis mouth" for helping the bishops to prevent him from taxing Queen Mary about reform at the Parliament in 1563.¹²⁹ Enraged that on the first day of Parliament Queen Mary had dared to make a "paynted orisoun", Knox thundered in his usual vehement fashion: "Such styncken pryde of wemen as was sein at that Parliament, was never sein befoir in Scotland."¹³⁰ Knox had taken up the theme of the perversion of the natural order by women, and its pernicious results, in his "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" in 1558. He blamed Mary Tudor for all of the wars and religious turmoil of her time, insisting that God had revealed that a woman ruling a nation was a "monstre in nature", one which God found "abominable, odious, and

detestable", as it was a sign of usurped authority and against the order of nature.¹³¹

Robert Henryson was similar to Dunbar in that he did not target women directly in terms of the sin of lechery, but neither did he dwell upon macabre themes of putrifying flesh and sexuality. Rather, Henryson warned laypeople in general that they had to amend their lives and stop indulging their "carnall sensualitie", or they would not have time to prepare themselves spiritually for the inevitable death that might come suddenly, whether they were ready or not: "Ceis of your sin, Remord your conscience, / Obey unto your God and ye sall wend, / Efter your deith, to blis withouttin end."¹³²

This warning about eschewing sexuality and concentrating one's mind on spiritual matters was echoed by the wills of the period. They referred to the certainty of death but also to the uncertainty of the hour, the testaments indicating that testators thought about their life in terms of what would follow in the afterlife. In general they concentrated on making provision for prayers, masses and religious donations after death, but other laypeople expressed their desire to achieve spiritual acceptability by amending their life as well as arranging for satisfaction to be made after death.¹³³ William Cunningham (*Cunyngame*) of Glengarnock made his testament prior to going off to fight the "old enemy" of England in 1547. He stated that he made his testament in the full knowledge of the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour of death, and that as death might capture him, he was making his testament. He gave 20d. to a suitable chaplain for his exequies in the church, and 10 merks to Sir Robert Cunningham (*Cunyngame*), chaplain. Sir Robert may have been a relative; nevertheless it is likely that the generous donation was expected to gain Cunningham prayers for his soul.¹³⁴

Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton, knight, was more concerned than Cunningham to make earthly satisfaction for his sins as preparation for death. In 1542, he joined the confraternity of the Third Order of St. Francis, along with his spouse, agreeing to follow a rule which demanded great commitment to personal holiness and involvement in church ritual.¹³⁵ Then in 1547 he made his testament, asking that his "bones" be buried in his aisle of Prestonkirk, and leaving funds to Sir Walter Bartholomew (*Bartilmo*) to pray for his soul for three years.¹³⁶ Considering that he was called upon a royal summons in 1536 for "certain treasonable acts", it is possible that he had much to make satisfaction for, and thus was concerned to make personal satisfaction while on earth as well as after his death through the prayers and masses of the living.¹³⁷

An artistic representation of the sin of lechery in Roslin Chapel trod a more balanced path between female sexuality and perversion, and runaway male desire. It depicted two entwined lovers, placing them directly next to the devil who was raking in sinners to hell.¹³⁸ The carving left it up to the laity to draw its own conclusions, but the obvious warning was to wrongful lovers, perhaps adulterers, or to those who took too much pleasure in earthly delights to have time or energy for doing penance, praying to God, and preparing for death. As John of Ireland noted in his tract "Of Penance and Confession", one needed to persuade the youth in particular about the need to learn the meaning and importance of the Eucharist, the virtues of the Passion, and the utility of church sacraments, especially that of penance; caught up in their own strength, youthfulness and wantonness, young people tended to be ignorant of doctrine, deferring penitential acts and attitudes to their aging years.¹³⁹ The number of people who rushed about founding chaplainries, collegiate churches, masses and obits in their declining

years certainly supports Ireland's summation of the situation. Robert Henryson echoed Ireland's criticism of feckless youth in his poem "The Ressoning betuix Deth and Man", "Man" claiming that in his youth he had fulfilled his sensual desires, suffering particularly from the "deidly syn" of pride, and believing that his youth would go on forever. As an old man he regretted his youthful folly, was stricken with knowledge of the risk he ran of succumbing to "the divill, myne ennemy", and offered himself humbly to God, crying piteously for Jesus' mercy on "domis day".¹⁴⁰

The final deadly sin of Dunbar's poem "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" was that of Gluttony, which he described as a foul, insatiable, greedy monster, followed in by repulsive drunkards who were rewarded by being given hot lead to drink.¹⁴¹

Dunbar's "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" was a well-constructed portrayal of the types of sinners who inhabited hell and of their treatment once they arrived there. As a final touch to convince his audience to do their utmost to avoid the sins which led to hell, Dunbar peopled it with repellent, mournful Highlanders. Near the close of the poem, the devil cried out for a Highland "padyane", someone running to fetch minstrel MacFadyen (*Makfadyane*), clearly meant to be a Highlander. MacFadyen proceeded to play a "correnoch" or lament for the dead, great crowds of Gaelic-speaking "tarmegantis" or savages crowding around him, chattering and croaking loudly in Gaelic. The devil was so deafened by the noise in the deepest "pot of hell" that he smothered them with smoke.¹⁴² The "Erschemen" described by Dunbar were regarded as foreigners to the predominantly Lowland court audience, and thus their language and music was seen as alien and unwelcome. The final jibe was that even the devil could not stand the sight or sound of them, and was moved to envelop them in choking smoke.

Dunbar's poem reflects a society which emphasised spiritual purity and goodness as the means of avoiding hell and advancing to heaven, and thus emphasised the pursuit of personal holiness rather than adherence to church rituals for their own sake. Most contemporary descriptions of the inhabitants of hell mirrored those of Dunbar, describing sinners who had failed to pursue personal holiness sufficiently and/or to do penance for lapses which were bound to occur in sinful humans, stained as they were with Original Sin. Even the original sinner, Adam, was banished from the Garden for the sin of pride. "The Passion of Crist" by Walter Kennedy stated that Adam had been "put to ye horn" in the way of a criminal; Adam had hoped to become omniscient by tasting the apple.¹⁴³ The rituals of the church were seen as a means of making restitution for personal sinfulness, not as the main focus of spiritual life.

Acts of Parliaments did defend the rights of "holy mother church", and its position as medium for God's forgiveness,¹⁴⁴ and Sir David Lyndsay did place schismatics, heretics and "antiChrists" such as Mohammed and the oppressors of ancient Israel in hell (egs. Nero, Herod, Judas),¹⁴⁵ in an attempt to defend the integrity of the holy catholic church whilst reforming from within. However, a cleric as senior as Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen made it clear that the clergy and the institution of the church were not the "owners of the patrimony of the cross [or the Christian church]" but rather were the "guardians and dispensers of it".¹⁴⁶ This is not to say that there were not many people who had a stake in threatening damnation to those who did not accept the current structure and belief system of the institutional church. Reformers and Catholic office-holders alike were aware that theological ascendancy brought social and economic benefits. Further, the spiritual anxiety occasioned by laypeople's own sense of personal

sinfulness and understanding of the nature of hell's inhabitants, made them susceptible to exhortations to rely on church rituals to achieve acceptability rather than on their efforts at personal holiness. The laity did pursue spiritual purity and holiness through meditation on the Passion and devotion to God, Mary and the saints, as well as on leading a "good life", but they also supported the poor and ill, made foundations which promised perpetual prayers for those in purgatory, and honoured God, Jesus, Mary and the saints through church rituals and institutions in order to make satisfaction for their inherent sinfulness.

THE DEVIL AS PERSONIFICATION OF EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL EVIL

The laity's need for wholeness in the godhead, its sense of personal sinfulness and evil, and its fears about being tempted and controlled by external forces (eg. to sexual sinfulness), made the "devil" a powerful image; the laity's conceptions of hell and its understanding of how best to pursue personal holiness were shaped to a large degree by its understanding of the nature of this supernatural being, the personification of evil. The following discussion of devil imagery touches on most of the themes developed in this chapter, in terms of the laity's fears about dying and its understanding of the sins which brought damnation. It also encompasses the laity's understanding of the role of personal spiritual practices and attitudes in the attainment of spiritual worthiness, and the value placed by the laity on church rituals to avoid sin and hell. Laypeople's images of the devil had their basis in theological, artistic and literary images, and psychology also played a part in forming the lay conception of the devil and the hell he inhabited.

Despite the psychological difficulties presented by official church explanations of the nature of evil, laypeople tried to

accommodate the theologians' notion of a Trinity of perfect goodness, particularly later in the period 1480 to 1560. Laypeople re-cast "God the Father", the stern judge and wrathful and omnipotent Jehovah, into "Jesus Christ Our Lord and Saviour, son of Mary mild", whose commitment to forgive and save human souls had been proven by his death and suffering on the Cross. They kept evil out of the godhead, turning it inward, as they were encouraged to do, thereby increasing their sense of intense personal unworthiness, and making a poem such as William Dunbar's "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" appear to the laity as a true, if exaggerated, representation of the excesses of human sin.¹⁴⁷ The idea that the source of all evil lay in the individual, in human nature itself, was promoted by such writers as St. Basil,¹⁴⁸ and spurred people to greater acts of contrition, confession and satisfaction to ameliorate their sense of inferiority, wickedness and total lack of spiritual acceptability.

Laypeople also dealt with the notion of evil, and their own strong sense of personal evil, by projecting it outward onto the figure of "the devil". By doing this, God's fallen angel could be assigned part of the blame for their continual sinfulness, since he tempted them to forsake their loyalty to God and commitment to personal holiness, and undermined their determination to rise above the sinfulness of human nature which had begun with the Fall. However, by assigning to the devil the role of tempter of weak humanity and promoter of evil in the world, the Scots, both lay and clerical, had in fact succumbed to the very dualism that church ideologues had denied in the doctrine of *privatio boni*. This dualism was inevitable, given their everyday experience and a psychological need to find spiritual worthiness in the face of death.

Emile Durkheim pointed out that, as religions are realistic, they recognise the existence of both good and evil, although they do strive toward "perfection".¹⁴⁹ In Christianity, the devil is a "sacred being" and the object of rites, however negative, despite his impure, inferior and subordinated position in the religious hierarchy. However, reassurance was provided to the laity of late medieval Scotland by making the biblical story about the devil a tale of the triumph of good (God) over evil (the devil).¹⁵⁰

The biblical story may have been intended to reassure the late medieval laity of Jesus' power over evil, but the prospect that Jesus' personal triumph over the devil and hell might not be achieved was clearly in the forefront of lay minds. Consequently, writers attempted to reassure the laity that the power of Jesus' sacrifice had ensured salvation. For example, in the poem "Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak", William Dunbar attempted to reassure his courtly audience of the ultimate triumph of good over evil by celebrating Jesus' victory over the devil, in grand epic style. In Dunbar's poem, Jesus became a powerful knight who had defeated the devil and ensured that humanity would escape hell.

Done is a battell on the dragon blak,
 Our campioun Chryst confoundit hes his force;
 The yettis of hell ar brokin with a crak,
 The signe trivmphall rasit is of the croce,
 The diuillis trymillis with hiddouss voce,
 The saulis ar borrowit and to the bliss can go,
 Chryst with his blud our ransonis dois indoce:
*Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.*¹⁵¹

However, such was the spiritual insecurity of the average lay Scot that this promise of salvation through Jesus was insufficient. Whereas laypeople believed that Jesus' death on the Cross was their most telling advantage in the search for spiritual acceptability and entry into heaven, so great was their sense of personal sinfulness, of

the strength of the devil's powers and of their own susceptibility to the temptations offered by him, that they sought to ensure their salvation through honouring and pacifying God. Since celebration of the Eucharist was important for laypeople, and they believed that the celebrations and prayers of the clergy were more effective than their own sinful offerings, many religious rituals founded by laypeople insisted on strong clerical involvement and high standards of clerical service. (See Chapter 10)

Supplications to Jesus to have mercy upon them on the Day of Judgment showed clearly that the promise of love and mercy inherent in Jesus' sacrifice was unconvincing to laypeople, or at the least, insufficient to ensure God's complete forgiveness of their sins, or to ensure their own triumph over the wiles of the devil while still on earth. Therefore it was understandable that intercession by the ever-forgiving and compassionate Mary would be sought, and to a lesser extent, that of other saints closely associated with the Day of Judgment and triumph over the devil, such as Sts. Michael and John. The laity also sought the spiritual acceptability which came through penance, involving the stages of confession, contrition and satisfaction. In his work "Of Penance and Confession", Scottish theologian John of Ireland advised penance as a means of turning the punishment of eternal death in hell into the finite pains of purgatory.¹⁵²

The devil, also known as Satan or Lucifer, personified not only the external evil and danger of the earthly world's temptations and supernatural control, but also the internal evil and sinfulness of the individual. Laypeople understood the "external" devil well on a conscious level, but it may well have been the "internal" devil which was responsible for much of their spiritual anxiety and despair in the

face of death. The church insisted on the perfect goodness of the godhead, and on God's requirement that laypeople be spiritually pure prior to entry into heaven. Theoretically laypeople had been made in God's image, so the only explanation for laypeople's patent spiritual imperfections was their own sinful nature. They were exhorted to concentrate on spiritual matters and their own spiritual purification in preparation for death and the Days of Judgment; the image of the devil was held up to them as a paradigm of the worst excesses of sin, his attitudes and behaviour to be avoided at all costs if they wished to avoid hell and reach heaven.

Unfortunately, the characteristics given to the devil were only too human, which intensified lay anxieties about the attainment of spiritual worthiness. Nevertheless, the theological, artistic and literary images which were transmitted to laypeople in literary, visual and oral form helped them to make decisions about how to live their lives, and thus helped them in their attempts to attain sufficient spiritual worthiness for salvation.

The images of the devil created by artists, writers and theologians were intended to be so loathesome and foul that they would spell evil to laypeople, and so frighten them into the correct behaviour. Further, as the personification of the laity's worst fears of external danger and internal sinfulness, the lay mind itself would have produced a horrible image of the devil. The combination of clerical preaching and writing, lay artistic and poetic creations, and the psychology of the average layperson meant that "the devil" in late medieval Scotland was a truly frightening supernatural being.

The devil's physical characteristics were often described in order to make "him" easier to visualise. Strength was an important

attribute of the devil, his physical strength paralleling his spiritual power. In Robert Henryson's allegorical poem "The Bludy Serk", the devil appeared as a lion. He was a loathesome creature to look at, with long nails, who was so strong that whoever he captured he shook apart: "Bot all in schondir he thame schuke, / The gyane wes so strang."¹⁵³ The emphasis on the devil's physical strength was intended to convince the laity of his power. In Dunbar's poem "Done is a Battell on a Dragon Blak" the devil had the form of a tiger, and he stalked his lay prey with his jaws wide open, waiting to get his claws into them so that he could consume them. The strength of the devil was only matched by God, who Dunbar assured his audience was able and willing to prevent the devil from capturing his prize.¹⁵⁴ The Catechism of 1552 provided a similar image, describing the devil as a rampaging lion who waited to devour souls whose faith was weakened by the approach of death.¹⁵⁵

Henryson's description of the devil as loathesome to look at reflects the contemporary association of ugliness with evil, and beauty with goodness. The group who followed the deadly sin of lechery into the dance in Dunbar's poem were described as "ugly",¹⁵⁶ and the devil's voice was ugly in that it was described as "hiddous" in another Dunbar poem.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the epitome of goodness, invariably was described as beautiful.¹⁵⁸

The association of ugliness with evil explained God's moral revulsion against the "ugly" and His use of ugliness to punish the wicked. Lyndsay ascribed the ugliness of snakes to God's punishment of the serpent for having been the medium by which Adam and Eve sinned.¹⁵⁹ The demon or devil which appeared in the panel painting of the Crucifixion in Foulis Easter church (c. 1480) had dark skin and white flashing teeth, as well as horns, and was not a very comely

sight.¹⁶⁰ He actually appeared Moorish, possibly the painter favouring a description of the devil as a Muslim, as Dunbar had in his "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis". The devil carved in Roslin Chapel's north wall was also ugly.¹⁶¹ In both the Roslin Chapel carving and the Foulis Easter painting the devil was a human with animal features (goat's ears and horns in carving, and horns in the painting). Thus he was ugly, unnatural, evil and threatening, because by changing his appearance he could blend into human society and threaten it from within.¹⁶² Ugliness of character and visage was often expressed by describing the devil as black, or "blak as pik", in the words of Dunbar.¹⁶³ This fits in well with the image of hell as a dark pit, where one could not see God, in contrast to the light beauty of heaven, where one lived within sight of God.

The image of the devil as a wild animal peppered the literature for centuries. He appeared as a lion in the poem "The Bludy Serk" by Robert Henryson,¹⁶⁴ as first a man in black, and then a corbie, cat or dog in a trial of 1630,¹⁶⁵ and as a man with cloven feet in a trial as late as 1704.¹⁶⁶ In his poem, "On the Resurrection of Christ", William Dunbar described the devil as a serpent and a dragon, as well as a tiger with its jaws open, stalking his prey.¹⁶⁷ The tiger image conveyed was one of being consumed by evil and hell.

The image of the devil as a dragon or other winged creature was extremely popular during the period under study, being carved in numerous bosses in Archbishop Robert Blackadder of Glasgow's early sixteenth century Lady Chapel as well as on an exterior wall; in the Crucifixion painting of Foulis Easter church the devil was the creature who took away to hell the soul of the unrepentant sinner.¹⁶⁸ After the Reformation, if disguised as an animal, the devil often was

described as the witch's familiar, Alexander Hamilton's familiar being a "corbie" (seventeenth century).¹⁶⁹ Freud reported that wild animals were the "constant translation", that is, the invariable symbol, of evil impulses or passions in the unconscious, which arose during dreams.¹⁷⁰ Certainly the power, unpredictability and danger posed by a wild animal in late medieval Scotland would have made it a likely image for the devil.

The devil was very real to people, and thus he appeared in human or animal form in plays and processions. His appearance must have mirrored the imagery of the literature, although there is no record of what the actors wore. The tendency in pageants was to spectacle rather than dramatic action, so the devil was probably arrayed in a very frightening way to symbolise all that was evil and against God, the traditional view of evil defining it as disobedience to the patriarch, and the devil as a fallen angel admirably symbolised this concept.¹⁷¹

The baxters of Perth had an "annual riding" in honour of their patron saint on 10 December, and the devil figured in the procession.¹⁷² In the 1518 Corpus Christi play of the hammermen in Perth, the actors included Adam and Eve, the devil and his man, three tormenters, Marmadin the mermaid, St. Eloy, the patron saint of the craft, the king, and St. Erasmus.¹⁷³ Probably the play re-enacted the tempting of Adam and Eve in the Garden, perhaps with the Devil disguised as the serpent, and possibly the three tormenters were those who tormented Adam for the years he was in hell before Jesus released him. Anna Mill postulated that the play included scenes of the Creation and the Fall.¹⁷⁴ The devil remained in the Hammermen's play, a payment of 6d. being made on 30 June, 1523, to mend the devil's cot and costume, 5d. for a spear, and two "signetts" of blood.¹⁷⁵ These payments indicate that there was likely a scene of violence and/or

torture in hell in the play, thus offering the laity an opportunity to vicariously experience the pains of hell, be frightened by the ugliness of the devil, and learn which sins were punishable by hell. The 1553 cast of the Perth Corpus Christi play was similar to those of earlier years, including Adam and Eve, a big devil and his chapman, a serpent, a little angel and another angel, and St. Eloy.¹⁷⁶

There appears to have been an increased emphasis on lay involvement in the Corpus Christi play in Perth, and an association of lay status with the event. The first recorded payment regarding the play was in 1485, when the hammermen paid chaplain Sir Robert Douthle for organising and paying for a procession and play on Corpus Christi.¹⁷⁷ By 1518, the laity were in charge of the organisation, and by 1553, the cast had grown, and over 50% of the actors were master craftsmen.¹⁷⁸

Apart from the importance given to the event, the list of characters reveals an increased emphasis on the war between good and evil, one in which the laity were expected to take part. That is, the 1518 cast included the devil, his man, and three tormenters, but in the 1553 cast there appeared the "big" devil, chapman, serpent, and two angels. Rather than merely frightening the laity into avoiding hell, the play may have shown the tempting of Eve by the serpent, the role of the angels in encouraging humans toward goodness, and the devious means by which the devil pursued his ends. In 1553, there was only one saintly character, the patron of the craft, St. Eloy.¹⁷⁹ This also may have reflected a trend toward stressing human free will and the responsibility of the individual to avoid sin, in contrast to an earlier reliance on saintly intercession or merits to achieve human salvation.

The image of the devil as an animal, symbolising evil human impulses, brings one to the concept of the "devil" as internal evil and sinfulness. Dreams, visions, portents, miracles, monsters and "deformations of nature" were popular obsessions just before the Reformation in many parts of Europe,¹⁸⁰ and helped to contribute to the laity's sense of threat from internal and external evil forces. The lay imagination was vivid and open to suggestion, so the appearance of the devil in disguise seemed eminently likely, as did a supernatural clash between Jesus, the heroic Christian knight, and the devil, the "ancyent ennemy".¹⁸¹ For example, in the "Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld", written by Alexander Myln in the early sixteenth century, Sir Thomas Greig (*Grig*), prebendary of Alight, was commended for his work in rooting out sin in the deanery of Athole and Drumalbane. Myln gave the example of a man who had led the laity astray by pretending to be dumb, and yet telling of the past and the future through signs and nods. Greig convinced the man to confess that he could speak, and made him agree that it had been the devil who had led him astray. The man was reconciled to the church after agreeing to abide by its commands.¹⁸² Effectively what the man had done was to usurp the power of the church to be the medium of the supernatural for the laity. There was no question in anyone's mind but that the devil did exist, and was capable of perverting and manipulating a vulnerable laity.

The devil's characteristics may have been a projection of lay feelings of personal sinfulness and evil, but in practice the devil was usually defined as an external threat, as a great tempter of humans or as a controlling supernatural being. Poets and theologians were careful to explain how the devil went about his business, so that the laity could avoid falling into his trap.

The general characteristics of the devil which made him such a threat to lay salvation were that he lived close by so was a constant temptation, had a crafty and deceitful nature, and was an avowed enemy of God. Thus he was good at leading people astray and meant them no good once he had them in his clutches. In fact, his purpose was to kill the soul in order to deprive God of it.

According to Robert Henryson, the devil lived near to God, which would have made him a greater danger to those attempting to move closer to God. Physically Henryson located the devil in a town.¹⁸³ He was writing predominantly for people of the literate middle and professional classes, many of whom lived in towns. Such an image would have led the audience to fear that the devil lived nearby, just waiting to tempt them to perdition.

The devil was a crafty and deceitful fellow who preyed upon the weaknesses of individual laypeople. James V light-heartedly testified to the lay perception of the devil as a crafty player of games by saying that "were he to play the Deil a trick he would send him from Glasgow to Sorn in the middle of winter". The idea had particular significance to him at the time because he was on his way to Sorn Castle, which had no bridges or roads leading to it, to attend the marriage of Isobel Hamilton, daughter of his treasurer Sir William Hamilton, to George, seventh Lord Seton.¹⁸⁴

William Dunbar spelled out all the ways in which various classes were tempted by the cunning and deceitful devil. People's personal prides and conceits were emphasised, and the worldly vanities and desires which might convince them to renounce God and follow the devil. The courtiers were chastised for their pride, the goldsmiths for their love of gold, the craftsmen for the quality of their goods, the common

people for their swearing, and thieves for their love of stolen goods.¹⁸⁵

Lyndsay emphasised the sin of presumptuous pride, which Dunbar had isolated as a sin to which the nobility were particularly prone. Lyndsay noted that the devil had fallen from his place as powerful and wise angel, beloved of God, through his presumption in planning to "mak debait / Agane the Majestie Divyne".¹⁸⁶ By emphasising the devil's sin of pride, Lyndsay not only explained the devil's presence in hell, but also warned the laity of the consequences of such presumption.

The theme of succumbing to the devil for the sake of material security appeared as early as the mid-fifteenth century "The Craft of Deyng". The author of the tract encouraged his readers to patiently accept their state, whether poor or rich.¹⁸⁷ The same theme continued through to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸⁸

John of Ireland wrote of the devil as a great deceiver and slayer of the human soul, a great enemy, and a malicious advocate and false doctor to the laity. He emphasised the importance of penance to avoid the eternal death which awaited one who did not do penance until it was too late. He also reminded the laity of its natural inclination to sinfulness and evil, and the importance of working at penance in order to develop a detestation of vice and evil.¹⁸⁹ He warned that the devil would put great temptation in the mind of someone not fighting against his orientation toward the flesh and his "carnall frendis".¹⁹⁰

Ireland's viewpoint was echoed by Walter Kennedy in his poem "Honour with Age", where he reminded the young that worldly knowledge, riches, honour and "fresche array" were useless at the Day of Judgment, although pride and covetousness would try to deceive them. He counselled the young to concentrate on defying the devil and fearing God and the Day of Judgment.¹⁹¹

In his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", Sir David Lyndsay noted that the devil, powerful prince of hell, spoke to Eve through the serpent. Lyndsay outlined the consequences to the serpent of allowing the devil to tempt and use him. God's punishment of the serpent for allowing himself to be so used was to make him crawl along the ground, cursed and feared by humanity. Lyndsay went on to compare the serpent in the Garden of Eden with the devil, whom he described as the "false serpent". Thus the reader learned that the nature of the devil was to be crafty, to use people and animals for his own ends, and to be the source of their eventual disgrace and degradation.¹⁹² William Dunbar also compared the devil to the serpent, describing the devil as a cruel serpent. He took the image one step further than Lyndsay, maintaining that the sting of the serpent was mortal, not just degrading.¹⁹³ In his poem "Lament for the Makaris", Dunbar wrote of his fear of death, and his awareness of the devil lying in wait for him: "The flesche is brukle [brittle], the Fend is sle; / *Timor mortis conturbat me.*"¹⁹⁴

Lyndsay also stated that the devil tempted humanity by sending anti-Christes or false prophets to preach false doctrine to lead people astray. However, he said that these deceivers ultimately would be defeated by the virtue of Jesus' words.¹⁹⁵ This emphasis on the "Word" had a reforming ring to it, but preaching as a means of combating lay ignorance and heresy became central to both Catholic and Protestant reformers in the sixteenth century, both camps considering it crucial to meaningful reform.

Walter Kennedy (?1460-1508) echoed this theme of dissent, but in terms of dissent within an individual family. He maintained that the devil caused people to forsake law, love, loyalty and conscience in favour of deceit and flattery, to the point where a son was willing to

see his father dead in order to obtain his possessions.¹⁹⁶ In 1558, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, painted a similar picture of a devil keen to promote discord within the family, although he was referring to the collective Christian family. The Archbishop of St. Andrews had been complaining of the presence of preacher John Douglas in the household of the Earl. The Earl thanked him for resisting the pressure being put upon him to attack "pure sempill Christianes" such as himself. However, he reminded the Archbishop that the devil was extremely keen to sow discord amongst neighbours, pitting one friend against the other.¹⁹⁷

The author of "The Craft of Deyng" outlined in detail the ways in which the devil endangered salvation by tempting people when they were at death's door, and thus susceptible to his blandishments. First he tempted them by trying to have them doubt their faith. The author gave examples of this, mentioning that the devil attempted to make the dying doubt that God had sacrificed Himself for sinners, or that Jesus had been born of the Virgin Mary, among other basic articles of faith. The author reminded the reader to trust in the basic promise to humanity inherent in the Passion. That is, as God would not listen to sinners, and no human was worthy enough to pay the "ransone", God had sent Jesus, who was free of sin, to pay the price on behalf of humanity.¹⁹⁸ Kidnap and ransom imagery was common in connection to Jesus' sacrifice to save humanity, such words as "ransom", "purchase of souls", and "captivity" being common.

Robert Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee and author of "The Complaynt of Scotland", continued with the theme of devil-inspired discord. He maintained that the devil, the "ald eneme of mankynd", had tempted Scottish society and vanquished their natural reason, such that they spoke and acted in a monstrous fashion toward each other, preying on

each other like cats and dogs. Wedderburn used the language of external temptation by an evil force, but his advice denoted a strong belief in free will and human responsibility. He reminded his readers that Jesus had told them that a realm divided against itself would be left desolate, and that the Bible urged charity toward one's neighbour. He demanded, in an incredulous tone, how the laity could hope to become acceptable to God and receive God's mercy, whilst at the same time holding a drawn sword toward the innocent.

In terms of earthly happiness, Wedderburn pointed out the hypocrisy of asking God for peace whilst feeling rancour toward neighbours, or of wishing to be loved by all people but having charity toward no one.¹⁹⁹ Wedderburn's vitriol was directed particularly toward the lairds and magnates who showed no charity toward the poor and labouring classes, and indeed preyed upon them. In this respect, Wedderburn's outlook resembled that of Robert Henryson, as they both identified themselves with the "common man", and mightily resented oppression and exploitation by the upper echelons of society.²⁰⁰ Whilst Wedderburn made some attempt to assign the general state of the nation to the temptations of the devil, it is clear that he was making a direct appeal to the personal morality of the Scots, pointing out to them that their present behaviour was endangering their chance of being spiritually acceptable to God.

Fears of death and dying helped to focus the attention of the laity on hell, and were associated with ideas about the devil as the personification of evil. In BM Arundel MS 285, a manuscript circulating in the middle of the sixteenth century, in a prayer of the *Pater Noster*, the author referred to the danger of death and the judgment of God in the "dreidfull hour", and in the refrain to be repeated ten times, Jesus was called upon to save the suppliant from

the fire of hell and purgatory.²⁰¹ The *Pater Noster* was urged upon the laity as the most efficacious of prayers,²⁰² the suppliant urged to repeat the refrain ten times. This repetition would have served to strengthen the message of fear, the horror of hell, and the need for reliance on Jesus.²⁰³ The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, which circulated in the mid-sixteenth century, referred to the inevitability of death, a constant theme in wills, foundations and poetry. The author advised his reader to think on Jesus' sacrifice for his sin, to yield to God with a contrite heart, and to plan ahead and act accordingly.²⁰⁴ Another poem stated that death devoured one, and promised that Jesus had prepared a place where one would not be devoured. This author inferred that whereas at the general Day of Judgment the body and soul would become one, and those in heaven would remain whole as they had been on earth, in hell they would be devoured.²⁰⁵ The fear of being devoured, or of non-existence, is one which taps deeply into the human psyche, according to Freud and post-Freudian psychoanalysts.²⁰⁶ In artistic terms, the idea of being consumed was represented in Roslin Chapel by the image of the gaping jaws of a dragon, into which the devil raked souls.²⁰⁷

Fear and hatred of the devil was one lay response to the fear of death and dying. According to R.E. Money-Kyrle, a post-Freudian psychoanalyst, fear of death is a primary human motive, and aggression is an instinctive response to it. If this aggression is directed toward an external object, the sense of danger inspired by the fear of death decreases.²⁰⁸ Hence the natural reaction of the laity to fears of dying and the life beyond death was to turn their fear into an aggressive hatred of the devil, the "external object".

Durkheim saw group rituals as a means by which groups unified and strengthened themselves. Group rituals can be seen to function for the

society as a means to counter external dangers or "evil forces" such as the devil. However, for Durkheim these evil forces were merely an aspect of society itself, or "collective beings objectified".²⁰⁹ Thus the group projected its internal worries and frustrations about such matters as dying, sinfulness and spiritual acceptability, explained them in terms of evil forces attempting to tempt individuals to wrongful behaviour, and then dealt with the matter by collectively engaging in group rituals which consolidated group energy and unity, and presented a common front against evil. The Eucharist, baptisms, prayers for the dead at obits and funerals, and religious processions were some of the important rituals which Scottish communities adopted as a means of protecting themselves from the forces of evil which endangered human souls seeking salvation. When individuals refused to assist the group effort, such as the collection of "bredsilver" at the Eucharist, participation in religious processions, or payment of craft "weekly penny" to support divine services at the craft altar, the rest of the community disciplined them rigorously, as their behaviour endangered the spiritual welfare of other members of the group.²¹⁰

The rite of baptism directly focused the community's attention on the forces of evil and served as a means of purification and protection from evil. That is, the rites included a double renunciation of the devil, "his works and pomps".²¹¹ Not only did this ritual renunciation reinforce lay belief in the devil, it also reinforced the laity's rejection of the "evil" aspect of God. It made the laity more convinced that God resided in heaven, far away from the evils of the earth and hell, that heaven was the only destination worth considering, and that to reach heaven one had to achieve spiritual purity, even if to achieve such purity required a stint in purgatory.

The friars, who had a strong presence in Scotland, desired to overcome supernatural forces at work in the world (egs. evil spirits, the devil), as did the monks. The friars were known to exert a great influence on lay attitudes and to emphasise death in their preaching as a means of reminding people of hell.²¹² In his poem, "The Preiching of the Swallow", Robert Henryson referred to the importance of preachers in warning laypeople to avoid the devil.

This swallow quhilk eschaipit is the snair
 The halie preichour weill may signifie,
 Exhortand folk to walk and ay be wair
 Fra nettis of our wicket enemie -
 Quha sleipis not, bot ever is reddie,
 Quhen wretchis in this world calf does scraip,
 To draw his net than thay may not eschaip.²¹³

Edinburgh burgh council recognised the influence of the friars by including them in a list of persons to be banished from 2 October, 1561, giving them only twenty-four hours notice to quit the burgh.²¹⁴

The plague increased in frequency and virulence through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the constant threat of sudden death encouraged an emphasis on death, hell and the macabre throughout Scottish and other European societies.²¹⁵ Printer Thomas Bassendean's (*Bassandyne*) inventory of goods in 1579 included seven copies of a book entitled Preseruatioun aganis deith at 12d. each, and one copy each of the Buke of deith and Feir of deid, at 3s. and 16s., respectively.²¹⁶ Uncertainty over the time and manner of death exacerbated fears of dying, for dying unshriven was seen as a sure way to be sent to hell where one would be subject to taunting and torments arranged by the devil.²¹⁷ Wills of the period all stated that the will was being made in the awareness of the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour of death, and they often mentioned that actions on earth were judged by the "High Judge" in heaven.²¹⁸ It was important that before death all debts be paid and matters settled on earth, such as the

restoration of ill-gotten goods.²¹⁹ That is, earthly "satisfaction" had to be made, in order to maximise one's level of spiritual acceptability to God at the Day of Judgment, or one might find oneself in hell after the particular Day of Judgment, at the mercy of the devil himself.

LAY SUPPORT FOR CHURCH RITUALS

The question that arose for the laity was how to avoid the devil from within and without, and so reach heaven. That is, how was a layperson to avoid being controlled by personal sinfulness and evil, and by the external danger posed by the wiles and temptations of the devil? The laity could have chosen to follow the route of personal morality by emphasising penance, rejection of the temptations of worldly goods and security, and meditation on the Passion of Jesus. Alternatively the laity could have chosen to throw itself upon the mercy of God and the intercession of the saints, particularly Mary. It is difficult to determine which route was favoured by the laity. Certainly the poets and theologians emphasised the necessity of pursuing personal holiness, and their anger at the general state of affairs could indicate a society in a state of moral decay. However, their criticisms might also reflect a society in which the search for personal holiness and acceptability was becoming frantic, where standards for holiness were rising, and where the laity regarded the attainment of spiritual acceptability as less and less likely.

The answer may lie somewhere between the two extremes. It does appear that the higher clergy and the laity had rising expectations with regards to personal holiness. In the Catechism of 1552 there was a long list of requirements which required active adherence to a given set of doctrines along with a strong inner faith, rather than mere outward conformity to basic church rituals. Documentary and literary

sources indicate that the laity wished to meet its own and the high clergy's standards of spiritual worthiness, at the same time as it wished to impose even higher standards on the clergy who celebrated the divine services which ensured lay salvation. However, achieving a sufficient level of spiritual worthiness seemed as impossible as it was necessary, given the laity's sense of its own spiritual fallibility. Thus the only feasible solution was to emphasise participation in those rituals of the church which offered aid in attaining spiritual worthiness, and the intercession of powerful supernatural beings on the laity's behalf.

Certainty of personal unworthiness and faith in the efficacy of the rituals of the church seem to have led the laity to put more effort into church-related activities and less into personal sanctification. However, it must be borne in mind that the documentation which survives necessarily emphasises church rituals and foundations. Outward expressions of faith are much easier to document than efforts at personal holiness, especially in a period where the printing press was only beginning to make religious works available at prices affordable to the average burgh-dweller, and when most people were illiterate and lived in an environment where the oral and visual transmission of ideas predominated. Thus one must look to a more literate age for written evidence of a widespread lay desire to pursue personal holiness.

Clerics encouraged laypeople to support church rituals by reminding them of images of hell, although they considered the laity's pursuit of personal holiness also to be important to salvation. The Catechism of 1552 discussed the *Pater Noster* in a section entitled "On the maner how christin men suld mak thair prayar to God". It emphasised that the final three petitions to God were for the laity's deliverance from evil. Evil was equated with sin, and eternal death

(hell) was viewed as the punishment for sin.²²⁰ It is worth noting that all of humanity was deemed to suffer from Original Sin, apart from Mary, whose spiritual purity was greater than any other human being. (See Chapter 7)

Although the rite of baptism in infancy was intended to help blot this stain of sin, no layperson could hope to escape Adam's nature entirely, and thus was prone to sin again. Sin involved succumbing to evil forces or one's own evil nature. In order to regain God's favour one had to be spiritually cleansed, and the Catechism insisted that the key to this process was the sacraments of the church.²²¹ Further, the Catechism reminded the laity that the merits obtained by the Passion of Jesus were to be applied to believers not just through faith, but also through the sacraments of the church.²²² Thus it encouraged laypeople to participate in the rituals of the church as well as to meditate on the Passion of Jesus and trust firmly in the power of God. In this manner, sin, the devil and hell would be overcome, and salvation achieved.²²³

According to anthropologist Mary Douglas, one of the best means of combating scepticism about a ritual is to focus on an external or internal enemy who is trying to "undo" the good effect of the ritual, such as witches or a supernatural figure such as the devil.²²⁴ For example, in late medieval Scotland, the spiritual welfare of souls was deemed to benefit from obits, masses for the dead, penances and the personal prayers of bedesmen and women, friends and relatives.²²⁵ Thus one means of encouraging belief in the efficacy of these activities was to claim that the devil was trying to stop people from engaging in them, and was instead encouraging them to take pride in their worldly goods, talents, and worthy deeds, to foreswear outright their faith in the church, and to despair of God's mercy.²²⁶ John

Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, translated from Latin Hector Boece's History of Scotland (published Paris, 1526, and Edinburgh, 1541), and dedicated it to James V. In his "Excusation of the Prentar", he inveighed against people who had no thought for the condition of the poor, despite being in a position to help them, and who acted as if heaven and earth were unreal places, and thus had no regard for good or evil. Bellenden described clearly the fate of these people. "He [unbeliever] birnis ay, but sycht to gud or euil, / And rynnys with all his baggis to the deuil".²²⁷

Before and after the Reformation, in Scotland and the rest of Europe, it was explained that the possession of people by the devil or demons was God's way of punishing sinners, testing the faithful, warning others of the power of the devil, or demonstrating the power of the sacraments (eg. extreme unction) and clerical exorcism.²²⁸ For example, on 26 May, 1480, Thomas Preston (*Prestoun*) recorded that a woman accused of sorcery by her husband had been purged.²²⁹ By maintaining that it was God himself who allowed this possession to occur, the laity were reminded of the omnipotence of God and the wholeness of the godhead, in that God had the will and the means to loose the powers of evil as well as the powers of good.²³⁰

Another means of preventing the development of scepticism amongst the laity about the efficacy of rituals is to insist on certain difficult conditions being met, both moral and procedural.²³¹ That is, a ritual such as the Eucharist could be deemed inefficacious unless both celebrant and lay participants were in the right frame of mind. An example of this requirement appeared in the Catechism of 1552, which insisted that eternal damnation would be the punishment for those laypeople who received the Eucharist "unworthily", or rather, without having first examined their consciences and prepared themselves in

reverence and devotion. The Catechism also threatened likely earthly punishments for unworthy participants, such as weakness, sickness and death.²³² Procedural details were important, in terms of the proper execution of the various rituals of the church. The higher clergy were concerned that standards of execution be high, the Catechism of 1552 expressing the view that, whilst spiritual negligence was reprehensible in all people, it was most reprehensible in those who had cure of souls.

Nathing in this life apperis to warldly men mair facil, mair esie and mair acceptabil than ye office of ane bischop, preist or dekin, bot and the samyn office be done negligently, yair ^{is} na thing afore God mair miserabil, mair hevvy & mair damnabil.²³³

However, the laity seem to have been as concerned as the clergy about standards of execution, if not more so. The records contain many lay foundations and donations to which are attached strong words about the necessity for high standards of execution. As the period progressed, concerns increased about attendance at services, continuous residence, proper attire, the appointment of talented and well-trained clerics, and quick replacement of deceased incumbents, or removal of negligent ones.²³⁴ The increasingly demanding requirements of the laity may have been due to a declining standard of service from the officiating clergy. However, it appears more likely that the increasing spiritual anxiety of the laity about salvation was at the root of its growing desire to be involved in making sure that the clergy carried out its duties properly and so helped rather than hindered the laity's acceptability to God. One means of ensuring this was to appoint a clerical supervisor to fine clerics who broke the rules, and another was to appoint lay executors to act as a lay conscience, with power to remove and/or fine those who performed poorly. Both methods were popular with the laity in the period 1480 to 1560, particularly later in the period. (See Chapter 10) Fear of hell

and the pains of purgatory, and belief in the superior efficacy of a properly executed clerical ritual, kept many laypeople supportive of church rituals.

By emphasising that rituals had to be carried out in a very exact fashion, the laity and clergy convinced themselves that any deviation would result in God refusing to hear their prayers. This was an excellent justification for the "failure" of a ritual, and helped to deflect criticism from the ritual itself. However, whilst many lay Scots responded to the strict procedural and moral conditions for rituals by trying harder to meet them, others refused to accept the validity of the rituals. The elaborate rituals of the late medieval Scottish church were attacked by reformers on the grounds that all of these details were unnecessary to gain the ear of God, that the Catholic clergy were merely trying to gain more power and wealth by preying on the fears of the laity, and that it was the faith of the Christian which was central to salvation, not the rituals of the church.²³⁵ Certainly the emphasis of the Catechism had been on faith and inner spirituality, but it also upheld traditional Catholic rituals, such as prayers to saints and Mary and prayers for the dead; the words of the Catechism and the reforming councils of 1549, 1552 and 1558-9 seem to have been more in tune with the wishes of the average layperson than were some Protestant reformers.²³⁶ While there were many criticisms levelled against clerical abuses,²³⁷ lay actions seem to have been directed at reform or a change of emphasis, not the eradication of traditional rituals (eg. a growing emphasis on devotion to the Passion and masses for the dead rather than certain of the sacraments).

The church offered a number of rituals for the purification of sin and attainment of spiritual acceptability, but the sacraments of

the altar (Eucharist) and of penance were the two which received the most lay support. The clergy encouraged the laypeople in the arrangement of priorities; many clerical writers emphasised penance, such as theologian John of Ireland, who wrote an entire tract on the subject entitled "Of Penance and Confession".²³⁸ The Catechism of 1552 emphasised the value of the Eucharist, pointing out that, whilst the seven sacraments of the church were all important to "sanctification" (ie. acceptability), it was the Eucharist which contained the fountain and giver of grace, Jesus Himself, whereas the other six sacraments were only signs of grace and instruments and causes of sanctification.²³⁹ Not only was Jesus called upon to be the medium for God's mercy through His sacrifice in the sacrament of the altar, He was also asked to use His power to help sinners in their own task of resisting sin and living a good and just life. For example, in a prayer to Jesus in BM Arundel MS 285, the suppliant asked Jesus to preserve him from all deadly sins and "concupissence" and all perils of the soul and body, and to help him to follow the Ten Commandments.²⁴⁰

The two rites of the church which specifically targeted the removal of human sin were those of baptism and exorcism. Infant baptism was a ritual of purification, in which the holy water was used for the cleansing and remission of sins and the receiving of the Holy Spirit, and thus offered a symbolic defeat of the devil and evil. Once baptised, human purification was to occur through human free will.²⁴¹ Further, in baptism there occurred the metaphysical death of the "I" or "ego" and rebirth into divine life.²⁴² The Catechism of 1552 likened baptism to the resurrection of Jesus after the Crucifixion; in baptism people "ryse out fra syn be Baptyme to ane new lyfe". It exhorted laypeople to avoid falling into sin again.²⁴³ John Wedderburn of Dundee's The Gude and Godlie Ballatis mentioned that people would be

saved if they were baptised and born anew, were believers, and had forsworn the devil and his works.²⁴⁴ The post-Reformation Scottish laity continued to feel a strong sense of personal sinfulness and susceptibility to evil forces and the need to be cleansed spiritually, and baptism played an important role in this process of purification.²⁴⁵

Exorcism was a pre-Reformation rite which the Catholic clergy jealously guarded. H.C. Erik Midelfort maintained that the medieval obsession with sin, temptation and self-punishment resulted in the idea that sin, as expressed in the concept of demon possession, constituted an actual disease. Thus it became possible to diagnose it like any other ailment, and to effect a cure. As demon possession was given a theological explanation by the church authorities, the laity came to understand "diseases" in terms of demon possession, and to demand spiritual cures for them. Consequently, many illnesses or abnormal behaviours which modern medicine would define as mental disorders, such as lunacy, were deemed the result of demon possession, and the local priest was called in to exorcise the demons. However, Midelfort was adamant that certain psychosomatic disorders could very easily have been helped or even cured through a public ritual such as exorcism, and that one must view mental illness - "demon possession" - as a "social artifact", peculiar to the surrounding culture, ideals and prejudices of the time and place.²⁴⁶ In Germany in this same period, exorcism was very popular with the laity, and the Lutherans of Wittenberg were criticised by the Catholics for locking their mentally ill people in dungeons instead of exorcising them. Neither Catholic nor Protestant denied the devil's role in illness, but the Protestants refused to accept the efficacy of exorcism.²⁴⁷ The Scottish evidence supports

Midelfort's contention that public rituals were considered effective by the laity.²⁴⁸

The destruction of evil spirits through the curative power of magical water, along with certain religious phrases, formed the basis of these exorcism and baptism rites of the Catholic church in the Middle Ages. This belief in evil spirits, and the power of certain waters and religious phrases, survived in north western Scotland into the nineteenth century. Mitchell recorded a local belief that one girl's lunacy had resulted from the evil eye, and that it had been eradicated by the placement of a shilling and a sovereign in water, the water then being sprinkled over her in the name of the Trinity.²⁴⁹ Sir David Lyndsay made mention in scathing fashion of the laity's visits to such wells and shrines. He offered plenty of evidence of lay faith in these sites, one example being that of St. Triduana's well in Restalrig, which was believed to cure blindness.²⁵⁰ The laity's belief in the efficacy of such rites was strong, surviving in the face of official disapproval both before and after the Reformation.²⁵¹

In 1500, Alexander Myln, Bishop of Dunkeld, believed that he had cured his parishioners of the plague by dipping a bone of saint Columba in water, the water being drunk by those afflicted with the disease. God was believed to be capable of sending plague as a punishment for sin. Were God the cause of the outbreak in this rural area, holy water would have purified the sin which was causing the plague. Were the devil the cause of the outbreak, holy water was also able to exorcise any evil spirits, bringing to bear the merits of St. Columba. According to Myln, those who drank the water were cured, and those who did not died.²⁵²

The idea of water having curative powers was based upon a shared pagan and Christian belief in the efficacy of holy water to defend

against the devil and the evils of one's neighbour, to cleanse the Original Sin which led people to sin further, and to transmit God's power to exorcise evil spirits.²⁵³ Evidence for belief in evil spirits can be found in a document of 19 May, 1480. On this date, James Norie (*Nory*) of Tarbart took instruments that the mother of a dead man had declared that her son had drowned himself in the River Teth because of an evil spirit, and that it had nothing to do with Norie.²⁵⁴ In order to safeguard the curative power of holy water, the piscina at Seton collegiate church, which was near the high altar, had below it a carving of bat wings to ward off evil spirits. It also had the face and ears of the devil, thus consciously representing the triumph of God's goodness over the devil's evil powers.²⁵⁵ As late as 1579, printer Thomas Bassendean's inventory of books included ones entitled Walking Spirits, The Bukes of Witchecraft and the Dialoge of Wichches. Thus the laity continued to desire information about the nature of evil and the forms it took in human society,²⁵⁶ continuing to believe that evil spirits on earth were responsible for tempting people to commit sins.²⁵⁷ Nevertheless, however dangerous earthly associates of the devil might have been, they were all susceptible to the more powerful "magic" of God Himself, and laypeople were warned that God would punish those who consorted with the evil agents of hell. Chronicler Andrew of Wyntoun described a legend in which James III's brother John, Earl of Mar, had been killed because he had been in "sympathy" with the witches and warlocks recently burned at the "crag gayt".²⁵⁸

The weight of local custom, and the biblical precedents for a belief in evil spirits and miraculous recoveries, made it difficult for Catholic or Protestant reformers to convince the laity to concentrate its efforts on inner piety rather than outward ritual in resisting or

eradicating evil.²⁵⁹ Carvings of the Prodigal Son and the Gadarene Swine, in reference to Jesus' exorcism of evil spirits, were carved in Roslin Chapel as a reminder of the miracles of Jesus.²⁶⁰ Reports of the miracles of saints in literature and art ensured lay devotion to saints, relics and shrines, donations to their altars and foundations of masses dedicated to them. In the laity's search for spiritual worthiness, access to the saintly treasury of merits and the power of the saints' intercession and relics was considered important as a means of gaining acceptability to God. Saints Ruffus (*Ruffin*) and Romanus were particularly invoked in cases of insanity, being the patron saints of those with this affliction.²⁶¹

In pre-Reformation Scotland the rite of absolution was necessary to erase the Scots' sense of personal unworthiness. For example, in Paisley Abbey, James IV received absolution for any sinfulness associated with the death of his father James III.²⁶² Further, during the period under study, a number of Scots applied to the Curia for absolution from violent crimes such as assault and murder, so that they might be re-admitted to the bosom of the church. Excommunication meant that one could not receive the sacraments, and as these were the route to salvation it was crucial that one's sins be forgiven. In 1490, Roger Langland (*Langlandis*), a layman of Glasgow diocese, and Adam Gillies (*Ghillis*), a layman of St. Andrews diocese, were excommunicated for killing priests, although both of them claimed that the violence came as a result of being "inspired by the devil". By transferring their sense of personal evil and culpability onto the evil external force that was the "devil", Langland and Gillies would have been less at risk of endangering their own spiritual acceptability.²⁶³

Andrew Michelson (*Michaelson*), layman of Aberdeen diocese, wrote to the papacy in 1497 to ask for absolution for having struck and wounded

James Braile, a priest. Michelson's request for absolution indicated that he believed that the grace of God, by which one was saved, was channelled through the sacraments of the church. Langland, Gillies and Michelson all had sinned against God as well as committing a secular crime, and thus they required the forgiveness of the church in order to be reconciled to God. Michelson seemed to think that he should be absolved of his sin, since, unlike Langland and Gillies, he had not actually killed the priest. His crime was not as great because James Braile could continue to care for the souls of his parishioners.²⁶⁴

Just as Langland and Gillies ascribed their violence to the inspiration of the devil, so too did George Wishart blame the devil for the exposition of "wrongful" doctrine and the vehement words of angry clerical authorities. According to John Knox, Wishart was convinced that the "many pestilentious, blasphemous, and abominable wordis" spoken by Cardinal Beaton and his Council in 1546 came not from God's inspiration but from the devil. Wishart also ascribed John Lauder's cursings, threats and malicious words to the same inspiration. Knox added that Lauder had frothed at the mouth by the end of the harangue.²⁶⁵ Frothing at the mouth may have been associated with demon possession, whereas it was actually a sign of mental illness, or possibly epilepsy. In this case, most likely Knox hoped that by describing such a condition it would be clear that Lauder was possessed by the devil, not inspired by God.

LAY PURSUIT OF PERSONAL HOLINESS

In the period 1480 to 1560, laypeople were offered a number of ways to purge the evil and sinfulness which they felt to be deep within their own souls - the "devil within". With the coming of the Reformation, personal responsibility for sinfulness fell heavily upon the laity, as five of the seven sacraments of the church were

eliminated, plus a number of other mechanisms, such as prayers for the dead and prayers to saints, Mary in particular. Thus the laity was deprived of many of the rituals offered by the Catholic church to assist in salvation,²⁶⁶ and its emphasis shifted to the pursuit of personal holiness, a veritable boom in book printing aiding its efforts. However, prior to the Reformation the trend had already begun to emphasise the development of personal responsibility for salvation through the pursuit of personal holiness, although the rituals of the church remained very important.

In the post-Reformation period, with literacy levels increasing, "household piety" was developed and sustained by catechisms and books advising laypeople about prayer, living a Christ-like and penitent life, correct attitudes toward death, illness and the afterlife, and for women in particular, guides on how to live as "Christian" women, these themes being revealed by the inventory of goods of bookseller Thomas Bassendean in 1579. To gain some level of guidance in a more palatable form, there were also the strongly moral but entertaining works of Sir David Lyndsay. The inventory reported that Bassendean had 510 copies of "Dauid Lyndesayis" for sale.²⁶⁷ The books being sold by Bassendean reveal that, to a large degree, the concerns of the post-Reformation period mirrored those of the pre-Reformation period, emphasising fears of death and dying, the inevitability and consequences of personal sinfulness, and the desire to find mechanisms to achieve spiritual acceptability, with a strong focus on meditation and prayer concentrating on the life and Passion of Jesus.

Part of the pre-Reformation attempt to avoid being controlled by personal sinfulness and evil, as represented by the devil, was to discuss the nature of the soul and to learn how to protect it from temptation and control by the devil. Discussions of the fate of the

"soul" were carried on by authors such as Robert Henryson. In his poem "The Bludy Serk", the soul was God's "dochtir deir", the work of His hand, which the devil wanted to steal away and keep in hell.²⁶⁸ The Catechism, compiled under the direction of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, made the laity responsible for avoiding the situation, saying that the soul's "captivitie" by the devil had occurred because of sin.²⁶⁹ This attitude clearly carried through to the post-Reformation period, when the laity were expected to take responsibility for resisting evil.

Authors other than the compilers of the Catechism, such as Robert Henryson, William of Touris, John of Ireland, and the compiler of BM Arundel MS 285, were less concerned to assign blame for the soul's susceptibility to the devil, and more concerned with finding solutions. The two main types of advice offered the laity were those centred around meditation on the Passion of Jesus in which His support against the devil was sought, and suggestions about ways to modify behaviour in order to resist temptation and sin.

Jesus was the target of many requests for assistance because His death on the Cross, descent into hell and triumph over death and evil offered the best promise of lay triumph over evil and ascension into heaven. Thus a prayer to Jesus in BM Arundel MS 285 asked Him to protect the suppliant from all visible and invisible enemies, from the temptation of the devil and the pains of hell, and from all perils of the soul and body.²⁷⁰ In the same manuscript, "The Lang Rosair" offered a long meditation on the story of the Passion, and was intended as a vehicle for lay meditation and a means of currying favour with Mary by celebrating her son's life and sacrifice.²⁷¹

"The Passioun of Crist" by Walter Kennedy, also contained in BM Arundel MS 285, stated outright that in order for human souls to

prosper, or even to exist, people had to remember and meditate on the Passion of Jesus. By doing so, they would partake of Jesus' glory, and gain the only assistance that was to be had at the Day of Judgment. He wrote that many people wished to be followers of Jesus, yet were unable to be so due to ignorance of His life and story, and indicated that this was his purpose in writing a tract on the Passion.²⁷²

Robert Henryson advocated meditating on the Passion of Jesus and his sacrifice for humanity in order to avoid the devil's grasp.²⁷³ He also advocated asking God outright to protect the soul from control by the devil, and asking Jesus to have mercy on one's soul.²⁷⁴

John of Ireland emphasised the great virtue of the Passion, and how the sacraments of the church took their efficacy from the mercy and grace of God gained for humanity through the Passion.²⁷⁵ Ireland made the Passion of Jesus the spoke upon which the wheel of salvation turned, much as the laity founded its religious activities upon the promise of the Passion (egs. obits, Eucharist, prayers for the dead, prayers to Mary as mother of Jesus and therefore mother of humanity).

William of Touris and Gavin Douglas emphasised the importance of lay attitudes and actions in their advice on how to avoid the grip of the devil and evil. In some respects this may have been putting a heavy burden of responsibility on people frightened by the depth of their sinfulness and the power of the devil. However, in another respect it empowered laypeople, assuring them that through their own abilities they could resist the forces of evil. The hell of William of Touris was a frightful place, worth avoiding at all costs. It was a murky, vile and venomous "hole" of great heat where fiends perpetually tortured the damned creatures held prisoner there. The inhabitants of hell suffered beyond all measure in body and soul from the "corporale fyre" which was without end (a "thousand million years"), and they

lived in perpetual sadness and sorrow without consolation. Thus their pain was emotional as well as physical, placed in an idiom understandable by the average layperson who had experienced such pains on earth. Given this horrible prospect, William of Touris was convinced that the only solution for laypeople was to do penance without argument, desist from sin and live cautiously. His work "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris" outlined carefully the major sins of the various classes of society, and encouraged people to remember death and live a good life as a means of ensuring success in the afterlife.²⁷⁶

Gavin Douglas used the prologues of his translation of Virgil's Aeneid to advise his lay readers on spiritual matters. In the prologue of his eleventh book, he outlined the weak nature of humanity when faced with the temptations and power of the devil. He advised the laity to pray devoutly, to fight back as a Christian knight when the devil attacked, and he averred that one could only be overtaken by the devil if one allowed it to happen.²⁷⁷ One of Walter Kennedy's criticisms of the laity was that it cared too much for reading about Classical heroes and too little about the Day of Judgment and Jesus' role in it.²⁷⁸ If this was indeed a time when interest was high in translations such as Douglas' Aeneid (completed in 1513), then Douglas chose a good platform for his moral and spiritual advice. Indeed, it is sure that at least some of the nobility read his work, for his patron was Henry, third Lord Sinclair, who had suggested that he translate the Aeneid.²⁷⁹ Certainly Sinclair himself was open to the moral and religious advice of the prologues, coming from the strongly Catholic Sinclair family, owners of Roslin Chapel, a lavish expression of late medieval faith.

Douglas' advice in the Aeneid combined personal action toward holiness and meditation on the promise of the Passion.²⁸⁰ He warned

the laity to look for the thousand wiles of the ancient enemy, to hold high the "targe of faith", to hold firmly to hope, to embrace all in charity, to fill its mind with visions of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to pray devoutly, and never to shrink from a fight, remembering the martyrs, the pains of hell and the joys of heaven.²⁸¹

As a noble, Douglas used the language of chivalry, which may well have resonated with readers such as his patron who moved in courtly circles and identified with images of chivalry and "true knighthood". James IV wished desperately to lead a crusade, meaning that at least one person at court - the king himself - had a romantic image of himself as a crusading Christian knight. In any case, Douglas called on his readers to act as crusading knights against a powerful foe, who would be taken if they did not stand and fight.

. . . be thou stalwart campoun, and knyght;
In feild of grace with forsaid armour brycht
Thou may debait thame lyghtly in ilk fyght:
For of fre will thyne acton is sa wight
Nane may it pers, wilt thou resist and stand;
Becum thow cowart, crawdoun recryand,
And by consent cry cok, thy ded is dycht.²⁸²

He castigated those who considered fleeing in the face of the enemy and emphasised that victory came to those who persevered.

Bot quhat avalys begyn a strang melle,
Syne zeld the to thy fa, but ony quhy,
Or cowartly to tak the bak and fle?
Na; thar sall nane optene hie victory,
Les thai sustene the bargane dowchtely;
And quha so perseueris to the end
Ane conquerour and campoun euir is kend,²⁸³
With palm of triumphe, honour and glory.

In "The Contemplacoun of Synnaris", William of Touris also urged laypeople to be spiritual knights, violently attacking the devil, worldly vice and the flesh, and asking God for help when they felt too weak for the task at hand. The reward was the triumphal attainment of a "hevinlie crowne". However, he warned his readers that great efforts were needed. The gap between their own spiritual worthiness and that

of the saints was great, despite the fact that their opportunity for the "tryvmpe eternale" (heaven) had been won by Jesus through His Passion and the saints through their great labours. To aid them in this great battle against sin, Touris' work provided a meditation on the Passion of Jesus as a contemplation for Saturday. It stated that all woes and sins, and the attainment of virtue and perfection, were grounded in the Passion of Jesus, the "heavenly treasure" which was the basis of humanity's claim to salvation.²⁸⁴

Not all writers identified Jesus with the nobility. The urban, reforming orientation of The Gude and Godlie Ballatis emphasised Jesus' relationship to the all-powerful Father of the Trinity, as a son of a father rather than as a knightly champion. Hence in the poem "To us is borne a bairne of blis", Jesus was mentioned once as "King and Empreour", but the majority of the poem was devoted to a description of God's mercy in sending his "Sone" to die for human sin, and thus "freith us from the Feindis thrall" in hell, the "Feind" being the devil.²⁸⁵

The middle class earnestness and moral emphasis of Robert Henryson's "The Bludy Serk" modified the knightly champion image as well. Although Jesus was represented as a victorious knight, a "worthy and proud prince",²⁸⁶ Henryson's emphasis was on the spiritual worthiness of Jesus rather than His nobility, for it was His sinlessness and complete acceptability which made Him able to act as humanity's ransom to God, not His strength as a warrior. This was a point also made by other writers, such as the anonymous author of "The Craft of Deyng".²⁸⁷ Further, the knightly valour of Henryson's prince was outweighed by the pathos of his fatal wounding on behalf of the fair maiden, who symbolised the human soul. Before he went away to die, the prince came to the lady, his tunic all bloody, a "peteouss"

sight to see. The lady mourned and moaned and said that she had never loved anyone as much as he, and he left her his bloody tunic to remember him by.²⁸⁸ Thus, rather than a rush of triumph over the defeat of the great enemy, the devil, Henryson wanted his readers to reflect earnestly and emotionally on the great, painful and loving sacrifice Jesus had made for their souls, and to learn through the story how they should respond. They should act as the fair maiden did and meditate on the Passion, praying to Jesus constantly, and asking for His aid on the Day of Judgment when their sins would be judged.²⁸⁹

Just as meditation on the Passion was a means of achieving the holiness necessary to overcome sin, so too was knowledge of which vices to eschew and which virtues to embrace. Thus the hierarchy of the Scottish church, if late in the day, began to emphasise preaching as a means of erasing lay ignorance on such matters. The 1549 provincial council insisted that those with cure of souls were to preach personally at least on Sundays or solemn feasts or to appoint "fit persons" to do so on their behalf, so that through knowledge of the gospel of Jesus, the laity might learn approved morals and doctrine, avoid "everlasting punishment" and achieve the "glory of heaven".²⁹⁰

Writers leapt to address lay needs. Gavin Douglas wrote the "Palice of Honour", dedicating it to James IV. Its allegorical treatment of virtues and vices was so popular that it was printed in 1579 by John Ross.²⁹¹

John of Ireland wrote "Of Penance and Confession" in order to combat lay ignorance of doctrine and virtue. He blamed the situation on those with cure of souls, who had neglected to teach by word and by example, and in so doing had endangered lay souls. Ireland's work consisted of:

. . . materis of theologie tuichand and concernand the saifte of mennis saulis and womennis strenthing of yar conscience Indusyng

yaim to trast in god yair makar and saluatour and in his helpe to deliuer yaim of all synnis to resist starkly to ye enemy and all temptaconis to cum to ye haly and vndoubtable remeid aganis syn yat Is the glorijs passioun and namly of ye haly sacrament of pennans That is sure remeid and medicyne aganis all synnis committit be ws . . .²⁹²

The author of "The Craft of Deyng" wrote to advise those who taught about death. He believed that many people feared death through ignorance, and did not understand what they had to do to prepare properly for it to ensure that they were sent to heaven after being judged. He wrote of the importance of faith in holy church and the mercy and grace of God, the efficacy of penance, and the great advantage of having Jesus as brother and redeemer in one's hour of need.²⁹³

Walter Kennedy wrote "The Passioun of Crist" to urge people to meditate on the suffering and Passion of Jesus, as only thus would the human soul be ensured of everlasting life.²⁹⁴

The Scottish version of "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", in Harleian MS 6919 (c. 1550) and BM Arundel MS 285, was based upon Wynkyn de Worde's earlier publication (1499). Author William of Touris intended the work to concentrate the readers' minds on the surety of general Judgement when God would send the living and the dead to heaven or hell, and by doing so, avert disaster by focusing them on penance and the cleansing of sin.²⁹⁵ Touris reminded his readers that no one knew when the Day of Judgment would arrive, but that before it came the "anti-christ" would come to try to turn people from the faith with lies and deceit, and whoever held firm against him would go to heaven. Touris was a good example of the type of preaching friar who put the fear of hell and the devil into the laypeople.²⁹⁶ When God came in judgment, people would be judged absolutely fairly, without partiality or mercy, and so it behoved people to cease their sin and do penance patiently. Harleian MS 6919 was written in a Tudor secretary hand, and

included an illustration similar to those in Scottish art of the same period. The illustration was of the early sixteenth century Flemish or German school, and showed the devil as a horned and scaly creature with goat's horns on a throne of sorts, within a fiery hell. He was attended by fiends, and from his throne he supervised the torture of souls by these fiends, many of whom had animal faces or bodies.²⁹⁷

Along with the attendant text, this scene was intended to warn the hard of heart against refusing to make satisfaction for their sins, reminding them of the terrible, endless torments of that "dirk dungeoun" and "perpetuall presoun".²⁹⁸

CONCLUSION

The theological and secular literature of the period and the artistic representations of the Day of Judgment, the devil and the jaws of hell, as well as the warnings of preachers and their own psychological needs,²⁹⁹ helped to form lay views on the nature of evil and hell. Hell represented the worst nightmares of humanity, a place of great physical, emotional and spiritual pain where sins were punished. Laypeople came to fear the forces of evil both within and without which might lead God to judge them unworthy and cast them into this fiery pit; the "devil" represented their own inherently sinful nature as well as dangerous external supernatural forces, and the inhabitants of hell were envisioned as personified human vices, their evil nature and sufferings in hell a warning to the living.

Laypeople's deepening sense of personal sinfulness and anxiety about death and salvation led them to respond to their images of hell by emphasising personal holiness and, in particular, the rites of the church. By supporting church rituals and institutions they hoped to avoid the lures of the devil and achieve spiritual worthiness; rites such as baptism and exorcism cleansed sin and the foundation of

chaplainries and colleges honoured God and made recompense for sinful human nature.³⁰⁰ However, laypeople also set great store by the intercession of the saints and Jesus. Prayers, masses, processions and foundations in honour of the saints, Mary, and Jesus were believed to bring the intercession of these supernatural beings, thus reducing the likelihood of hell after the particular and general judgments. Of primary importance in this intercessory role was the Blessed Virgin Mary herself. As most spiritually worthy of all people, beloved of God, mother of Jesus, she had the ear of God just as earthly queens had the ear of the king. It was to the mercy, compassion, and intercessory power of Mary that most Scots turned in the period 1480 to 1560, usually in tandem with that other most powerful and loving figure, her son Jesus Christ.

Once the laity had safely avoided being sent to hell directly after the particular Day of Judgment, it was to the intercession of Mary, Jesus and the saints, and the prayers and masses of the living, that the laity looked for succour. Direct entry to heaven after death was inconceivable given the sinful nature of humanity, but purgatory was a likelihood for Christians who had died sufficiently worthy to avoid the fires of hell. Thus laypeople looked to establish rituals and institutions which would aid them during their stay in purgatory, and to do so to greatest effect, they needed to understand the nature and function of this other state of being.

NOTES

1.cf. Alan Watts, Myth and Ritual in Christianity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1954), p. 222.

2.Ibid., pp. 222-4.

3.William Dunbar, "None May Assure in this World, The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 51-55 and ll. 66-70, p. 45 and ed. Alex Manson Kinghorn, The Middle Scots Poets (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), p. 20.

4.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

5.Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", in Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), ll. 9-11 and 37-40, pp. 205-6.

6.Carl Jung's answers to H.L. Philp, in Jung and the Problem of Evil, cited in Carl Jung, "Jung and Religious Belief", Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), p. 259, and Jung's answers to a letter from Rev. David Cox, in "Jung and Religious Belief", Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), pp. 274, 279-80 and 296.

7.Jung's answers to H.L. Philp, in Jung and the Problem of Evil, cited in Jung, "Jung and Religious Belief", Psychology and Western Religion, p. 259.

8.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, and Carl Jung, "Letter to Pere Lachat", in Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), pp. 243 and passim.

9.C.J. Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", in Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), p. 94.

10.cf. Jung's answers to H.L. Philp, in Jung and the Problem of Evil, cited in "Jung and Religious Belief", Psychology and Western Religion, pp. 262 and 265-6.

11.William Dunbar (attributed), "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 7, p.175.

12.Job II:9-10.

13.Jung's answers to H.L. Philp, in Jung and the Problem of Evil, cited in "Jung and Religious Belief", Psychology and Western Religion, p. 266.

14.Ibid., p. 268.

15.Ibid., pp. 92-3.

16.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. ix-x.

17.Ibid., f. cxxxix.

18.Ibid., f. cxxxi.

19.Ibid., f. x.

20.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, p. 274.

21.Ibid., I, Book 1, p. 246.

22.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. ix-x.

23.Kennedy, "The Passioun of Crist", p. 10.

24.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, pp. 270-1.

25.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. v-vi, ix and cxi, and "The Craft of Deyng", p. 7.

26.Bellenden, "The Excusation of the Prentar", p. 134, Robert Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland (c. 1550), intro. A.M. Stewart, Fourth Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1979), XI, pp. 135-6, and Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 92.

27.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 82-3, and Robert Henryson, "The Taill of the Wolf and the Lamb", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), pp. 89-95.

28.Gavin Douglas, "Prologue to the Sixth Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839), LXIV, 1, p. 299, Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 3, p. 30, William Dunbar, "Meditation in Wyntir", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), p. 27, and Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #5, p. 19, a "spiritual song".

29.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 6.

30.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #5, p. 19 and Bellenden, "The Excusation of the Prentar", p. 134.

31.Robert Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland, c. 1550, p. 135, regarding clergy, nobility, gentlemen and labourers, or those acting falsely with bad thoughts and intentions, in Ibid., pp. 135-6.

32. Sir David Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndsay", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), pp. 13-4. cf. Foulis Easter paintings of the Crucifixion and "God Triumphant", and the saints, Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

33. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

34. Watts, p. 225.

35. Gavin Douglas, "Prologue to the Sixth Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, I, p. 301, Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, p. 270, and Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, p. 24, citing Patrick Hamilton's Patrike's Places. cf. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #19, p. 42 and #7, p. 24.

36. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 64 and 74.

37. "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, John Asloan (compiler), ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. II of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1925), XVI, 1925, ll. 1185-92, p. 228, Dunbar, "Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak", The Bannatyne Manuscript, II, l. 34, p. 95, Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, p. 270, and Robert Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), compiler George Bannatyne, ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. IV of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), ll. 21 and 34, p. 943.

38. Dunbar, "Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak", The Bannatyne Manuscript, II, p. 94.

39. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

40. Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

41. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", IV, l. 103, p. 945, and Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 93, and Dunbar, "None May Assure in this Warld", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 68, p. 45.

42. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, Death. The Final Stage of Growth (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), passim.

43. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxiv, and Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #4, p. 17.

44. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", pp. 14-5.

45. Hamilton, Catechism, f. ix. cf. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #32, p. 67.

46. Watts, pp. 206-7 and 220.

47. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 92-3, and William of Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. II of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1925), p. 228.

48. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 64 and 78.

49. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxxi.

50. Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, l. 1227, p. 229. cf. Watts, p. 221 and Douglas, "Prologue of the Eleventh Book of the Aeneid", Gavin Douglas. A Selection from his Poetry, ed. Sydney Goodsir Smith (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1959), p. xiv.

51. Panel painting of the Crucifixion, Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus, c. 1480.

52. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 15 and "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 91 and 92, Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, l. 23, p. 943 and l. 55, p. 944, Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #5, p. 19, Hamilton, Catechism, f. x, and Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, p. 228.

53. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, l. 23, p. 943, and l. 55, p. 944, and Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 15.

54. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 15.

55. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxliv and cxlv.

56. Ibid., ff. cxl, cxliv and cliv.

57. Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland, p. 136, and Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 3, p. 30. The same idea appeared in Hamilton's Catechism, f. viii.

58. Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", p. 13.

59. Ibid., pp. 2-3, Lyndsay, "A Dialogue Of the Miserable Estate of the World, between Experience and the Courtier", in The Works of the Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (Edinburgh,

Peter Williamson and C. Elliot, 1776), pp. 8-11 and 16, and Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #3, pp. 14-7, and #4, pp. 17-8.

60.Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", in The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, 14-5, Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtcour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 77, and Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, p. 228.

61.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ane deuoit orisoun till our Lady callit O Intemerata", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, p. 284.

62.Dunbar, "None May Assure in This World", l. 69, p. 45, Hamilton, Catechism, f. x, and Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 15.

63.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 97.

64.Hamilton, Catechism, f. v.

65.Anonymous, "Eternall king that sittis in hevin so hie", The Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp. l. 38, p. 108.

66.Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum. cf. Threat that if a layperson breaks one of God's laws and dies without having done penance for it, she or he will be deprived perpetually of the sight of God, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. v. cf. Rest of thesis for discussions of the importance of "seeing" those seated at the high table of heaven.

67.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 92.

68.Ibid., II, Book 4, p. 97.

69.Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, p. 228.

70.Dunbar, "None May Assure in this World", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 68, p. 45. cf. H. Flanders Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consumation in the Divine Comedy (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), p. 23.

71.Hamilton, Catechism, f. x.

72."Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 98.

73.Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, pp. 942-6.

74. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, p. 270.

75. cf. Earl of Huntly and the tolbooth of Edinburgh, in John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848), Book 4, p. 281.

76. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 93, and Dunbar, "None May Assure in this Warld", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 68, p. 45.

77. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. v-vi.

78. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

79. Dunbar, "On the Resurrection of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 3, p. 159.

80. There are a number of references to this lay reaction to the "living Jesus" in the raised Host. One such reference is that of Archbishop Cranmer of England (1489-1556), in his Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine, cited by Oakley, in Francis Oakley, The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 88-9. Note that Rubin relates that the raising of the chalice did not excite the imagination of the laity in the same way that the raising of the Host did, and thus chalice imagery was not as prominent in Eucharistic imagery. She considers this situation to be partly a result of having denied the laity access to the Communion chalice, in Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 56.

81. Richard McBrien, Catholicism, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Oak Grove, MN: Winston, 1979), p. 764 and James Galbraith, "The Middle Ages", in Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland, eds. Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1984), p. 20, regarding Galbraith's interpretation that the construction of Scottish sacrament houses was more to encourage adoration of the Host than to protect it from misuse. However, note that there was enough concern about the possible misuse of the consecrated Host that the 1242 Constitutions of David, Bishop of St. Andrews, insisted that the eucharist be kept under lock and key, and the thirteenth century synodal statutes of the diocese of Aberdeen insisted that the sacrament house (*sacrarium*) have a proper door on it, in Patrick, pp. 58 and 35.

82. Dunbar, "The Resurrection of Christ", l. 4, p. 159.

83. Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consumation in the Divine Comedy, pp. 22-4.

84.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 2, pp. 312-3.

85.William Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 120-3.

86.Ibid., ll. 43-54, p. 121.

87.Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", pp. 14-5 and "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 82-93.

88.cf. Robert Henryson, "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig," The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), pp. 42-8.

89.Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 16-24, p. 120.

90.Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 14.

91.cf. Michael Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1981), pp. 15-7 and Robert Lamond, "The Scottish Craft Gild as a Religious Fraternity", SHR (Glasgow, 1919), XVI, pp. 201-3, citing APS, 1493, and Register of the Great Seal, January 1556, and James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869), pp. 199-200.

92.egs. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528, pp. 80, 129 and 214, and William Campbell, History of the Incorporation of Cordiners in Glasgow (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1883), p. 248.

93.cf. Chapters on "Secular Defilement" and "The Abominations of Leviticus", in Douglas, Purity and Danger, pp. 29-57 and passim.

94.Marion Stewart, "Holland's 'Howlat' and the Fall of the Livingstones", Innes Review (Autumn, 1975), XXVI, 2, pp. 67, 74 and 79, and John MacQueen, "The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland", in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Jennifer M. Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 196-7. Note that Sir Richard's patron was Elizabeth Dunbar, Countess of Moray and wife of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray; a warning of the sin of pride was timely for one of her station.

95.Robert Henryson, "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), ll. 596-99, pp. 18-9.

96.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

97.Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 31-42. pp. 120-1.

98. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 14.
99. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 82-3.
100. cf. Sir John Moffat, "The Wife of Auchtermuchty", Scottish Ballad Poetry (Glasgow: Abbotsford Club, 1893), pp. 259-64.
101. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, ll. 1263-4, p. 943, and "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ll. 1258-64, p. 46.
102. Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 43-54, p. 121.
103. Bellenden, "The Excusation of the Prentar", p. 134.
104. Henryson, "The Swallow and the Other Birds", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), ll. 1587-93, p. 56.
105. cf. "The Porteous of Noblenes", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. I of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), XIV, p. 173.
106. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.
107. Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 55-66, p. 121.
108. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", p. 14.
109. Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", ll. 67-88, pp. 121-2.
110. Roslin Chapel carvings of the seven deadly sins, and Robert Henryson, "The Want of Wyse Men", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), ll. 10, 15-6, p. 190, and "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 1300-13, p. 40.
111. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog", II, Book 4, p. 64.
112. Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 88-90, p. 122.
113. Ibid., ll. 25-30, p. 120.
114. cf. William Dunbar, "The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie, (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 85-97.
115. eg. William Dunbar, "Of Manis Mortalitie", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie, (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 149-50.

116.eg. Dunbar, "The Freiris of Berwick", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie, (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 182-95. cf. Sir David Lyndsay treats the same theme of clerical immorality in his "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis":

(Solace) For all the prelates of this nation

For the maist part,

They think nae shame to have a hure

And some has three under their cure,

in Sir David Lindsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites, Robert Kemp (acting text) (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1985), p.6.

117.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #29, p. 62, Robert Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland (c. 1550), intro. A.M. Stewart, Fourth Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1979), pp. 124-30, and John Knox, "The History of the Reformation", The Works of John Knox, Vols. I and II of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846 and 1848), pp. 1-473 and 1-566.

118.Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", I, p. 13.

119.Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, Vol. I of 4 vols., Text of the Poems, ed. Douglas Hamer, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), Book 2, ll. 2698-2700, p. 279.

120.Robert Henryson, "The Taill how this foirsaid Tod maid his Confessioun to Freir Wolf Waitskaith", and "The Taill of the Sone and Air of the foirsaid Foxe, callit Father Wer: Alswa the Parliament of fourfuttit Beistis, haldin be the Lyoun", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), ll. 775-95, pp. 24-5 and ll. 1111-1138, pp. 34-5, respectively.

121.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 2, pp. 330 and 343. In historical terms, Queen Semiramis ruled for several decades in a completely legitimate position as head of her nation, this being the era of the "goddess religions" when women had higher status in a number of areas of life and work.

122.Ibid., I, Book 2, pp. 330 and 340-1. The present historical understanding is that she led armies, but in the sixteenth century such female military involvement was anathema to many male writers.

123.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 2, pp. 343-4.

124.cf. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", I, p. 13.

125.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, pp. 335, in which he made it clear that in order to be a good woman, an "A per se", a woman must be chaste, and "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", I, p.

13. In the latter work, Lyndsay mentioned that some women (he named empresses, queens, ladies of honour, duchesses and countesses) were in hell because of "tyisting men to lychorye".

126.Ibid., I, Book 2, pp. 330 and 343-5, and "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", I, p. 13.

127.Lindsay, "A Dialogue of the Miserable Estate of the World, between Experience and the Courtier", The Works of the Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, p. 24.

128.Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", I, pp. 13-4.

129.Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, II, Book 4, p. 380.

130.Ibid., II, Book 4, pp. 380-1. cf. "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. IV of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), pp. 365-420.

131.Ibid., pp. 351, 365-7 and 369.

132.Henryson, "The Taill how this foirsaid Tod maid his Confessioun to Freir Wolf Waiteskaith", Poems, ll. 793-5, p. 25.

133.cf. SRO CC9/7/1, CC20/4/1 and CC8/8/1A, passim.

134.SRO CC9/7/1.

135.William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols. Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), p. 266.

136.SRO RH2/2/14/18.

137.SRO RH2/2/14/18. Along with this transcript of Hepburn's testament by Cosmo Innes was a note regarding this summons of 1536.

138.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

139.Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", I, p. 3.

140.Robert Henryson, "The Ressoning betuix Deth and Man", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), compiler George Bannatyne, ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols, (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), ll. 25-32, p. 154 and ll. 44-8, p. 155.

141.Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 91-102, p. 122.

142.Ibid., ll. 109-20, p. 123.

143.Walter Kennedy, "The Passioun of Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), p. 10.

144.cf. Jhone Leslie, The Historie of Scotland, trans. Father James Dalrymple (1596), ed. E.G. Cody, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1895), pp. 226-7 (James V's address to parliament about defence of the faith against heresy), ed. Robert Kerr Hannay, Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1932), p. 342 ((1530 agreement to carry out James V's mandate), and ed. G.S. Pryde, Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1937), p. 111 (1525 parliamentary act).

145.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, pp. 83-5 and 86.

146.Confirmation of the hospital foundation made by Bishop Gavin Dunbar on 24 February, 1531/2, in "Bishop Dunbar's Hospital", Records of Old Aberdeen. MCCCCXCVIII-MCMIII, ed. Alexander MacDonald Munro, Vol. II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1909), p. 280.

147.Ibid., pp. 268-9.

148.Ibid., p. 262.

149.Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. A Study in Religious Sociology, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1915, pp. 309, 420-1 and passim.

150.In a Highland prayer recorded in the nineteenth century, God was entreated to fulfil His function as victor over Satan on humanity's behalf: "Be Thou a shield to us from the wiles of the deceiver, / From the arch-destroyer with his arrows pursuing us", in ed. Alexander Carmichael, "Holy Father of Glory", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1940), III, p. 22.

151.William Dunbar, "Done is a Battell on a Dragon Blak", The Bannatyne Manuscript, compiler George Bannatyne, ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), ll. 1-8, pp. 94-5. The same celebration of Jesus' epic triumph over the devil and sin can be found in Gavin Douglas' Prologue to the eleventh book of the Aeneid. Douglas referred to Jesus as "kyng Cryste in batell", who served as an example to those too cowardly to fight the battle against sin, in Gavin Douglas, "Prologue to the Eleventh Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, ed. George Dundas, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839), LXIV, 2, l. 14, p. 67.

152.John of Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", in The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. I of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), XIV, p. 13.

153.Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, ll. 25-32, p. 943.

154.Dunbar, "On the Resurrection of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 11-5, p. 160.

155.Hamilton, Catechism, f. clix.

156.Dunbar, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 82, p. 122.

157.Dunbar, "On the Resurrection of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 5, p. 159.

158.Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 160-2, and ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 69-72, p. 324.

159.Sir David Lyndsay, "A Dialogue of the Miserable Estate of the World, between Experience and the Courtier", The Works of the Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (Edinburgh: Peter Williamson and C. Elliot, 1776), p. 25.

160.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

161.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

162.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian and Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

163.Dunbar, "The Devillis Inquest", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 106, p. 79.

164.Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, l. 18, p. 943. cf. Catechism image of the devil as a rampaging lion, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. clix.

165.Trial of Alexander Hamilton in Murray, p. 50, citing Justiciary Court, Edinburgh.

166.Ibid., p. 55.

167.William Dunbar, "On the Resurrection of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 159-160, the same poem being entitled "Done is a Battell on a Dragon Blak" in the Bannatyne Manuscript.

168.Glasgow Cathedral, Lanarkshire, and Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

169.Murray, p. 47.

170.Sigmund Freud, "Tenth Lecture: Symbolism in Dreams" in Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis. A Course of Twenty-Eight Lectures Delivered at the University of Vienna, trans. Joan Riviere. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1922), p. 133.

171.Nel Noddings, Women and Evil (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 90 and Anna Jean Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland, Vol. XXIV of St. Andrews University Publications (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1927), p. 84.

172. Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland, p. 74.

173. Mill, "The Perth Hammermen's Play. A Scottish Garden of Eden", Scottish Historical Review (Aberdeen, 1970), XLIX, pp. 146-7, and C. Hunt, The Perth Hammermen Book (1518 to 1568) (Perth: Hammermen Incorporation of Perth, 1889), p. 3.

174. Mill, "The Perth Hammermen's Play", pp. 146-7.

175. Hunt, pp. 18-9.

176. Mill, "The Perth Hammermen's Play", p. 147.

177. Ibid., p. 146.

178. Hunt, pp. 3 (1518), 18-9 (1522), 33 (1534) and 78-9 (1553), and Mill, "The Perth Hammermen's Play", pp. 146-7. Note that one of the payments in 1522 was for "bluid and thairn", indicating that there was an attempt at realism in the Corpus Christi play, which would have reminded the laity of the real physical suffering experienced by the human Jesus at the Crucifixion, in Ibid., p. 18.

179. Hunt, pp. 78-9.

180. R.W. Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 126-7 and 137.

181. Douglas, "Prologue to the Eleventh Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, II, pp. 672 and 676.

182. Alexander Myln, "'Lives of the Bishops' (Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldense) (A.D. 1483-1517)", in Rentale Dunkeldense, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1915), p. 328.

183. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, l. 17, p. 943 and l. 49, p. 944.

184. George Seton, A History of the Family of Seton, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1896), p. 956.

185. Dunbar, "The Devillis Inquest", The Poems of William Dunbar, pp. 76-9. Note that in 1551, parliament decided that poor persons who swore and could not pay their fines were to be imprisoned for four hours in the stocks, in eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. II. A.D. MCCCCXXIV-A.D. MDLXVII (Edinburgh: H.M. Register House, 1814), p. 485.

186. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, p. 260.

187. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 2.

188. Alexander Hamilton was said to have agreed to worship the devil in 1624 in return for never lacking food, clothing or money, and Lillias Adie was promised material happiness in 1704 if she had

intercourse with the devil. However, the message to the laity was that the devil never delivered on his promises, only gaining allegiance to pursue his own ends. Thus Hamilton recalled being beaten for missing one appointment with the devil, and Adie said the association had brought her only misery and poverty, in Murray, pp. 49, 51 and 55.

189.Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", I, pp. 5-6.

190.Ibid., I, p. 6.

191.Walter Kennedy, "Honour with Age", eds. John MacQueen and Tom Scott, The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 99-100.

192.Lindsay, "A Dialogue of the Miserable Estate of the World, Between Experience and the Courtier", The Works of the Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, pp. 25.

193.William Dunbar, "Of the Nativitie of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), p. 159.

194.William Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", The Poems of William Dunbar (ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 7-8, p. 20.

195.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 4, p. 64.

196.Kennedy, "Honour with Age", p. 100.

197.Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, Book 1, p. 289.

198.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", pp. 2-3.

199.Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland, pp. 131 and 133.

200.eg. Henryson, "The Taill of the Scheip and the Doig", Poems, pp. 35-40.

201.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Jesus Psalter", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 145-6, p. 199.

202.John Hamilton, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559, ed. Alex F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), f. clxxiv.

203.Bennett, "The Jesus Psalter", pp. 198-9.

204.ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #32, p. 67.

205.Ibid., #31, pp. 66-7.

206. Sigmund Freud, "Twenty-fifth Lecture: Anxiety", in Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis. A Course of Twenty-Eight Lectures Delivered at the University of Vienna, trans. Joan Riviere (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1922). Post-Freudian psycho-analysts of the school of Melanie Klein are helpful in discussions of anxiety about death and faith in the pre-Reformation period. A variety of writers provide useful insights, including: Elliott Jaques, "Social Systems as Defence Against Persecutory and Depressive Anxiety. A Contribution to the Psycho-Analytical Study of Social Processes" and R.E. Money-Kyrle, "An Inconclusive Contribution to the Theory of the Death Instinct", both in New Directions in Psycho-Analysis. The Significance of Infant Conflict in the Pattern of Adult Behaviour, eds. Melanie Klein, Paula Heimann and R.E. Money-Kyrle, (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1955), and Paula Heimann, "Notes on the Theory of Life and Death Instincts" and Melanie Klein, "On the Theory of Anxiety and Guilt", both in Developments in Psycho-Analysis, ed. Joan Riviere (London: The Hogarth Press Ltd., 1952).

207. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

208. Money-Kyrle, "An Inconclusive Contribution to the Theory of the Death Instinct", p. 509.

209. Durkheim, p. 412.

210. egs. As a result of Hector Blacader's failure to pass with the "pece" on Palm Sunday, Edinburgh burgh council decided, in 1556, to institute an automatic fine of 40s. for anyone failing to pass with the "pece". As well as the fine, the offender was required to pass with the "pece" the following Sunday, in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1528-57 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869), p. 240.

211. Ian Muirhead, "The Beginnings", in Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland, eds. Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1984), p. 11,

212. cf. Philippe Aries, The Hour of Our Death, trans. Helen Weaver (London: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 124, Lyall, "Dunbar and the Franciscans", pp. 255-6, Ian B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation. Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), pp. 101, 103, 166 and passim, and Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #29, p. 61. Note that on 26 June, 1518, a brief was drawn up by Pope Leo X condemning priests' exhortations to laypeople to cease their support for mendicant prayers and services. That is, if laypeople wanted to be buried in the friary church, the parish priest was not to insist that the body be taken to the parish church first for divine services, thereby uplifting a fee. Nor were parish priests to refuse to grant extreme unction or celebrate the Eucharist on behalf of laypeople who had confessed to the friars rather than to their parish priest. The Pope gave the laity the right to be consulted as to whether a parish priest had refused these rites with just cause. That is, if he did so, the "neighbours" or the notary public were to be consulted on the matter. Further, the laity were allowed to attend Mass in the friary church on Sundays or other festival days if they so wished, and as a number of Scots joined the Third Order of St. Francis, it was to be expected that a greater number at least would have wished

to hear Mass in friary churches, if not to join the lay wing of the Franciscans. Apparently some rectors of churches and ordinaries in various parts of Europe had been ordering laypeople not to attend services in friary churches, or to confess to friars, or to be buried in friary churches, or even to give alms to friars (or sometimes demanding that half of these alms be paid to themselves). The Pope referred to certain secular clergy who were "terrify[ing] the simple people who fear censures" into doing as they ordered, claiming half of alms or burial fees owed to friaries, and sometimes even snatching bodies buried in friaries in order to claim mortuary and funeral fees. The Pope demanded an ending to this behaviour from the secular clergy, thereby leaving the friars to continue in their "praiseworthy labours, and have greater quietness to plead with God for the recovery and salvation of the erring", in ed. R.W. Cochran-Patrick, Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr (Edinburgh: Ayr and Wigton Archaeological Association, 1881), pp. 87-9. This papal bull indicates that laypeople acted in accordance with their understanding of which clerics could best offer them the best spiritual services and aid in the pursuit of personal holiness. Note that this trend to support of friars is borne out by the Ayrshire testaments and obits, the testaments including few pious donations which do not go to friaries, other than monies associated with the parish priest's services just prior to death or in relation to the funeral and burial. The parish church in Ayr was still of importance to local laypeople, but clearly the friars in the vicinity also claimed their loyalty. (See Chapter 6)

213. Robert Henryson, "The Preiching of the Swallow", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition (London, Clarendon, 1974), Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 1923-9, p. 65.

214. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, p. 166.

215. Audrey-Beth Fitch, "Assumptions about Plague in Late Medieval Scotland", SCOTIA: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (Norfolk, 1987), XI, pp. 30-40, T.C. Smout, "Coping with Plague in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Scotland", SCOTIA. American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (April, 1978), II, pp. 19-33, and Aries, The Hour of Our Death, 124.

216. Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1890), p. 192.

217. cf. Robert Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", ll. 19-21, p. 163 and "The Thre Deid Pollis", l. 12, p. 205, in Robert Henryson, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), and Anonymous, "The Craft of Deyng", in Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), pp. 1-2.

218. SRO CC9/7/1, CC20/4/1 and CC8/8/1A, *passim*.

219. Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, p. 14, and Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 6. cf. SRO CC9/7/1, CC20/4/1/ and CC8/8/1A, *passim*.

220.Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxiv.

221.Mary Daly, Gyn/Ecology. The Metaethics of Radical Feminism (London: The Women's Press, 1979), p. 37.

222.For example, one church ritual firmly supported by much of the laity was the Eucharist. (See Chapters 9 and 10) True belief and spiritual preparedness were required of those attending Mass, but the efficacy of the sacrament did not rest wholly upon the shoulders of the average layperson, which was important since the laity felt so spiritually inadequate. The great efficacy of the sacrament rested in the real presence of Jesus in the sacrament, and the promise of salvation that this mystery represented. Thus meditation on the Passion of Jesus, encouraged by poet and theologian alike, as well as participation in the Mass, were logical routes for laypeople seeking reassurance of the promise of salvation, and willing to do their share in achieving it for themselves.

223.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cii, and Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", p. 3.

224.Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London, Ark, 1984, first published 1966), p. 174.

225.cf. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cc-cci.

226.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 5, and Dunbar, "The Devillis Inquest", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 76-9.

227.John Bellenden, "The Excusation of the Prentar", in his translation of Hector Boece's History of Scotland, in Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century, ed. George Eyre-Todd (Glasgow, Abbotsford Club, 1892), pp. 110-1 (editor's notes) and p. 134 (Bellenden). cf. Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", in The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), Book 4, p. 92.

228.H.C. Erik Midelfort, "The Devil and the German People: Reflections on the Popularity of Demon Possession in Sixteenth-Century Germany", in Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation, ed. Steven Ozment, Vol. XI of Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, gen. ed. Charles G. Nauert, Jr. (Kirkville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), p. 111.

229.Hallen, Abstract of Protocol Book of the Burgh of Stirling. A.D. 1469-1484, pp. 47-8, citing Stirling Protocol Book, p. 263.

230.Note that God's principal methods of punishing humanity for breaking His commands were hunger, pestilence and war, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. viii.

231.Douglas, Purity and Danger, 175.

232.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxlvi.

233.Ibid., Preface.

234.The documents relating to these issues are too numerous to relate. See Chapter 10 for a discussion of lay concerns about clerical standards.

235.cf. The views of the "Lollards of Kyle" in the late fifteenth century, and the "martyrs" mentioned by John Knox, in John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), CXII, 1, pp. 8-10, pp. 149-70 (regarding George Wishart) and passim, and "Appendix V: Foxe's Account of Henry Forrest, and Other Martyrs in Scotland, during the Reign of King James the Fifth", in The Works of John Knox, I, pp. 516-26, and Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #31, p. 65. "Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir" is the refrain of this spiritual song, emphasising the reforming belief that God required one's "heart" in return for freeing humanity.

236.cf. The Craft of Deyng", pp. 1-2 regarding the necessity of dying in the faith and sacraments of holy church, and ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), pp. 174-5, regarding standards of service.

237.cf. William Dunbar, "How Dumbar wes Desyrd to be Ane Freir", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 3-4, and Lyall, "Dunbar and the Franciscans", p. 254.

238.Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", passim.

239.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxxxix.

240.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Laus honor et gloria", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), p. 284.

241.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxxv.

242.Watts, pp. 194 and 201, and Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #3, p. 16.

243.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxxxi-cxxxii.

244.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #3, p. 16.

245.It is significant that in 1704 Lillias Adie reportedly first renounced her baptism before agreeing to lie carnally with the devil, in Murray, p. 55. It was the protection that baptism afforded her against the devil and sin that had been surrendered in a symbolic fashion. Whereas women, as usual, were associated with sexuality and evil, male sinfulness involved a willingness to become the devil's "man". In 1630 Alexander Hamilton was accused of having become the devil's bondsman, and then engaging in sorcery, prior to which he had surrendered his protection against sin by renouncing his baptism, in Ibid., pp. 49-50. Both instances reveal the immense power associated with the devil as the personification of personal sinfulness, and the powerful protection against this afforded by

baptism. As the Protestant church only allowed two sacraments, those of baptism and the "Lord's Supper" (Eucharist), it is unsurprising that laypeople in post-Reformation Scotland put even more faith in the purifying and protective powers of the baptismal rite, in contrast to their pre-Reformation counterparts, who had such rites as extreme unction and penance in addition to baptism to achieve the same end. Even the form of the sacrament mattered to some of the laity. In 1569 John Adam of Mauchline, Ayrshire, was excommunicated for presenting his child to be baptised by a Catholic priest. Presumably he felt that the rite was only effective if carried out according to Catholic rules, in Session 2, 2 March, 1569, ed. Thomas Thomson, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland From the Year MDLX (The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland), Vol. I of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1839), p. 159.

246.Ibid., pp. 10 and 12.

247.H.C. Erik Midelfort, "Madness and the Problems of Psychological History in the Sixteenth Century", Sixteenth Century Journal (Spring, 1981), XII, 1, pp. 10-1.

248.In the nineteenth century it was recorded that, in Lewis, it was believed that if a lunatic walked seven times around the temple of St. Molonal, was sprinkled with the water from St. Ronan's well, then was bound and left in sight of the altar for a night and managed to sleep, God would most likely cure the lunatic, in Arthur Mitchell, "On Various Superstitions in the North-West Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Especially in Relation to Lunacy", Proceedings (Edinburgh, 1863), IV, pp. 267-8.

249.Mitchell, "On Various Superstitions in the North-West Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Especially in Relation to Lunacy", p. 285.

250.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, ed. Hamer, I, Book 2, l. 2366, p. 269, and Thomas Ross, "Restalrig and the Well of St. Triduana", SHR (Glasgow, April, 1909.), VI, 23, p. 334.

251.Note that the Catholic hierarchy also had difficulties controlling the laity's strong faith in the power of wells, shrines and local saints to heal and otherwise lend assistance. An example of the way in which the official church followed lay practice is the steps toward canonisation of saints. Usually the saint who was canonised began as a local hero, and it was pressure from the local people which eventually led to the "hero" being sanctified, not any desire on the papacy's part to have such an array of saints, many of whom had dubious claims to "authentic" saintly holiness. The outrage expressed by the Catholic laity in the twentieth century when the papacy struck so many saints from the official list lends weight to the theory that it is the laity who were and are the major supporters of the cult of saints, not the higher clergy.

252.Myln, "Lives of the Bishops", p. 313.

253.John Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 75.

254.ed. A.W. Cornelius Hallen, Abstract of Protocol Book of the Burgh of Stirling. A.D. 1469-1484 (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable at the University Press, 1896), p. 47, citing Stirling Protocol Book, p. 263.

255.Seton collegiate church, East Lothian.

256.Dickson and Edmond, pp. 196-7.

257.In William Dunbar's poem "How Dunbar wes Desyrd to be ane Freir", Dunbar stated that his dream was demonically-inspired. That is, in the dream a demon, dressed as St. Francis, tried to convince him to become a Franciscan friar, in R.J. Lyall, "Dunbar and the Franciscans", Medium Aevum (Cambridge, 1977), XLVI, 2, pp. 4 and 254. In post-Reformation Scotland the devil was the evil equivalent of God. He was believed to be an object of worship and a source of ritual, so witches and devil-worshippers were "idolatrous"; by denying the true God they broke the First Commandment. Any rituals that were unpopular with the authorities could be labelled devilish and idolatrous. In this period they included Catholic rituals. cf. John Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 79 and M.A. Murray, "Two Trials for Witchcraft", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh, December, 1921), LVI, p. 46. Those believed to be "possessed" by the devil were often those engaging in Catholic rites. For example, in 1576 Bessie Dunlop of Ayr was said to have been tempted by the devil to become a Catholic, and Anny Sampson, the wise woman of Keith, used remnants of Catholic prayers in her "magic", these being ascribed to the devil (eg. the *Ave Maria* was used in one of her spells), in E.J. Cowan, "The Darker Version of the Scottish Reformation: the Devil and Francis Stewart", The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland. Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson, eds. Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), pp. 125 and 128, citing Pitcairn Trials, I, Part 3, pp. 237-8. A letter of 29 July, 1559 from the "Lords of the Congregation", referred to Catholic rituals such as the Mass as "superstitious damnable idolatrie and of the devill", in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1557-71 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1875), p. 47.

258.Andrew of Wyntoun, cited by Norman Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982), p. 275. Note that James I had advocated the cold water ordeal to discover witches, a practice which was popular in England at the time, but it never became a common method in Scotland, apart from in a few isolated places (eg. witch pool in parish of Kirriemuir), in W.N. Neill, "The Professional Pricker and his Test for Witchcraft", Scottish Historical Review (Glasgow, October, 1921), XIX, 73, p. 205, citing the Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-9, XII, p. 197. Discovering the "witch's mark" was popular by the eighteenth century, this mark being the mark of the devil, in Ibid., p. 206, citing C.K. Sharpe, A Historical Account of the Belief in Witchcraft in Scotland, 1884, pp. 104-5.

259.cf. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 8, where the author advises his clerical audience, who are involved with the dying, to tell

their parishioners to forsake the heresies and witchcrafts forbidden by the church.

260. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

261. Mitchell, "On Various Superstitions in the North-West Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Especially in Relation to Lunacy", p. 259.

262. Malden, p. 23.

263. Acta Sancti Paenitentiarum Apostolicae (ASPA), Reg. Matrim. et Diver. (University of Glasgow). Vol. XL, Innocent VIII, anno vii (1490), ff. 310v and 312r.

264. Ibid., XLVI, Alexander VI, anno vi (1497), f. 305.

265. Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, Book 1, p. 153.

266. This interpretation is supported by Robert Scribner's studies of sixteenth century German laypeople, in Robert Scribner, "Magic and the Formation of Protestant Popular Culture in Germany", Popular Culture in Question (conference), (University of Essex, April, 1991), p. 9.

267. Bassandyne's inventory of goods included such books as Latin double (*doubill*) and Calvinist catechisms (total of 1692 copies), following in the footsteps of the great Catholic catechisms of the pre-Reformation Catholic Continental theologians, and of Archbishop Hamilton in Scotland. There were also such books as Modus Orandi Dei, Exhortationes to Prayaris and Prayaris vpoun the Psalmes (1280 copies). Lay devotion to Jesus and laypeople's desire to model their lives on His, a theme visible in the pre-Reformation period, provided a market for such books as The Imitation of Christ, Benefite of Christ and the Confessioun of Christ. Books to guide one's daily life included Obedience of ane Cristiane Man (eight copies), Floure of Verteu (nine copies), Thressour of ane Pure Man, Myrror of Mannis Lyf, Calveyne vpoun Offences and the Reward of Wikkitnes. For women in particular there was the Instruction of Cristiane Wemen. To prepare for death and give meaning to illness, which signalled God's intervention in one's life, there were books such as the Seikmennis Saule (fourteen copies), Exhortation to the Seik, Buke of Deith and Feir of Deid, such works even more necessary since the security of the Catholic teachings on purgatory and the sacrament of extreme unction promising God's mercy were no longer available, in Dickson and Edmond, pp. 195-200. Originally extreme unction had been a rite of healing, whereby the priest anointed and prayed for the person who was ill, intending to bring the ill person back to physical and spiritual health. It was the "Viaticum" centring on the celebration of the Eucharist as the final rite of passage (preceded by confession and absolution), which was to be the true "last rite" before death. However, by the late Middle Ages, "extreme unction" was seen less as a rite of healing and more as a sacrament for souls between grave illness and death, the Franciscan and Dominicans schools of theology stating that the sacrament was a powerful means of washing people of sin. The Council of Trent, in its Doctrine on the Sacrament of Extreme Unction (1551), referred to

the sacrament's ability to wash away spiritual and physical sin, and give comfort to the soul by making the dying confident of God's mercy and willing to accept their illness. Note that in the Middle Ages there was a growing tendency to hold back the administration of the sacrament until the very final moments of illness, which McBrien feels led to abuses in its use, in McBrien, II, pp. 784-6 and Watts, p. 210. cf. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clviii-clxi. Note that, by 1579, Lyndsay's works had been printed in numerous forms. That is, in 1554 and 1559 his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World" was published by J. Scot at St. Andrews. This work is one of the richest sources of contemporary religious imagery and descriptions of lay religious attitudes. Then in 1568, Scot published the complete works of Sir David Lyndsay, in Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904), this version Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1970.

268. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, ll. 19-20, p. 943 and l. 113, p. 946. cf. Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", I, pp. 4.

269. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxl.

270. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Sancta Maria mater dei regina celi et terre", in Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), p. 284.

271. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", pp. 322-34.

272. Kennedy, "The Passioun of Crist", ll. 50-70, p. 9.

273. Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, ll. 113-20, p. 946. cf. Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", I, pp. 7-8.

274. Henryson, "The Ressoning betuix Deth and Man", The Bannatyne Manuscript, II, ll. 45-8, p. 155. cf. "The Thre Rois Garlandis", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), pp. 299-321, and Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, p. 228.

275. Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", I, pp. 7-8.

276. Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, pp. 228-30 regarding the nature of hell, and passim.

277. Douglas, "Prologue to the Eleventh Book", II, l. 16, p. 673 and pp. 672-3, passim.

278. Kennedy, "The Passioun of Crist", pp. 8-9.

279. MacQueen, "The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland", p. 197.

280. Douglas, "Prologue to the Eleventh Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, II, ll. 10-3, p. 673.

- 281.Ibid., II, pp. 672-4.
- 282.Ibid., II, ll. 15-22, p. 673.
- 283.Ibid., II, ll. 13-20, p. 674.
- 284.Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, II, pp. 239-40 and 219.
- 285.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #7, pp. 23 and 24.
- 286.Ibid., IV, ll. 45 and 49, p. 944.
- 287.Ibid., IV, l. 45, p. 944, and Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 3.
- 288.Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, ll. 59-80, pp. 944-5.
- 289.Henryson, "The Bludy Serk", The Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, ll. 89-96, 105-112 and 118-20, pp. 945-6.
- 290.Patrick, #192-3, pp. 101-3.
- 291.Gavin Douglas, The Palice of Honour (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), pp. 64-70.
- 292.Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", I, pp. 2-3.
- 293.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", pp. 1-4.
- 294.Kennedy, "The Passioun of Crist", ll. 29-32, p. 8.
- 295.William of Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 681-96, p. 111.
- 296.Ibid., ll. 697-712, p. 112.
- 297.Ibid., Harleian MS 6919 illustration, facing p. 143. Note that Bennett's version of "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris" combines the Harleian MS 6919 and Arundel MS 285 versions, but only the Harleian manuscript contains illustrations.
- 298.Ibid., ll. 1193-1200, p. 144.
- 299.Anthony Ross, "Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), p. 187 regarding the value of mendicant preaching to both "sides" during the Reformation period, and Alasdair A. MacDonald, "Catholic Devotion into Protestant Lyric: The Case of the Contemplacioun of Synnaris", IR (Autumn, 1984), XXXV, 2, p. 70, regarding the friars' encouragement of the spiritual "quickenning" of Scotland in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
- 300.This chapter on hell concentrates on lay images of hell's nature and function, rather than on lay responses to these images. Much of the thesis is, in effect, a response to images of states of being in

the afterlife, including images of hell. Foundations of chaplainries and colleges, and to a certain degree pilgrimage, are mentioned primarily in the final part of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4:

PURGATORY

INTRODUCTION

The concept of purgatory is one which, once developed, held great currency in Catholic societies up to the twentieth century. Its resonance for the lay imagination can be measured by its persistence within lay ranks, despite the official attempt to change its nature as a place of punishment and expiation to that of a process, or spiritual joining with God.¹ Some writers have implied that Scottish belief in purgatory declined towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and have emphasised the rise of various Protestant doctrines such as justification by faith, which would have eliminated the need for a place such as purgatory.² However, the concept of purgatory was crucial to the late medieval Scottish religious outlook, and the reported rejection of the concept of purgatory by the politically and religiously pragmatic Arran should not be taken to represent the majority of Scottish opinion. Nor did Arran's comment represent the Catholic hierarchy's opinions about purgatory, for even the "minimalising" compilers of Archbishop Hamilton's 1552 Catechism endorsed the concept, insisting on its biblical basis.³ The vitriol directed at the doctrine by the reformers underscored its firm hold on the Scottish imagination.

The strength of the concept was that it provided a middle place between earth and heaven, where sins could be atoned for and the sinner eventually reconciled with God and sent to heaven. It involved belief in the value of personal penance, masses and prayers for the dead, good works, indulgences, and the intervention of

Jesus, Mary and the saints, and it resulted in a strong lay concern for high standards of clerical execution of rituals. It symbolised the notion of spiritual reconciliation which was so central to the penitential system functioning in the later Middle Ages. Before discussing how the laity responded to its perceptions of purgatory, it will be helpful to discuss the nature and function of purgatory, and the imagery associated with this state of being.

EVOLUTION, NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE CONCEPT OF PURGATORY

In the fifth century, St. Augustine had articulated the concept of a purifying fire on the Day of Judgment, in which souls would suffer so that their sins would be forgiven and they would escape hell. He also had maintained that the prayers of saints or suffrages for the dead could help tip the scales in favour of heaven at the time between physical death and Judgment. He did not quite develop the idea of a waiting place called "purgatory", but he set the stage for the development of this idea. He related the welfare of dead souls to the activities of the living in soliciting saintly intercession, suffrages on the dead souls' behalf (egs. prayers, alms, fasts) and the application of divine mercy.⁴ Sometime between 1150 and 1200 the word "purgatorium" first appeared, defining the location and function of purgatory, and in 1439 the Council of Florence officially defined it as an article of faith.

Purgatory was a "location" in that it was the place or state into which souls might move after death if they went neither to heaven nor to hell. By the fifteenth century the implicit assumption was that almost no one died in a sufficiently worthy state to be accepted directly into heaven (ie. except saints and martyrs), so even good Christian people would spend some time in purgatory; few could have done sufficient penance to atone for their

sins by the time of death. In purgatory, souls were progressively purified by suffering various punishments until they had atoned for their sins and were worthy to ascend to heaven.⁵ The duration of this trial of torment, suffering and purgation varied according to the efficacy of the prayers of the souls in purgatory, and the prayers and rituals celebrated by the living on behalf of the suffering souls.⁶

The location and nature of purgatory helped to define the exact nature of the particular (individual) and general Days of Judgment, providing a midway point between the particular Judgment, which occurred after one's death, and the general Judgment, which occurred at Jesus' second coming. Purgatory was nearer to heaven than to hell,⁷ because the souls housed there had died in a state of grace, had been sent to purgatory after the particular Day of Judgment, and were waiting and suffering until such time as they could enter heaven. By contrast, those who had died in a state of "unrepented mortal sin" were sent directly to hell after the particular Day of Judgment.⁸

Purgatory answered a medieval need to see justice being served in a precise manner. "Imperfect souls" could not move directly to heaven, yet the tripartite system of heaven, hell and purgatory promised that complete purification could ultimately be achieved and salvation attained.⁹ The various sacraments and activities of the church (eg. altar foundations) allowed the laity to actively seek out ways to attain "hevynnis bliss".¹⁰ Jacques Le Goff attributed the laity's obsession with rising to heaven as the main motivation for believing so strongly in purgatory.¹¹

For devout Catholics, the nature of purgatory changed little from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Common images of

purgatory in the Middle Ages were those which described it as a freezing or fiery torment and a place where one experienced the agony of loss. St. Catherine of Genoa was a popular late fifteenth century writer, whose works may have been read by literate Scots of the day, particularly clerics. St. Catherine wrote that, in purgatory, souls: ". . . endure a torment so extreme that no tongue can describe it, nor could the understanding conceive the least notion of it, if God did not make it known by a particular grace . . . As to the suffering, it is equal to that of hell."¹²

The Venerable Bede recited the story of Drithelm, a Northumberland man who was so terrified by the vision of purgatory that God showed him after his death that, on being restored to life, he went directly to a monastery and there lived an ascetic life of fasting and penance.¹³ This vision of purgatory was reportedly one of a valley of ice and snow on one side, and braziers and cauldrons of flame on the other, between which souls were tossed without surcease. These souls had converted at the last minute, or had neglected to confess their sins. They were being given a chance to repent, confess and detest their sins, and thus be raised to heaven at the Day of Judgment; they might reach heaven even more quickly if those on earth gave sufficient alms or founded sufficient prayers, fasts and masses on their behalf.¹⁴

Bede's work had wide circulation in Europe in the centuries following his death, and there is no reason to suppose that he did not have wide readership amongst the influential literate clerics of Scotland. For instance, Bede's work was owned by Alexander Anderson (d. 1577), sub-principal, King's College, Aberdeen, who remained a Catholic after the Reformation, by John Annand (d. c. 1550) canon regular of St. Andrews and principal of St. Leonard's College, by

Alexander Galloway (d. c. 1552), canon of Aberdeen and rector of Kinkell, and by ardent Catholic apologist, schoolmaster of Linlithgow, and later abbot of Regensburg (*Ratisbon*), Ninian Winzet.¹⁵

St. Teresa of Avila, in the Castle of the Soul, referred to the pain of loss suffered by those who were denied the sight of God, toward whom they were drawn as He was the "centre of their aspiration", but by whose divine justice they were denied their wish.¹⁶ In his forty-seventh *Homily*, St. Chrysostom described the pain experienced by those deprived of the sight of God: "Imagine all the torments of the world, you will not find one equal to the privation of the beatific vision of God."¹⁷

In terms of European evidence, the term "purgatory", while it was used by writers and theologians, normally was absent from "documentary" evidence such as testaments and religious foundations. This does not mean that laypeople were unaware of purgatory, but rather that it was an underlying assumption of their activities, and thus did not need to be commented upon. For example, in Marie-Therese Lorcin's study of the Plat Pays rural region near Lyon from the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries, not one testament mentioned the word "purgatory". Despite this omission, Lorcin felt confident in maintaining that belief in purgatory imbued all of these testaments, because the testators requested alms, masses and prayers "for the welfare of their soul".¹⁸ Scottish evidence helps to provide further justification for the judgment that late medieval laypeople understood the meaning of purgatory. The term "purgatory" was used in some Scottish obit and chaplainry foundations; unlike the French, Scots normally made such foundations prior to the drawing up of a testament. Thus the mention of purgatory in

Scottish religious foundations, coupled with the evidence and interpretations offered by European historians, make it clear that, whether the word "purgatory" was used or not, testators and founders were fully aware of the nature and function of this place or state of being, and were acting upon their knowledge to make the best possible arrangements for the safety of their souls.¹⁹

An emphasis on prayer and Christian obligation to help souls in purgatory existed alongside an emphasis on personal penance. Personal penance meant seeking divine forgiveness for sin both before and after death, through prayer and ritual, with the ultimate end of achieving acceptability in the eyes of God.²⁰ As purgatory was the place where final penance for sins could be undertaken, souls in purgatory were counselled to pray fervently as a means of purgation at the same time as the living solicited suffrages on their behalf.²¹

Belief in the power of prayer existed in the first century, and continued to be defended by the Catholic hierarchy of the Scottish church in the late medieval period. By their prayers, the living solicited the prayers of dead saints, including the Blessed Virgin Mary, and made their treasury of merits available to worthy humans. Purgatory allowed the living to act also as a medium in the application of saintly merits to the suffering souls of those who had died. It maintained the continuity of existence from earthly life to death and life beyond. Purgatory made the dead part of the "social order"; through their testaments, which were essentially religious documents, the dead exerted control over the actions of the living. That is, it was understood that dead people were still "living" in another form, and that God's judgment would be meted out

on their behalf if earthly executors toyed with their wishes.²² (See Chapter 6)

Purgatory provided some reassurance to a laity filled with spiritual anxiety about the perils of hell. The Church, poets, and writers of devotional works exhorted laypeople to amend their lives and start preparing for death by pursuing personal worthiness while still on earth. However, the intense lay sense of spiritual unworthiness made it impossible for laypeople to envision surmounting original sin and their own sinful nature. The Scottish documents demonstrate that, in terms of apportioning time and money, Scottish laypeople emphasised prayers and masses after death (egs. daily masses, obits, chaplainries) intended to shorten their time in purgatory, rather than the reduction of sin in daily life.

Although the Church played upon the lay sense of personal sinfulness in order to convince laypeople to acknowledge and atone for their sins while still on earth, it acknowledged that the level of lay sin made perpetual masses and prayers after death a sensible precaution. Thus purgatory completed the penance due for sins committed on earth, a view which was endorsed by the general provincial council of the Scottish church in 1558-9.²³ The council maintained that: "We must firmly believe that after this life there is a purgatory for souls, in which is paid the penalty still due for their sins; . . ."²⁴ Whether the rituals and prayers were said before or after death, the Church intended to be the primary intermediary between God and humanity through the rites of the Church; establishing the existence of purgatory was an important step to gaining lay compliance for this role.

Once the laity could be relied upon to believe in the finite suffering of purgatory and the endless suffering of hell, the Church

could offer solace with its rites and practices, through which laypeople could make sufficient satisfaction for sins. These included "the prayaris, suffragis & uthir gud deidis done for [those] in haly kirk",²⁵ which would probably include regular confession to a priest and carrying out of penances, the foundation of masses and prayers as part of obit, chaplainry, altar or collegiate foundations, and the intercession of the mendicant friars, monks and secular clergy.²⁶ The clergy were of immense importance to the laity's success on earth and in purgatory, both as individuals and as a society. According to the teller of the first tale in "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", through their prayers and masses the clergy were the spiritual army which smote the king's, and therefore the country's, enemies.²⁷

From reformers there is indirect evidence of the church's emphasis on the efficacy of church penitential rituals to cleanse sin. John Wedderburn of Dundee, in his compilation The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, urged priests to put away their ideas about purgatory, as it was the basis of their "idolatrie".²⁸ The corruption of clerics themselves was of some concern to reformers, but their main concern was the influence wielded by the clergy over the laity, reformers believing that the doctrine of purgatory encouraged "idolatrie". Such "idolatry" would have included belief in the real presence of Jesus in the consecrated Host, and thus the power of the "living Jesus" to save souls through the Mass. It would also have included lay reliance on the mediation and intervention of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the rest of the saints on behalf of the souls in purgatory, their aid being sought through veneration of images in churches and processions, and various masses and other religious foundations. (See Chapters 8, 9 and 10)

The founding of masses for the dead was believed to be particularly effective in helping souls to move more quickly from purgatory to heaven, for the Eucharist was the most effective means of bringing about spiritual acceptability.²⁹ That is, by emphasising the "ever-renewed sacrificial act", the church made the Eucharist its most efficacious rite for the attainment of salvation for the living and the dead.³⁰ This emphasis also assured Jesus of a crucial role in saving souls from purgatory, for the saving power of the Mass had come through His Passion. The writer of the "Vertewis of the Mess", modelled after Wynkyn de Worde's "The Vertue of ye Masse", cited a number of Fathers of the Church in defence of this interpretation of the Eucharist, including St. Jerome's comment that when a living person heard the Mass with "clen hart and gud dewocioune" on behalf of a soul in purgatory, that soul felt no pain while Mass was in progress.³¹ The writer also included St. Gregory's comment that masses relieved many souls from the pains of purgatory.³²

Belief in the real presence made the Eucharistic rite even more important to the relief of souls in purgatory. (See Chapter 9) In the "Vertewis of the Mess", St. Chrysostom was reported to have maintained that when the Eucharist was celebrated properly, it was as efficacious as the historical death and suffering of Jesus Christ on the Cross, a comment suggestive of the power ascribed to the real presence.³³ In 1579, Mr. Ninian Dalyell, schoolmaster of Dumfries, was accused by the General Assembly of alleging "the reality of the sacrament",³⁴ proof of the enduring nature of the concept.

When masses and prayers were said by the church and the relatives of deceased souls, it was believed that St. Michael escorted the souls more quickly through purgatory and on to

heaven.³⁵ A French plea to the living to pray for the dead souls in purgatory emphasised the dependence of the dead on the living:

Pries pour nous et nous qui sommes hors de l'estat auquel nous nous puissions aidier par nostre propre priere ou oeuvre meritoire, mas vous tous . . . pouez cecy faire; vous estes en l'estat de nous aider, et vous aussi se vous voulez.³⁶

Further, the living were more likely to escape the reproaches of the dead if they founded suffrages for souls. That is, from the thirteenth century it was believed that the soul of a dead person could appear to a relative a few months after death, describe purgatory, and ask for suffrages to be performed, masses being particularly effective. Later, the soul could return to reproach the relative for not having had these suffrages performed or to explain whether the suffrages had been effective.³⁷ The idea that the dead could reproach the living found Scottish literary expression in the poem "The Thre Deid Pollis" by Robert Henryson. In the poem, three skulls implored the living to pray to Jesus, king of heaven and earth, on behalf of their eternal souls, that through Jesus' blood they might have eternal life in heaven with His Father, Jesus himself and the Holy Ghost.³⁸

IMAGES OF PURGATORY IN SCOTLAND

It is unusual to find direct references to "purgatory" in the documentary evidence, although belief in the concept was a precondition for most of the religious foundations popular with the laity. In Marie-Therese Lorcin's study of several hundred testaments in the Plat Pays region near Lyon, France, in a similar period, there was no mention of "purgatory" as such, even by clerics, but Lorcin maintained that the testators must have believed in the concept for their foundations and attitudes to make any sense.³⁹ However, in Scottish documents there are some direct references to purgatory and the efficacy of the Eucharistic rite and

prayers to relieve souls in purgatory. These references appear most often in clerical foundations, which is only to be expected; the clerics had some training in theology so were more likely to articulate their religious outlook in theological terms, although even they tended not to do so.

One example of a cleric prepared to express his motives in theological terms was Archibald Whitelaw (*Quhitelaw*), subdean of Glasgow. On 31 May, 1494, he founded a chaplainry at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the church of Glasgow. He believed that through pious orations and masses, sins were remitted and the pains of purgatory reduced, and that by those same pains the souls of the dead would be freed and brought to the joys of heaven. He specified the importance of the Eucharistic rite, and its nature as sacrifice, by stating that in the Eucharist the son of God was offered to the father in recompense for human sins.⁴⁰

A few years later in Aberdeen, in a foundation of 24 February, 1497/8, Mr. Andrew Lyell (*Liell*), treasurer of Aberdeen, asked for masses and a series of prayers and masses for the dead in return for ten merks of rent per year to the chaplains, choristers and community of the choir of Brechin Cathedral. He required daily prayers for the dead at the high altar of the choir, specifically requesting prayers (*orationum suffragia*) for those souls remaining in purgatory and awaiting the mercy of God, as well as the usual prayers for living and dead benefactors.⁴¹

Clerical writers such as Ninian Winzet, who wrote as apologists for the Catholic faith, insisted on the existence of purgatory. Winzet chastised the Protestants for maintaining that God's mercy ended all requirements for the sinner to suffer temporal pain, citing St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose and

the story of Moses in the Bible (Num. XIV) in support of his view that the prayers and good deeds of the living could help rescue souls from purgatory.⁴²

An exception to the usual conception of purgatory as a place of suffering following death was the concept of the mid-fifteenth century writer of "The Craft of Deyng". This clerical writer defined purgatory as that state of earthly pain or suffering which needed to be undergone to atone for sin. It may be that he wanted laypeople to conceive of purgatory in this way so that they would pay more attention to atoning for their sins on earth, an interpretation which appears to be borne out by the emphasis on penance in his short treatise.⁴³ Illness was generally accepted to be a form of earthly suffering employed by God to punish sinfulness.⁴⁴ The writer of "The Craft of Deyng" described this punishment of illness as part of the "purgatory" which had to be undergone in order to reach the joys of heaven. In fact, he insisted that illness should be accepted patiently and blithely, and considered small recompense for the love of God implicit in the promise of salvation.⁴⁵ Further, to die in a state of mortal sin was to be damned, so illness was a cue to begin preparing for death.⁴⁶

While most Scots did not ignore the significance of God's intervention on earth, when referring to purgatory they usually meant that place or state of being to which most "good Christians" were sent after the particular judgement.

The average Scot believed in the power of prayers and masses to help release souls from purgatory, and by the mid-sixteenth century a clear lay articulation of the relationship between religious foundations and the concept of purgatory appeared in a

foundation document. In January of 1545/6, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, founded the collegiate church of St. Mary of Biggar. In the foundation charter he stated that nothing could be more acceptable or fit than offering the son (Jesus) to the father omnipotent God during solemn masses. His sincere belief in the Catholic faith persuaded him that this Eucharistic rite made it possible for the souls of the faithful dead to be snatched from the pains of purgatory and returned to a state of grace and the full enjoyment of blessed glory, despite the sinfulness of the human condition. The souls he particularly wanted to benefit were those of himself, his spouse Joan Stewart, his parents, benefactors, friends, relatives, predecessors and successors, and all the faithful dead. However, he was also concerned for the souls of those from whom he had taken goods unfairly, or to whom he had caused loss or injury, and had not yet made satisfaction. A collegiate foundation was intended primarily to benefit one's soul once it was in purgatory, as a "good work", and to guarantee perpetual prayers by the living for the named souls. Making satisfaction to one's neighbours on earth was part of what was required to make one acceptable to God, so by requesting prayers especially for those to whom he had not made sufficient satisfaction, Lord Fleming ensured that any oversights would not harm his chances with God.⁴⁷

In his satirical poem "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling", William Dunbar revealed generally accepted images of heaven and purgatory. In the poem, Edinburgh represented heaven, and Stirling, purgatory. Dunbar used humour as a device to convince people of the importance of moving to heaven, as he wished the king to move to Edinburgh. He stated that purgatory was a useful place, as it made souls in purgatory value

the happiness of heaven.⁴⁸ Mirroring other voices, Dunbar defined purgatory as a "hiddous hell", placing it rather closer to hell than to heaven. Purgatorial suffering was emotional as well as physical. Souls suffered painful distress and loneliness, deprived of the companionship so essential to people as social animals.⁴⁹ In common with other writers, theologians, preachers and artists, Dunbar used fear as an incentive for change. That is, he emphasised the horrors of purgatory in order to frighten the laity into putting all its efforts into achieving spiritual acceptability.

The laity appeared to believe that certain groups within society were at greatest risk of hell, the documentary and literary evidence offering some indication of the nature of these groups. European evidence indicates that the people traditionally viewed with hostility by the rest of society were most at risk, such as those who handled money (eg. usurers, merchants), traded in "unclean commodities" (egs. tanners, skinners) or worked in a trade where blood was spilled (eg. barber-surgeons).⁵⁰ It is possible that these groups might have found the concept of purgatory particularly appealing, as it offered them the opportunity to make satisfaction for the greater sinfulness brought by their trade. In his poem "The Devillis Inquest", William Dunbar described the groups which most risked damnation by succumbing to the devil's invitation to "Renunce thy God and cum to me." One of the crafts he mentioned was the merchant guild, which he accused of false advertising:

The marchand sweiris mony aithe,
That never man saw better clayth,
Na fynnar silk cum owr the se
"To sweir," quod Sathan, "be nocht layth,
To sell my geir I will have thee."⁵¹

In Scotland, certain groups were particularly active in founding altars associated with perpetual prayers for dead souls, such as the

glovers of Perth, barber-surgeons of Edinburgh, and the merchant guilds of various burghs (founders of Holy Blood altars and confraternities of the Holy Blood, egs. Edinburgh and Aberdeen). However, the reasons for this intense activity cannot be ascribed primarily to a greater sense of sinfulness, the evidence making it difficult to prove such an assertion.

Very little survives of pre-Reformation Catholic art in books, paintings and architecture to offer evidence of lay belief in purgatory. However, an excellent visual representation of purgatory does survive in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland published in 1541 by printer Thomas Davidson. (See frontispiece) Davidson chose to fill a free page of his work with a representation of the late medieval Scottish view of the afterlife. Heaven, encircled by the rosary, included Mary and the baby Jesus at God's right hand, with the saints (egs. virgin martyrs, patriarchs, and confessors) placed below. Jesus on the Cross was superimposed over the heavenly scene, graphically demonstrating His crucial role in human salvation. At the base of the woodcut, below the heavenly circlet, were souls in purgatory, some with their hands stretched upward toward heaven, as if pleading with God, Mary, the saints and Jesus to be allowed into heaven, and one with his hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, displaying the penitential attitude expected of those who suffered in purgatory. Flames enveloped the figures in purgatory, representing the fiery suffering experienced by dead souls in this state. Various figures knelt on earth, clasping rosaries, their prayers helping the desperate souls to escape the purgatorial fires.⁵²

Purgatory's hold on the human mind is visible in the writings of the late nineteenth century French Jesuit theologian F.X.

Schouppe, who wrote a treatise defending the existence of purgatory and its relevance to the Catholic faithful. He used historical accounts of saints' lives to prove its existence, in much the same way that local preachers would have done in late medieval Scotland, especially the preaching friars, who were most visible and most vehement in defence of the doctrine of purgatory.⁵³

The efficacy of preachers and pardoners in encouraging lay belief in purgatory inspired reformers such as Sir David Lyndsay to try to educate the laity through amusing moral tales. In his "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis", first performed in front of the royal court in 1540, Lyndsay testified to the hold that the concept of purgatory had on the lay imagination, whilst criticising the rapacity of the church in promoting a doctrine which produced such great revenue.

- Pardoner: Come win the pardon, and syne I sall thee sain!
[bless] . . . Now lowse thy purse, and lay down
thy offrand, / And thou sall have my pardon even
frae-hand. / Now win the pardon, limmer, or thou
art lost!
- Poor man: My haly faither, what will that pardon cost?
- Pardoner: Give me that groat, man, if thou hasts nae mair.
- Poor man: With all my heart, maister, lo, tak it, there!
- Pardoner: Ane thousand year I lay upon thy heid, / With
totiens quotiens [with multiples, if necessary];
now mak nae mair plead. / Thou hast receivit thy
pardon now already.
- Poor man: But I can see naething, sir, by our Lady!
. . . How sall I get that pardon? Let me hear!
- Pardoner: Stand still, and I sall tell thee the haill story!
/ When thou art deid and gaes to Purgatory, /
Being condemned to pain a thousand year, / Then
sall thy pardon thee relieve but weir! [without
doubt]
- Poor Man: What say ye, maisters? Call ye this gude reason,
/ That he should promise me a gude pardon, / And
here receive my money in this stead, / Syne make
me nae payment till I be deid? / When I am deid, I
wat [know], full sickerly, [with full certainty] /
My silly saul will pass to Purgatory.⁵⁴

The topic of purgatory provides one example of the difficulty confronting historians who seek to categorise people in history as "Protestant" or "Catholic". A standard distinction between "Protestants" and "Catholics" during the period 1480 to 1560 would appear to have been their views on purgatory, the former denying its existence and the latter insisting that it did exist. However, complete changes in attitude rarely occur within the lifetime of a single person (cf. Luther on the Eucharist), and Sir David Lyndsay (?1486-1555) is one example of a lay Scot of "reforming" tendencies who yet believed in the existence of purgatory.

To Lyndsay, purgatory was a "dirke dungeoun", or "ane countre full of cair", lying just above hell, and full of crying people in great pain. For the unbaptised, Lyndsay added a "place of perdition" above purgatory, and then the "Lymbe" above that where human forebearers lingered because of Adam's sin. In the "Lymbe", the souls suffered many years in darkness and desolation.⁵⁵

Lyndsay's mid-sixteenth century negative vision of darkness and despair was in contrast to Dante's in the early fourteenth century, Dante having emphasised purgatory's position just below heaven, *chiaroscuro*, a place of hope where successive stages of purgation moved the soul steadily from darkness to light.⁵⁶ Lyndsay's emphasis on purgatory's desolation and pain rather than its function as a symbol of hope can be traced to the laity's sense of personal unworthiness and spiritual despair, which increased in the period 1480 to 1560. The laity's desperate desire to seek the aid of Mary, Jesus and the saints to escape purgatory reveals that, in some ways, purgatory had come to represent a lesser hell, a place much closer to hell than to heaven.⁵⁷

The Continental reformers objected to the concept of purgatory because it encouraged lay reliance on rituals and practices such as masses for dead souls, processions and prayers to saints, pilgrimages, the purchase of indulgences, and the granting of absolution for sin by clerics. Lyndsay's views about purgatory echoed some of these concerns. However, although he questioned the validity of lay belief in these activities, he could not quite bring himself to reject purgatory entirely. Thus he attacked the clerical and lay emphasis on the role of the saints and Mary,⁵⁸ the laity's devotion striking him as ill-directed and downright blasphemous, and the clergy's behaviour in encouraging it reprehensible.⁵⁹ In general, Lyndsay was unhappy with the power wielded by clerics, and the doctrine of purgatory made their role even more crucial as celebrants of the rituals and prayers which shortened time in purgatory or allowed people to avoid it altogether. Thus Lyndsay could not have been happy with a concept which put so much power into clerical hands, and made the laity so dependent upon them.⁶⁰

Instead, Lyndsay chose to emphasise the role of Jesus, the "Prince of Purgatory", who had sole charge over removing souls from purgatory to heaven, and did so whenever he pleased.⁶¹ The cult of the Passion may have taken hold of the lay imagination, but Lyndsay's Christocentrism surpassed that of the majority of his fellow Scots, most of whom did not conceive of Jesus in this manner, as the sole rescuer from the purgatorial fires. Lyndsay's Christocentrism was part of the reason he had great difficulty with the concept of purgatory, as his emphasis on Jesus' Passion as the means of salvation (a common reforming theme) made the utility and validity of purgatory suspect. Consequently, in Lyndsay's work, it

is clear that he was unsure about the concept of purgatory, stating simply that he himself hoped never to go there.⁶²

As part of a general attempt to explain the pattern of religious change in Scotland, John Knox cited the case of the "Lollards of Kyle", who in 1494 had challenged traditional interpretations of purgatory. The "Lollards of Kyle" were accused of denying that the Pope could remit the pains of purgatory or remit sins, and denying that the Mass could help souls in purgatory. However, these "Lollards" did not actually deny the concept of purgatory; one cannot look to the Lollards of Kyle for an early articulation of "anti-purgatory" rhetoric.⁶³

Reformers of a strictly "Protestant" bent rejected purgatory entirely,⁶⁴ their angry attacks offering proof that the general population believed in the doctrine. Attacks often centred around the church's use of the doctrine as a means to collect money from the laity, and the clerics came under fire for feathering their nests in this fashion. John Knox stated that purgatory was "nothing but a pykepurs",⁶⁵ a means of convincing laypeople that they could and should buy their way into heaven. The notion of purgatory, besides being theologically unsound, placed an unjust burden of fear and expense on the poor.⁶⁶ In 1550, the less well-educated lay preacher Adam Wallace of Fail, Ayrshire, emphasising the Protestants' exclusive reliance on Scripture, maintained that there was no mention of purgatory in the Old or New Testaments, and that he viewed the doctrine as a human invention created to make money.⁶⁷ John Wedderburn of Dundee, compiler of The Gude and Godlie Ballatis which circulated in the 1540's,⁶⁸ was angry at the clergy's role in using the doctrine of purgatory to intensify laypeople's spiritual fears and to lead them to break God's laws. He considered the

priests' "paintit fyre of purgatorie" as the "ground of your idolatrie" and warned the clergy to eliminate such teaching before they were punished on the Day of Judgment.⁶⁹

Thus Protestant reformers such as Knox, Wedderburn and Wallace did not perceive purgatory as a comfort to laypeople who were consumed by spiritual anxiety and the fear that they would still be spiritually unworthy when death came to claim them. Rather, they believed that belief in purgatory kept laypeople in the pockets of the priests and demeaned the value of Jesus' Passion. Yet most Scots believed in the efficacy of traditional clerical rites, and at the same time agreed that Jesus' Passion was a primary means of helping souls leave purgatory, the Passion as celebrated in the Mass bringing the merits of His Passion to work on their behalf.⁷⁰ Often the religious concerns, beliefs and judgments of laypeople in this period of religious flux were theologically ill-defined. Ordinary Scots rarely couched their views in such a manner as to place them in direct ideological conflict with the religious beliefs of their neighbours, although writers such as John Knox were keen to create religious camps and define religious boundaries.⁷¹ The average layperson would have been unlikely to make the clear cut distinctions of which Knox was capable, and even the intelligent and committed Lyndsay found himself at something of a loss over the question of purgatory.

RESPONSES TO IMAGES OF PURGATORY

PREPARATIONS FOR DEATH AND THE AFTERLIFE

Laypeople responded to images of purgatory by making preparations for death, emphasising the sacrament of penance, and showing concern to do good works and obtain indulgences. The foundation of masses and prayers was also believed to be very

important, since most people would spend time in purgatory after the particular judgment and required the aid of the living in reducing their time there. As these prayers and rituals required a high standard of execution for spiritual efficacy, laypeople endeavoured to ensure that the clergy carried out their tasks properly and devoutly.

Images of purgatory in art, literature and preaching intensified the laity's fears of dying. The certainty of death and the possibility of sudden death caused much anxiety,⁷² being mentioned in testaments before and after the Reformation.⁷³ The devotional work "Remembrance of the Passioun", found in BM Arundel MS 285, advised readers to meditate on death and its unexpected coming, echoing the sentiments expressed in every extant Scottish lay testament of the period.

Think on ye ded: O you my saule, think that ye ded cummis sone lik ane theif, yat yow wait nocht quhat hour. Than man you leif all ye warld and all yat you luffis in ye warld, and gif compt afor ye strait iugement of God of thouchtis, wordis, and deidis . . . Than sall cum ye ewill spreitis, redusand thy synnis to yi mynd to put ye in disperatioun . . . Thairfor now do pennance and put wittallis befor the; that is, to wyne merit is be gude werkis; and mak quentence with yame yat yow suld ga to; that is, with God, our Lady, the angellis and all sanctis. It is not weill quhen a man passis bair till ane vnkend land, but quentence, wittall, or money.⁷⁴

Thus Judgment of one's spiritual worthiness was unavoidable, first on the particular Day of Judgment, and then on the general Day of Judgment; if laypeople died a sudden death without making provision for prayers and masses while in purgatory, chances were that when the general Day of Judgment came, they would be found wanting and cast into the fiery depths of hell. The prospect of purgatory, offering a reduced sentence of suffering, galvanised laypeople into action. They founded prayers and masses, attempted to lead "good lives" free of sin, did penance for sins, gave alms, accomplished

various "good deeds", and attempted to gain the favour of Jesus, Mary and the saints. They grasped gratefully at the concept of purgatory, however horrible and painful a place it might be, as it offered a clear way station for souls not quite pure enough to proceed straight to heaven after death and the particular Day of Judgment.

People were kept in a state of insecurity as to whether they had made sufficient satisfaction for their sins, since this would be known only after death.⁷⁵ As making themselves acceptable to God was the major aim of lay Scots in the period, the preservation of this uncertainty added to the power of the dispenser of God's grace - the church via the sacraments. The writer of "The Craft of Deyng" in the middle of the fifteenth century emphasised God's mercy and the value of lay penance (contrition, confession, satisfaction) as a response to the reality of purgatory, but he acknowledged laypeople's despair at facing the enormity of their sin at the end of life. A dying person was liable to experience great sorrow when the "deuill" reminded him of all of the sins he had left unconfessed or unrepented, or for which satisfaction had not yet been made, and the person would be tormented by the fear that God would refuse to grant forgiveness. The writer noted that the dying person would not feel "worthy" to have Jesus Christ as helper and redeemer. The sins of "eirdlie or warldly affectiouns" were causes of great suffering in purgatory, so this author counselled laypeople to begin early in their lives to prepare for death.⁷⁶

The author of "The Craft of Deyng" reminded his readers that all would be forgiven and salvation would be attained if, even at the hour of death, they had sufficient contrition; he stated categorically that God's mercy was more powerful than any person's

works, and that God would not deny His mercy if it was "treuly askyt". The author reminded his readers of the terrible sinners whom Jesus had forgiven - Peter who had denied him, Magdalene the sinner, and even the thief next to him at the Crucifixion.⁷⁷

However, he did advise laypeople who were dying to hedge their bets by ensuring that they were shriven and had done worthy penance.⁷⁸

The author's emphasis on the divine mercy available to the dying reveals the significance of testaments, which were a final earthly attempt to improve spiritual standing. Testators made satisfaction for personal debts, founded obits and/or other prayers or masses, donated alms to the poor or to religious establishments, and ensured that, whilst the testator stood before God the Judge at the particular Day of Judgment, a proper funeral was being carried out which honoured and praised God, and made Him look favourably upon the plaintiff.

William Dunbar made implicit reference to purgatory and the importance of cleansing oneself of sin in his poem "The Maner of Passing to Confessioun". He warned laypeople to make full confession on a regular basis to avoid collecting a large number of forgotten and unconfessed sins, which would then be counted against them on the Day of Judgment.⁷⁹

God's absolution for the soul of James III was requested by James V in 1515 when he paid painter Alexander Chalmers (*Chalmour*) to paint 140 armorial bearings (*armyis*) for the obsequies of James III "quham God assolze".⁸⁰ The final phrase is a common one, so does not denote any particular religious fervour in connection with this payment. However, it does imply that James III's soul still lived, and was in purgatory awaiting God's forgiveness along with other souls still spotted with sin. A letter to the Cardinal of St.

Mark written by James IV on 1 October, 1506, also used the language of penance. The king wished to make restitution to David Brown, proper claimant to the abbacy of Melrose, who had been passed over by James III in favour of his own choice, Bernard Bell. James IV wished to "purge" his father's soul by making restitution to Brown, who had suffered in destitution because of the wrong done him. Making satisfaction in this way would have improved James III's spiritual standing in purgatory.⁸¹

The general provincial council of 1558-9 maintained that the good works of the living could help toward the swifter release of souls in purgatory.⁸² Laypeople appear to have agreed, for during the period 1480 to 1560 they became more involved with education and care of the poor.⁸³ Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, emphasised the importance of good works in the allegory "The Palice of Honour" (c. 1530). The protagonist was made to wait in purgatory prior to going on a long journey through a gate and into heaven. There he faced the king (God), who valued good works rather than people's status on earth. Douglas' allegorical story reminded the laity of the importance of good works in escaping from purgatory and entering heaven.⁸⁴

Indulgences were a means of reducing the amount of time spent in purgatory. Consequently the laity explored the possibility of obtaining indulgences through pilgrimage or crusade to holy sites, or certain rituals or prayers.⁸⁵ In 1532, James V asked the Pope for an indulgence to encourage the faithful to visit the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh. Clearly he expected that, if the Pope gave permission, Scots would take up the opportunity.⁸⁶

A number of Scots, mostly of laird and magnate class, obtained licences from the king so that they could go on foreign pilgrimages.

Efforts to atone for murder and obtain divine forgiveness appear to have motivated several pilgrims. Sir John Erskine of Dun undertook a pilgrimage as satisfaction for his murder of Montrose's priest Sir Thomas Forrester (*Froster*) in the late 1520's, committed only a few years after Erskine had reached his majority. On 10 May, 1537, he received a licence for an overseas pilgrimage to France and Italy.⁸⁷ As satisfaction to the relatives of the murdered David Scott (*Scot*), Alexander Fraser of Philorth offered £10 (8 July, 1530) as well as the establishment of masses and other suffrages for Scott's soul for one year, and accomplishing any other penitential deed, such as pilgrimage, as the judges, sitting in the itinerant court of Aberdeen, deemed fit. The judges ordered a pilgrimage to St. John of Amiens, and he received a licence on 1 February, 1531, not returning until 1534. As preparation for the sudden death which was more likely to occur in the dangerous conditions of a pilgrim, Fraser made his testament before leaving Scotland.⁸⁸ Sir William Stirling of Keir (*Striveling* of Kere) founded a chaplainry dedicated to Mary at the church of Dunblane in 1472.⁸⁹ He was implicated in the murder of James III in 1488 and went on pilgrimage to Rome in 1488.⁹⁰ Indulgences could also be purchased to obtain commutations of vows of pilgrimage to Rome and Santiago de Compostella, as was the case with the early sixteenth century indulgence obtained by a number of laypeople and clerics in the dioceses of Aberdeen, Brechin and St. Andrews.⁹¹

Indulgences were obtainable for purposes other than pilgrimages. For example, on 8 January, 1557/8, William White, burgess of the Canongate of Holyrood, took instruments that he had obtained an indulgence from the Curia for himself and his spouse Helen Harte and five other people which involved the right to have a

confessor of the secular or regular clergy as well as other "usual" benefits.⁹² In the devotional work BM Arundel MS 285, the rubric of the "Orisouns" to Mary included a promise by Pope Innocent that three hundred days of indulgence would be granted to all who said the orison in honour of Mary. In return for this devotion she would appear and bring consolation three days before their deaths and at the hour of their deaths.⁹³ In the nineteenth century a Highland prayer was recorded which expressed a similar trust in Mary's ability to intercede at the hour of death.⁹⁴

By the fifteenth century the burden for expiation of sin had shifted from the shoulders of the dead sinner to those of the living. Lay women and men were encouraged to maintain their emotional ties to the dead and to please God by offering oblations, as long as the dead were "trew christin men and wemen". The living were urged to do their utmost to shorten the agony of the dead, for it was believed that a short time could seem extremely long to dead souls suffering the agonies of purgatory. Eventually the dead in purgatory were perceived as helpless victims, reliant solely on the actions of the living to rescue them from purgatory. As late as 1552, Hamilton's Catechism confirmed that souls in purgatory could be helped by the prayers of good and holy men, good deeds by friends, and fasting by relatives, along with clerical intercessory prayers and oblations.⁹⁵

In response to the exhortations of the clergy and their own desperate desire to erase personal sin and gain acceptability, laypeople assumed more and more responsibility for erasing the sins of the dead, believing that it was up to them to gain their release from purgatory. As masses were believed to be extremely effective in rescuing souls from purgatory, laypeople dedicated considerable

resources to founding them. They did so out of love for relatives and friends, compassion for the faithful dead, a desire to make satisfaction to earthly benefactors and God, and above all, to ensure that their own souls were cared for once they themselves were in purgatory.

John, sixth Earl of Crawford, used a variety of methods to win God's favour and forgiveness and thus speed his way through purgatory en route to heaven, but masses were his favoured method. Thus, on 15 April, 1506, he founded a daily mass at the high altar of the Franciscan church of Dundee, as well as obits for himself and one for his elder brother, Alexander, Lord Lindsay (d. before 4 February, 1491/2), in whose death he had been implicated. After the mass two anthems were to be sung: the *Ave Gloriosa* and the *Angelus et Virginem*, invoking the aid of Mary. He also requested daily absolution at the cenotaph of the Earls of Crawford,⁹⁶ an attempt to wash his soul of sin through clerical ritual. The Earl's faith in the ability of clerics to absolve the sins of named souls recalls the first tale of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", in which churchmen were defined as "beidmen" who were the "bliss" and "beld" [protection] of the laity.⁹⁷

Only two weeks after his mass and obit foundation, on 24 April, 1506, the Earl of Crawford received a licence to go to Amiens on pilgrimage, a further attempt to make satisfaction for his sins.⁹⁸ A final attempt to make provision for his soul was achieved posthumously in 1517. The altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Three Kings in the parish church of Dundee received £10 in annual rents in the name of the Earl and the "Lord of Lindsay", presumably Alexander, Master of Crawford, Lord Lindsay, his elder brother.⁹⁹ The sixth Earl of Crawford appears to have been very worried about

his fate at the Day of Judgment. Possibly he felt guilty about his brother's death, for it was unusual to single out one family member in mass foundations in so obvious a manner, or to make separate obit foundations for siblings, although spouses and occasionally parents received preferential treatment.

Scottish laypeople were enthusiastic about founding prayers and masses for the dead in various types of churches (egs. parish, collegiate, monastic, mendicant), financially supporting bedesmen to pray for dead souls, and dedicating craft or burgh fines and dues to chaplainries, but they recognised that the efficacy of these activities would be reduced if standards of clerical execution were not high. Thus they took care to ensure that the celebrating clerics were sufficiently well-educated and that they carried out their duties properly.¹⁰⁰ (See Chapter 10)

One of the many instances demonstrating lay concern for clerical standards was the elaborate foundation of Elizabeth Gray, Countess Dowager of Huntly, made in 1525. The foundation consisted of a yearly obit, daily mass, and daily prayers at the tomb of her late husband Alexander, Earl of Huntly (d. 1524) in the church of the Dominicans of Perth. She paid 300 merks for the repair of the dormitory of the friars' priory, and donated lands to support her foundation. The obit was to be celebrated on behalf of the late Earl, and the prayers and daily mass were to benefit her own soul as well as his. Each year in chapter the friars were to name her and her husband in their prayers, and mention their "state". This would remind the friars and God of the Earl and Countess' "state" in purgatory, where they waited for the suffrages of the living to bring them to spiritual acceptability and the bliss of heaven. To ensure that her foundation was carried out properly, the Countess

named supervisors for the foundation. If the friars failed in their duties, the lands were to be transferred to another, more "honest" church.¹⁰¹ The Huntly family continued to express its firm faith in the power of masses and prayer to save souls through to the post-Reformation period.¹⁰²

The Hays of Yester and their spouses made a number of foundations and appointments throughout the period which revealed their belief in the power of prayers and masses to improve their spiritual lot, and the importance of ensuring high standards of execution. In 1487, near the beginning of the period under study, chaplain John Lumsden (*Lumysden*) was infefted with lands and rents by Elizabeth Cunningham (*Cunyngame*), Lady of Belton, for service in the parish church of Crail. Cunningham made this foundation with the consent of her husband John, first Lord Hay of Yester (d. before 9 November, 1508).¹⁰³ On 28 August, 1515, she appointed Sir John Lees (*Leis*) to the chaplainry of the altar of St. Monan in the parish church and college of Dunbar, East Lothian. She kept control of standards of service by arranging for Sir John's expenses to be paid on each occasion that he celebrated divine service at the altar, or divine service on Sundays in the chapel of Belton, as required in her foundation charter.¹⁰⁴ The greater specificity of the 1515 foundation charter as compared to the charter of 1487 was in keeping with the general trend toward greater lay control of standards, through more elaborate foundation charters with supervision and fining mechanisms.

On 2 June, 1523, at the request of his mother, Dame Elizabeth Crichton (*Creichtoune*), John, third Lord Hay of Yester (d. before July, 1543), donated land in Bothans, East Lothian, to Sir Hugh Bald (*Bauld*) and his successor prebendaries in the collegiate church of

Bothans. Sir Hugh and his successors were to celebrate perpetual masses for the late John, second Lord Hay of Yester, who had died in battle on 9 September, 1513, James IV, and Crichton after her death. Only three years later, Dame Elizabeth Cunningham had John, Lord Hay of Yester make another donation, this time one of 20s. in annual rents. Lord Hay did this in return for being made rector of her house and family. The annual rents were to pay for masses for the souls of the late Lord Hay and herself.¹⁰⁵

The men of the Hay family were also concerned about standards of performance. On 20 March, 1503/4, John, first Lord Hay of Yester complained to Sir Andrew Young, priest and commissary of Stobo, that the vicar of Stobo had not held services as required in the chapel of St. Michael in Westerhoprew. The family foundation required twice weekly celebration of services for souls, either by the vicar or a substitute, but the vicar had not bothered to fulfil these requirements, and thus had endangered the souls of the dead.¹⁰⁶

On 13 September, 1523, John, third Lord Hay of Yester, founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Holy Cross in the collegiate church of Bothans. The requirements were standard, including the celebration of divine services in the choir and of the Eucharist at the altar of the Holy Cross. What distinguished this foundation was Lord Hay's desire to ensure that the correct standard of service be maintained, which he did by making a reasonably detailed foundation charter, a trend very evident by the 1520's when this foundation was made.¹⁰⁷

Two decades later in 1541, John, third Lord Hay of Yester, was a major participant in the foundation of the collegiate church of Peebles, along with the bailies, councillors and community of Peebles. Three of the twelve prebends associated with the

foundation were dedicated to Mary, revealing the importance placed upon her intercession for souls. One linked her specifically to Jesus the saviour, being entitled "St. Mary in Childbirth". There was also a prebend of the Holy Rood, emphasising Jesus' Passion and its benefit to humanity. Dedication of other altars to saints such as St. Michael, John the Baptist, James and Peter demonstrated that the laity wished to gain the assistance of saints directly associated with the Day of Judgment or with Jesus' humanity.¹⁰⁸

ROLE OF SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

An important lay response to images of purgatory was the invocation and propitiation of supernatural beings such as Jesus and Mary and the saints who were closely associated with the Day of Judgment. Laypeople felt a great sense of urgency when faced with inevitable death, the enormity of their sin, and the virtual certainty of their stay in the purgatorial fires. Hence they looked to powerful supernatural beings to aid them during their journey through purgatory to heaven.

The saints associated with purgatory in Europe were Sts. Nicholas, Michael and Paul, and thirteenth century Flemish mystic St. Lutgard of Aywieres, the latter being popularly viewed as a saint for her work in liberating souls from purgatory and her promotion of the worship of the Sacred Heart.¹⁰⁹ In a vision of English Benedictine Roger of Wendover of St. Albans (d. 1236), St. Nicholas controlled a very cold lake which was one stage in purgatory through which souls had to pass. St. Peter took souls through a purgatorial fire, while St. Michael was in charge of the final stages of purgatory and the journey to the mountain of Paradise. "Black souls" went with St. Paul and the devil to be put on a scale. If the scale tipped toward St. Paul, the souls were

taken by him to the purgatorial fire, but if they tipped toward the devil, the souls were sent to hell.¹¹⁰

Scottish evidence demonstrates the relationship between belief in saints and belief in a purgatory in which one suffered to be purified of sin and made worthy for heaven, the saints often being part of this purification process. Saints associated with purgatory and the Day of Judgment were popular with Scots, including Sts. Nicholas and Michael, patron saints of the burgh churches of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, respectively.

A number of foundations were made to St. Michael in the period under study. As the period progressed it became more apparent that it was St. Michael's contribution to human salvation that made him popular, rather than his reputation as the supreme chivalric knight, which earlier may have encouraged lairds and magnates to identify with him. The strong association of St. Michael with salvation lasted through to the nineteenth century.¹¹¹

The emphasis on St. Michael's role in salvation, not necessarily achieved through military might, was emphasised by linking him with other saints associated with salvation. For example, on 18 December, 1505, James IV founded a chaplainry at his altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel in the New Chapel in the Palatium near the monastery of the Holy Rood, financing for the chaplainry being a generous 20 merks in annual rents.¹¹²

The parish church of Inverness had an altar and chaplainry of St. Michael the Archangel by the fifteenth century (first mention is 1461). The orientation of Inverness' founders was in keeping with other parts of Scotland. That is, the altars included dedications to the Holy Rood and the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the rest of the

altar dedications emphasising saints whose intercession was particularly effective on the Day of Judgment, such as St. Peter who held the keys of heaven and St. Catherine whose extreme purity and martyrdom guaranteed her God's favour.¹¹³

In October of 1520, Sir William Morton (*Myrton*), perpetual vicar of the parish church of Lathrisk, and Janet, prioress of the Cistercian nunnery of Haddington, founded ten prebends in the new collegiate church of St. Mary the Virgin of Crail (petition granted in 1518). The choice of dedication for the prebends, as well as the collegiate church, confirmed the founders' intention of assuring themselves of saintly intercession in the afterlife. That is, two prebends were placed at the altar of St. Michael and one at the altar of St. Nicholas, both prominent in the journey through purgatory. The masses which were to be celebrated at altars dedicated to saints such as Michael and Nicholas, or at the three altars dedicated to Mary and the one dedicated to the Holy Rood in the same church, were believed to benefit souls in purgatory. In the foundation charter of the collegiate church, it was stated clearly that by giving lands and rents to chaplains to say perpetual mass in this church, the founders believed that the "pains of purgatory" would be assuaged.¹¹⁴

St. Gabriel also was popular with Scots, although less so than Sts. Nicholas and Michael. St. Gabriel was named by William Dunbar as the saint who travelled between heaven and purgatory, consoling the souls in purgatory by reminding them that eventually they could rise to heaven.¹¹⁵ St. Gabriel also was associated closely with the Annunciation, and as Mary was influential in removing souls from purgatory, it is not surprising that St. Gabriel also came to be associated with this activity.¹¹⁶

Scots believed that the saints could effectively intercede with God on their behalf because the merits which the saints had gained through their own suffering could be transferred to the "purchase" of salvation for sinners waiting in purgatory. The more a saint had suffered, the more the laity seemed to believe in his or her efficacy. St. John the Baptist lost his head for the sake of the faith and St. Sebastian was cruelly killed by arrows, and both of these saints were popular with the Scots. However, the virgin martyrs also had tremendous appeal, this appeal increasing in the later medieval period. St. Barbara, for example, appeared in a painting in Foulis Easter parish church next to Jesus, glorified in the Trinity.¹¹⁷ The combination of sexual purity, violence, and the suffering of the innocent seems to have represented great spiritual worthiness to the late medieval Scots. This was a tendency echoed in Marian devotion in the same period. Although Mary did not suffer great physical pain, she suffered great emotional distress. Thus she was increasingly portrayed as the grieving mother present at the violent death of her son, rather than as the happy young mother of the baby Jesus, this change in emphasis ostensibly increasing her value as an intercessor. Her sexual purity and perfect goodness were supreme among humans. The symbols of her purity and goodness were her immaculate conception, virgin birth and assumption into heaven, and her perfect human character made her humanity's best role model for spiritual worthiness and acceptability to God. (See Chapter 7)

Devotion to a patron saint was a means of securing his or her intercession while in purgatory. Whether the patron saint was associated with one's family, parish church, craft or burgh, devotion could be expressed in a variety of ways. Individuals

donated money to saints' altars to purchase lights, wax, ornaments, vestments and land, or founded their own chaplainries, altars, aisles or collegiate churches, depending on their means. The parish of Arbuthnott celebrated its patron St. Tiernan by dedicating its late fifteenth century Missal to him, placing a full length portrayal of the saint near the beginning of the book.¹¹⁸

The crafts in Scottish burghs devoted a good deal of their time and energy to gaining the favour of craft saints, honouring them by establishing altars dedicated to them, and including statues or paintings of these patron saints as part of the altar appurtenances. They carried images of patron saints in processions, included them as characters in religious pageants, and founded obits and similar rituals to honour them along with God and Mary.¹¹⁹ For example, the hammermen of Perth dedicated their considerable financial resources to enriching the altar of their patron St. Eloy in the parish church of St. John, Perth, and took part in the Corpus Christi pageant in Perth, and the Edinburgh hammermen took part in a lavish yearly procession on St. Giles' Day in honour of Edinburgh's patron saint.¹²⁰

William Dunbar emphasised the significant intercessory role played by a burgh's patron saint in his satirical poem "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling". In the poem, God and St. Giles, Edinburgh's patron saint, were given the task of conveying fortunate souls to heaven.¹²¹ Dunbar offered the prospect of heaven as a comfort to those in purgatory. Once in heaven, souls would rejoice in the worship, welfare, honesty, companionship, blissful happiness and excellent wine, dance, and song. However, he reminded his readers that it was through the intercession of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, confessors,

virgins and martyrs, and the rest of the saints of heaven, that souls in purgatory would be released, and that it was the role of the living to solicit this saintly intercession on behalf of the dead.¹²²

Although Jesus and Mary were gaining ground by the mid-sixteenth century, saints were still important as supporting players in the laity's increasingly desperate search for spiritual acceptability. Protestant reformers felt that reliance on saints or good works was an affront to the power and mercy of God.¹²³ Reformers in Scotland felt they needed to publicly castigate laypeople for invoking the intercession of the saints, and the clergy for encouraging them to do so - reason enough to infer that Scots were still believers in the power of saintly intercession. Reformer Sir David Lyndsay was scathing in his descriptions of the laity's devotion to saints and belief in their intercessory power, and condemnatory of the religious leaders who encouraged this behaviour. Pilgrimage was an active expression of this faith in saintly intercession.

Quhy thole ze [religious leaders] thame [laity] to ryn
 frome toun to toun,
 In Pylgramage tyll ony Ymagreis,
 Hopand to gett, thare, sum Saluatioun,
 Prayand to thame deuotlye on thare kneis?¹²⁴

However, even within the ranks of the reformers, there was some confusion about the exact role of saints. In 1546, reformer George Wishart stated that one should only pray to God, not to the saints, as the Bible maintained that worship and honour should only be directed to God. However, Wishart proceeded to reveal his own doubts and spiritual anxieties by explaining that one really could not know if praying and honouring the saints was efficacious, whereas prayer to God was sure, as Jesus was the only mediator with

God and the sole route to heaven. Wishart's remark that "there is great doubt among many, whether thei [saints] hear or no invocatioun maid unto thame" revealed some of the anxiety experienced by many Scots.¹²⁵ They were desperate to be reassured that their prayers, religious penances, foundations and donations were effective, but they were uncertain as to whether the saints had heard their entreaties and/or would respond by interceding with God. Gaining an understanding of this state of intense spiritual anxiety helps to explain both the laity's desire for "miracles" and its shift in allegiance to the most powerful intercessors - Jesus and Mary - in its drive to achieve acceptability with God.

In this period the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ were increasingly the recipients of calls for assistance, rather than the saints, who seem to have had a higher status in earlier centuries. That is, in the fifteenth century a few national saints were added to liturgies, people continued to visit saints' shrines (eg. Tain),¹²⁶ and they continued to solicit saintly intercession in order to benefit from saintly merits. However, the trend in the period 1480 to 1560 was to rely less on saintly intercession and to rely more on Mary as grieving mother and powerful mediator, and on Jesus as sacrificial lamb and saviour, merciful friend and Son of Mary.

This trend was visible within society as a whole, but also within individual groups and families. For example, the devotion of the Seton family to its patron St. Benedict gave way to a stronger emphasis on Jesus and Mary in the late fifteenth century. When George, Lord Seton, founded a collegiate church in 1493, he dedicated it St. Mary and the Holy Rood, a clear attempt to link the power of Mary with the power of the crucified Jesus.¹²⁷

Several decades later Malcolm, Lord Fleming, acted in a similar fashion. The titular saint of the parish church of Biggar, Lanarkshire, had been St. Nicholas, who was important to salvation. However, Lord Fleming relied most heavily upon the intercession and favour of Mary. Thus the erection of the collegiate church of Biggar on 16 January, 1545/6, was intended to praise, glorify and honour St. Nicholas along with the Trinity, Mary and St. Ninian the Confessor, but the titular saint was to be "the most blessed and ever pure Virgin Mary genetrix of God and our lord Jesus Christ saviour", under the title and invocation of the Assumption.¹²⁸ The Assumption of Mary was the laity's guarantee of Mary's complete purity and acceptability to God, and thus her efficacy as mediator for humanity.

In the "The Thre Rois Garlandis" of BM Arundel MS 285, Jesus and Mary were intertwined in the mind of the reader through the structure of the prayer, thereby emphasising humanity's relationship with Jesus as human son of Mary. The work described the life of Jesus, making numerous references to His mother, and interspersing the descriptions of each event in His life with the *Ave Maria*. In one section, Jesus was entreated to take pity on the suppliant's soul after death, for the sake of His mother's grief as He lay dead in her arms. The suppliant pleaded with Jesus to deliver the souls that were suffering the pains of purgatory.¹²⁹

Mary's role as intercessor for souls in purgatory was extremely important to laypeople in the period 1480 to 1560, the literary, foundation and artistic evidence making this interpretation easily sustainable. (See Chapter 8) "The Lang Rosair" of BM Arundel MS 285 was a series of prayers to Mary which circulated in Scotland in the 1540's. In this poem, Mary was asked

to pray for the suppliant. By her merits she was believed to be capable of securing the suppliant's early release from the fires of purgatory. She was reminded of the great power and merit she possessed as mother of Jesus, the suppliant relying on Mary's mercy and the power of her merits to shorten the time spent in purgatory, however much the suppliant deserved to stay there.¹³⁰ The same reliance upon Mary to ensure success in the afterlife was expressed in the prayer "Prayer to Mary Mother" recorded in the Highlands in the nineteenth century.¹³¹

Foundation evidence supports this view of Mary as liberator from purgatory. In 1497, James IV confirmed the donation of lands for the founding of a perpetual chaplainry at an altar in the church of Dunkeld entitled *Sancta Maria libera nos de penis inferni*.¹³² In 1520, Janet, prioress of the Cistercian monastery of Haddington, and Sir William Morton, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Lathrisk, founded ten prebends in the new collegiate church of St. Mary the Virgin of Crail (erected 1518), three of which were dedicated to Mary (two at the altar of St. Mary the Virgin and one at the altar of Our Lady).¹³³

Jesus was often singled out as the most effective means of escaping purgatory, and this was often emphasised by distinguishing Him from "God", separating God the stern Judge from Jesus the kind Friend and Brother. In Robert Henryson's "The Thre Deid Pollis", three bare skulls warned the living to seek God's mercy. The skulls also asked the living to pray for their eternal souls to Jesus, king of heaven and earth. Henryson described Jesus as being in heaven with the Holy Ghost and the Father, "Thre knit in ane be perfyt unitie". Yet the different persons of the godhead were defined in different ways. That is, the Judge and Father to whom one pleaded

for mercy was "God", whereas "Jesus Christ" was the Saviour who had sacrificed Himself for humanity's salvation and who listened to one's prayers.¹³⁴ The merciful, brotherly aspect of Jesus the Son was emphasised in the devotional literature in order to assist the laity in its task of entreating Jesus' aid as mediator with God the Judge.¹³⁵ That is, usually God was described as an unforgiving father-judge, whereas Jesus was a concerned intercessory friend who shared one's human nature and was therefore more approachable. Further, Jesus' suffering was emphasised, just as the suffering of the saints was emphasised. The extreme suffering of Jesus at the Crucifixion was the focus in literature, for the more extreme the suffering, the greater the value as satisfaction for human sin. The refrain of the "Jesus Psalter" of BM Arundel MS 285 entreated Jesus to have mercy on the souls in purgatory for the sake of His "bitter passioun".¹³⁶

As theologians, writers of devotional works, and poets consistently assigned the stern and impartial role to God, and the compassionate and self-sacrificing role to Jesus, it is not surprising that the laity cleaved emotionally to the person of Jesus and feared the person of God, however Trinitarian theory insisted on the oneness of the godhead. Art and architecture reinforced this separation, the Arbuthnott Prayer Book portraying God as a powerful, stern, greying king on a throne, with a small, thin, pathetic young crucified Jesus across his lap. The sacrament house at Foulis Easter church held the consecrated Host, source of human salvation; it was adorned with a sculpture of Jesus' young and earnest face.¹³⁷

In a *Pater Noster* included in BM Arundel MS 285, to be repeated ten times, the suppliant was to entreat: "Iesu, preserf ws fra ye fir of hell and purgatory, and correk me heir to yi

marcy."¹³⁸ In another *Pater Noster* the suppliant feared that God would not be merciful toward such a sinful person. Fearing the "danger of ded"¹³⁹ and the Judgment of God in the "dreidfull hour", the suppliant entreated Jesus to have mercy on souls in purgatory. Further, the suppliant hoped that Jesus, Mary and St. Michael would find the suppliant's soul acceptable, making deliverance from his "gaistlie enemy" a real possibility.¹⁴⁰ Again a distinction was being made between God the stern judge who was to be feared, and Jesus the just but merciful friend who would save one from perdition along with the help of the powerful and compassionate Mary and St. Michael, the traditional guide to Paradise.¹⁴¹

Apart from his role as rescuer of souls from purgatory, Jesus was of major significance to medieval laypeople because His Passion and suffering on the Cross offered them the promise of salvation. The idea that souls suffered in purgatory for the expiation of sins meshed well with an increasing emphasis on Jesus' suffering for the expiation of human sin. As the cult of the Passion grew more prominent in Scotland in the later Middle Ages, the laity reminded God of His historical promise. A number of poems of the period mentioned the matter, such as Robert Henryson's "Ane Prayer for the Pest":

Remmember Lord, how deir Thow hes us bocht,
That for us synnaris sched Thy pretius blude,
Now to redeme that Thow hes maid of nocht,
That is of vertew barrane and denude;
Haif rewth [compassion] Lord, of Thyne awin symilitude!¹⁴²

Through art, lay Scots were reminded of the suffering of Jesus and His promise of salvation: the representations of the Five Wounds of Christ on the Fetternear Banner, which probably belonged to a confraternity in Edinburgh; the Crucifixion scene above the rood screen of Foulis Easter; the oak panels belonging to Cardinal

Beaton, possibly part of the furnishings of his private quarters in St. Andrews, Edinburgh or Arbroath; the ceiling of one room in Provost Skene's Aberdeen house, painted in the seventeenth century, and decorated with the monograms of Mary and Jesus and the instruments of the Passion;¹⁴³ and the Book of Hours of Mary of Guise including an illustration of the Five Wounds and a "Devotion to the Passion". Jesus' suffering was also honoured in religious foundations. The feasts of the Five Wounds and the Crown of Thorns were introduced into Scotland about 1491 and 1520, respectively; altars were founded in honour of the Holy Blood and the Five Wounds in Aberdeen in the fifteenth century; and confraternities of the Holy Blood were created in Edinburgh and Aberdeen.¹⁴⁴

In terms of Jesus' role in purgatory, the question was whether He relieved souls from purgatory as a result of propitiary rituals (eg. masses dedicated to Jesus of the Cross) or simply by virtue of His historical Passion, the supreme sacrifice on behalf of sinful humanity. Laypeople seem to have decided to cover all possible angles. Lay Christians were extremely concerned to carry out propitiary acts (eg. penances, donations to churches and altars, foundations of masses), particularly the act which re-created Jesus' Passion (Eucharist), but they also wished to remind God that Jesus' original sacrifice had been their promise of salvation. They emphasised His humanity, and therefore their right to benefit from His suffering, by emphasising His human suffering on the Cross (cf. poems of William Dunbar) and His human family (egs. Mary, St. Anne, St. Joseph).

After acknowledging the primacy of Jesus' Passion to human salvation, an apparently logical next step was to reject the notion of purgatory altogether, placing total faith in Jesus' original

sacrifice. However, whilst most lay Scots increasingly emphasised the role of Jesus in salvation, they were not prepared to abandon the idea that masses helped souls in purgatory by re-creating Jesus' sacrifice in ritual form. Thus the late medieval Catholic "cult of the Passion", which valued Jesus' Passion as central to salvation, put great faith in the power of the Mass. William Dunbar, for example, emphasised the Passion of Jesus by referring to the sacrament of the altar as the "holy satisfacioun" for his sinfulness.¹⁴⁵ Protestant Christocentrism, on the other hand, rejected the need for regular re-enactment of the historical Passion in the Eucharistic rite, denied the living, suffering presence of Jesus in the rite, and finished by denying that there was such a place as purgatory where souls relied upon the efficacy of the Eucharist and the prayers of the living to help them achieve spiritual acceptability.

Reformer James, Earl of Moray, believed in the primacy of Jesus' historical sacrifice and thus rejected the notion of purgatory. As Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, lay dying, the Earl engaged him in a final debate on religious doctrine; he attempted to convince the Bishop to rely completely on the promise of Jesus' historical sacrifice, and to reject the concept of purgatory. Reid replied:

. . . long have ye and I bein in pley for Purgatory: I think that I shall know or it be long whetther thare be such a place or not . . . Nay, my Lord, lett me allon; for ye and I never aggreid in our lyiff, and I think we shall nott aggree now at my death; and tharefor lett me allone.¹⁴⁶

John Knox insisted that Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross had purged humanity of its sins, and that pilgrimages, pardons, masses, and other works were useless, humanity being justified by faith alone.¹⁴⁷ He asserted flatly that there was no such place as

purgatory where souls were purged after death, that reports that masses relaxed the pains of purgatory were false, and that people either went to heaven (the faithful) or to hell (the reprobate, unthankful and unfaithful).¹⁴⁸ In 1534, Norman Gurlay (*Gurlay*) denied purgatory on the basis that only Jesus' Passion was efficacious in the salvation of humanity.¹⁴⁹ This emphasis of the Protestant reformers on the Crucifixion of Jesus made it the only legitimate "work" in connection to salvation. However, in the late medieval period, the average lay Scot still clung firmly to the promise inherent in the doctrine of purgatory: that human activities on behalf of the dead could help raise souls to heaven.

CONCLUSION

Scots of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries believed whole-heartedly in purgatory. Images of purgatory can be found in late medieval Scottish art, literature, theology and documentary evidence. Preachers, theologians, poets and writers of devotional works helped laypeople form their views of purgatory's nature and function, and also directed lay responses to these images. Personal penance and masses and prayers for the dead were emphasised, as well as good works and indulgences.

Although they did not deny the utility of lay prayer and personal holiness, laypeople relied upon the clergy to smooth their path to the perfect joy of heaven. Thus high standards of clerical execution were deemed necessary to maximise the efficacy of church rituals; with high standards, God and the saints would be honoured and praised, and the souls in purgatory would move quickly toward heaven's bliss. Laypeople also relied heavily upon the intercession of supernatural beings in their pursuit of spiritual acceptability, particularly the intervention of Jesus and Mary. Saintly

intercession continued to be sought after, much to the disgust of reformers, but Mary and Jesus were increasingly relied upon as intercessors and rescuers of souls from purgatory.

NOTES

1. McBrien described the penal and expiatory nature of purgatory in his work Catholicism, and then maintained that in 1968 Pope Paul VI had retained the doctrine of purgatory. However, this revised doctrine was so "sanitised" as to be almost unrecognisable in comparison to the "purgatory" being discussed in this chapter. That is, the "new" purgatory was now to be a "process" surrendering to God our "ego-centered self so that the God-centered loving self may takes its place" (McBrien), in Richard McBrien, Catholicism. Vol. II of 2 vols. (Oak Grove, MN: Winston, 1979), pp. 1143 and 1145.
2. cf. An oft-repeated comment by Governor Arran that purgatory did not exist, in Frank D. Bardgett, Scotland Reformed. The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1989), p. 25, citing Ambassador Sadler's letter to Henry VIII.
3. In 1552, Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism insisted on the biblical basis for purgatory, citing a passage in which Jesus referred to the sins that would be forgiven in the world to come (Matthew XII). The Catechism interpreted this to mean that one would suffer the fires of purgatory only for those sins for which one had not done sufficient earthly satisfaction, in John Hamilton, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559, ed. Alexander Mitchell (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), ff. cci and cciii-iv.
4. Joseph Ntedika, L'Evolution de la Doctrine du Purgatoire Chez Saint Augustin (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1966), pp. 24, 28 and 66-7.
5. Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scholar Press, 1984, first edition, 1981), p. 339.
6. Ibid., p. 347.
7. Ibid., pp. 3, 4 and 6.
8. Bernard Hamilton, Religion in the Medieval West (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), p. 46.
9. Le Goff, p. 358.
10. Refrain in Robert Henryson, "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), ll. 8, 16, 24 and 32, p. 136.
11. Le Goff, p. 358.
12. F.X. Schouppe, Purgatory. Illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the Saints (London: Burns & Oates Ltd., 1893), p. 28.
13. Ibid., pp. 31-2.
14. Ibid., p. 33.

15. John Durkan and Anthony Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1961), pp. 67-8, 70, 100 and 161.
16. Schouppe, 28, p. 28, citing St. Teresa of Avila, Part VI, Chapter XI.
17. Ibid., p. 30.
18. Marie-Therese Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", Le Moyen Age. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie. Vol. LXXVII, 2, in Tome LXXVIII/4e serie-Tome XXVII (Brussels, 1972), p. 318.
19. cf. SRO CC9/7/1, CC20/4/1, CC8/8/1A, Commissariot Registers of Testaments, passim. eg. Foundation on 31 May, 1494, of a chaplainry at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the church of Glasgow by Archibald Whitelaw (*Quhitelaw*), subdeacon of Glasgow, who stated that he believed that through pious orations and masses, when the son of God was offered to the father for our sins, our sins were demitted and the pains of purgatory reduced, and that by those same pains frequently the souls of the dead were liberated and lifted into the joys of heaven, in ed. Cosmo Innes, Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitane Glasguensis. A Sede Restaurata Seculo XII, Ad Reformatam Religionem, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club 1843), LXXV, 2, p. 486. cf. Le Goff commented that modern Catholic theologians insist on defining purgatory as a "state", whereas Le Goff was sure that laypeople perceived of it as a "location", in Le Goff, p. 13. This present work accepts that laypeople in late medieval Scotland did see purgatory as having a spatial dimension. However, the lay emphasis was on conditions experienced in this location, the reasons for being sent there and the requirements for escape from it; hence I have chosen to describe purgatory as a "state of being".
20. Le Goff, p. 33.
21. Ibid., p. 349.
22. cf. SRO CC9/7/1, CC8/8/1A, CC20/4/1, and Le Goff, p. 11.
23. ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), p. 174.
24. Ibid., p. 174.
25. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cciii.
26. cf. Le Goff, p. 12.
27. ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), VIII, 11. 127-80, p. 10.
28. ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #27, p. 58.

29. The power of the Eucharist is exemplified by a development which occurred in the Middle Ages. It was believed that to gain the full benefit of the sacrament, one had to actually see the Host being elevated. One does not have Scottish evidence similar to that of Germany, where it is reported that the laity scrambled over each other in church in a desperate drive to see the "living Jesus" as He was received through the words of the priest and the simultaneous elevation of the Host. In Germany the redemptive and miraculous power of the consecrated Host was believed to be so great that there was a problem with laypeople stealing the Host and using it to ward off evil, so sacrament houses were built to protect the Host. There were also a number of sacrament houses in Scotland, although Galbraith believes that they were intended to encourage devotion to the Host by displaying it in a prominent position in a monstrance or "eucharist", rather than to protect it from theft, in "Magic and the Formation of Protestant Popular Culture in Germany", paper submitted at conference entitled "Popular Culture in Question" at the University of Essex, 5-7 April, 1991, and James Galbraith, "The Middle Ages", in Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland, eds. Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1984), p. 20.

30. Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice. Evangelical and Catholic, trans. A.G. Hebert (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 84.

31. ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mass", in Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), p. 113.

32. Ibid., p. 114. Note that theologian Yngve Brilioth, Professor of Practical Theology, University of Lund, and Dean of the Cathedral there, considered that St. Gregory's aim in increasing the status of the Eucharist was to enrich the power of the church, in Brilioth, p. 84.

33. This comment was ascribed to St. Chrysostom in this text, but to St. Augustine in the W. de Worde text upon which this work was modelled, in Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mass," p. 11.

34. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland From the Year M.D.LX (The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland). Vol. II of 4 vols. M.D.LXXVIII.-M.D.XCII. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1840), p. 431.

35. Le Goff, p. 297.

36. Lorcin, p. 319.

37. Le Goff, pp. 169 and 294. These "suffrages" involved the saying of prayers, celebration of masses, giving of alms and performing of fasts.

38. Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), p. 207.

39. Lorcin, p. 318.

40. Innes, Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitane Glasguensis, II, p. 486.

41. ed. Cosmo Innes, Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis. Vol. II of 2 vols. Registrum (Aberdeen: Bannatyne Club, 1856), CII, 2, pp. 145-7.

42. Ninian Winzet, "The Book of Four Score Three Questions", in Certain Tractates together with the Book of Four Score Three Questions and a Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis, ed. James King Hewison, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1888), pp. 124-5.

43. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", *passim*.

44. The visitations of plague in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were believed to be God's punishment of Scottish society. For example, in the Book of Pluscarden King David II's adultery was held responsible for the plague outbreak of 1362, in ed. Felix J.H. Skene, The Book of Pluscarden (Liber Pluscardensis), Vol. I of 2 vols. Vol. X of The Historians of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1880), p. 232. Robert Henryson believed that the late fifteenth century plague was God's punishment of a sinful nation, in Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. Wood, pp. 163-4. In 1581, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland stated that the rampant adultery in Scotland had placed the spectre of plague over the the whole country, and requested that the Parliament put to death those convicted of "notorious adulterie", in The Book of the Universall Kirk, ii, p. 536.

45. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 4.

46. After the thirteenth century, it was only venial sins which could be expiated after death through suffering in purgatory. John Gerson was a famous theologian who preached in the Lyon region and recognizably influenced Lyon townspeople. Gerson stated that illness served as a warning of the risk of dying suddenly, and was reason to give thanks and ask for pardon and mercy. It is probable that Gerson's sermons also influenced John of Ireland at Paris, who in turn influenced Scottish thinking through his own works (eg. The Meroure of Wyssdome). It is also possible that a source for The Craft of Deyng was Jean Gerson himself, or a writers of tracts in the tradition of *Ars Moriendi* of which Gerson was prominent, in ed. R. Girvan, Ratis Raving and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1939), XI, p. xiv-xvii, and Lorcin, p. 317.

47. ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. V of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1852), XXIV, p. 298 and David S. Rutherford, Biggar: St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), p. 28.

48. Dunbar, "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), compiler George Bannatyne, ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), ll. 81-8, p. 295.

49.Ibid., ll. 15-20, p. 292.

50.Le Goff, p. 328.

51.William Dunbar, "The Devillis Inquest", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 26-30, p. 77.

52.The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540 (Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson, 1541), f. 27v. Note that crucifixes, with the suffering Jesus hanging on the Cross, were very popular as pendants in the late medieval period. For example, George, Lord Seton, was painted while wearing such a pendant, as was Mary, Queen of Scots, in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

53.cf. David Lyndsay's "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and Ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World", for a discussion of the pre-eminence of friars as preachers in this period, in Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, ed. Hamer, I, ll. 2597-2600, p. 276, ll. 2509-2708, pp. 273-9, and passim.

54.Sir David Lyndsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites, Robert Kemp (acting text) (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1985), pp. 42-3.

55.Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), p. 16.

56.Le Goff, p. 354.

57.cf. Image of purgatory as a "fire" and therefore similar to hell, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 314-8, p. 332.

58.Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", in The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), pp. 313-4.

59.Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, Vol. I of 4 vols., Text of the Poems, ed. Douglas Hamer, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), I, 1931. pp. 267-70.

60.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, II, Book 3, p. 35.

61.Ibid., I, p. 35.

62.Roderick Lyall pointed out the passage in Lyndsay's "The Dreme" where part of his spiritual journey included a visit to purgatory, which he disliked: "I purpose never to cum heir agane". In his mental visit to purgatory, Lyndsay discovered that there is "no plesour heir bot mekle paine", indicating that he believed that such a place existed, for "the trew Kirk can no waye erre at all". However, he himself chose to cling to the promise of salvation inherent in Jesus' Passion: "Quhowbeit my hope standis most in Cristis blude", cited in Lyall, Roderick (ed. and intro.), Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd., 1989), p. xviii.

63.John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), p. 9.

64.John Foxe reported in his Actes and Monumentes of the Martyrs that Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne (burned 1527/8) had been accused of denying purgatory, in Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", p. 16.

65.John Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox Concerning the Mass, 1562", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. VI of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1864), p. 192.

66.Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, ed. Hamer, I, Book 2, ll. 2645-2652, pp. 277-8, and ed. Iain Ross, "With huntis up, with huntis up", The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #23, p. 50.

67.Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 237 and 241. Adam Wallace also said that praying for the dead and to saints was wrong.

68.Note that in 1549 the council of the Scottish church ordered ordinaries to confiscate and burn any such "books of rhymes or popular songs" which were heretical or defamed the clergy and church institutions. It was to be illegal to read, print or sell such books, in Patrick, p. 127.

69.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #27, p. 58.

70.Protestant reformers valued the Eucharist as a remembrance of Jesus' sacrifice for human salvation, but considered it "idolatrous" that the laity worshipped the consecrated Host as the living Jesus, present in the bread during transubstantiation, in the statutes of the General Provincial Council of 1558-9, in Patrick, p. 175, and Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox Concerning the Mass, 1562", p. 192.

71.Note that it is entirely probable that much of this defining of laypeople as "Protestant" or "Catholic" occurred after the spiritual battle had been won, and the history of the struggle was being written. In such cases, the tendency is to define people and groups

as simply "for us" or "against us", and to eliminate the religious/ideological shades of grey with which history is rife.

72.cf. Lorcin, p. 317.

73.The survival of the phrase describing the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour of death (*nihil est certius morte et nihil incertius hora mortis*) provides evidence of the strength of lay anxiety about the matter, irrespective of the current governing theology. Survival of the phrase also indicates that "formulaic" elements of testaments do actually serve a function as an expression of shared religious outlook among testators. See Appendix B.

74.This work outlined the twelve fruits of mediating on the Passion of Christ. This excerpt is from the meditation for Monday, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Remembrance of the Passion", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, p. 218.

75.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cciv.

76.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 5.

77.Ibid., pp. 3-4.

78.Ibid., p. 3.

79.William Dunbar, "The Maner of Passing to Confessioun", The Poems of William Dunbar ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 57-70, p. 169.

80.James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. V, A.D. 1515-1531 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1903), p. 26.

81.Robert Kerr Hannay (calendared) and R.L. Mackie (ed.), The Letters of James IV 1505-1513, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1953), pp. 36-8.

82.Patrick, p. 174.

83.cf. The burgh records relating to this period show a growing tendency for the laity to "interfere" in education and care of the poor, partly through a desire to raise standards, which in itself would have been considered a "good deed" and therefore spiritually advantageous.

84.Gavin Douglas, "The Palice of Honour", The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt, Fourth series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1967), III, p. 123. cf. The "Thre Prestis of Peblis" for a discussion of the role of good works in reaching heaven, in Robb, *passim*. Douglas' attitude was in contrast to that of the fifteenth century writer of The Craft of Deyng, who emphasised faithful love for God, a contrite heart and the sacraments of the church rather than works to obtain God's mercy after death, in Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 3.

85. Note that in the Jubilee Year of 1450 the papacy had offered a plenary indulgence for those visiting Rome in this year, and Scots such as William, Earl of Douglas, Lord Hamilton and Sir Alexander Home, patrons of Hamilton and Dunglass collegiate churches, respectively, and James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, took advantage of this offer. Bishop Turnbull of St. Andrews managed to extend this indulgence for four months for pilgrims to the Cathedral of Glasgow, thereby encouraging pilgrimage within the borders of Scotland as well. The papacy had another Jubilee in 1475, and in 1476 extended the plenary indulgence to souls in purgatory, which had not been the case in 1450. An understanding of lay perceptions of indulgences in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries must be gained while bearing in mind the papacy's actions in the middle of the fifteenth century, when it offered great benefits to souls in purgatory through the medium of the indulgence. Note also that the papacy "debased" the notion of penance, or rather, reduced the requirements for full spiritual purification through the sacrament of penance, by stating that in this latter Jubilee Year, contrition and confession would not be required to receive the full benefits of the indulgence, in Annie I. Dunlop, "Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland", RSCHS (Glasgow, 1966), XV, p. 158 and 162.

86. ed. Denys Hay, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), p. 217.

87. ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. IV of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1849), XX, pp. 30 and xi-xii.

88. Alexander Fraser, The Frasers of Philorth, Vol. I of 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1879), pp. 145-8.

89. William Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir and Their Family Papers (Edinburgh, 1858), p. 24.

90. M. Livingstone, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. I, A.D. 1488-1529 (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1908), #212, p. 27.

91. William Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, Vol. II of 2 vols., Correspondence and Charters (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 244.

92. SRO RH2/1/21, f. 221b.

93. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Rubric to the "Orisouns", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 1-5, p. 279.

94. The prayer "Hail to Thee, Mary" asks: "Thou holy Mary, Mother of Jesus, / Plead for me a miserable sinner, / Now and at the hour of death.", in ed. Alexander Carmichael, "Hail to Thee, Mary", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1940), III, p. 111.

95. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cci and cc, Le Goff, pp. 11 and 294. Note that one method of obtaining suffrages open only to monarchs was that of demanding suffrages for souls as a reward for agreeing to append the Great Seal to religious foundations. In a Great Seal

charter of 21 December, 1479, James Douglas of Cassillis donated certain lands to the Observant Franciscans of Edinburgh. He did so out of favour to the order and for the welfare of his soul, and he ended the charter with the words "Salvis regi . . . orationum suffragiis devotarum.", in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #1434, p. 296. When James IV confirmed a chaplainry to be founded at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary called *Sancta Maria libera nos de penis inferni*, he reserved prayers and suffrages to himself in the same manner, in Ibid., II, #2347, p. 499.

96. William Moir Bryce, Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols. Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), pp. 135-7.

97. Robb, II. 127-8, p. 10.

98. Livingstone, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, I, #1251, p. 181.

99. eds. James Balfour Paul and John Maitland Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Vol. III, A.D. 1513-1546, (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1883), Part 1, #157, p. 34, and ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1906), p. 24. The family of the Earls of Crawford were strong supporters of masses for the dead. David, third Earl of Crawford (d. January 1445/6), hereditary Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, had a mass founded for him by his spouse Marjory, daughter of Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, in the church of the Friars Minor of Dundee, and an obit was founded for him by Bishop Ingelram Lindsay of Aberdeen. The church had great power over souls, Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews excommunicating the Earl for attacking church lands. This meant that when the Earl died no one would bury him in consecrated ground until the Bishop had removed the excommunication. Clearly there was good reason for believing that the Earl's soul was in need of these masses and prayers, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, III, p. 18, citing RMS charter of 17 November, 1478, in note to charter of 17 April, 1536, and Aberdeen Chart., v. 264. In 1505, Margaret Carmichael of Meadowflat, "Duchess of Montrose" (d. November/December 1534), founded a mass for her husband David, fifth Earl of Crawford (d. December 1495, buried at Franciscan friary of Dundee) in Brechin Cathedral, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, III, p. 23, citing RMS charter of 23 August, 1505.

100. cf. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cc,

101. John Parker Lawson, The Book of Perth: An Illustration of the Moral and Ecclesiastical State of Scotland before and After the Reformation (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1847), pp. 23-7. cf. ed. James Balfour Paul, J. Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Vol. II, A.D. 1424-1513 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1882), Part 2, #2645, p. 610. Note that Elizabeth Gray married William, third Lord Crichton some time after 1520, and that her concern for her first husband's soul remained in spite of her new marriage, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, III, p. 67.

102. For example, in 1587 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland expressed outrage that the abbacy of Dumfermline had been given to the Earl of Huntly, for he had promptly brought with him "flocks of Papists, Jesuits, and excommunicated Papists", including the laird of Fintry, another strong supporter of Catholic rituals, in ed. T. Thomson, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland From the Year MDLX (The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1840), p. 719.

103. compilers Charles C.H. Harvey and John Macleod, Calendar of Writs Preserved at Yester House 1166-1625 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), LV, #226A, p. 85. Note that the marriage contract between John, first Lord Hay of Yester, and Elizabeth Cunningham, was dated 1468, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VIII of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1911), p. 430.

104. Harvey and Macleod, #373, pp. 119-20.

105. Ibid., #402, p. 126 and #429, p. 133. Note that John, second Lord Hay of Yester, had received the patronage of the collegiate church of Bothans (plus the remaining half of the lands and barony of Yester and the lands and barony of Duncanlaw) from Adam, Earl of Bothwell, in 1512 in return for Hay's lands of Morham in Haddington, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, VIII, p. 433.

106. Harvey and Macleod, #272, p. 98.

107. Ibid., #404, p. 127.

108. Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), p. 226, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Peeblesshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office Press, 1967), p. 209. The humanity of Jesus was crucial because Jesus' humanity assured the laity of His empathy and compassion for their plight, and ensured that the sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross was a sufficient sacrifice for human sin.

109. Le Goff, p. 324.

110. Ibid., pp. 296-7.

111. Alexander Carmichael recorded a "sleep blessing" which entreated the saint, "Valiant Michael, meet thou my soul," and a "death blessing" in which the soul was comforted with the words:

Oh! the strong Michael
In peace with thee, soul,
And preparing for thee the way
To the kingdom of God.

. . .
Coming to meet the soul
And leading it home
To the heaven of the son of God.

in ed. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and

Incantations, Vol. II of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1928), pp. 67 and 117.

112. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, 2, #2903, p. 617.

113. F.T. Macleod, "Notes on the Chapel Yard, Inverness, and Some of Its Old Monuments: with a Notice of Heraldic Devices on Tombstones at Kilmun", Proceedings, Vol. IX, Fourth series (Edinburgh, 1910-11), XLV, p. 205.

114. ed. Charles Rogers, Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail (London: Grampian Club, 1877), pp. 31-4. The founders also made it clear that Mary and Jesus were important intercessors for souls in purgatory. They placed two prebends at the altar of St. Mary the Virgin, one at the altar of Our Lady, and one at the altar of the Holy Cross, its dedication emphasising Jesus' role as crucified saviour of humanity.

115. Dunbar, "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), II, ll. 74-80, p. 294.

116. It is notable that it appears to be St. Gabriel who is depicted in the upper tier of the woodcut illustration of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland published by Thomas Davidson in 1541. He appears to be there in his capacity as messenger in the Annunciation, but as an important theme of the woodcut is the presence of suffering souls in purgatory, placing St. Gabriel so close to God Himself may also indicate the lay perception of St. Gabriel as a saint possessing great influence with God the Judge, in The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540, f. 27v.

117. Foulis Easter parish church, Angus.

118. Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

119. cf. Anna Jean Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland (St. Andrews University Publications (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1927), passim, medieval statue of St. Eloy found in north Glasgow, Glasgow Museum of Religious Life and Art, ed. Colin Hunt, The Perth Hammermen Book (1518 to 1568) (Perth, 1889), passim, and various seals of cause of craft guilds, eg. Edinburgh cordiners in 1510, arranging for entry fees and master and servant weekly money contributions to go to the craft altar of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian in St. Giles church, and to feed the chaplain at the altar, in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403-1528) (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869), p. 128.

120. John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", cited by ed. W.M. Metcalfe, Specimens of Scottish Literature 1325-1835 (London: Blackie & Son Ltd., 1913), pp. 85-7.

121. Dunbar, "The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James the Fyift being in Striuilling", The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568), II, p. 294.

122.Ibid., ll. 49-9, p. 293, ll. 65-9, p. 294, and pp. 292-4, *passim*.

123.John Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 97.

124.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, ed. Hamer, I, p. 278.

125.Knox, "The History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 162-3.

126.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 1, pp. 313-4.

127.George Seton, A History of the Family of Seton, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1896), p. 775 and Vol. I, p. 48, and Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), p. 226.

128.David S. Rutherford, Biggar St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), p. 27 and Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, V, p. 297.

129.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Thre Rois Garlandis", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, p. 306.

130.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 314-8, p. 332. Note that Jesus was perceived as the king of glory whose soul had descended to hell, and there released the imprisoned souls whom he then led to paradise.

131.In common with many other prayers and invocations contained in the Carmina Gadelica, the ideas contained in this prayer probably date back to earlier centuries, and provide insight into a way of thinking which endured despite evangelical Presbyterian efforts.

To come into thy presence,
Thou Mother of Jesus Christ;

. . .

That thou mayst have me spared
anguish eternal;
That thou mayst help my soul
On the highway of the king;

. . .

That thou mayst help my soul
In the doorway of mercy;

From: Mary MacDonald, "Prayer to Mary Mother", Carmina Gadelica, Hymns and Incantations, ed. Alexander Carmichael (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1941), IV, p. 123. This prayer was recited to Alexander Carmichael by Mary MacDonald, a crofter in Lochaber. Carmichael reported that even in Protestant districts "Moire", the exclusive name for the Blessed Virgin Mary, was used in oaths such as "by Mary it is!" Speaking to children on Protestant Skye, grandmothers would

say, "Be still, children, be quiet, you could cause the mild Mary of grace to sin."

132. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2347, p. 499.

133. Rogers, pp. 31-4.

134. Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid-Pollis", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition, The Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), ll. 52-61 and 64, p. 135.

135. A distinction was made between God the Father and Jesus the Son which later Protestants strove hard to eliminate.

136. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Jesus Psalter", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, pp. 194-204.

137. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum, and Foulis Easter church, Angus.

138. Bennett, "The Jesus Psalter", ll. 145-6, p. 199.

139. Ibid., l. 130, p. 198.

140. Ibid., ll. 130 and 135, p. 198.

141. cf. Dante's Inferno and Le Goff, p. 297.

142. Robert Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), The Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 41-5, p. 138.

143. National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, and Provost Skene's house, Aberdeen. David Caldwell estimates that the Beaton panels may date from just prior to Beaton's appointment as Archbishop of St. Andrews, but were certainly carved some time between the early 1520's and late 1530's. Further, Caldwell judges that the panels must have been intended as decoration for Beaton's private quarters rather as decoration for choir stalls or some other ecclesiastical site. cf. Note #146 of Chapter 7 for a full discussion.

144. Gordon Donaldson, Faith of the Scots (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1990), pp. 54-5.

145. William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 43-4, p. 164.

146. Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 188-9 and 264-5.

147. Ibid., I, pp. 288-9.

148. Ibid., I, p. 193.

149. John Foxe, cited by editor David Laing in "Appendix V", The Works of John Knox, I, pp. 519-20.

CHAPTER 5:

GOD AS FATHER AND JUDGE

INTRODUCTION

Clues to the faith of the Scottish laity of the period 1480 to 1560 can be found in the terms they used to describe God's nature and function. Lay actions indicated the extent of laypeople's desire to gain God's approval and the mechanisms deemed most effective in obtaining it. The motives behind lay actions can be quite obscure, foundation documents usually being reticent about motivation. In consequence, it has proved useful to study the imagery of poetry, plays, art and theological writings. These sources influenced laypeople's understanding of God, and thus can offer insight into lay religious attitudes and lay motives for religious acts.

Scottish documents and literature of the period present an overall impression of God as a supernatural being who had complete power over life and death. His nature and function were expressed most commonly as omnipotent "father" and "judge". As the being who gave life, God was creator of humanity; as king of the celestial kingdom, He had absolute power over access to heaven. As the being who took life away, God was responsible for the time and manner of death, and He used the threat of sudden and/or early death, and the natural calamities of famine, plague and war to manipulate the attitudes and behaviour of His human children. God also controlled the laity's future beyond the grave, a supreme judge

rewarding virtue and punishing vice at the particular and general Days of Judgment. As a supernatural being who wanted the best for humanity, He had sacrificed His only son, Jesus, to redeem humanity and make it fit for heaven.

In response to its conception of the nature of God as father and judge, the laity supported church rituals, pursued personal and societal holiness, and did good deeds, in order that God might be honoured and glorified and the promise of salvation realised at the general Day of Judgment. Laypeople also sought to remind God that He owed them mercy due to Jesus' sacrifice of Himself for human sin. The laity's response to its perception of God included the founding of masses, altars, chaplainries and collegiate churches, the donation of money, lands, vestments and ornaments, and the holding of pageants and processions. In terms of personal holiness, it valued complete obedience to the will of God, the orientation of life to serving God, prayers and fasting, and total devotion to the sacrament of penance, which was comprised of confession, contrition and satisfaction.¹ The category of "satisfaction" included a variety of activities intended to pacify God's wrath against sinful humanity, including "good deeds" such as care of the poor, the foundation or support of religious institutions, pilgrimage, and the making of testaments.

This study will discuss the pursuit of personal holiness as it was expressed in devotion to the rituals and institutions of the church and through good deeds, but as personal holiness is the subject of much of the other chapters, it will not be discussed extensively. In terms of "societal holiness", the laity attempted to gain God's mercy and favour for all of Scottish society by defending the integrity of the orthodox faith, reforming the secular

and regular clergy, and abstaining from violence and warfare. The leaders of Scottish society, such as its king and magnates, took it upon themselves to encourage societal holiness for the spiritual benefit of all Scots. As part of a general discussion of lay responses to images of God as father and judge, societal holiness will be emphasised, as the rest of the thesis does not treat this topic in any great depth.

Two sources for which a wealth of documentation exists are obit foundations and testaments, both of which were employed by the laity to achieve spiritual acceptability and to improve its chances of attaining God's favour at the particular and general days of judgment. It would be impossible to discuss all the ways in which lay Scots responded to perceptions of the nature and function of God. Consequently a case study of Ayrshire testaments and obit foundations follows this chapter. It has been undertaken to demonstrate two methods by which laypeople in Scotland attempted to gain God's favour and achieve the spiritual bliss of heaven.

NATURE AND FUNCTION OF GOD

OMNIPOTENT FATHER

Lay Scots in the period 1480 to 1560 put great emphasis on the omnipotence of their heavenly father. God's omnipotence was proved to laypeople in a variety of ways during their life on earth, which made them more likely to trust the church's word about God's power and activities in the afterlife, and therefore more likely to follow the church's dictates on spiritual attitudes and behaviour.

From the perspective of psychology, there was a logical connection between lay perceptions of God as father and God as omnipotent being. Weston La Barre maintained that, the more fear and lack of control a society was exhibiting, the more reliance that

society put on its "spirits". In the case of Scotland, the socio-economic and political fluidity of the period under study made it fit La Barre's description of a society liable to put great reliance on the deity. La Barre also maintained that belief in spirits began as a belief in "psychic fathers", who created people in the beginning, and who took away life in the end.² Certainly this was the emphasis of the lay Scots under study. God was the giver of life, the Creator, but more important for the living was His ability to take away life at any time, and this belief had great impact on their activities.

In Scotland, the omnipotent "psychic father" which was God functioned as a father and as a judge, depending on the context. In both roles, God was viewed primarily as a powerful, kingly, stern and punitive figure, whose mercy came only after great effort on humanity's behalf, and through the sacrifice of God's son, Jesus.

Sixteenth century Scots' images of God come to us mainly from literature, as their poets and playwrights tried to create images of the deity which accorded with the popular conception of God and yet were theologically sound. God was clearly a human father figure - a particularly powerful father who therefore had king-like qualities, and who dispensed justice as rigorously as any earthly king. In very few places was God referred to in other than anthropomorphic terms. For example, God was personified by Gavin Douglas as having a "grim fyrie visage bricht" in his work "The Palice of Honour".³

The literary personification of God led naturally to the attribution of "fatherly" characteristics. He was a father in that he was the creator of the world, the "father figure" in the Trinity, the source of moral laws and stern dispenser of justice, keeping his family in order. For centuries Christians across Europe had

characterised God as father, lay Scots of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries forming part of this general religious climate. It is worth documenting the nature of this Scottish father image in order to interpret Scottish religious acts. God was a "god of mycht"⁴, "almighty God",⁵ "eternal Father",⁶ "eternal Jove" and "the Fader of Goddis and men".⁷ Thus the supernatural father of the dead and the living was a powerful supernatural figure, inspiring sinful laypeople to please Him and pacify His rightful wrath.

A major advantage of defining God as "father" was to emphasise people's relationship to God; as his children, laypeople had the right to His mercy. Christian theology held that humanity's hope for salvation lay in the sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross. (See Chapters 7 and 9) Because Jesus, the son of God, was human as well as divine, human beings were also God's children. Because Jesus had died for humanity's sins, God would honour the promise of salvation inherent in Jesus' sacrifice of Himself, or rather, of God's sacrifice of Jesus for humanity's sake. Scottish theologians reinforced this interpretation, stating in the Catechism of 1552 that it was right to refer to God as "Father", because God had asked us to do so, and because we were God's children by adoption through our faith in Jesus at the time of our baptism.⁸

God was responsible not only for offering Jesus as satisfaction for human sin, but also for creating the human race. During the period under study most of the concern which was expressed related to God's nature as stern, fatherly judge, but some writers celebrated this creative role. Gavin Douglas began his prologue to the tenth book of the Aeneid with a celebration of God's creative, constructive role:

My makar, my redemar and support,
 Fra quham all grace and gudness comis at schort
 Is nane bot thou, the Fader of Goddis and men,
 Omnipotent eternal Jove and ken.
 Only thee, helply fader, thar is nane uther:⁹

Sir David Lyndsay referred to God as "Creatour of all",¹⁰ and stated that God had formed humanity in His own image. Lyndsay's view, and that of the official church, was based on biblical imagery.¹¹ The Scottish orison, "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectoun yat we suld haue to resauue our saluiour Iesu Crist", found in BM Arundel MS 285, echoed this theme, addressing God as "creatour, redemer",¹² and another orison, "Conditor coeli", noted that God had made the suppliant in His own image and had "bought" the suppliant with His "precious blude".¹³ In his vernacular testament of 2 June, 1535, William Forbes of Corsindae, Aberdeenshire, commended his soul to "the most High Creator", as well as the "Blessed Virgin and the court of heaven". Later in the testament he referred to God as the "supreme judge", who would judge his executors for their actions on behalf of his soul, so in this sense it was clear that Forbes gave God credit for the creation of life as well as the ending of it.¹⁴ Mary, Queen of Scots, also emphasised God as creator. In a letter to her mother, Mary of Guise, in 1554, she entreated the "Creator" to give her mother a long, healthy and happy life, and she thanked God daily for her own happiness.¹⁵ Queen Mary was brought up in France so her views were not peculiarly Scottish. However, the fact that her attitudes mirror those of the Scottish laity demonstrates the degree to which Scottish lay piety echoed European norms.

The emphasis on God as part of the Trinity reinforced the popular belief that God was the "father" of Jesus, this notion being visible in the foundation evidence. A typical early sixteenth century foundation was that of Robert Clark, burgess of Perth, who

founded an altar dedicated to St. Serf (*Severus*) in St. John's church, Perth. In the salutation of the foundation charter, Clark referred to the "father" [God] as part of the "holy and indivisible Trinity".¹⁶ In general, there was a growing tendency in foundation documents to describe the deity not as "omnipotent God" but as the "Trinity", reinforcing the image of God as father. Thus Clark may have referred to the indivisible nature of the Trinity, but he followed this reference to the oneness of God with the words "father, son and holy spirit". God was further distinguished from Jesus and characterised as Jesus' father by adding Mary to the salutation. Mention of Mary immediately followed the words "father, son and holy spirit". By grouping Mary with the father, son and holy spirit, a supernatural family was created which reproduced the structure of human families. Mary assumed the role of the father's spouse when she was defined as "genetrix of our lord Jesus Christ". That is, she was the mother of "our lord Jesus Christ", the son who formed part of the Trinity.

Artistically, God was commonly represented as a father. Often this was achieved by emphasising the age discrepancy between God and Jesus, and/or by representing Him as the compassionate father of a crucified son. In an illustration in the Arbuthnott Missal, a kingly, middle-aged father held across His knees the emaciated corpse of His son Jesus. This arrangement of God and Jesus echoed the famous *Pieta* paintings and sculptures of Mary and Jesus. This new version of the *Pieta* would have reminded the lay viewer that, while Mary was Jesus' loving mother who had suffered empathetically at the foot of the Cross, God was Jesus' loving father whose decision to sacrifice His only son had been a difficult one.¹⁷

In the Trinity panels or diptych (c. 1484) commissioned by James III, probably as an altar-piece for the church of the Holy Trinity founded by Queen Mary of Gueldres in 1462, God in glory held Jesus in His Passion, the Holy Spirit being shown as a dove. God's posture was one of parental concern for a suffering son.¹⁸ In a woodblock from the 1505 work "The Crafte to Lyue Well and to Dye Well", an English version of Thomas Lewington's 1503 Scottish work, a middle-aged God sat on a throne, an emaciated and pathetic Jesus resting on his lap.¹⁹

Poets presented God as a father, attempting to put him into a proper Trinitarian context by stressing the threefold nature of the godhead. For example, Robert Henryson, writing for a literate middle class audience, stated in "The Thre Deid Pollis" that the Father, son and Holy Ghost were "thre knit in ane be perfyt unitie".²⁰ "The Goldin Latany", circulating in Scotland in the 1540's, referred to "God almychty, as thou art, thre personis and a God".²¹ This emphasising of the Trinitarian form of the godhead made it more difficult for the laity to imagine that God and Jesus had the same nature.

The characterisation of God as both heavenly father and heavenly king occurred commonly in the literature of the period, particularly by writers from the upper echelons of society. For example, Sir David Lyndsay compared the Trinity to the imperial throne in his poem "The Dreame",²² and in "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene", heaven was God's "realme".²³ This image was in accordance with Freud's psychological interpretation of dreams, in which a parent invariably was symbolised as a king or emperor.²⁴

God as royal parent led naturally to a belief in the extreme power of God, and in His role as rewarder of virtue and punisher of vice. There was some emphasis on the "positive" aspects of God's omnipotence, as when Douglas referred to God as "helply Fader".²⁵ However, the greatest proportion of characterisations emphasised the power of God to harm individuals if they did not meet His expectations.

Beliefs about God's omnipotence and His use of power varied little from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. In "Ane Prayer for the Pest" (c. 1497), Robert Henryson, schoolmaster of Dunfermline, entreated God to prevent the spread of plague in Scotland, although he accepted that God had the right to use plague to punish the Scots for their sins. Henryson reasoned that the Scots had repented of their misspent time; therefore God should grant them the grace to amend their ways and so escape the fear and death brought by the plague.²⁶ Sir Richard Maitland, writing in the late 1550's, echoed Henryson's belief that God used his power to punish sinful nations. He felt that the state of social upheaval in the country was God's way of punishing Scotland.²⁷ In his poem "On the New Yeir", Maitland asked God to send Scotland peace and unity.²⁸

Another example of God's influence on earthly life was His power over war. During the period under study it was agreed that God was able to protect people in battle, and to bring victory if he felt that the cause was just. He was able to punish humanity with wars between nations and violence in society. In 1507, James IV wrote that he was convinced that Charles, Duke of Gueldres, was able to hold off his enemies because "God Himself must have lent His aid".²⁹ In The Complaynt of Scotland (1546) Robert Wedderburn

railed at his countrymen for wanting God to bring them victory, when they had acted wrongfully by fighting among themselves, exhibiting envy, avarice and pride, and caring little for the common welfare. He urged them to follow God's command in heart and act so that God would be merciful and end the wars, plagues and hunger which beset them.³⁰

Freud's explanation for God's characterisation as stern, punitive father helps to explain why God was perceived by laypeople more as a punisher of sin than a rewarder of virtue. In order to truly understand what the term "father" meant to Scots of this period, one would have to study the nature of the late medieval Scottish family. However, Freud's general observations do throw some light on the role of a father in human experience. Freud noted in his work that human fathers commonly were feared. A father exercised his authority in an arbitrary fashion, frustrated the child's wishes and demanded absolute obedience, which he could enforce due to his overwhelming power over the child.³¹ In medieval Scottish literature it is clear that people believed that humanity had sinned so greatly that only Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross allowed them to hope that their heavenly father would forgive them and grant them salvation. According to Freud, the father-figure always had an "external" or "remote" quality, causing the child to think of him as all-powerful and unknowable, unlike the mother-figure, who was the main source of human contact and sustenance and whose whole purpose was the satisfaction of the child's desires. The father represented authority, which to the child meant denial of his desires (*thou shalt not*). The human father was the prototype for God the Father, so it was logical that God would be seen as the source of authority. God would deny the wishes of a disobedient

human child, and the child's desire for acceptability was attainable only by satisfying the stringent requirements of this remote father figure.³²

Post-Freudian theorists, such as R.E. Money-Kyrle, postulated that the sense of guilt or conscience experienced by people in relation to God was composed of depressive and persecutory elements. Guilt arising from the depressive element was based mostly upon a fear of disappointing someone who was loved, the response to which was reparation (eg. guilt at failure to keep faith with God in the Garden of Eden and the sacrifice of Jesus as reparation for human sin). Guilt arising from the persecutory element stemmed from a fear of punishment, the response to which was propitiation (eg. foundations to honour and glorify God and to avert His wrath at the Day of Judgment). Both depressive and persecutory elements functioned in terms of the Scottish laity's relationship to God in the period 1480 to 1560. However, given that the laity appeared to fear rather than to love God, the persecutory element appears to have been the strongest element of the relationship.³³

Scots had to constantly ponder the best means of obeying God the Father in order to attain spiritual acceptability, whether their guilt was assuaged by reparation or propitiation. As Robert Henryson pointed out in the refrain of his poem "The Abbay Walk", the role of humanity was to "Obey and thank thy god of all." Henryson's advice was to avoid vanity by accepting one's status in life, to meditate on Jesus who died on the Cross to save humanity, and to approach God with prayers and a meek heart.³⁴

JUDGE

God's nature as impartial judge meant that He could take away life as easily as He granted it. He was an omnipotent, stern judge

who looked to human beings for obedience and honour, operating on earth by controlling plagues, famines and the outcome of wars, and providing for the general happiness and well-being of society; in the afterlife, he sent people directly to heaven or hell for eternity, or to purgatory for varying periods of time. When their work is looked at as a whole, most writers emphasised God's role as stern judge on the Day of Judgment, although writers such as Sir David Lyndsay encouraged people to use their knowledge of God's punishment of sins on earth (egs. through hunger, dearth, poverty, plague and war) as the basis for amending their lives to avoid worse punishment in the afterlife.³⁵ God's role in controlling the time and mode of death, and people's condition in the afterlife after judgment, came to preoccupy Scots in the later Middle Ages. As James III commented to his brother-in-law John, King of Denmark, after James' wife Margaret had died, "God takes to himself whom he pleases."³⁶ The day of reckoning toward which all looked was "that dulefull day", the Day of Judgment.³⁷ In his poem "Honour with Age", Walter Kennedy (?1460-?1508) stated that the "Omnipotent and eterne God in trone" should be dreaded, as the Day of Judgment was dreaded, because on that day all would stand accused.³⁸

The laity's tendency to separate God from Jesus encouraged the reservation of authoritarian, impartial and demanding images of the godhead for God, resulting in the image of God as Judge. In particular, the popular mind of the period separated the God of Judgment and the Jesus of the Eucharist, no matter how much the theologically-educated or reform-minded writers and preachers attempted to impress the doctrine of the Trinity on the populace. God was divine Judge, Creator, punisher of sin and bringer of death; it was through the mediating saints, Mary, and the human figure of

Jesus that most Scots saw their hope of mercy, comfort in death, and a listening ear.³⁹ The writers and theologians who emphasised the oneness of God and Jesus included John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. In Hamilton's Catechism of 1552, God was described as the food which was the bread and wine of the Eucharist.⁴⁰ Douglas emphasised God as father and also made reference to the Lord's blood and body taking the form of wine and bread "Tobe our fuyd of grace, in plege of glor."⁴¹ Despite the attempts of certain writers and theologians to remain true to the notion of the Trinity, the means of explaining the godhead (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) led to confusion in lay minds; the majority appeared to view God and Jesus as separate beings, while a minority clearly saw Jesus as God Himself.

Poets and theologians reminded laypeople of the certainty of death, and warned them of the danger of sudden death; one might be brought to judgment without having had time to bring one's personal holiness and tally of good deeds to acceptable levels, and before one had made arrangements for prayers and masses to be said for one's soul in purgatory. The poet William Dunbar affirmed the inevitability of death and the surety of the afterlife in the final stanza of his poem "Timor mortis conturbat me."

Sen for the deid remeid is none,
Best is that we for dede [death] dispone,
Eftir our deid that lif may we;
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*⁴²

The fate of the dead was to be judged by God on the Day of Judgment, when their souls would be sent to heaven, hell or purgatory.

In his poem "Of Manis Mortalitie", Dunbar expressed well the laity's fear of sudden, inexplicable death, a fear which was intensified by political unrest and the increasingly violent waves

of plague in the period under question, and by the clergy's emphasis on the importance of church rituals to make sinners acceptable to God.⁴³ Fear of sudden death was also mentioned in most testaments which survive from the period under study, and was accepted by Scots as an unwelcome likelihood.

Thocht now thow be maist glaid of cheir,
 Fairest and plesandest of port,
 Yit may thow be, within ane yeir,
 Ane ugsum, uglye tramort;
 And sen thow knawis thy tyme is schort,
 And in all houre thy lyfe in weir [doubt] is,
 Think, man, amang all uthir sport,
*Quod tu in cinerem reverteris.*⁴⁴

Sir David Lyndsay reminded the laity of the uncertainty of the hour of death, outlining the myriad ways that it might happen, such as in battle, at sea, from plague, or through execution by the secular authorities.⁴⁵ He then reminded laypeople that the departure from earth could be a joyful one if they were spiritually prepared for it, an idea mirrored in a traditional prayer recorded in the Highlands in the nineteenth century. Lyndsay asserted:

Happy is he the quhilk hes space
 Att his last hour to cry for grace.
 Quhowbeit deith be abhominabyll,
 I thynk it suld be confortabyll
 Tyll all thame of the faithfull nummer,
 For thay depart frome cair and cummer,
 Frome trubyll, trauell, sturt, and stryfe,
 Tyll Ioy and euirlestand lyfe.⁴⁶

The late medieval emphasis on God as omnipotent judge exacerbated lay anxieties about personal sinfulness and the spiritual consequences of an untimely death. According to modern studies of religious faith, belief in an afterlife makes separation from loved ones easier to bear. However, modern bereavement studies indicate that if the bereavement occurs in an unexpected and untimely fashion, belief in God does not help the bereaved to cope with the loss, because it shakes the survivor's faith in God as a

loving and protective spirit. Further, the less prepared the survivor is for the loss, the greater the shock and grief.⁴⁷ This modern finding helps to explain why fear of sudden death caused such anguish amongst laypeople, and why it shook their faith in their own understanding of the nature and function of God and the meaning of their own lives.⁴⁸ Henryson cried out to God in his poem, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", seeking to understand God's reasoning in bringing sudden death through plague.

Bot Thow, O Lord, that for thame lost Thy lyve?
Suppois our syn be to The pungityve [piercing],
Oure deid ma nathing our synnys recompens.

. . .
Thow grant us grace for till amend our miss
And till evaid this crewall suddane deid;⁴⁹

It is significant that the most popular term to describe God was that of judge; His role as judge in the final court of appeal was emphasised by naming him "supreme" or "highest" judge. Almost every Scottish testament studied in the period 1480 to 1560 finished by threatening the executor with the final reckoning at the Day of Judgment. As early as 1456, Alexander Sutherland (*Suthyrland*) of Dunbeath (*Dumbeth*) required his son to go on pilgrimage to Rome on his behalf, reminding him to do so "as he will answer befor the hyeast Juge upoun the day of Doum."⁵⁰ In 1553 the threat was the same, James Grant of Freuchie reminding his executor to act for the welfare of his soul as he would answer before the highest judge.⁵¹

Death was characterised as a strong-armed henchman of an all-powerful monarch, impossible to resist despite a desperate desire to do so. In the "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", death was an "Officer of the King" (God) who marched a rich man off to Judgment, suffering no resistance, and refusing all bribes.

Is nane his power agane may repleid;
 Is nane sa wicht, na wyse, na of sik wit
 Agare his summond suithly that may sit.

His straik it is sa sharpe it will not stint,
 Is nane in eird that may indure his dint.⁵²

Sir David Lyndsay described death as a "horrible port" through which one was forced to pass "on the way to that dulefull day".⁵³ It is clear that despite the hardships of earthly life, Scots desperately clung to its known joys and pains through their dread of the alternative. Modern work with terminally ill patients indicates that, in order for people to feel calm and accepting of death, it needs to be viewed as "an expected companion" to life rather than as a cutting off of life and a "dreaded stranger".⁵⁴ Clearly to the Scots of the late Middle Ages, death was dreaded rather than welcomed, no doubt partly because very few of them believed that they would go directly to heaven, most assuming that their fate was to suffer first in purgatory.

It was difficult for the laity to conceive of God as loving, despite the assurances of the higher clergy, given that the dominant image of God was that of inexorable judge demanding attendance at His court. On the other hand, the laity had great faith in Jesus' loving mercy, the more forgiving aspect of the deity having been attached to Jesus the Son rather than to God the Father. In fact, increasingly in the period 1480 to 1560, any mercy to be sought from God was obtained via Jesus, Mary, or the saints, the relationship between God and His intercessors being unclear to many Scots.⁵⁵ Reformers such as Sir David Lyndsay attempted to stem the tide toward Mary, the saints and a distinct and "humanised Jesus", reminding the laity that it was God who was the source of mercy and salvation, not Mary and the saints. In Sir David Lyndsay's "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait

of the World", he emphasised that people should pray only to God using the *Pater Noster*, as it was God who was the source of all assistance, and who saw all of one's thoughts and plans.⁵⁶ Lyndsay reminded the Scots that God was "Father and founder of faith and felicitie".⁵⁷ Yet as far as the average Scot was concerned, God was a stern and forbidding judge who demanded perfect obedience and an impossibly high standard of spiritual worthiness.

LAY RESPONSES TO IMAGES OF GOD'S NATURE AND FUNCTION

The laity's conception of God as stern father and judge led it to respond to this God in a variety of ways, mostly in terms of reparation and propitiation. However, in general terms the notion of God served a positive psychological function in the lives of late medieval Scots as it gave meaning to life. Further, the notion existed that God wished to act for the good of humanity, despite His betrayal by Adam and Eve, and that adherence to the rituals and institutions⁵⁸ of the church acquired for one the benefits of God's good intentions, as did performing good deeds such as caring for the poor. However, as father and judge, God was overwhelmingly associated with punishment before and after death, so in practice any positive aspects of God were increasingly allotted to Jesus rather than to God. God employed earthly calamity, premature death and pain in the afterlife to punish sins such as lust, lack of devotion to God, and worldly matters such as excessive concern for goods and family. In order to avoid these punishments, the laity needed to pursue a life of personal and societal holiness, good deeds, and frequent reminders to God of the efficacy of Jesus' Passion in winning humanity the chance for salvation.

The sins of Scots were committed as individuals and as a society. Hence holiness and devotion to God had to be pursued on

both an individual and a corporate level. As this period was a time of increasing individualisation in religion, the concern of most Scots was for personal holiness; they deemed their personal spiritual state to be of greatest importance on the Day of Judgment. However, certain members of society, notably the upper eschelons of the Scottish spiritual and secular order, took it upon themselves to ensure the spiritual worthiness of Scottish society as a whole and thus to gain God's goodwill for all Scots. They pursued this end by imposing spiritual standards on the majority and by putting the full weight of their might and influence behind the church as it strove to spiritually purify individuals and groups within society and to defend its rights and privileges.⁵⁹

Personal holiness was to be achieved through learning about the main tenets of the faith (encouraged through increased preaching and publication of the Catechism of 1552), absolute obedience to God's will, dedication to serving God through support for rituals, foundations, and good deeds, prayer and fasting, and devotion to the penitential rites of contrition, confession and satisfaction, and meditating on the Passion of Jesus.⁶⁰ Societal holiness was to be attempted through support of church institutions, maintenance of high clerical standards, defence of Catholic orthodoxy and church property and persons, and general processions and pageants, in which large segments of the population participated as actors or onlookers. The laity's pursuit of personal and societal holiness in response to its conception of God's nature and function is a topic which is too broad for full treatment here. Thus only some of the more significant lay responses will be discussed at this time.⁶¹

In general terms, the laity's belief in God had a positive psychological function in the period 1480 to 1560. That is, it gave

meaning to life, providing the laity with a supernatural being to whom it could transfer its spiritual longings and human fears, and to whom it could look for aid and comfort if certain attitudes and actions were maintained. In his modern studies of bereavement, Colin Murray Parkes discovered that one positive consequence of belief in God is that those who attended church were much less likely to develop a depressive syndrome. Parkes attributed this finding to the beliefs and rituals of the church which gave meaning to death and so lessened the confusion experienced by the bereaved. The church also offered community sanction to the expression of grief, which was of paramount importance to the psychological health of the survivors.⁶²

Scottish late medieval evidence supports Parkes' conclusions about the positive function of God in society. "The Craft of Deyng" was written in the second half of the fifteenth century. It counselled Scottish clerics who had cure of souls about how best to advise laypeople concerning correct attitudes and actions toward death. It emphasised that the Christian religion gave meaning to death and thus made it easier to bear: "For god, at ordanyt ded, ordanyt It fore the best, ande he is mare besy for our gude than we our self can ore may be, sen we ar his creaturys and handewerkis. . ."⁶³ God controlled life and death, and while he was an impartial judge, nevertheless his overall intention was for our good. Scots were to think of death as a stage on their journey to eternal joy, a:

Retwrnyng fra banasyng, offputyng of a full hevy byrdinge,
end of all seknes, eschevyng of perellys, the terme of all
Ill, the brekinge of al bandys, the payment of naturell det,
the agane-cumyng to the kypde lande, ande the entering to
perpetuall Joy and welfare;⁶⁴

Such a joyous future was surely intended to reassure the living about the fate of their loved ones, and reconcile them to their own passing.

Yet the fact that "The Craft of Deyng" spent so much time reassuring laypeople of God's good intentions toward them indicates that they were fearful of God and how He would treat them on the Day of Judgment. In order to best benefit from God's good intentions, the author advised laypeople of the beliefs and rituals which must be adhered to: "And sa thai that ar all weill schrewyne, and deis in the faithe and sacramentis of haly kyrk, how wyolently at euer thai dee, thai suld nocht dreid thare deid."⁶⁵ Laypeople acted upon this urging to celebrate the rituals of the church as individuals and as members of Scottish society. They responded to their belief that God would reward good and punish evil by donating money, land, vestments and ornaments, founding masses, anniversaries, altars and collegiate churches to honour saints and God, doing good deeds (eg. caring for the poor, ill and infirm), and supporting pageants and processions, avowedly for the honour and glory of God.⁶⁶

PURSUIT OF PERSONAL HOLINESS

The main methods of achieving personal holiness were attaining knowledge and understanding of the tenets of the Christian faith in order to live and to die in accordance with God's wishes,⁶⁷ supporting the rituals and institutions of the church, and meditating on the Passion of Jesus, the latter topic being too involved for discussion here. In 1505, an English rendering of a 1503 Scots translation of the French Tractatus de Arte Bene Vivendi et Bene Moriendi was published in London under the title The Crafte to Lyue Well and to Dye Well. Although the author of the 1503 Scots translation believed the translation to be in English, it was

actually a good example of his own native Aberdonian. Presumably the writer wished his translation to assist people in their pursuit of personal holiness, the work including all of the subjects necessary for people who wished to prepare spiritually for death. That is, the treatise discussed the pains of hell and purgatory, the joys of heaven, the seven sacraments of the church, and how the world would end, viz. the coming of the Antichrist and the fifteen signs before the general Day of Judgment. One of many woodblocks included in the work reminded the lay reader of the inevitability of death. It portrayed a horse-drawn cart carrying human remains. The cart was accompanied by a man and a boy who, as advised by the author of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", through fear of Judgment would go only as far as the grave with the body. The floral border of the woodblock included roses and lilies, a clear reminder of Mary's role as comforter at death, guide on the journey to the Day of Judgment, and intercessor at the trial.⁶⁸ (See Chapter 8)

Individuals honoured God by confirming the donation of lands and/or monies to religious institutions, normally expecting prayers, and often masses, in return for their generosity. On 2 November, 1467, John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, confirmed the donation of various lands to the monastery of Fearn by his ancestor Farquhar, Earl of Ross. The Earl made this confirmation "in praise, glory and honour of omnipotent God and the most glorious Virgin Mary, mother of our lord Jesus Christ, patron of the monastery". He intended the confirmation to offer spiritual protection for souls, as had been the stated intent of Farquhar, the original donor. The present Earl also reminded God, and the clerics who would pray and celebrate masses in honour of the donors, that he intended this

charter of confirmation to promote the welfare of the souls of himself, his parents, Alexander, Earl of Ross and Elizabeth his spouse, as well as his ancestors and successors, and to increase divine worship in the monastery.⁶⁹

It was believed that by honouring a saint one was also honouring God, as saints were God's specially chosen ones. Both individuals and corporate bodies combined the honouring of a saint, who was expected to act as special intercessor, with the honouring of God, to whom all religious foundations were ultimately directed. An example of an individual choosing to honour both saint and God was Angus, Master of the Isles and Lord of Trotternish (*Trontinis*), who donated land and fruits to the monastery of St. Columba of the Isles in honour of "Omnipotent God and St. Columba our patron", believing that it would contribute to the spiritual welfare of himself and his relatives.⁷⁰

God as all-powerful heavenly king dispensing justice was a common image in the period under study. Lay conceptions of God's omnipotence and his use of power varied little from the beginning to the end of the period. "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", written c. 1480, also gave advice about how to satisfy God and so achieve personal holiness, emphasising good deeds. The third tale of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" was a morality tale along the lines of the English medieval morality play, Everyman. In the Scottish tale, God's henchman, (Officer) Death, bade a rich man to come to Judgment in the "king's" (God's) court. The day of the "trial" clearly was meant to represent the particular Day of Judgment, for which the church urged constant preparation and to which the laity looked with trepidation. In the tale the rich man had three friends, whom he approached in turn to

ask for assistance and companionship on the Day of Judgment. Only the third friend, Good Deeds, agreed to follow him to the court of the king - God's place of judgment - both the first friend (Riches) and the second friend (Kindred) refusing to do so.

The second friend, who represented family and friends, reasoned that he knew what life on earth was about, but had no knowledge of the afterlife, so it was more sensible for him to remain on earth.⁷¹ The second friend's reasoning supports the contention that fear of death and the unknown had a powerful effect on the laity when it contemplated death and the afterlife, and that it had a tendency to cling to life and reject the prospect of death as a fearful end.⁷² Thus, through the medium of the tale, the author warned laypeople not to set great store by goods or riches, insisting that goods and riches made it more difficult to succeed on the Day of Judgment.⁷³ Nor were people to cling to family and friends. Although they would accompany one to the grave, and there grieve and mourn, they would go no further, fearing the consequences of accompanying the dead on the Day of Judgment.

The author of the poem chastised people for leading lives of "fleshely lust fulfillit with folly / Quhill all our tyme in fantasy [foolish fancy] be tint",⁷⁴ such that they had no time for the important business of "almos, deid and cheritie", those things which ensured eventual acceptability for the individual, and entry to the "hie blys of heuin",⁷⁵ even if it required a time spent in purgatory to wash away the final "dreggis of sin":⁷⁶ "Thocht he [the judge or God] the bind and cast the in a Cart, / To heid or hang, fra the I sal nocht part."⁷⁷ The tale's injunction to the rich man: "Cum on away, the cart is at the zet"⁷⁸ meant that death's cart had appeared at the gate to take him away to judgment.⁷⁹ This image of death's

cart was vivid and familiar to the laity, for whom a cart waiting to carry away the dead was a common sight in a time of recurrent plague outbreaks and a high death rate. Such a "cart" was painted on the ceiling of the Lady aisle in Glasgow Cathedral, the aisle being built by Archbishop Blackadder in the early sixteenth century.⁸⁰

Thus the summation of the clerical author Stobo, probably John Reid, was that one should rely on the third friend, Good Deeds, or rather that one should prepare early for Judgment Day by doing good deeds. The author's comments were in the nature of a reproach, for he stated that most people waited until death stared them in the face to begin preparing for it. This estimation of lay behaviour is supported by testamentary evidence, because testaments often were drawn up when the testator felt she or he was on the edge of death.⁸¹ Part of the preamble to a testament was an indication that the testator was sound in mind, followed by an indication of his or her physical health. For example, in 1549, John Ramsay asked to be buried in the parish church of Kinglassie, Fife, left money for his funeral expenses, and asserted that he had made these decisions while sound of mind, although ill in body (*eger corpore sanus tamen mente*).⁸² The author of the tale asserted that only good deeds followed people to heaven, and there protected and defended them before God sitting in judgment, dispensing impartial justice.⁸³ The love which God exhibited was believed to be proportional to people's good works on earth.⁸⁴ Prayers, fasting and penance also were considered effective in protecting people from succumbing to the seven deadly sins, improving their chances of avoiding the lures of the devil, and generally enhancing their standing with God the Judge.⁸⁵

PURSUIT OF SOCIETAL HOLINESS

On a societal level, laypeople believed that holiness could be achieved through corporate support for the rituals and institutions of the church, insistence on high standards of clerical behaviour, religious processions, defence of orthodoxy and church property and persons, and reform of abuses in the church (egs. appropriations, levels of preaching).

In terms of corporate donations, the founding of chaplainries, altars, prebends or collegiate churches augmented divine service in the community, and thus could be considered an honouring of God. Thus when the bailies and community of Cullen founded a chaplainry in their newly erected collegiate church on 12 July, 1546, they considered the foundation to be for the augmentation of "God's service in the burgh", as well as to provide prayers for the soul of Elizabeth de Burgh, second wife of King Robert the Bruce.⁸⁶

Craft guilds also were active as promoters of societal welfare, albeit mostly through support of their own craft altars, dedicated to the patron saint of the craft. However, they also took part in yearly processions such as Corpus Christi, which glorified God and helped other burgh-dwellers to learn about the faith and so be better able to achieve spiritual worthiness. The crafts centred many of their fund-raising activities on adorning and maintaining their own altars in the burgh church, glorifying God in the process. For example, in 1528, the webster craft of Glasgow received a seal of cause from the burgh council intended to restore the craft to "good rule", and "for the loving of God, augmentation of the burgh of Glasgow, and their own profit, and to the honour of St. Severus [Serf] their patron", all craft activities to be directed toward the honour and reparation of their altar of St. Serf. Thus, in the

craftsmen's eyes, their own prosperity was inextricably linked to the honour of their patron saint and the honour and devotion to God which they demonstrated by supporting their craft altar. The burgh council of Glasgow agreed with this interpretation, adding that the craft was to orient itself to the honour and "loving" of God, "our Modyr of halykirk", the "augmentatioune of Goddis service" and the common weal of the burgh, the latter aim being accomplished as a result of the accomplishment of the other religious aims.⁸⁷ In 1533, for the love of God and upholding of divine service in St. Giles' church, the cordiners of Edinburgh assigned profits from a new market tax on tanned leather and leather goods sold by outsiders to their craft altar of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian in the collegiate church of St. Giles. The decision was taken to bolster the finances of the altar, which was suffering from having had only the revenue from the members' weekly penny.⁸⁸

The chaplains of corporate bodies such as craft guilds, or individuals such as burgesses and magnates, were appointed to obtain God's favour for the donor through prayers and ceremonies. To add to the intercessory power of the chaplain, rich laypeople could appoint a number of chaplains in a collegiate foundation, or provide for the care of poor people who prayed in return for their keep. Issobelle Mauchane, widow of Gilbert Lauder (*Laudar*), burghess of Edinburgh, showed her concern for the spiritual welfare of Edinburgh society as well as her own personal holiness in her foundation of 14 July, 1554. On this date she donated £50 in annual rents to the chapel and hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Edinburgh. She required that the chaplain and four poor men (bedesmen) pray perpetually to God on her behalf once she had died, and also for the souls of the hospital patrons and magistrates of the burgh crafts guilds.⁸⁹ When

the walkers of Dundee were confirmed in their rule by the burgh council in 1525, they affirmed their commitment to high standards of clerical ritual at their chaplainry of St. Mark, their patron, to be celebrated at the altar of St. Michael. They planned for daily service to be properly upheld by appointing an "honest" chaplain who would daily "sing and say" at the altar and also take part in general church festival services.⁹⁰

Standards of service were important to the efficacy of the rituals, for badly executed rites dishonoured and angered God. (See Chapter 10) For example, on 6 October, 1508, the burgh of Aberdeen insisted that the singing abilities of the burgh's chaplains be sufficient to cope with plainsong and "prik" song. Well-trained singers would ensure that divine service was properly celebrated, thus pleasing God, Mary, St. Nicholas and all the saints.⁹¹

A common expression of societal holiness was the holding of religious processions, these processions gaining God's favour as a sign of devotion to Him and His spiritual lieutenants, the saints and Mary. In his poem "Of the Wynning of Calice" (1558) Sir Richard Maitland noted that the Scots showed their love for God outwardly through "fyris" and general processions.⁹² Maitland's description of processions as an "outward" expression of religious faith is critical, as in a study of the laity it is primarily through the outward display of faith that evidence of religious attitudes comes, and these outward displays are subject to a range of interpretations. Contemporary apologists for certain viewpoints interpreted other people's actions according to their own belief system, and may well have exaggerated to emphasise their point, as Sir David Lyndsay was wont to do. Others under-estimated the depth of interior faith of which this outward expression was a mirror, and

instead insisted that there was no matching inner faith, just a blind following of meaningless ritual, a view John Knox was wont to espouse. The modern historian must attempt to judge how well outward show accorded with the documentary data which does reveal inner faith. The historian must judge to what extent society as a whole, as well as individuals, revealed their religious beliefs when engaging in common practices such as processions, altar and obit foundations, processions, and the writing of testaments.

Processions were believed to invite God's mercy for earthly calamities and his support for national aims as well as His mercy on the Day of Judgment. Thus, in 1456, Parliament passed an act demanding twice weekly processions by Scottish prelates to assuage the plague.⁹³ In 1523, the Lords of Council expressed the belief that processions could help to secure God's favour in war. In this, year the council ordained that ordinaries order daily processions. Churchmen and laity who were not at war were to follow the processions, praying for the victory of the governor and his army and their return after they had brought honour to Scotland.⁹⁴

Processions were carried out by specific groups within society, such as burghs, to whom most of the religious benefits would accrue. However, it was believed that frequent and well-run processions throughout Scotland combined to bring God's favour to the entire country. In like fashion, a generally high level of lay support for religious rituals and institutions (egs. Eucharist, chaplainries) throughout Scotland was believed to help all of Scottish society in its search for spiritual acceptability.

Burghs and craft guilds were prominent supporters of processions and pageants, involving themselves in order to win divine favour. In 1552, Sir David Lyndsay testified that for

several years on St. Giles' Day an old wooden image had been carried by the burgesses and clergy through the streets of Edinburgh, in the presence of the people. By carrying the image on their backs, Edinburgh burgh-dwellers honoured their patron saint and, through him, honoured God. Lyndsay recognised the deep impression that this action and the clergy's reverential attitude had on public opinion, and accused the clergy of fostering "idolatry".⁹⁵

Monarchs were active in promoting the welfare of all of Scottish society through public rituals such as processions. As part of his attempt to gain God's favour for the country, James III publicly strove to protect the Scottish church.⁹⁶ Thus, in 1485, he insisted that the prelates hold processions for the papal nuncio "to commend the Pope to God and all the saints so that the Church may flourish in peace and tranquility."⁹⁷

According to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross (?1527-1596), both James IV and James V were active in the defence of the orthodox faith in Scotland. Their championing of the faith would have brought God's favour to the kingdom, as the king represented national aspirations and attitudes, so could bring divine displeasure or favour to his people. Defence of the faith in the sixteenth century was of particular significance, since it was a time when the "true faith" was under serious attack by reformers throughout western Europe. In the beginning of the period under study, c. 1480, the morality tale "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" stated that the highest good for a monarch was to live and die in God's service.⁹⁸ Leslie maintained that James IV had been encouraged in his own defence of the faith when Pope Julius II had named him protector of the Christian faith, the Pope lauding the king's piety and determination to rid Scotland of "heresy".⁹⁹

At least officially, James V was the most active of Scotland's late medieval kings in leading the state's attack on heresy, probably because it was during his reign that the greatest threat arose from the Continent and England. According to Bishop Leslie, on 17 May, 1532, the king addressed the parliament about his own views on the responsibility of the government to defend the Catholic faith and church institutions. He made a claim to tradition, stating that as their ancestors had accepted the Catholic faith, so should they be firm in defending it. He made it clear that God would punish severely those Scots who allowed the Catholic faith to be overwhelmed, and that the defenders of the faith would be as rewarded by God as had been their ancestors who had established the faith in Scotland. The defence of the faith would be on behalf of God, the church and the Pope, a great task given the level of heretical activity, which Leslie attributed to the invasion of German Protestant literature via England. Given the gravity of the situation, the king announced an active campaign to punish heresy, in whatever form it manifested itself.¹⁰⁰

James V's actions in Scotland were a national application of general theories about the need to defend Catholicism throughout Europe. In 1530, he had obtained the consent of the Lords of Council to send John Stewart, Duke of Albany (heir to the throne, d. 1536), to consult with the ambassadors of other European princes about the best means of promoting the "common wele of all christianitie", this decision having arisen in response to letters from the Pope and Cardinal of Rouen regarding the threats being posed to "Christianity" at that time.¹⁰¹

Certain magnates responded to attacks on the Catholic faith, and defended it as a means of increasing their own stock with God,

and the stock of the entire Scottish nation. Magnates supported state initiatives such as the one announced by James V in 1532, and initiated their own, such as the 1534 decision of the Lords of Council, backed by the king, that all burgh officials should forbid heretical preaching of "Lutheran" ideas, the use of heretical books, and the harbouring of heretics, with the secular courts to try the offenders.¹⁰² Then in 1546, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran and Governor of Scotland,¹⁰³ and his lords temporal, ordered clerics to search out lapsed heretics, those who taught heresies, or those who spoke against the sacrament of the altar (Catholic Eucharist), promising that the secular arm would deal with the offenders.¹⁰⁴

Magnates also made private agreements with the higher clergy to defend against attacks on church properties and persons, perceiving these arrangements to be their contribution to the general spiritual health of Scottish society. One example of such a private arrangement was that made between William, Bishop of Aberdeen and George, Earl of Huntly on 22 March, 1549. The Earl promised that he and his heirs would enforce payments of annual rents and fruits to the church, and would support and protect the Christian faith and the clerics of Aberdeen diocese "as becummis ane nobill Christiane man". In return, the Earl and his heirs were to be heritable bailies of the Bishop's lands, rents and tenants in the diocese of Aberdeen and the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff.¹⁰⁵

Another notable supporter of the church and believer in its rituals was Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton. In his testament of September, 1545, he left 20s. to the fabric of the church of St. Kentigern (normal amount was 4s.), and financed three priests to sing for his soul and for those whom he had "injured", thereby providing satisfaction to those he had wronged on earth and so

pleasing God in heaven. He also requested burial in the choir of the monastery church of Kilwinning, the traditional burial site of his family, so his offer of protection would have safeguarded his own body and the religious services to be celebrated there for his soul.¹⁰⁶ In 1544, the Earl agreed to protect the Abbot Alexander and his monastery of Kilwinning from the "wicked and heretical" men of the times who might seek to invade the possessions of the Abbot. In return, the Earl received in feu-ferme the office of justiciar, chamberlain and bailiff of the lands of the monastery of Kilwinning, Beith, Kilmarnoch, Liancros and Dalry, and certain lands nearby.¹⁰⁷ The agreement was confirmed in 1552 between the current Earl, and Gavin, perpetual commendator of the abbey.¹⁰⁸

It is significant that the "Porteous of Noblenes", a handbook of the noble virtues, was published in the first month of operation of Chepman and Myllar's press in Edinburgh (April, 1508).¹⁰⁹ The work insisted that, as nobles had been given greater wealth and power over others, God expected them to show even greater devotion and obedience to Him and to be most active in the defence of justice and faith.

. . . and quhay yat of god has gret test & mast hie honour be
haboun / dance of lordschipe or richness Is mast behaldin And
to him mast properlie It pertenis / To haf in him werray
hartlie luf / dreid / honour / gud devocioun / And schame to
do ewill wyce / or velany in word or deid / and for to kepe
werray faith & lif in Iustice. . .¹¹⁰

Magnates and kings in particular seem to have felt a great responsibility to maintain and defend the spiritual order which would ensure that God continued to favour Scottish society, bringing it earthly happiness and spiritual joy in the afterlife.

Societal holiness was not only to be achieved by attacking heresy and defending church property, persons and privileges, but also by removing some of the causes of lay concern - abuses in the

church. The secular and spiritual authorities called for reform throughout the sixteenth century, with varying degrees of success. Financial abuses, such as the appropriation of revenues from the institutions to which they belonged, was one area of major concern. The provincial council of 1549 insisted that religious foundations (egs. hospitals, chaplainries) have their revenues returned to their original purpose to restore the proper worship of God and to promote the spiritual safety of the deceased donors' souls.¹¹¹ In this sense, the upper clergy were responding to the laity's clear concern about effective and sufficient clerical rituals, particularly in the matter of perpetual religious foundations (eg. obits), for after death it was too late for a donor to object to changes in foundation arrangements.¹¹²

Founders were concerned not only with the clergy failing to meet lay expectations. Heirs were also commonly warned not to tamper with foundation financing, and burgh councils often were appointed as supervisors of foundations and given the right to interfere if heirs or their assignees failed to carry out the founders' wishes. For example, Lord James Ogilvy of Airly founded a weekly mass and yearly anniversary masses at the church of the Dominicans of Coupar Angus in 1488. The weekly Saturday mass was to be named the "Mass of the Ogilvies of Airly", and was to be celebrated at the altar of Our Lady the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin, for the welfare of his soul, that of his "beloved wife" Elizabeth Douglas, and those of his ancestors and successors, living and dead. Lord Ogilvy also founded anniversary masses for the souls of himself and his spouse after their deaths. He made a point of demanding that no one was to interfere with the foundation, threatening his heirs or their assignees with the malediction of God omnipotent if

they should commit such a "great crime", and reminding them that they would have to answer to God and his angels at the Last Judgment (*in districto iudicio*).¹¹³

A matter of concern to some laypeople was the standard and frequency of preaching,¹¹⁴ which affected the general level of societal holiness. The character of John the Commonweal in Lyndsay's "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis" complained about priests who did not preach to their flock.¹¹⁵ James IV favoured the Observant Franciscans partly because their concern for the salvation of souls had led them to maintain the preaching and administration of the sacraments which were necessary to lay spiritual worthiness, two matters which James IV felt were being neglected by the spiritual order as early as 1507.¹¹⁶ It was important that the laity agree on matters of faith, the Catechism of 1552 stating that in order to properly honour God, men and women had to be of "ane mynd" and "ane mouth".¹¹⁷ Thus the compilers of the Catechism urged that priests use the work to instruct laypeople on the rudiments of the faith, so that they would better understand the ideas in the gospel and epistles which were necessary to their salvation, and which were propounded by preachers in their sermons.¹¹⁸

Whether the average layperson was greatly concerned about preaching is a debatable matter, one of the complaints against the laity made by the provincial council of 1549 being that few people bothered to attend preaching.¹¹⁹ If laypeople were not in the habit of attending sermons, nor of using ideas contained in sermons as a firm basis for personal spiritual growth, it is possible that they were slow to respond to the increased levels of preaching which had come about as part of the church's attempts at internal reform. Further, probably the standard and nature of the preaching had much

to do with their enthusiasm. Some preachers clearly were popular, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, vociferously attacking unlearned Protestant preachers who led their listeners astray in secret meetings with "gukit, vnwyse, and glaiket preichings".¹²⁰ In any case, the Scottish provincial council of 1549 targeted preaching as an area for improvement, partly as a quick response to the initiatives of the Council of Trent. The provincial council reported that the religious instruction of the people had been neglected, and to combat ignorance, bishops and ordinaries would be required to preach four times each year, and licenced preachers would give regular sermons.¹²¹ With a better understanding of God and His laws, laypeople would be in a better position to pursue personal and societal holiness and thereby improve their chance of success on the Day of Judgment.

CONCLUSION

Laypeople may not have always listened to the religious teachings of the church, nor always understood the theological basis of its rituals and institutions. However, both clergy and laity appeared to have accepted God's nature and function as that of stern and impartial father and judge who involved Himself in human affairs on earth as well as in the afterlife, and whose good intentions toward humanity could be realised through the pursuit of personal and societal holiness. Most laypeople pursued acceptability in ways that revealed their deep concern about death and its aftermath, and the importance of being spiritually worthy at the Day of Judgment. Obits and testaments were two popular means of achieving this acceptability, and they form the basis of the following chapter.

NOTES

1. The topics of prayers, fasting and the sacrament of penance will not be discussed in this chapter as the emphasis here is on elements of devotion to God which were exhibited in a corporate as well as an individual sense. The sacrament of penance is discussed in a number of chapters, eg. Chapter 10, in terms of contrition/confession, and obits and testaments as forms of satisfaction are discussed in Chapter 6. Note that in Hamilton's Catechism, fasting for kinsmen is encouraged, in John Hamilton, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559 (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), ed. Alex Mitchell, f. ci.

2. Weston La Barre, The Ghost Dance. Origins of Religion (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972), pp. 15 and 25.

3. Gavin Douglas, "The Palice of Honour", The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt, Fourth series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1967), III, 1, 1949, p. 121.

4. ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis, New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), VIII, 1. 151, p. 10.

5. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxix ["God almychty"]. See also the testaments of Glasgow diocese CC9/7/1, and ed. M. Livingstone, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. I, A.D. 1488-1529 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1908), #758, p. 111 ["Almychti God"].

6. Hamilton, The Catechism, f. clxxix.

7. Douglas, Gavin, "Prologue to the Tenth Book of the Aeneid", in Gavin Douglas. A Selection from his Poetry, ed. Sydney Goodsir Smith, (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1959), p. xxxii.

8. Hamilton, The Catechism, f. clxxvi.

9. Douglas, Gavin Douglas. A Selection from his Poetry, ed. Sydney Goodsir Smith, ll. xxx-xxxii, pp. 46-7.

10. Sir David Lyndsay, "The Prolog" to "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols., (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), Book 1, p. 263.

11. Sir David Lyndsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, ed and intro. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd., 1989), 1. 2, p. 1.

12. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectoun yat we suld haue to resaeue our saluour Iesu Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), 1. 361, p. 251.

13.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Conditor coeli", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 402-3, p. 252.

14.ed. R.H. Lindsay, Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone 1518-1551 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), I (Protocol Books), p. 38. Note also that the reasons Forbes gave for making his testament were that he knew what effect bodily sickness could have on the mind, that the soul was more precious than the body (and therefore needed to be provided for), and that he could not know God's will. In other words, it was beyond the understanding of the human mind to know God's method of deciding humanity's place in the afterlife (as St. Augustine had maintained). Thus laypeople had to act to achieve spiritual worthiness in a state of insecurity and anxiety. Executors of testaments were required to act for the benefit of the soul, so the making of a testament was an important means of achieving this spiritual acceptability.

15.SRO GD97/3/31.

16.SRO GD79/4/140.

17.Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

18.ed. David Laing, Registrum Domus de Soltre Necnon Ecclesie Collegiate S. Trinitatis prope Edinburgh, etc. Charters of the Hospital of Soltre [Soutra], of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and Other Collegiate Churches in Mid-lothian (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1861), CIX, pp. xxi-xxii, and James Murray Mackinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural Dedications, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910), p. 33.

19.Note that the author of this work was named as Alexander Barclay in James Fowler Kellas Johnstone and Alexander Webster Robertson, Bibliographia Aberdonensis Being an Account of Books Relating to or Printed in the Shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine or Written by Natives or Residents or by Officers, Graduates or Alumni of the Universities of Aberdeen 1472-1640 (Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1929), facing page 12. However, in the Short Title Catalogue of English Books before 1641 (#791), and according to F.H. Stubbings, Hon. Keeper of Rare Books, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the author was Thomas Lewington, whose book is entitled The Book Intytulid the Art of Good Lywyng and Good Deyng (Paris, Verard, 1503), and can be found in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The 1505 version printed in England is an anglicised version of Lewington's translation of the French, Lewington having made the translation into his native Aberdonian.

20.Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Medieval and Tudor Series, l. 64, p. 135.

21.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Goldin Latany", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), XXIII, ll. 5-6, p. 205.

22.Sir David Lyndsay, "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols., (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), p. 23.

23.Sir David Lyndsay, "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), l. 186, p. 126.

24.Sigmund Freud, "Tenth Lecture: Symbolism in Dreams", Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis. A Course of Twenty-Eight Lectures Delivered at the University of Vienna, trans. Joan Riviere (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1922), p. 128. Note that while Sir David Lyndsay often exaggerated his comments in order to encourage the leaders of society to initiate reform (egs. bishops, monarchs), his choice of terminology often reflected the common religious attitudes of his day and social class. cf. Lyndsay's Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis and his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World".

25.Gavin Douglas, "Prologue of the Tenth Book", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, ed. George Dundas, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1939), LXIV, 2, p. 589.

26.Robert Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 47, 49-50 and 84, pp. 138-9.

27.Maitland of Lethingtoun, Sir Richard, "Of the Assemblie of the Congregation", The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knight, ed. Joseph Bain (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1830), IV, p. 11.

28.Maitland of Lethingtoun, Sir Richard, "On the New Yeir", The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knight, ed. Joseph Bain (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1830), IV, pp. 1-4.

29.Robert Kerr Hannay (calendared) and R.L. Mackie (ed.), The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-1513, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1953), pp. 47-9.

30.Robert Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland (c. 1550), intro. A.M. Stewart, Fourth series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1979), XI, pp. 131-6.

31.R.S. Lee, Freud and Christianity (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 123-4. For an attempt to understand the nature of changing views of "children", and therefore changing trends in parent-child relations, see Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1960).

32.Lee, pp. 115-6. On the other hand, as the human mother was the prototype for Mary, mother of God, it was logical that Mary would be seen as the bridge to the heavenly kingdom, just as the human mother was the child's "bridge to the world". This conceptualisation aids in the interpretation of Marian imagery of the period, in Ibid., p. 113.

33.J.A.C. Brown, Freud and the Post-Freudians (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), pp. 74-5. Note that Money-Kyrle and other post-Freudian scholars were not loathe to apply their theories to the study of religion, Money-Kyrle having postulated, for example, that adult perceptions of hell and heaven were based upon the "all-or-nothing" emotional responses of early childhood. That is, very young children view the world entirely in terms of themselves, "objects" being entirely "good" or "bad" depending upon their treatment of the children. There are no "shades of grey", children easily fluctuating between love and hate for the same object (eg. their mother). The children project all of their aggressive feelings onto the outside world, then feel "persecuted" by the "devils" which are their own projected demons, in Ibid., p. 73. cf. Chapter 3 for a discussion of "evil" as a projection of the individual's own sense of sinfulness.

34.Robert Henryson, "The Abbay Walk", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), ll. 8, 16, 24, 32, 40, 48 and 56, pp. 195-6, ll. 31, p. 195, and ll. 49-54, p. 196.

35.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, Book 1, pp. 243 and 245. Robert Muchembled, primarily drawing upon French sources, maintained that the primary concerns of 95% of the French population in the fifteenth century were hunger, disease and war. The society was not particularly well-nourished and was without good hygiene and medical care, and thus was susceptible to frequent illness and premature death, although by the middle of the sixteenth century the situation seems to have improved somewhat. Thus the laity became accustomed to death, developing a certain "mépris de la vie" as a psychological defence against the prevalence of death, as well as a common feeling that the dead were better off that way than suffering on earth with their fellows. However, constant exposure to death also intensified the individual's anxiety about his or her own death, in Robert Muchembled, Culture Populaire et Culture des Elites dans la France Moderne (XV^e-XVIII^e siècles) (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), pp. 22-4 and 28-9. Watching people die in pain of hunger, disease, or as a result of war, would have made real to people the possible manner, and the dreadful certainty, of their own deaths.

36.SRO RH2/8/35, ff. 26-7.

37.Lyndsay, "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene", I, l. 185, p. 126.

38.Walter Kennedy, "Honour with Age", The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse, eds. John MacQueen and Tom Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 99.

39.See also Chapters 7 and 8. Note that John, Lord of the Isles, confirmed ancient land donations to the monastery of Fearn doing so to glorify omnipotent God and the Virgin Mary, mother of our lord Jesus Christ. Therefore there is an implicit separation of all-spiritual "God" and the son of a human mother Jesus, in eds. Jean and R.W. Munro, Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493, Fourth series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1986), p. 145.

Muchembled emphasised the great fear of God felt by the masses in Europe. The Church reinforced the image of God as punisher of sin, and the laity's view was that God was capable of both good and evil, in that He acted harshly when angered. The ambivalence of the laity toward God was strengthened by its perception of the devil who, although representing pure evil, also offered the laity some ostensibly "good" things ("temptations"), which it was expected to shun in favour of obeying a wrathful God. The physical world also posed a perpetual threat, through natural disasters, the dangers posed by wild animals, the vagaries of the weather (eg. storms at sea), and even the mysterious workings of the human body (dissection being forbidden by the church). Natural disasters in particular were seen as breaks with the natural, divine order, and a diabolical manifestation or a vengeful warning from God, there being no alternative explanation in this period (ie. scientific explanation). Thus the laity perceived itself to be surrounded by evil or dangers (even the evil of "woman", considered by the Church as allied with the devil); it feared both God and the devil, and was desperate for rites to try to reconcile the forces of good and evil (egs. prayers and gifts to saints, blessing of crops), in Muchembled, pp. 32 and 35-9. cf. Jonathan Sumption's discussion of the way that natural disasters, however trivial, caused great fear and anxiety in the laity, who attributed them to evil powers. For example, St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusian order, believed that devils "moved in the air and in the dust that floated in every stream of light". Further, God could control supernatural events, so one needed to plead with God for remedies, one method of influencing God being pilgrimage, in Jonathan Sumption, Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 14-5. Note that in terms of psychology, the loss of a loved spouse deprives the survivor of the object which has supplied psychological necessities such as protection from "dangers", in Colin Murray Parkes, Bereavement. Studies of Grief in Adult Life (London: Penguin Books, 1975, reprint 1988), pp. 29-30. Thus the death of a spouse would be associated in the survivor's eyes with a threat to his or her own continued security.

40. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlii.

41. Douglas, "Prologue of the Tenth Book", The Aeneid of Virgil, ed. Dundas, II, p. 588.

42. William Dunbar, "Lament for the Makaris", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 97-100, p. 23.

43. Plague outbreaks in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries included those of 1401/02, 1431/32, 1439-42, 1455/56, 1468-72, 1475-80 and 1496-1500, in Audrey-Beth Fitch, "Assumptions about Plague in Late Medieval Scotland", SCOTIA: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (Norfolk: Institute of Scottish Studies, 1987), XI, p. 39. cf. For sixteenth century data, see T.C. Smout, "Coping with Plague in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Scotland", SCOTIA: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies (Norfolk, April, 1978), II, pp. 19-33.

44. The editor's translation for the final line of this and each stanza of the poem, "Quod tu in cinerem reverteris", is "Man, remember you are dust and to dust will return", in William Dunbar, "Of Manis Mortalitie" in The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 224 (editor's translation) and ll. 17-24, pp. 149-50 (excerpt).

45. Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld", The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, ed. Douglas Hamer, Vol. I of 4 vols., Text of the Poems, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), Book 4, ll. 5094-5135, pp. 350-1.

46. Ibid., ll. 5138-5145, p. 351. A Highland prayer recorded in the nineteenth century, "Death of Unction", echoed this view, contrasting humanity's natural fear of death with the surety of peace and joy if the correct spiritual rituals and attitudes existed. Despite the similarities between late medieval and nineteenth century lay attitudes, the image of God had changed somewhat; He had developed from stern judge and father to a more loving, comforting presence:

Death with unction and with penitence,
Death with joy and with forgiveness,
Death without horror or repulsion,
Death without fear or shrinking,

. . .
Dying the death of the saints,
The Healer of my soul by my side,
The death of peace and tranquillity. . .

in Alexander Carmichael, "Death of Unction", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, Vol. III of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1940), p. 377. Similarities between late medieval and nineteenth century Scots included a belief in their own deep sinfulness: "We are guilty and polluted, O God, . . . We are hard in Thy sight in sin", in ed. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, Vol. I of 6 vols., Second edition (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1928), p. 23.

47. Parkes, pp. 177-8 and 140.

48. Note that sudden death, in which the bereaved is unable to be at the bedside of the dying person, also makes matters more difficult for the bereaved. People need to actually see their loved ones die in order to properly face the reality of death and to begin the grief process. Further, being present at the death-bed eases the "fear of uncertainty and the pain of separation", in Audrey Gordon, "The Jewish View of Death: Guidelines for Mourning", in Death. The Final Stage of Growth (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), pp. 45-6.

49. Robert Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), in Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 28-30, p. 137 and ll. 49-50, p. 138.

50. ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), XIXB, p. 97.

51. William Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, Vol. III of 3 vols., Charters (Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 108-10.
52. Robb, ll. 1246-8 and 1255-6, p. 52.
53. Lyndsay, "The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene", I, p. 126.
54. Kubler-Ross, Death. The Final Stage of Growth, p. 6.
55. cf. William A. Christian, Jr., Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 215.
56. Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld", ed. Douglas Hamer, I, Book 2, ll. 2629-2644, p. 277.
57. Lindsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, l. 1, p. 1. Note that the tendency to describe God as "Father" rather than solely as "God omnipotent" was more visible in the post-Reformation period, as in the testament of Anna Sharp (*Schairp*) (d. 23 January, 1613) on 13 December, 1612 (confirmed 2 July, 1613), in which she referred to God as "hevinlie father", in SRO GD122/3/871.
58. The "rituals" and "institutions" referred to here include rituals such as the Eucharist, baptism, extreme unction and penance, and religious foundations such as obits, collegiate churches, chaplainries and processions.
59. The Church's attempts to defend its rights and privileges has been a popular topic with historians, so does not need to be discussed here in any detail, beyond noting that the church, as the spiritual authority in society, was the counterpoint to the secular authority of the monarchy; thus the church had to be defended to avoid an anarchic situation in which laypeople challenged the spiritual and secular authorities wherever and whenever they wished. However, the Church was not only concerned with maintaining its authority and privileges. It was also keen to improve the general state of training and practice amongst the clergy, and the state of religious understanding and practice of the laity, partly as a result of the challenges offered by the reforming movements in Europe, the demands of the Scottish laity, and the initiatives of the Council of Trent. Movements to reform the church internally indicated the Church's concern for spiritual matters (egs. reform of the Dominican order under provincial John Grierson, reforming acts of the provincial councils of the Scottish church of 1549, 1552 and 1559, and the 1552 Catechism compiled under the aegis of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to help the lower clergy to instruct the laity).
60. This theme of "personal holiness" is referred to throughout the thesis as it bears upon topics under study. However, as a theme in itself it would bear further consideration, for the pursuit of "personal holiness" was a major preoccupation of Scots in this period 1480 to 1560. The present work, with its emphasis on the context of belief, viz. beliefs about heaven, hell, purgatory and

Judgment Day, and the role of supernatural beings, required to be completed before any study of individual piety could make sense. That it, it is to be hoped that this present study will provide a context for future work on the subject of lay spirituality in Scotland in the pre-Reformation period.

61. In this chapter there will be a concentration on those topics which were of import to laypeople both as individuals and as members of society, and those aspects touching most upon "societal" holiness. Most of the thesis discusses lay spirituality in its most personal or individual form, so individual spirituality does not need to be emphasised here. Further, the case study of Ayrshire obits and testaments which follows this chapter will provide a detailed examination of two of the routes taken by laypeople in their search for personal spiritual worthiness.

62. Parkes, p. 178.

63. ed. Joseph Lawson Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng" in Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), p. 2.

64. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 1.

65. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

66. For example, note that in her testament of August, 1552, Katherine Carmichaill, lady of Cambusnethan, asked that her executors dispose of the remainder of her goods for the good of her soul, in SRO GD40/4/135.

67. Note that the Catechism of 1552 was an attempt by the higher clergy to help parish priests to assist the laity in this task, as was the increased emphasis on preaching, in Hamilton, Catechism, Preface, and ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), LIV, passim.

68. The 1503 Scottish original was attributed to Alexander Barclay by Johnstone and Robertson, but the author actually was Thomas Lewington, the Scottish translation being entitled The Book Intytulid the Art of Good Lywyng and Good Deyng (Paris: Verard, 1503). cf. Short Title Catalogue #791. The woodblock which adorned the English version, entitled The Crafte to Lyue Well and to Dye Well, can be found in Johnstone and Robertson, Bibliographia Aberdonensis, p. 8 and facing p. 9.

69. Note that John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, made his confirmation "in pious recollection" of the wishes of the founder and his successors that the pious bequest lead to the safe-guarding of their souls, in Munro, Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493, pp. 143-5.

70. This donation was of the land and fruits of Kilbrennan (*Kyllbrenain*) in Letfeque Bale Neill, in SRO RH1/2/291. In like fashion, Margaret Knowles (*Knollis*), widow of Nicolas Crawford of Oxgangs, donated the lands of Howburn and their pertinents to the altar of St. Kentigern in the parish church of Currie in 1540. She

made this donation "for the laud and honour of God Omnipotent", along with Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Kentigern and "all the saints of God", and for the prosperity of the souls of herself, her husband and the king. The chaplain she appointed to celebrate divine worship continually at the high altar was "granted and confirmed to God Almighty and St. Kentigern, Bishop, his Confessor". Hence the form of the donation was a gift to God himself, along with St. Kentigern, here identified as God's servant, in SRO GD32/9/5. Note that her husband (d. by 1537) was general Clerk of Justiciary to James V, and that he was dead by 1537, for on 21 November of that year his daughter Agnes Crawford was named his lawful heir, in GD32/9/4.

71. Robb, ll. 1120-6, p. 48.

72. Modern studies of the adult grief process indicate that grief is the cost of commitment, and involves "reactive depression" and "separation anxiety" occasioned by the loss of a beloved object. The basis of grief is a reluctance to change, that is, to give up possessions, people, status or expectations, in (psychiatrist) Parkes, pp. 26-7, 29 and 31. cf. Psychiatrist Kubler-Ross' theory that the most frightening thing about dying for most modern people is dying alone, as the pain of separation becomes acute, in Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, Death. The Final Stage of Growth (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), pp. 27 and 45. One may assume that the grief process remained constant from the Middle Ages, if one accepts Kubler-Ross' theory that all cultures throughout time react in a similar fashion to death, in Kubler-Ross, Death. The Final Stage of Growth, p. 2. The views of Parkes and Kubler-Ross differ markedly from those of Emile Durkheim, who insisted that expressions of grief (eg. weeping) are customs imposed by the group on the individual through the threat of social penalties, rather than the spontaneous expression of individual emotions. Durkheim also insisted that a large part of the society's requirement for public mourning rituals is as a response to the dying person's wish to be remembered, and the survivors' belief that if the dead are not mourned properly, they will be angry with the living, in (sociologist) Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. A Study in Religious Sociology, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1915), pp. 397-8. In this contradiction one finds the classic support of psychiatrists, psychologists and psycho-analysts for psychological explanations (an individual focus) at variance with the support of sociologists for sociological explanations (a group focus), but when taken along with literary and documentary evidence, both approaches may illuminate the historical situation. Certainly Scottish medieval religious foundations (eg. obits) reminded the living of the deceased. For example, in his obit foundation of 1509, Alexander Gray, burgess of Aberdeen, demanded that the crier "incite" the prayers of the living for the souls named in the foundation on the Eve of St. Ninian, the day on which the obit services were to begin in St. Nicholas church. Further, Gray would have been brought to the minds of the living through the placing of the pall and lights on his tombstone and the prayers said there, along with the ringing of the bells for the obsequies of the dead on the Eve of St. Ninian and the sung mass on the Day of St. Ninian, all requested by Gray in his foundation, in ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, Vol. II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), VII, pp. 97-9. Note that

bells were also deemed useful in obtaining the protection of the saint at death and the Day of Judgment, so would have brought St. Ninian to Gray's aid in his trial before God, in Robert Whiting. The Blind Devotion of the People. Popular Religion and the English Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 60.

73.Robb, ll. 1071-2, p. 46 and ll. 1077-8, p. 47 and l. 1092, p. 47 and l. 1282, p. 53.

74.Ibid., ll. 1326-7, p. 54.

75.Ibid., l. 1340, p. 59.

76.Hamilton, Catechism, f. clvi.

77.Robb, ll. 1221-2, p. 51.

78.Ibid., l. 1332, p. 55. Note that *zet* = grave. cf. The same image, "deiths cart will stand befor the zet", in l. 1232, p. 51, part of a passage where the author lamented that people waited until they were almost dead before they began to prepare for death by letting go of their devotion to Riches and Kindred, and making satisfaction for sins, in Ibid., ll. 1226-1236, p. 51.

79.The author explained that the king's "zet" or port was the grave, in Robb, ll. 1290-4, p. 53.

80.Glasgow Cathedral, Glasgow.

81.Robb, ll. 1337-8, p. 55 and ll. 1226-8, p. 51, and testaments from the 1540's and 1550's, in SRO CC8/8/1A, SRO CC9/7/1 and SRO CC20/4/1.

82.SRO CC20/4/1.

83.Robb, ll. 1076, p. 46 regarding the God's perfect justice, and ll. 1193-6, p. 50 and ll. 1209-10, p. 51 regarding the good deeds which accompanied one to heaven.

84.Ibid., ll. 1205-10, p. 51.

85.Ibid., ll. 1335-6, p. 55 (penance, fasting and prayer) and l. 1339, p. 59. Note that in "Ane Deuoit Orisoun to ye Trinite" of BM Arundel MS 285, salvation was believed to come in large part through contrition, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ane Deuoit Orisoun to ye Trinite", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 26, p. 238. cf. William Dunbar's "The Tabill of Confession" which discussed the value of the sacrament of penance (contrition, confession, satisfaction) in avoiding sin and achieving salvation, in William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 163-7, and William Dunbar, "The Maner of Passing to Confessioun", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp 167-9. The Catechism stated that fasting and alms were the "good deeds" which brought people to "fervent devotioun and prayar", both necessary to bring God's grace and so become the type

of sinner whose prayers were heard by God, rather than an "obstinate" sinner whose prayers contradicted his or her deeds, and so were not heard by God, in Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clxxii-clxxiii.

86.ed. David Hay Fleming, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. III. A.D. 1542-1548 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1936), #356, p. 49. The reference to King Robert the Bruce's second wife arose because the bulk of the financing for this new chaplainry (£5) came from King Robert the Bruce's foundation providing prayers for Queen Elizabeth's soul. In order to create a new, viable chaplainry for the new collegiate church of Cullen, the bailies and community of Cullen supplemented the £5 with a further 23s. 4d.; this done, the chaplainry was capable of supporting a chaplain in daily residence, a concern for frequent masses and prayers being an attribute of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

87.SRO RH1/2/344.

88.ed. James Balfour Paul and John Maitland Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Vol. III, A.D. 1513-1546 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1883), #1309, pp. 286-7.

89.Ibid., III, #950, p. 213.

90.Ibid., III, #435, pp. 96-8.

91.ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. V of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1852), XXIV, pp. 36-7.

92.Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, "Of the Wynning of Calice", The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, ed. Joseph Bain, (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1830), IV, p. 10.

93.ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland A.D. MCCCCXXIV-A.D. MDLXVII, Vol. II (Edinburgh: H.M. Register House, 1814), p. 46. The Bannatyne Manuscript included part of the "moralitas" of Robert Henryson's poem "The Tale of Orpheus and Erudices his Quene", the moralitas twice including the phrase: "Amend thy myss, this plaig sall pass the fra", a clear indication of belief that God used the plague to punish society's sins, and could take it away if He chose to do so. This excerpt from Henryson was entitled "O Man, remember, and prent in to thy thocht" in the Bannatyne Manuscript, in Robert Henryson, "O Man, remember, and prent in to thy thocht", The Bannatyne Manuscript, George Bannatyne (compiler), ed. James Barclay Murdoch, Vol. II of 4 vols. (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), ll. 8 and 16, p. 96.

94.ed. Robert Kerr Hannay, Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-54 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1932), p. 186.

95.Lyndsay, "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, Book 2, pp. 318-9.

96. In the way of fifteenth century poems offering general advice to rulers, the first tale of The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis intended to advise James III on church matters. The tale pointed to the sale of episcopal offices as a cause of the decline in spiritual attitudes and abilities amongst bishops, and may have been intended as a warning to James III not to endanger the church's spiritual work by selling offices. However, in the tale the "king" was reported to be dismayed at the clergy's unwillingness to do good works and to effect healing through prayer, intimating that, whatever James III's perceived faults (eg. greed), the king was committed to the continued spiritual work of the clergy, in Robb, ll. 405-6, p. 26 and ll. 421-36, p. 27. cf. Norman Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982), p. 270.

97. SRO RH2/8/35, f. 1. Note that Hector Boece, principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and Adam Abell, Observantine friar of Jedburgh, referred to James III's devoutness. It is likely that the king's mother, Mary of Gueldres (d. 1463), had greatly influenced him, Queen Mary herself having been very pious, in Norman Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1982), pp. 61, 277 and 280. Lindesay of Pitscottie maintained that, just before he died, James III asked the "priest" who killed him to give him the "sacraments", presumably meaning that he wished to have the last rites (extreme unction) administered, in Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane thousande fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir, ed. AE. J.G. Mackay. Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1899), pp. 208-9. In a letter of 1511, James IV mentioned that his father had honoured the Observants and that he himself had founded houses for them, thereby finding "cleansing for his conscience" and becoming a "devoted son and defender" of the order, in Hannay and Mackie, The Letters of James IV 1505-1513, pp. 54-5.

98. Robb, ll. 443-4, p. 27.

99. John Leslie, The Historie of Scotland. trans. Father James Dalrymple (1596), eds. E.G. Cody and William Murison, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895), pp. 123-4. Note that James IV was keen on defending the Franciscan order, to which he was particularly devoted. He wrote to Pope Julius II on 1 February 1506/7: "to their [Franciscans] care I have entrusted the purification of my conscience and the prime ardour of my devotion, and I have constituted myself their son and defender", in John Durkan, "The Observant Franciscan Province in Scotland", IR, XIII, 2 (Autumn, 1962), p. 70, citing William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, I, p. 92. Note that the king used the term "purification" to describe the attainment of spiritual worthiness. This concept of purification arose most clearly in the case of Mary, who achieved perfect spiritual worthiness through absolute purity, but also occurred in respect to the average layperson, who needed to be spiritually purified as preparation for the Eucharist, and who needed to be "purified" of sinfulness (eg. baptism as a purification rite) to be accepted into heaven. cf. Chapters 3, 7 and 10). James IV's opinion of the Franciscans was confirmed by Italian humanist scholar Giovanni Ferreri, who taught future abbot Robert Reid at the

Cistercian monastery of Kinloss, and who referred to the Franciscans as "men both good and holy", in John Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", IR, XXXV, 2 (Autumn, 1984), p. 14, citing De Vera Cometae Significatione (Paris, 1531, reprinted 1540).

100.Leslie, II, pp. 226-7. Note that in 1525 the parliament of James V published an act against heresy, the act being published in all ports and burghs so that no one could claim ignorance of it. Even Aberdeenshire, considered a bastion of Catholic reform under Bishop Elphinstone, and later to be a religious thorn in the side of the Protestant church, was afflicted by "Lutheran doctrines" in 1525, according to its bishop Gavin Dunbar, in ed. John Stuart, Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570, Vol. I (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844), pp. 110-1.

101.Hannay, Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554, p. 342.

102.Ibid., p. 422.

103.Arran became heir presumptive in 1536 upon the death of John, Duke of Albany, and was Governor of Scotland from 1542 to 1554.

104.ed. John Hill Burton, The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Vol. I, A.D. 1545-1549 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877), pp. 63-4.

105.ed. John Maitland Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Vol. IV, A.D. 1546-1580 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1886), #763, pp. 171-2.

106.William Fraser, Memorials of the Montgomeries. Earls of Eglintoun (Edinburgh, 1859), Vol. II of 2 vols., #138, pp. 132-3.

107.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 2, #3030, p. 710.

108.Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, IV, #724, pp. 161-2.

109.Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904).

110.John Asloan (compiler), "The Porteus of Noblenes", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. I of 2 vols., New (Second) series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), XIV, p. 173. This work is a translation of Alain Chartier's "Le breviaire des nobles", in Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700. Men of means were also expected to show particular care for the poor. Consequently Lord James Douglas, Earl of Morton and Lord of Dalkeith, founded the hospital of St. Marthe of Aberdour in 1474 to sustain pilgrims and the poor and to induce God and Mary to forgive him his sins, in ed. David Laing, Registrum Honoris de Morton, Vol. II of 2 vols., Ancient Charters (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1853), XCIVB, p. 236.

111.Patrick, #217, p. 119.

112. Moral standards amongst the clergy were also of concern prior to the Reformation, for the laity appeared to believe that a morally unworthy celebrant harmed the efficacy of the rite being celebrated, and thus endangered lay souls. Efforts were made by the upper clergy to impose "higher" moral standards on the clergy, which usually entailed stricter rules about co-habitation with women. However, the lower clergy were unwilling to make changes while their leaders sinned as greatly. In response to a demand to put away their concubines, the dean and chapter of Aberdeen Cathedral wrote to Bishop William Gordon on 5 January, 1559: ". . . dyverse that ar pertinax sayis thay can nocht accept consall and correction of him that will nocht correct himself. . .", in Bruce McLennan, "The Reformation and the Burgh of Aberdeen", Northern Scotland, II, 1 (Aberdeen, 1974-5), pp. 122-3, citing Reg. Episc. Aber., I, p. lxiv. Note that there were various attempts to reform monastic orders and so improve the educational standards and efficacy of the rituals performed in monasteries. For example, in 1516 James V supported an initiative to reform the Cistercian order, warning laypeople not to interfere with the visitation of Cistercian houses by Dean Thomas Fasyntoun, monk of Citeaux, the mother house of the Cistercians, in ed. M. Livingstone, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. I., A.D. 1488-1529 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1908), #2833, pp. 441-2. In the early sixteenth century the Carmelites were making efforts to improve the educational level of their friars, in Anthony Ross, "Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), pp. 209 and 211.

113. SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1237-8.

114. For example, Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyll, defended his right to have John Douglas as a personal preacher to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. He denied that Douglas preached any heresy, maintaining that it was important to hear the word of Jesus Christ, and to turn from corruption and abuses such as idolatry, hypocrisy, fornication and adultery. The Earl's concerns were notably "Protestant" ones, to Knox's way of thinking, but they also revealed a general societal tendency to express concern about personal worthiness, particularly sexual purity. Most of all, the Earl had decided that preaching, oriented to helping people at "judgement", should be encouraged, and not discouraged out of the misguided belief that the contents of the preaching was "heretical". Hence, the Earl thanked the Archbishop of St. Andrews for his offer of a personal preacher (whom the Archbishop intended to be safely orthodox in his teaching), saying that "we Heland rud people . . . hes great myster of sick men . . . for the harvist is great, and thare ar few lauboraris [ie. such preachers]", in John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), CXII, 1, p. 286-8.

115. Lindsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, ll. 2750-4, p. 99.

116. Hannay and Mackie, The Letters of James IV, 1505-1513, pp. 54-5.

117. Hamilton, Catechism, Preface.

118. Ibid.

119. Patrick, #245, pp. 138-9.

120. Leslie, II, p. 397.

121. Patrick, #188, pp. 98-9.

CHAPTER 6:

LAY RESPONSES TO IMAGES OF GOD: AN AYRSHIRE CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The laity's responses to its perception of God's nature and function were manifold. Obit foundations and testaments have been chosen as examples of laypeople's responses to their perceptions of God's nature, because they were extremely common in the period under study, and because they represent well the religious feelings and priorities of contemporary Scots. Desires for earthly conformity and status may have provided some of the motivation for laypeople's religious behaviour, but these desires were rendered irrelevant by the imminent prospect of death and laypeople's awareness of intense personal sinfulness, the dangers of the afterlife, and the certainty of their appearance before God, the stern, omniscient Judge; it was as death began to stalk them that many laypeople founded obits and made testaments.

Thy lustye bewte and thy youth
Sall feid as dois the somer flouris;
Syne sall the swallow with his mouth,
The dragone Death that all devouris.¹

Overwhelmingly, these obits and testaments expressed laypeople's concern for the welfare of their souls and the attainment of the personal spiritual worthiness which would speed them through the horrors of purgatory and on to the eternal bliss of heaven. They earnestly expressed their belief in God and in His power over their souls in the afterlife, and took responsibility for attaining the personal spiritual acceptability which would earn His good will. The church insisted that correct attitudes and actions were needed to gain God's approval, and numerous opportunities were

offered to laypeople to help them please God (egs. pious donations, religious foundations, regular attendance at Mass, prayers for the dead, involvement in processions, satisfaction for earthly sins); obits and testaments included a number of provisions which aided laypeople seeking the spiritual worthiness demanded for entry to heaven.

In this chapter, the responses of lay Scots to conceptions of God's nature and the afterlife will be explored through a case study of Ayrshire obit foundations and testaments. Ayrshire has been chosen primarily because good evidence survives from this area, in the Register of Testaments of the Commissariat of Glasgow (1547-1552) and in the Obit Book of the church of St. John the Baptist of Ayr (1480-1535).² Further, Ayrshire provided many of the "leading lights" of the Reformation, not to mention the "Lollards of Kyle" in the late fifteenth century, which has given it something of an historical reputation as a "hotbed of Protestantism". In truth, Ayrshire was more a "hotbed of lay spirituality" than of any particular brand of Christianity; the adherence of many Ayrshire men and women to Catholic beliefs and rituals provides evidence that devotion to Christianity and desire for personal holiness did not necessarily mean a switching of allegiance to Protestant doctrines.

The value of studying wills and obit foundations in a single, limited geographical area cannot be underestimated. It is often difficult in Scottish medieval history to find a single document or series of similar documents which can reveal attitudes over time in a single place, so that attitudinal similarities and differences can be established without drawing criticism that one is comparing unlike subjects. Distinct geographical areas have their own socio-economic and intellectual climate and influences, as well as

influences from outwith the locality. By studying one area in particular, the general nature and outlook of local society can be established and then used as a context for discussing religious similarities and differences within that particular society.

The Obit Book of St. John the Baptist's church in Ayr offers the historian a superb opportunity to analyse individual members of Ayrshire society, their reasons for founding obits, what they considered important to include in these obits, and how the conditions they attached to the foundations were meant to control standards of service. The Obit Book of Ayr ends in the mid 1530's, leaving twenty-five years prior to the Reformation unaccounted for. However, some inkling of the religious perceptions of later Ayr laity can be recovered by using the Glasgow Commissariat Register of Testaments.

The theological training and orientation of the clergy means that clerical obits and testaments often reveal more of the religious motivation and theological basis of such activities than do lay foundations. As most of the parish clergy were drawn from the same social class and background as the laity, it is feasible to suggest that the basic concerns and religious outlook of the laity were shared by the parish clergy. Thus clerical obits and testaments will be used occasionally to enrich understanding of lay beliefs and the religious practices supported by laypeople.

No testaments in the Commissariat Register of the diocese of Glasgow survive prior to 1547, and the Register only extends up to 1552, but Ayrshire men and women account for fully half of the wills included. The burgh of Ayr is very poorly represented, but Irvine, for example, which lies a dozen miles up the coast, provides a good cross-section of Ayrshire burgh-dwellers. A number of testaments of

lairds appear in the Register, providing a broader social context for a discussion of Ayrshire religious attitudes in the period 1480 to 1560. The testaments of lairds come from all over Ayrshire, Carrick, Kyle and Cunningham, and from just beyond the shire.³ While the investigation reflects the nature of the sources, an effort has been made to concentrate on those testaments which best relate to the religious concerns and preoccupations expressed by the obit founders whose obits were recorded in the Obit Book of Ayr.

In the Obit Book of St. John the Baptist's church of Ayr, there are some obits from earlier in the fifteenth century, and these will be used as appropriate to help to establish patterns of changing attitudes. The greatest number of obits were founded in the 1490's, 1500's and 1520's (ten or more) while the fewest were founded in the 1480's, 1510's and 1530's (at least three). As the numbers of obits fluctuated over the decades to 1535, it is difficult to ascribe the end of obit foundations to an increasing rejection of the efficacy or scriptural foundation of obits, as Margaret Sanderson does implicitly by linking support for Protestant preachers and attacks on church property to a decrease in the founding of obits from the 1540's.⁴ Such an interpretation would be something of a Whig interpretation of religious faith. The evidence from Ayrshire does not suggest a laity in the process of rejecting all forms of Catholic practice from the 1540's, the lack of obit evidence for Ayrshire from the 1540's certainly not providing any such proof.

The popularity of the obit as an expression of religious faith before the 1540's indicates that laypeople did see masses for the dead as an excellent means of aiding souls in purgatory, the obit itself being a yearly celebration of masses and prayers for the

benefit of the founder's soul after death. Nor, by and large, did laypeople appear to question the general nature or efficacy of the obit, nor the role of the clergy as primary participants in this ritual; laypeople believed that God would look favourably upon obit founders, that the clerical and lay prayers associated with obits would benefit souls in purgatory, and that the clerics were well-suited to obtain the benefits of divine grace for the laity.

Further, the funeral services which laypeople were so anxious to include in their testaments also involved clerical rituals and prayers for dead souls; laypeople were fully aware of the value of these clerical offerings to their own spiritual happiness in the afterlife.

NATURE OF OBITS AND GENERAL TRENDS IN THEIR FOUNDATION

Obits were founded in Ayrshire from an early period. Although the papal bull *Laetentur Coeli* was not promulgated until 1439,⁵ obits had already been founded in Ayr in 1306 and 1438⁶. European evidence indicates that prayers for souls were the driving concern of the laity rather than the higher clergy or theologians, so this Ayrshire material provides some Scottish evidence of the same trend. Obit foundations, whether in the Obit Book of Ayr, individual collegiate or chaplainry foundations, or in testaments, were evidence of a continuing lay concern about death, salvation and purgatory, and belief in the efficacy of combined clerical ceremony and lay prayer.

By the 1520's, Ayrshire obit foundations were more complex and slightly better funded than previously, and the testamentary evidence from 1547 to 1552 provides evidence of obits being founded as part of testamentary stipulations.⁷ Individual founders were burgesses, lairds, magnates or monarchs, and the sumptuousness of

their obits depended upon their financial means as well as the strength of their belief in the spiritual efficacy of obit foundations. In Ayr, the money⁸ paid to fund obits from 1480 increased slightly, although it tended to be standard within a couple of shillings (normally 6s.8d.), except for the occasional particularly generous giver, so it would not be correct to say that there was any great increase in funding levels in real terms.⁹ In comparison to Ayr burgesses, Ayrshire lairds were better able to fund obits generously.¹⁰ For example, a Great Seal entry of 19 March, 1527/8, recorded that James Colvile of Ochiltree gave £10 and five acres of land in Penstany to support an obit for his parents and a number of other relatives. Presumably the money and land was to be converted into an annual rent, which would have been more than double the normal annual rent offered by an Ayr burgess in the 1520's. It is worth noting that Andrew, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, was a participant in the Reformation in Ayrshire (eg. supporters of Knox in 1559 along with other Ayrshire), yet in 1528 James Colvile of Ochiltree expressed a desire to please God and aid his soul through a traditional obit foundation.¹¹ This situation serves as a reminder that laypeople employed those rituals and held those beliefs which they believed would improve their spiritual worthiness, bring God's favour, and move them most quickly to heaven. It was entirely possible that two laypeople who lived in close proximity would disagree on the best means of achieving their common end.

The Ayr Obit Book provides some sense of the general nature of obits, as well as the differences in individual obits. Insight into the concerns and religious understanding of Ayr obit founders can be

achieved by analysing the common types of imagery employed, as well as the slight variations in imagery when they occur.

Descriptions of obit services varied considerably in the Ayr Obit Book. In general terms, an obit was a series of prayers and masses, usually celebrated over two days, for the repose of the soul of the deceased founder and whoever else was named in the obit.¹² The term "perpetual obit" was used most frequently to denote celebration of all usual services of an obit; this indicated that the services were to be performed yearly in perpetuity, and the services in question invariably included funeral services on the date of death and an obit-mass on the following day (eg. David Butler, d. 1491).¹³ The term "anniversary" seems to have referred to the *Placebo*,¹⁴ *Dirige*, and nine lessons in chant which were to take place in the choir on the date of death (eg. John Cochren, d. 1526).¹⁵ The terms "exequies" and "obsequies" were also used to describe these activities (eg. Katrine Thomson, d. 1525 and Thomas Neill, d. 1533).¹⁶ The great bells of the church were rung on both days, and often smaller bells were carried to announce the obit to the burgh-dwellers and to encourage the poor to come to pray at the obit-mass. The obit of burgess Thomas Reid (d. 25 November, 1496) referred to an "annual and perpetual obit" to be celebrated on his date of death "by the psalter and choristers of foresaid choir", with *Placebo*, *Dirige* and "mass in chant". This was the only Ayr obit reference to a "psalter". It was customary to mention only the *Placebo*, *Dirige*, obit-mass, and perhaps "private masses" (eg. John Park, d. 1456)¹⁷ or "other usual and customary ceremonies" (eg. Gavin Dalrymple (*Dalrumple*), d. 1522).¹⁸

The "obit-mass" which was commonly mentioned by the founders was to occur on the day following the anniversary, sometimes at the

altar of a saint (eg. John Wishart, d. 1521).¹⁹ Foundation at a saint's altar would have brought the founder the intercession of that saint as well as the favour of God, toward which the obit foundation was primarily directed. A variety of terms appear to have referred to the same obit-mass,²⁰ the most common being "mass in chant" (eg. Adam Wishart, d. 1521).²¹ The term "masses of repose" best describes the function of these masses, which was to ensure the peace and security of the souls for whom the obit was founded (eg. Christina Howson (*Housone*), d. 1526).²²

One of the latest recorded obits was that of burgess John Chapel (*Chapell*) in 1533, who specifically referred to the obit-mass as a "mass for the dead in singing"²³. Chapel's description of the service reveals that the laity by this time thought of the obit-mass as a "mass for the dead" as such, and it was in those terms that the higher clergy communicated with the laity in the Catechism of 1552.²⁴ That is, during the period 1480 to 1560, laypeople began to put greater emphasis on arrangements to benefit their souls after death, as the growing sense of personal sinfulness made it seem less and less likely that spiritual worthiness could be achieved while on earth. (See Chapters 3, 9 and 10)

The 1542 obit foundation of Mr George Lockhart (*Lockert*), dean of Glasgow, provides a good example of the contents of an Ayr obit, and exemplifies the growing desire of both laity and clergy to clearly specify foundation requirements. Apart from the higher clergy's theological explanations in documents such as the Catechism of 1552, men in the ranks of the lower clergy such as Lockhart were slightly more forthcoming about their motivation than laypeople. Further, the clerics who founded obits recorded in the Obit Book of Ayr were of approximately the same socio-economic background as the

laity. Consequently, one can hypothesise that they shared the laity's fundamental motivation, and indeed the records seem to bear this out. For example, love of family, belief in purgatory and the efficacy of clerical prayer, and the importance of high standards of clerical performance of church rituals were all matters in which the lower clergy placed as much emphasis as the laity. The difference between the lower clergy and the laity, and the difference which aids any study of faith, is that the lower clergy was more willing or able to refer to the specific religious tenets upon which actions were based, due to the clerics' religious education and practical experience, although clerical foundations in the Obit Book of Ayr were unusually reticent about motivations for foundations.

Lockhart's obit foundation is useful because it states his motives and has explicit instructions about obit procedure. Lockhart was son of Mariote Multray (d. 1500), who herself was named in an obit foundation in 1481.²⁵ As he shared the background and concerns of his lay relatives, Lockhart's obit is an appropriate vehicle for discussing the nature of Ayrshire obits.

Lockhart's 1542 foundation was intended to benefit the souls of his father James Lockhart, his mother Mariote Multray, his brother Mr John Lockhart, and himself. Multray had died on 31 March, 1500, and the obit was to be celebrated on the date of her death until George himself died, at which point the celebration date was to be moved to his own date of death. That he founded the obit so long after his mother died suggests that he was most concerned about his own approaching death. Including his relatives benefited not only their souls but also his own, because on the particular Day of Judgment, God looked kindly on those who had arranged for prayers to be said for others already in purgatory.

The clerical services named in Lockhart's obit were those entitled the "office of the dead", that is the *Placebo*, *Dirige* and nine lessons, plus a "mass of repose" in chant on the following day. Each chaplain was to celebrate a requiem mass at his own altar for Lockhart on his date of death or the following day. During the office of the dead and the mass, the chaplains were to put two "lighted tapers" and a "decently covered" footstool beside the tomb of his parents. Lockhart's attention to apparently minor detail is an example of how concerned people were to ensure that the maximum honour was done to God by specifying the quality and nature of obit equipment. The chaplains "not in ordinary" were to sing the office of the dead "privately by themselves" or to read with their brethren. After the *Placebo*, *Dirige* and mass, all the chaplains were to walk in procession to the tomb and there chant the psalm *De Profundis*. Once these rituals had been "properly celebrated", holy water was to be "sprinkled round about". This sprinkling of holy water was the final clerical purification ritual used to make the souls named in the obit more acceptable to God and so shorten the time they had to endure in purgatory before they could be received into heaven.

Lockhart's commitment to his parents is evident through his decision to celebrate the obit himself until he died. That is, by celebrating the obit himself he ensured that the proper standard of execution was maintained; as God would be properly honoured, He would show favour to the souls already in purgatory, and also show favour to Lockhart himself, for the clergy who properly celebrated church rituals were favoured by God.

It is reasonable to assume that the procedure outlined in Lockhart's foundation was the one followed by Lockart himself on

behalf of his parents. As Lockart was to perform the obit until his death, the "chaplains" of the church of St. John would not receive their 12s. until he had passed away. Once in charge of the obit, they would be paid, along with the others who ministered at the "sacrifice of the altar" in the "office of the dead". In common with other clerical founders, Lockart was extremely concerned about the quality of the service, demanding that the chaplains wear their surplices (cf. Pethede foundation of 1449/50). The great bells of the church were to be rung properly, which meant three times at the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and three times at the mass. The correct ringing of the bells, in common with the wearing of the surplice, was necessary for the services performed by the clergy to be efficacious; services needed to honour and glorify God, and this was achieved by carrying them out with great attention to correct detail. Lockart did not neglect the possibility that lay prayers would aid his soul in purgatory. Consequently he required that a handbell be rung through the town "to summon the people to pray for the same [souls] as usual".²⁶

The exhaustive outlining of requirements in many Ayr obits reflects the rising standards of people extremely concerned about death, and convinced that the proper celebration of obits would reduce their time in purgatory. Laypeople were increasingly worried about their own spiritual worthiness. They sought ways to become acceptable to God, and viewed external rituals such as obits (which included an obit-mass) as one of these ways. In many respects, the Christocentrism of the reformers, which relied heavily upon Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross for salvation, was echoed by the Catholic laity's devotion to the Mass. (See Chapters 9 and 10) Obit foundations were not entirely separated from these concerns, in that

the obit services emphasised humanity's connection to God through Jesus.

THEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR OBITS AND MOTIVES FOR THEIR FOUNDATION

In order to discover the motives for founding obits in Ayr, such as Lockart's complex foundation of 1542, it is useful to consider the contemporary theological justification for obits. As theological justifications came primarily from the pens of the higher clergy, it is to clerical works that one must look to establish the religious climate in which obits were founded. The Catechism of 1552, published under the aegis of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, is a particularly useful source for studying the religious views of the higher clergy. As it was produced as a manual for the lower clergy to use when instructing the laity in the basic tenets of the faith, its aim was instructional and oriented to the average parishioner. It assumed no prior knowledge of theology, set out the theological basis for a variety of institutions, ceremonies and practices of the church, and provided advice for laypeople in their daily lives as followers of Jesus.²⁷

The Catechism was published only eight years prior to the Scottish Reformation, so was not in circulation long enough for all of the parish clergy to have obtained copies and incorporated its dictates and teaching into their spiritual work, much less for its dictates and advice to have had a significant impact upon lay religious attitudes and activities.²⁸ Consequently, the Catechism will be viewed as the Scottish higher clergy's statement of current practice and doctrine near the end of the period under study. It mirrored many of the laity's religious values and beliefs, in its "minimalising" practices, as well as in its support for traditional Catholic practices.²⁹ Thus the Catechism will be used as the

context for a discussion of Scottish lay religious attitudes, as the Ayrshire laity often were not forthcoming about the religious rationale for their actions. However, this study of the Ayrshire laity is largely based upon its attitudes and beliefs as expressed in record evidence, not upon the theories of clerical contemporaries; no attempt will be made to use the religious explanations of the higher clergy where it is not warranted by the lay documentation.

In the case of obit foundations, the Catechism put forth a theory critical to acceptance of their validity, namely, that masses sung for the dead on earth could benefit souls in purgatory.³⁰ According to the Catechism, all members of the laity were subject to sin as it was a natural human state, but minor sins could be purged after death by means of the purgatorial, "transitorie fyre", and prayers for the dead could help to free the souls of good Catholic men and women from this fire.³¹ Prayers of the priest at Mass included a remembrance of departed souls,³² the Mass being a particularly efficacious means of assisting souls. An understanding of this basic theological justification for obits helps to explain the faith the Ayrshire obit founders had in the efficacy of this type of religious foundation. (See Chapters 9 and 10)

Apart from the Mass, the clergy's contribution was through intercessory prayers and oblations. Also useful were the prayers of good and holy men, the good deeds (*almous deidis*) of friends, and fasting by relatives. The laity's prayers were to be offered for true Christians, living or dead. These prayers were to be made with faith, hope and charity, and directed at "gud" women and men on earth, saints as intercessors for God's grace, and God Himself.³³ The Catechism stated that these prayers, oblations and masses aided

people in purgatory to achieve the spiritual worthiness necessary for salvation, citing the authority of the Council of Constance to prove its point.³⁴

Individual members of the higher clergy founded masses and obits themselves, sometimes as part of testamentary arrangements. In common with the lower clergy³⁵ and laity, they tended not to explain their actions in theological terms, despite their clear ability to do so if they wished. This indicates that Scottish laypeople believed that religious foundation charters were not necessarily the place for religious explanations and/or that the religious motivation for such foundations was self-evident, given that most of society accepted the reasoning behind such foundations and their validity and efficacy.

Lay attitudes about the efficacy of prayers and masses for the dead were shared by the clergy, and no doubt clerical foundations reinforced the laity's confidence in its own emphasis on masses for the dead as a means of obtaining salvation. No less a person than the Archbishop of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, making his testament in 1548, arranged for exequies, an obit and the prayers of the poor at his obit, and donated money for the maintenance of chaplains and certain appurtenances for his tomb. He made only a passing reference to his religious motives when he asked that his numerous bequests, including a number to friaries, be given over to pious uses to benefit his soul. Clearly the Archbishop believed that actions spoke louder than words. He must have felt that he did not need to explain the religious motives for his actions, and that his testamentary provisions made it clear that he believed in the efficacy of clerical and lay prayer and church rituals for the dead.³⁶

In his testament of 8 October, 1550, Mr James Houston (*Houstone*), subdean and vicar general of Glasgow, also made arrangements for his funeral and obit, which were to include the usual exequies plus a procession on the day of his obit, for which he gave £10 to the vicars of the choir of Glasgow. He also made donations to the poor on the day of his obit in return for their prayers, and made donations to a few friaries. In common with Archbishop Dunbar, he made little mention of religious motives, although he did express a concern that the £90 given to bequests be of benefit to his soul. In common with his clerical and lay contemporaries, he ordered his executors to dispose of his goods for the health of his soul.³⁷

Masses for the dead were of particular concern to Mr Houston, and he had sufficient financial means to meet his spiritual needs. Thus, in 1549, one year prior to the drawing up of his testament, he founded the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne, Glasgow. The purpose of collegiate church foundations was to provide constant prayers for the founder's soul; daily prayers were to be said for Houston's soul in the collegiate church, and he also left instructions for an obit to be celebrated for him on St. Anne's Day, with the usual *Placebo*, *Dirige* and requiem mass. Houston required that, at his exequies, thirty honest and native old people say thirty *pater* and *mater familias*; no doubt the lepers to whom he donated money also were expected to offer their thanks by praying for Houston's soul. As part of his collegiate foundation, Houston financed obits for his mother and two other clerics. In his testament of 1550 he gave a further 20s. to each prebend in his collegiate foundation, presumably as an inducement to pray more enthusiastically for his soul.³⁸

Activities associated with obit foundations commenced after the deaths of persons named in the foundation, and were intended to benefit their souls in the afterlife. Normally the obit commenced soon after the founder's death, for the welfare of his or her soul, but occasionally obits were celebrated before the founder's death, if other named persons had already died. The primary concern of most lay founders, however terse the foundation document, was the safety of their souls in the afterlife, although some founders were more informative, and mentioned other motives as well.

Of the forty-seven lay obits in the Obit Book of Ayr, twenty-nine stated that the obit was intended "for their souls", and most referred to the "safety" or "welfare" of the souls named in the obit.³⁹ This latter motive was expressed in obits from 1470 through to 1528, one example being burgess John Chapel (d. 1533), who felt it sufficient to explain that his foundation was intended to provide "safety" for the souls named therein.⁴⁰ A half dozen obits expressed a more personal opinion, or at least expanded upon a basic concern for their soul's safety. In the 1480's, the emphasis was on the obit as a gift to "Almighty God" (eg. 1481 foundation of Katrine Thomson (*Thomsone*), d. 1525), or "for the honour and glory of God" (eg. 1481 foundation of Alexander Johnson (*Jhonsone*) for his parents), as well as for the safety of named souls.⁴¹ In 1525, Agnes Baillie (*Balze*) stated that she was concerned about the welfare of the soul of her deceased husband and herself, but that she was "also moved with piety for the souls of all the faithful deceased".⁴²

The wording of Patrick Ker's foundation made it clear that the "safety" of souls was a careful choice of words, revealing the basic insecurity associated with death - separation from all that was

familiar and loved, and translation to a fearsome, unknown place, to be judged and condemned to eternal happiness, eternal pain in hell or, at best, a long suffering in purgatory. Patrick Ker's death was described in the Ayr Obit Book as "the day on which the said Patrick [founder burgess Patrick Ker] shall part from this world" (d. 17 February, 1506/7).⁴³ As the testaments stated time and again, nothing was more certain than death, and yet nothing was more uncertain than the hour of death. In this context, preparation for death was a major goal of obits and testaments, so that hell, that "place mast vyle & wennomuss . . . perpetuall presoun to fendis furious . . . [where] pane sall perseveir without resplait"⁴⁴ could be avoided, and that time in purgatory the "fyre" which purged "smale synnes", could be reduced.⁴⁵ One needed to try as hard as possible to reach "hevynnis blyss", described by James III as a place of "immortality and eternal joy".⁴⁶

Apart from their propensity to mention concern for their souls, laypeople tended to act upon general religious attitudes, assuming that their religious foundations were sound, and that it was not necessary to elaborate on their religious motives. On the other hand, Sir Andrew MacCormyll (*McCormyll*) (d. 3 April, 1507), vicar of Straiton, master of Ayr's grammar school, and writer of a number of Ayr obits over several years, was more expansive about his motives and their religious basis. His position as obit-writer makes him a likely spokesman for general societal attitudes about obits which were not mentioned by lay founders. Such attitudes included a belief that masses for the dead remitted sin, liberated souls from purgatory more quickly, and expressed devotion to God. MacCormyll referred to the "danger" which occurred if the celebration of the obit was delayed, which helps to explain the

general lay concern expressed regarding regular celebration of services in accordance with foundation charters.⁴⁷ (See Chapter 10) The same obit foundation was recorded in the burgh records of Ayr, offering a detailed explanation of MacCormyll's views. He stated that he was:

. . . confessing his faith that by pious alms and the celebration of masses, the Son is offered to the Father for the sins of men, which are on that account remitted, and the pains of purgatory ended, and the souls of the dead set free in greater numbers, therefore, being moved by a spirit of fervid devotion, he founded an anniversary and perpetual obit in the parish church of the said burgh for the welfare of his own soul, the souls of his father and mother, and of those who were intentionally his benefactors, both living and dead.⁴⁸

The importance given in the preamble to the sacrifice of Jesus, and the role of Scotland's patron saint in interceding for Scots, was reinforced by his request that the obit be celebrated at the altar of the Holy Blood on St. Andrew's day.

Of particular note is MacCormyll's reference to purgatory, such a direct reference being rare in testaments. In Marie-Therese Lorcin's study of 950 testators in the largely rural Plat Pays region outside of Lyon (750 of which were peasants and artisans),⁴⁹ neither the laity nor the clergy used the word "purgatory" in a testament. Yet she pointed out that only a strong belief in purgatory would have led Plat Pays testators to emphasise donations for alms, masses and prayers "for the good of their souls". It was not necessary to see the word "purgatory" in a document to know that the founder or testator believed in the concept.⁵⁰ Scottish testators, as well as founders of obits, chaplainries and churches, also founded masses and prayers in the full awareness that purgatory was their likely fate after death, but that religious services on earth could shorten their time there.

Reference to "purgatory" was unusual in Scotland, but not unknown. Its use in Sir Andrew MacCormyll's obit foundation reinforces literary and Catechism evidence that the doctrine of purgatory was actively accepted in the pre-Reformation period in Scotland, if the evidence of collegiate, chaplainry and obit foundations is not enough to convince the historian.

The common omission of any reference to purgatory is representative of the general Scottish tendency to terseness regarding religious motivation. In this they differed from the English, who were much more forthcoming.⁵¹ Although a few founders such as Sir Andrew MacCormyll expressed themselves eloquently, to evaluate Scottish religious attitudes properly, a variety of sources must be used to enhance understanding of the often uninformative documentary evidence.⁵² In the Obit Book of Ayr, explanations of clerical and lay spiritual motivations are usually brief; however, some documents may have been edited, as occurred with the shortening of Sir Andrew's lengthy preamble. Moreover, the Obit Book acted as a daily guide to obit celebrations; individual founders only needed to include supplementary notes on the nature and manner of celebration of the various masses and prayers. It was more important to ensure that the celebrants understood the spiritual activities expected of them and maintained a high standard of execution than it was for lay founders to express religious motives already understood by the population at large.

Even when religious motives were expressed in foundation documents, the formulaic nature of the wording may give rise to doubts about the founder's sincerity. However, this formulaic wording resulted from the documents being drawn up by notaries public who typically relied upon a standard format. The fact that

certain phrases recur in many of the documents does not, of itself, indicate that the founders were indifferent or opposed to the religious sentiments expressed. On the contrary, it is likely that these sentiments represented a commonly held religious outlook, just as did religious poetry of the period, and this interpretation is supported by the evidence from other documentary records and literature, the wording of which mirrors that found in obit foundations.⁵³

This "formulaic" yet representative aspect of obits was also present in the testament, that most personal of religious documents, where it was emphasised that the will being expressed was that of the testator (*per os decedentis*). Most probably the obit's inevitable "for the safety/welfare of souls" was a generally accepted premise, as was the testament's "as nothing is more certain than death nor more uncertain than the hour of death" (*cum nihil sit certius morte nec incertius hora morte*). General acceptance of the fundamental notion that masses for the dead improved one's chances of salvation is revealed through the sheer number of obits founded in Ayrshire and elsewhere in Scotland. Obits were a highly favoured expression of faith and hope amongst the prosperous burgess class as well as the laird and magnate class, and the foundation of trentals of masses, perpetual chaplainries, and collegiate churches in the same time period indicates that the Scottish laity was determined to control its spiritual future to the greatest possible extent, and that it viewed mass foundations as the best means of ensuring a happy future after death.

TYPES OF FOUNDERS AND SOULS NAMED IN OBITS

In order to properly interpret the significance of obit foundations, it is helpful to understand the types of founders

represented in the Obit Book, the people whom the foundations were intended to benefit, and the location of these obit celebrations. Most founders of obits recorded in the Obit Book of Ayr were men and women of burgess class. Of the forty-seven obits in the book,⁵⁴ thirty (64%) were described as burgesses, one of whom was a woman (Katrine Thomson, d. 1525). Most founders of obits in the Ayr Obit Book were men (87%), four of whom were couples who made a joint obit foundation.⁵⁵ Obit foundations in the Ayr Obit Book were made almost exclusively by individuals for themselves and their spouses, or for themselves alone if they were unmarried. The obit was intended to benefit the founder and his spouse after death by speeding them out of purgatory, and sometimes benefited more than one spouse. For example, burgess John Chapman (*Chepman*) (d. 18 December, 1503) founded an obit for himself and his two deceased wives, Margaret Gray, who died in 1468, and Elizabeth Scott (*Scot*), who died in 1478.⁵⁶

The preponderance of male founders of obits may indicate more about financial capability and traditional practice than a male bias toward obit foundations, for married women were more likely to found obits once they were widowed.⁵⁷ If the obit was founded before the death of either spouse, usually the husband founded it, or less usually the couple made a joint foundation. However, women founded obits in increasing number from 1480 to 1560, this trend being visible in the obit and testamentary evidence. Obit foundations made by Ayr women occurred from 1484 to 1528, four of these being made in the 1520's. Thus 36% of the obit foundations made in the 1520's were by Ayr women residents compared to only 10% by women in the 1490's.⁵⁸ Of the Ayrshire laity whose testaments have survived for the period 1547-52, 22% were women.⁵⁹

Women testators tended to leave it to their executors, usually their husbands, to dispose of their goods for the good of their soul, most likely assuming that their husbands would found obits on their behalf. However, the reverse also was true, male testators usually making their wives responsible for the disposal of their goods for the welfare of their souls. Thus the testamentary evidence, where men and women relied equally upon each other for spiritual arrangements to be made after death, suggests that the Ayr practice of having men found the obits on behalf of both spouses was due to custom rather than religious outlook. On the other hand, certain women, whose husbands were still alive, allocated money for prayers in their testaments, rather than leaving matters to their husbands.⁶⁰ For example, on 17 November, 1547, although she made her husband and son her executors, Bessete Boyle (*Boyll*) of Irvine gave specific instructions to them about the religious donations she wished to make, and then threatened them with the reckoning at the Day of Judgment to encourage their cooperation. Most of her donations were money gifts to friaries. Presumably she expected the friars to pray for her⁶¹ if she believed, along with others, that the best means of obtaining God's mercy and reaching the joys of heaven was through the perpetual prayers of the clergy.

Boyle had a living husband to appoint as executor, but decided to make specific provision for prayers for her soul. She exhibited the growing sense of individual responsibility for salvation mentioned by historical sociologist Philippe Aries.⁶² Laypeople were concerned about making spiritual preparations for death; their strong sense of personal sinfulness led them to expect that, in order to become sufficiently worthy for heaven, prayers and masses would be needed long after their death, and while they languished

they would be reliant on the living to speed the purification process. Thus, it is not surprising that the trend amongst Ayr women in the sixteenth century was to found obits on their own behalf and to make testamentary demands for perpetual prayers to ensure the safety of their souls after death, without relying on living spouses to do this for them.

As the previous discussion has indicated, lay obit founders focused first of all on the welfare of their own souls and those of their spouses, including more than one spouse if they had remarried. Occasionally, they included one or a few close relatives such as parents and siblings. Surprisingly, despite the high child death rate, no founder included among named souls young children, only one adult daughter being named. In addition to provision for souls named in the obit, it was common to direct prayers to a non-specific category of friends, benefactors and "the faithful dead".

Blood relatives were provided for relatively frequently, especially if the founder was single. This was the case with the obit foundation of burgess William Johnson (*Johnsone*) (d. 11 September, 1515). His foundation was intended to benefit himself, his brother Thomas, his sister-in-law Elesone Rait (*Raith*), and all the faithful deceased.⁶³ Isabella Copland (*Coupland*), who was unmarried, included her cousins William Cooper (*Coupar*) and Robert Coll (deceased) in her obit foundation,⁶⁴ and Allan Paterson, apparently also single, included his cousins Agnes Nicholson and Agnes Wilson (*Wilsone*) in his obit, which was founded in 1511 and came into effect on his death (4 December, 1519).⁶⁵ Parents were occasionally included in foundations, as was the case with Thomas Chapman (*Chepman*) (d. 22 March, 1470), who included his parents as well as his spouse in his obit foundation.⁶⁶

Friends, benefactors and particularly the "faithful dead" were often named in obit foundations. An example of a foundation which included a variety of "souls" was that of Christina Howson in the 1520's (d. 3 January, 1525/6). As part of her foundation, prayers were to be offered in the name of her husband, their friends and benefactors, and all the faithful dead.⁶⁷ It was natural for people to be concerned for those they loved, including friends and relatives; as long as the recipients were "trew christin men & wemen", it was useful to arrange for the priest to have them remembered via the Mass, and make intercession for them.⁶⁸ As all people were "subjeckit to synne", "licht synnis", according to St. Gregory, clearly it was incumbent upon caring spouses, friends and relatives, to help their loved ones who were purging their sins in the "transitorie fyre" of purgatory.⁶⁹ (See Chapters 1 and 4)

As William Dunbar wrote in his poem on the Passion of Jesus, it was necessary to "kest out mony cankerit syn" and "keip and house in sicker [surer, safer] stait / Ay reddy til our Salvatour, / Quhill that he come, air or lait"⁷⁰ such that one would be as pure and acceptable as possible on the general Day of Judgment. And yet sin being unavoidable, as a natural human state, whatever family and friends, or other concerned Christians, could do in the way of prayers while one was in purgatory was central to the purgation process, either by paying for church rituals or by their own prayers and fasting.⁷¹

Official Scottish Catholic orthodox views on the subject, as expressed in the Catechism of 1552, encouraged the laity to include the "faithful dead" in their prayer arrangements, as well as their family and friends, for: ". . . the halye Apostollis of Jesus Christ, ordanit that the saulis quhilk departis of yis warld in the

leiffand faith of Jesus Christ, yat yai suld be helpit be remembrance had for yame in the Mes."⁷² The concept of providing for the "faithful dead" reveals an awareness of being part of a community of faith, and of one's responsibility toward others of the faith community; the laity and clergy together formed this faith community, founding obits for blood relatives, friends, benefactors and the faithful dead, either as named persons in their own obit foundations, or in separate obit foundations.⁷³

SIGNIFICANCE OF OBIT LOCATION, DATE OF CELEBRATION AND TIMING

RELATIVE TO DATE OF DEATH

In their great desire to win favourable treatment from God on the Days of Judgment and to shorten their time in purgatory, lay founders saw significance in every detail of their obit. They did everything possible to maximise advantages from it, paying particular note to the location and date of celebration. The timing of the obits also provides some indication of the level of spiritual concern experienced by founders regarding the afterlife, and their understanding of the value of obits to improve their standing with God.

Although the location of Ayr obits was usually the choir of St. John's church,⁷⁴ some founders sought to enlist the help of powerful supernatural beings by locating their obits at altars devoted to them. Since Mary and Jesus were seen as both powerful and sympathetic, their altars were popular, or the founder might decide to cover all spiritual eventualities by locating at the altar of the Holy Trinity.⁷⁵

The aisle of the Holy Trinity was chosen by the MacIlroys (*Makylroys*) and Pethedes as the site of their obit celebrations, burgess Michael MacIlroy (d. 18 April, 1501) requesting that the

obit for himself and his wife Elizabeth Petheid be celebrated by "singers of the choir" at the altar of the Holy Trinity in the aisle of the Holy Trinity.⁷⁶ Earlier in 1450, Mr Richard Pethede (d. 10 January, 1449/50), had required that the *Placebo*, *Dirige*, nine psalms, nine lessons and lauds in chant be said in the aisle of the Holy Trinity. Saintly intercession would also be involved, Pethede requesting that the next day's "mass of requiem" be said by each chaplain at his own altar, or else at the Trinity altar.⁷⁷

Other altars popular with the Ayr obit founders, both lay and clerical, were the altars of the Holy Virgin in the north and south aisles, two of the main altars in the church, and the Holy Cross altar.⁷⁸ The popularity of the Blessed Virgin Mary as major intercessor with God, far from declining through the period, continued apace, as collegiate churches (eg. Biggar, founded in 1546), numerous chaplainries, and shrines (eg. Loreto, founded c. 1536/7) were dedicated to her. (See Chapters 7 and 8) Thus burgess Laurence Boyk (d. 15 October, 1535, foundation in 1515) required that his obit-mass, commencing at his death, be celebrated for himself and his wife at the altar of the Holy Virgin in the north aisle.⁷⁹

The growing importance attached to Jesus in his role as saviour of humanity was evident in Ayr as elsewhere in Scotland. The merchants' altar was the Holy Blood altar, so it is possible that Christina Glover's (*Gluver*) choice of the Holy Blood altar as the site of her obit-mass may have been because her husband, burgess Thomas Mason (*Masone*) (d. 25 October, 1484), was a merchant. However, whatever her reasons, she seems to have chosen the Holy Blood altar herself, and the annual rent which financed the obit (6s.) came from her own land.⁸⁰ Her daughter and heir Margaret

Mason (*Masone*) (d. 5 February, 1527/8), appears to have shared Glover's belief in the value of obits and the necessity of a woman providing for her own soul. On 26 October, 1525, two and a half years before she died, Mason founded an obit for herself and her husband burgess John Dickson (*Dixsone*) (d. 9 September, 1513). Mason expressed her belief in the efficacy of lay prayer by apportioning 4s. for distribution to the poor as well as the normal 8s. to the celebrating choristers.⁸¹

The Holy Cross altar, commemorating the Passion of Jesus, was one of Ayr parish church's main altars. The laity singled it out for support, particularly later in the period.⁸² Hence, on 16 February, 1508/9, burgess Thomas Neill (d. 13 September, 1533), founded an obit-mass for himself and his wife to be celebrated at the altar of the Holy Cross. He demonstrated his concern for the continued efficacy of the foundation by apportioning 2s. to the keeper of the oil at the altar to enable the "obsequies and masses" of the spouses to be celebrated properly "in all time coming".⁸³ Several years later, on 12 January, 1529, he and his wife Agnes Wishart founded a weekly sung mass to be celebrated each Thursday, followed by the sung "decesses" of Neill and Wishart at the altar, and the *De Profundis* at their tombs.⁸⁴

The clergy shared the general religious outlook of the laity as expressed in obits, in terms of attention to detail and devotion to Jesus through the cult of the Holy Blood. Sir Andrew MacCormyll, vicar of Straiton (d. 3 April, 1507), drew up a number of obits in the years he practised as a notary public, and he clearly believed in their efficacy. His own obit was complex, in keeping with the general pattern of clerical obits, which taken as a whole tended to be more complex than lay obits. MacCormyll demanded the usual

obsequies, describing the distribution of monies to participating clergy and laity, and for lights at the altar. His own choice of altar for the obit-mass was not the altar of each chaplain, but the altar of the Holy Blood.⁸⁵

The Holy Blood altars of Scotland emphasised, through their designation and special masses of the Holy Blood, Jesus' Passion and suffering for humanity. Lay emphasis on the Passion continued through to the Reformation period, reforming writers such as the Wedderburn brothers circulating poems which included sentiments celebrating Jesus' suffering on the Cross: "And with his bludie woundis fell [keen], / Hes us redemit from the Hell."⁸⁶

Apart from the location of the obit, great attention was paid to the date of celebration in order to ensure the greatest spiritual efficacy for named souls. The general rule was that male founders put the obit date on their own date of death, married women put it on their husbands', and a small number chose their name day or a day near an important event in the church calendar. Whichever day was chosen, all founders demonstrated great concern that the obit be celebrated on the designated date. Sir Andrew MacCormyll explained the importance of the date of celebration, stating that it was important to celebrate the obsequies on the day he had designated, for "delay brings danger". Presumably this "danger" was God's displeasure and withdrawal of His grace as a result of this breach of obit etiquette, and a longer period of time spent in purgatory.

For his own obit, MacCormyll chose his name day, the nativity of St. Andrew, and he ensured that his obit would be celebrated on the correct day by deducting 4d. from each priest or dean absent from the obsequies, and 3d. from each celebrant absent from all obit services. Further, the greater the number of celebrants, the more

efficacious the ritual, so MacCormyll insisted that at least six priests be present at his obsequies.⁸⁷ Fining celebrants for non-attendance was a common means of controlling the execution of rituals, a means employed increasingly by both laity and clergy in the period under study. (See Chapter 10)

There was a clear difference between the attitudes of married men and women regarding the celebration date of obits. Married or widowed men normally set the celebration date as their own date of death, except for burgess Patrick Ker and cleric Mr George Lockhart. However, although these men set the obit date on their wife's and mother's date of death, respectively, they conformed to the general male practice of having the celebration date switched to their own date of death once they had died.⁸⁸

Married and widowed women, on the other hand, were more likely to set the date of obit celebration for their husband's date of death.⁸⁹ This appears to have been a generous act on the part of the women, as people usually acted primarily for the benefit of their own souls in obit foundations, secondarily for spouses (very common), and finally for other relatives, benefactors, friends, and the "faithful dead" (less common). Hence, the overwhelming male tendency to found obits on their own date of death, or to switch it from a spouse's or mother's date of death to their own later on, suggests that the male founders believed that the obit had greater efficacy if it was performed on their own date of death, and that they put their own spiritual welfare first.

In terms of caring for souls immediately after death, the women founders also seemed to be more concerned than male founders. Not only did male founders assign their own date of death for the obit celebration, they seldom hurried to found an obit after their

wives had died or arranged for a joint obit to begin before their own death. This was the case despite the fact that the souls of deceased wives were already in purgatory, relying on the prayers of the living to carry them to heaven. For example, burgess Patrick White's foundation (d. 23 July, 1496) stated that the obit was not to begin until he died, despite the fact that his spouse Helen Galloway (*Gallouaye*) had died on 21 November, 1495.⁹⁰

An exception to the lay norm was Patrick Ker, burgess, who founded an obit in December of 1507. His wife Margaret Lindsay had just died, and it was to begin immediately, although the celebration date was to be changed to his own date of death once he had passed away.⁹¹

Married women, on the other hand, not only arranged for the obit to occur on the date of death of their husbands, but also tended to found obits soon after the death of their husbands, not waiting until their own deaths were imminent. For example, Christina Howson founded an obit in January of 1525/6, the same month in which her husband, burgess Michael Walker, died.⁹² Agnes Baillie was so concerned that an obit be in place for her husband John Wilson (*Wilsone*) that she founded an obit for herself and her husband two days before his death on 14 December, 1525.⁹³ An exception to the female norm was Margaret Mason (*Masone*), daughter of Christina Glover (who herself had made an obit foundation for her husband in 1484).⁹⁴ Mason's husband, John Dickson, had died at Flodden in 1513, but she did not make her obit foundation until 26 October, 1525, two and a half years before her own death in February of 1528. No doubt Mason did not think carefully about her spiritual future until she was nearing death, and was primarily concerned with

her own spiritual future, rather than providing for her spouse's spiritual welfare.⁹⁵

Although most founders chose their own date of death, or that of their spouse, for the obit celebration, some chose a day not connected with the date of death of anyone named in the obit, but rather their name day or one near an important Christian event, such as Easter. As already mentioned, Sir Andrew MacCormyll founded an obit to be celebrated on his name day.⁹⁶ Isabella Copland (d. 31 August, 1504), on the other hand, chose the sixth holiday before the festival of Pentecost.⁹⁷

In the period 1480 to 1560, there was a growing emphasis on Jesus' suffering and sacrifice on the Cross. (See Chapter 9). Obit foundations, of which the obit-mass was a central part, emphasised the importance of the Eucharist as a means of bringing the fruits of Jesus' Passion to benefit humanity. The emphasis on Jesus' Passion was reinforced further by some founders by having their obits celebrated on a date associated with the Crucifixion. On 16 February, 1508/9, burgess Thomas Neill (d. 13 September, 1533) chose the eve and day of the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross for his obit.⁹⁸ The connection between Neill's choice of celebration date and his personal religious outlook is indicated by his 1529 obit foundation. He and his spouse Agnes Wishart (*Vischart*) donated £3 for an obit on "Rood Day" to be celebrated at the Holy Blood altar, with prayers for the king, Neill and Wishart.⁹⁹ An emphasis on events and symbols related to the Passion was common to the merchant class, who often assumed responsibility for the Holy Blood altar. However, most people chose their own death date for an obit, regardless of their craft affiliation, so

Neill's choice of a date associated with the crucifixion of Jesus reflected his personal religious outlook.

Apart from the number and nature of specific obit provisions intended to ensure the maximum number of prayers, it is possible to gauge the level of spiritual anxiety experienced by the obit founders by determining when their obits were made. The general premise in connection with obit timing is that the more in advance of death a foundation was made, the more likely it was that the founder was thinking about death, purgatory and salvation, and consciously making spiritual preparations to ensure eventual entry into heaven. Of the twenty-two Ayr obit foundations which clearly distinguished between an obit foundation date and the death of the founder, fifteen were made by the person intending to benefit from the obit (at least in part) before his/her death, whereas seven were made by others on behalf of parents, spouses or other relatives.

Most of the lay obits made several years prior to the founder's decease were made after 1510, beginning with Arthur Hunter's (*Huntar*) foundation of 15 September, 1501, five years prior to his death on 12 August, 1506, and ending with Laurence Boyk's foundation of 1 October, 1515, twenty years prior to his death on 15 October, 1535. It is not possible to attribute Boyk's early foundation, which was intended to benefit the soul of his wife, to a desire to provide for her if she were to die before him, for Boyk specifically outlined that the obit was to be celebrated on his date of death, which did not occur for another twenty years.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that certain laypeople made obit foundations several years before their own deaths because of fears about death from a particularly virulent outbreak of plague, or a great illness from

which they recovered, or as part of preparations for going off to war.

Married laywomen tended to make obit foundations which began immediately after the death of their husbands, and which took place on their husband's date of death rather than their own. Agnes Baillie managed to arrange for her husband's obit two days before his death on 14 December, 1525, while Christina Glover only managed it some time after her husband's death on 25 October, 1484.¹⁰¹

Most of the obit founders in Ayr were married, and of the few single people who founded obits, only the timing of Katrine Thomson's (d. 25 April, 1525) obit is clear. Thus it is difficult to make any comparisons, but it is worth noting that Thomson made her obit foundation forty-one years before her death, on 27 March, 1484. Part of the reason for such an early foundation may have been Thomson's awareness that, if she did not do so herself, an obit might not be founded to benefit her soul, most foundations being made by spouses. Her obit was not detailed, in keeping with the norm for the earlier part of the period. She asked for "obsequies" by the singers and choristers of the church, for the safety of her soul, and left 8s. for payment, which was quite generous for the 1480's (6s.8d. was the average sum through to the 1500's). Thomson's early foundation, and her relatively generous financing of it, was intended to ensure that these prayers and masses continued to be said on a yearly basis for perpetuity.

As a single person, Katrine Thomson largely was responsible for the welfare of her own soul. She did not have a spouse who could found an obit for her if she died suddenly, and sudden, unheralded death was one of the great fears of the medieval laity, a fear encouraged by the church to ensure adherence to Christian rules

of behaviour and participation in the sacraments. Dying without having made proper preparation for death might mean a direct route to hell after the particular Day of Judgment, without being given the opportunity to pass through purgatory; even if one landed in purgatory, if no perpetual prayers or masses had been founded while still on earth, the dead soul might arrive at the general Day of Judgment still heavy with sin. The mid-fifteenth century author of the "The Craft of Deyng" reassured laypeople that they did not need to fear death, however violently they died, as long as they died well shriven in the "faithe and sacramentis of haly kyrk".¹⁰² Nevertheless, most of the literary, artistic and theological influences on lay thought emphasised the great weight of human sinfulness, and encouraged laypeople to do everything in their power to ensure that this sin was erased. Obit foundations offered perpetual prayers and masses and thus provided laypeople with great reassurance; as long as the general Day of Judgment did not come too quickly, they would have plenty of time in purgatory to wait for the rituals of the living to bring them spiritual worthiness necessary for heaven.

Spouses and other relatives were generally quick to make foundations for those who had not managed to do so before their deaths. Of the seven foundations recorded, five were made immediately upon the death of the spouse or parent. For example, in 1484, on the death of her husband Thomas Mason, Christina Glover immediately founded an obit for the two of them. It was to be celebrated on her husband's date of death and was to begin immediately.¹⁰³ Sometimes testators made provision for obits in their testament, and these tended to be enacted immediately by the executors, who were often family members, as was the case with John

Craufurd (d. 13 July, 1496), John Ray (*Raye*) (d. 8 October, 1523), chorister of St. John's church, and Sir Arthur Reid (d. 20 November, 1500).¹⁰⁴

To provide a wider context for analysing the timing of obit foundations, Glasgow diocese testaments can be used. This analysis is based upon the date the testament was dictated and the date it was confirmed. In general, confirmation followed closely upon the death of the testator, but there could be some delay in confirmation. Unless dates of death are also available, it is difficult to make judgments about how close to death testators were when they had their testaments drawn up. To help determine if awareness of imminent death was a factor in the timing of the testament, it is helpful to note if the testator referred to him or herself as *eger corpore*, ill in body.

In the case of a representative survey of twenty-nine Glasgow diocese testaments, all in Ayrshire or nearby (late 1540's to early 1550's), only two testators stated that they were not ill when they made their testaments, whereas nineteen said that they were. The remaining eight testators did not state whether they were ill, but probably some of them were not, as they seemed to indicate that they were going off to war (egs. William Cunningham (*Cunynghame*) of Glengarnock, Ayrshire, and Nicholas Girvan (*Gorvane*), burgess of Ayr).¹⁰⁵ Others probably were ill at the time, but neglected to describe their physical state in their testaments. For example, James Cleland (*Kneland*) of that Ilk in Lanarkshire dictated his will on 12 July, 1547, and it was confirmed ten days later, but his testament made no mention of his physical condition.¹⁰⁶ William Wallace of Ellerslie, Ayrshire, died on 19 March, 1549/50, on the same day that he made his testament, but he did not make any mention

of his state of health in the testament, although clearly he was ill.¹⁰⁷

As the overwhelming majority of testators made their testaments when they were ill and close to death, it would not be surprising if many had made arrangements for obits, chaplainry and collegiate foundations, or the donation of monies to religious houses, prior to the writing of the testament. However, it cannot be ignored that Scottish testators, even those of substantial means, donated very little in their testaments to friaries or chaplainries, or for obit and funeral arrangements, at least by northern English standards, and provided little explanation for their behaviour,¹⁰⁸ so it is difficult to gauge the reasons for such a difference in the level of giving.

SOCIAL CONCERN, GOOD DEEDS, AND DESIRE FOR LAY PRAYER

AS MOTIVES FOR OBIT FOUNDATIONS

The primary motivation for founding obits and soliciting lay prayers at obit celebrations was self-centred in that founders were overwhelmingly concerned for the fate of their own souls and the souls of persons closest to them. However, social motives appear to have been a secondary concern for many people. That is, naming benefactors and the faithful dead in obit foundations, as well as spouses and friends, may well have reflected a desire to spiritually aid fellow human beings at the same time as counting as a good deed and therefore improving the founder's own spiritual stock. Further, increasing "divine worship" on earth by founding an obit would have helped the living in their worship of God, as well as being a good deed for which God would reward the founder. Prayers offered by the poor at obit celebrations would be heard by God and thus aid the founder's soul languishing in purgatory, but the *obit dole*

distributed as recompense for these prayers would also be rewarded by God as a good deed.¹⁰⁹

The obit founders often mentioned that part of their purpose for founding obits was to increase "divine worship";¹¹⁰ they sometimes elaborated on this by saying that they did so for the love of God or for the benefit of their fellow Christians. Emphasis on care for one's fellow Christian is visible in the 1552 Catechism as well as the obit foundation of John Brown (d. 1524). In his foundation, Brown strongly emphasised that he had acted "with charitable regard, and for the increase of divine worship, and in the love of God, and the safety of his soul to make his foundation to God, and the priests and choristers of the burgh of Ayr, and the poor".¹¹¹

Care of the poor was a strong theme in obit foundations, because the poor's prayers could be obtained by offering alms in return for prayers on the day of one's obit, and because giving to the poor was considered a good work and so helpful to achieve salvation. As the average burgess was not wealthy enough to found collegiate churches dedicated to saying perpetual masses for their souls, and which often had resident bedesmen to pray along with the chaplain, obit foundations at least ensured that, once each year, the burgess' soul would benefit from a complete set of divine services, and the prayers of the poor along with the clerical celebrants.¹¹²

To encourage the poor to attend obit services, bells would be rung through the town, and then alms would be distributed after the mass to those who had attended and added their prayers. Bell-ringing was still a spiritually significant part of an obit service in 1566. At this time Queen Mary was still maintaining her Catholic

practices in Holyroodhouse, and on 25 October, 1566, burgess of Edinburgh Robert Birre reported in his diary that the town had received word that the Queen was "deadly sick", and that she wanted the bells to be rung and "all the people" to go to the church to pray for her "for she was so ill that her life was feared for."¹¹³

Once all obit services had been completed, the clergy and laity would have prayed for the same soul and offered up to God the surest method of receiving grace, the celebration of the Mass.¹¹⁴ As the Catechism pointed out in 1552, obtaining the prayers of the living (both lay and clerical) was efficacious, the prayers of angels and saints in heaven were even more so (a good reason for choosing one's craft patron as intercessor), but the merits of Jesus, as represented in His Passion, were the most helpful of all.¹¹⁵

Other documentary evidence, such as the foundation charters of collegiate churches and chaplainries, mirror the patterns associated with obits with regards to the poor. That is, the laity increasingly associated their own spiritual welfare with caring for the poor, targetting their efforts on those activities which brought the donor the spiritual benefit of prayer (eg. obit-mass prayers) as well as God's favour for doing a good work.¹¹⁶ This does not mean that laypeople stopped believing in the efficacy of clerical prayer, for in truth their obsession with clerical qualifications and standards of behaviour proves that they wanted more effective clerics, not to dismiss those that they had, although occasionally laypeople resorted to dismissal to make their point. (See Chapter 10) The clerical contribution could never be overlooked, as the celebration of the Eucharist was of great importance to the welfare of dead souls.¹¹⁷ However, the laity did appear to be increasing

its reliance on lay prayer as a means of rescuing souls from purgatory.

Late medieval Scotland was exposed to ideas connected to the *Devotio Moderna*, and a growing number of laypeople were able to read devotional works and thereby develop their own internal relationship with God, making the concept of effective lay prayer and involvement in church ritual more acceptable.¹¹⁸ It is not surprising that a growing number of laypeople encouraged their fellow citizens to pray for them. Whilst the church maintained the primacy of clerical prayer, it did not deny the utility of lay prayer, so did nothing to discourage lay founders. In fact, there were signs that the higher clergy approved of the increasing understanding and knowledge of the laity which came with greater involvement in the rituals of the church.¹¹⁹

The 1552 Catechism mentioned the duties of the survivors, which were to help departed souls "nocht with greting, bot with prayars and supplicatiouns, almous deidis and oblatiouns".¹²⁰

Robert Henryson (d. by 1505) summarised the duties of the living to the dead in his poem "The Thre Deid-Pollis", exhorting the living to pray for souls, that they might enter heaven.¹²¹ In his poem "The Tabill of Confession", William Dunbar apologised for not offering sufficient prayers for his "neighbours" (*nychtbouris*), whom the Catechism defined as all people, whether enemies or friends, living or dead.¹²²

One way to ensure that the laity would add their prayers to those of the clerics at the obit was to assign funds specifically to the poor, and this was done more often and more generously as the period progressed. The first specific assigning of monies in Ayr was in 1507 by burgess Adam Wishart for the obit of his parents. He

gave only 2s. to the poor (8s. to the celebrating clerics), and for his own obit founded in 1506 he apportioned no funds specifically for the poor. The 2s. was intended to pay for lay prayers, for he insisted that no money was to be paid out until after the poor had attended the obit-mass.¹²³

John Brown died eighteen years after Wishart, and Brown assigned more money to the elderly and infirm poor and poor scholars (12s.4d.) than was paid to the clerical celebrants.¹²⁴ Brown's wholehearted belief in the efficacy of lay prayer was perhaps not representative of all Ayr residents of burgess class, but Margaret Mason's (d. 1528) more modest assigning of 4s. to the poor and 8s. to the celebrants¹²⁵ still lends credence to the theory that Ayr's laity was gradually coming to the conclusion that lay prayers were very useful to achieve salvation. The question of the number of prayers is also notable. In general, the laity came to believe that the quantity of prayers mattered, not just the quality (eg. collegiate churches were founded for daily celebration of multiple masses for the founder's soul). In this sense, the distribution of alms to the poor at an obit-mass was an inexpensive means of obtaining a substantial number of prayers, if only once each year.¹²⁶

John Brown's obit (d. 1524) demonstrates how laypeople in sixteenth century Ayrshire combined a sense of personal responsibility for their own souls with a desire to become more involved in activities traditionally controlled by the clergy (egs. ceremonies, rituals, care of the poor).¹²⁷ Less emphasis was being placed upon achieving salvation solely through praise and honour of God, and more on achieving it by helping fellow Christians, living and dead.

Brown's preamble stated that he made his foundation "with charitable regard, and for the increase of divine worship, and for the love of God, and the safety of his soul". The preamble is longer than most; the reference to "charitable regard", "love of God", and the "poor" in his dedication indicates that this wording was Brown's own, rather than that of the notary.¹²⁸

The poor who attended Brown's obit-mass were to pray at the altar of St. Peter; as possessor of the "keys of heaven", St. Peter was a good choice of intercessor. To ensure that the clerics chose the correct "poor" people, Brown provided them with a definition of the worthy poor. They were "the appointed old leprous scholars, daily occupied and exercised in poor schools,¹²⁹ and other debilitated poor, obscured by poverty".¹³⁰ Brown's elaborate provisions for the poor proved that he valued their prayers. Of the 1 merk 10s. apportioned to his obit, more money was given to the poor at the obit-mass than to the "priests and choristers" for their spiritual services. The extent to which Brown favoured the poor was the exception rather than the rule, most laypeople donating more money to the clergy as they believed that the obit services executed by the clergy were more crucial to the spiritual welfare of the named souls than any number of lay prayers.

Brown's belief in the efficacy of lay prayer was correct by the standards of the Catechism of 1552, which reaffirmed the efficacy of praying to God "as giffer of grace & all gudnes" and to the saints "as intercessouris to pray for us to God, that we may obtene his grace",¹³¹ and most especially to Mary, through whom we hope to gain "a drope of grace" by which we may be saved and eventually go to heaven. Prayer was also appropriately aimed at

"gud men and wemen" on earth so that, through prayers to God, "we may obtene the grace & help of God".¹³²

Brown's emphasis on lay prayer made the ringing of the bells of particular importance. Apart from the ringing of the great bells at the obsequies and obit-mass by the sacristan prior to the celebration of the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, Brown wanted the clerics to ensure that the smaller bells were rung throughout the town, so that the people might come to pray and to intercede with God and His "spotless mother" for the souls of Brown and Petheid. (See Chapter 7) As stated in the foundation, the purpose of the bells was to "require and urge" with a "loud, intelligible voice, all the poor . . . of the burgh, to come to the obit mass of the same, and receive alms for praying for the said John [Brown] and Mariote [Petheid], his spouse, before the altar of St. Peter", this altar being one of the lesser altars in the aisles of the church. The great emphasis put on the ringing of the bell in the town led some laypeople to apportion separate funds for the town bell-ringer, although Brown said that he expected the clerical celebrants to fund the bell-ringing fee out of their own fee for the obit.¹³³

The 1528/9 foundation of Thomas Neill (*Nele*) and Agnes Wishart (*Wischart*) emphasised the importance of bell-ringing to obtaining lay prayers. The foundation charter stated that, after the bells were rung, the chaplains were to wait long enough to allow people from the farthest reaches of the town to arrive at the obit-mass.¹³⁴

Brown's obit foundation, with its strongly religious tone, offers grounds for refutation of modern historical interpretations which tend to search for largely secular motives to religious actions, thereby imposing a twentieth century bias upon the late

Middle Ages.¹³⁵ Brown's main reason for having the bells rung through the town was not to remind Ayr residents of his stature or wealth once he was dead, but to obtain their prayers for the souls of himself and his wife in purgatory. We may, with our twentieth century perspective, tend to celebrate the human rather than the divine sphere, but the evidence clearly points to a strongly religious basis to the bell-ringing requirement. That is not to say that the founder was uninterested in having his name remembered each year on the day of his obit, but there is no obit or testamentary evidence to suggest that a desire to be remembered on earth took precedence over a desire for spiritual happiness beyond death.

Although the primary purpose for Brown's offer of alms was to obtain prayers, it is also true that the alms counted as "almous deidis", or good works, which would help him on the particular Day of Judgment just after death,¹³⁶ when God would decide if his fate was to be heaven, hell or purgatory. (See Chapter 1) Probably Brown specified the type of poor person he wished to assist because he believed that God would reward laypeople who helped the most needy, as Jesus had done in the New Testament. Thus Brown's concern for the "safety of his soul" was best served by insisting that only the most needy receive alms at his obit.¹³⁷

The attitudes of Ayrshire lairds and magnates regarding the poor are less easily detected than those of Ayr burgh-dwellers, in that fewer obit foundations survive for the laird and magnate classes. However, some of the testaments that do survive include funeral and obit arrangements, and Marie-Therese Lorcin has made a case in France for the similarity of outlook of all classes of society, making it possible to use data about burgesses to help understand the outlook of lairds and magnates, and vice versa.¹³⁸

Thus it is worth noting that changes in religious outlook were more likely to occur as time passed and literary, artistic and theological influences changed, than they were to occur within the same time period as a consequence of class differences.

Testaments survive for Hugh Montgomery, first Earl of Eglinton, and his heir and grandson Hugh Montgomery, and although the testaments were made only a year apart, they reveal a very different outlook, possibly reflecting a difference in generation as well as different personalities. The first Earl's testament, written on 23 September, 1545 (he was dead by 3 October), allotted substantial sums to priests, friars and the poor to pray for his soul at his obit, and to pray for periods of time lasting between one and five years.¹³⁹ He also wanted his executor to take care of his needy servants (*seruitoribus indigentibus*), and had his heir and grandson, the second Earl, solemnly promise in his presence to carry out his wishes.¹⁴⁰

The second Earl of Eglinton did not give money to friars or priests for prayers or an obit, and did not tie his donations to the poor to prayers for his soul. Rather, he gave money to "pure houshaldaris" in Eaglesham (£20), Ardrossan (£20), and Irvine, Kilwinning and Eglinton (£20), apparently as alms.¹⁴¹ Granted, these donations were good deeds which would have benefited him spiritually on the Day of Judgment, but they were not directly tied to prayers associated with church rituals such as obit-masses. They showed, perhaps, the natural concern of a great lord for the poor from his region, yet the Earl's grandfather, the first Earl, did not arrange matters thus in his own testament.

The differences between the testamentary provisions of these two magnates lends support to the theory that personal outlook

played an important role in lay decisions about which rituals and institutions to support in their search for spiritual acceptability. It appears to have been personal outlook which made the first Earl decide to care for his soul through support of clerical rituals and the obtaining of the prayers of the poor, while his grandson did no such thing. His grandson appears to have felt personal responsibility for his social inferiors, but to have viewed them more as a social responsibility than as a contributors to his own happiness in the afterlife. Support for this interpretation comes from The Porteous of Noblenes, the Scottish translation of a French work which was published in Edinburgh in 1508. In this work, the author advised that men of great power and wealth had a greater responsibility for the welfare of other members of society, and that God would reward or punish them according to their ability to live up to His high standards.¹⁴² The first Earl would seem to have been following the dictates of this spiritually-based attitude more than the second Earl.

The laity's concern for the welfare of the poor continued into the post-Reformation period, when hospitals attached to religious institutions such as collegiate churches kept their function as shelters for the poor and infirm, although they lost their function as providers of prayers and masses for the dead.¹⁴³

IMPORTANCE OF HIGH STANDARDS OF EXECUTION

Laypeople deemed obits to be an excellent means of aiding their souls once in purgatory, and thus they were concerned to ensure that the efficacy of the obit services was not marred by low clerical standards of execution. They endeavoured to ensure high standards by detailing requirements in their foundation charters,

naming supervisors and expected procedures, and in particular, outlining their expectations for musical standards.

Between 1480 and 1552, the period covered by the Obit Book of Ayr and testamentary evidence, funeral and obit-related services were very important to the laity, who felt increasingly in need of external rituals to help win God's favour and shorten their time in purgatory. (See Chapter 10)¹⁴⁴ An overall trend was for specifications to become more complex, reflecting both lay anxiety regarding the afterlife and a growing perception that laypeople had the right to dictate how spiritual activities would be carried out. Requirements became more carefully outlined, with founders explaining the standards expected of celebrants; the higher the standard, the better chance that God would look favourably on the obit founder. As Lord Fleming stated in his foundation charter of the collegiate church of Biggar, Lanarkshire, in 1546, by failing to execute services properly (egs. bad singing, levity during services):

. . . the due honour of almighty God is not promoted . . . the intention of the founder is frustrated, the well ordered conscience is hurt, and the edification of those present is not at all obtained."¹⁴⁵

The trend in Ayr was mirrored elsewhere in Scotland and in other religious foundations (egs. collegiate churches, chaplainries), which increasingly demanded better qualifications and consistently high standards of behaviour from clerical celebrants. To achieve this, they included specific requirements in their foundation charters, often asked heirs and/or burgh councils to ensure that charter conditions were upheld, and sometimes specified fines to act as a deterrent to laxity. One method of ensuring the proper execution of foundation conditions was to appoint supervisors, and there was some limited use of supervisors in the

Ayr obits. John Brown (d. 1524) assigned the substantial sum of 12s.4d. to the poor praying at his obit-mass, and he, too, required the principal priest to distribute the money in bread, meat, fish and cheese. He made it more difficult for the person distributing the food to cheat by requiring the other choir priests to watch and advise, and the dean of guild to consent to the distribution. The dean of guild was also to ensure that the choristers carried out their tasks properly, and for this he was paid 12d. However, unless he was present at the obit to supervise he did not receive the payment.¹⁴⁶

The laity could demand and receive high standards of behaviour from choristers and other church personnel because many were dependent upon the goodwill of Ayr burgh council and individual lay founders (the council paid them yearly salaries and a significant proportion of their revenues came from celebration of individuals' obits). On 7 May, 1543, the burgh council threatened to deprive clerics of their benefices unless they continued to "persevere in their gud and thankfull service to the honour of God, and behaif them thankfullie for the gude and common weill of the toun." If they did not do so, their benefices would be given to people who were "mair qualifiet".¹⁴⁷

In the obit foundation of William Nichol (*Nychole*) (d. 25 July, 1520), the choristers were required to celebrate services "solemnly, as the custom is".¹⁴⁸ When Martin Langmore (*Langmure*) and his spouse Mariote Cathcart founded their obit, the choristers agreed that their task was to "sing" the anniversary each year, including a *Placebo*, *Dirige*, nine lessons, and an obit-mass in chant.¹⁴⁹ In previous obits it had been assumed that it was not the place of the laity to dictate spiritual requirements or to include

reminders about standards required, the clergy being trusted to celebrate the obit sufficiently well to please God. The new lay concern to ensure high standards of execution appears to have owed as much to its increasing sense of personal unworthiness and image of God's strict justice as to any perception of worsening clerical standards. That is, the laity relied upon the clergy to preserve lay souls from damnation through rituals and prayers, and the spiritually anxious laity could not afford for the clergy to fail in its intercessory role.

The trend towards demanding higher standards becomes evident when earlier and later foundations are compared. Early Ayr obit foundations usually were vague in their requirements, as in the 1438 obit foundation of Thomas Sorlie, which was a simple request for a perpetual obit in return for a donation of 6s. in annual rent.¹⁵⁰ It is possible that this simplicity was due to the founders' belief that the choristers would do what was necessary without any guidelines being provided. It is also possible that the founders deemed it neither their right nor their responsibility to dictate the exact nature of the spiritual activities and how they were to be performed, nor to inform the clerical celebrants of the standards expected of them.¹⁵¹

However, specifications grew gradually more complex, the laity's desire to control standards of execution manifesting itself in increasingly complex foundation requirements. As early as 1456, the trend was visible, John Park's foundation being more detailed than that of Thomas Sorlie (1438). Park demanded an annual perpetual obit, including a *Placebo*, *Dirige*, mass in chant and other "private masses".¹⁵² By the late fifteenth century, and especially a few decades into the sixteenth century, obit founders often went

into far greater detail, even mentioning the timing of the services. In general terms, the funeral services were to be on the death day (*Placebo*, *Dirige* and nine lessons) and the obit-mass on the following day.

The increasing demand for complex services of a high standard required that the fabric of the church be of a similar high standard. Hence the condition of the choir of St. John the Baptist's church was important to Ayr, as was the choir for other burghs during the same time period; many burghs upgraded their choirs (eg. Aberdeen), as well as other parts of the church where rituals such as obit-masses took place. In 1559-60, Ayr spent money to upgrade the Trinity aisle, the location of burgess Michael MacIlroy's obit (d. 18 April, 1501).¹⁵³ The burgh also worked on the construction of windows in the choir.¹⁵⁴ The bells of the church were necessary for important secular events (eg. ringing of bells for arrival of James V) as well as for religious services such as funeral services and obit-masses. Consequently, the 1536-7 accounting included payments of 1s.8d. for cords for the great and small bells.¹⁵⁵

The wealthier members of the burgh tended to be the most demanding in their requirements.¹⁵⁶ One such example was burgess and guild member Adam Wishart, who founded two obits, one for himself and his wife (1506), and one for his father John (1507). In his own obit, to be celebrated on the Day of the Holy Trinity, he did not leave it up to the choristers to designate part of their fee for bellmen or lights. Rather he designated 8s. to the celebrating choristers, 4d. for the person who beat the bell at various times on the day of the Holy Trinity, and 4d. for lights. All payments to clerical participants were to be withheld if they did not

participate in the ceremonies. The day after Holy Trinity, the obit-mass in chant was to be celebrated, and Wishart required that this be done at the altar of St. Christopher, no doubt the patron of his guild.

Although Wishart did not die until 1521, this foundation was made in 1506. Whether he made this foundation so early because he was ill at the time, or worried about the possibility of death by plague or in war, is unclear. However, it is certain that Wishart believed that the founding of an obit was an expression of personal faith, and that God valued such a foundation, for he stated that he had founded his own obit "from a devout disposition", and that his detailed requirements were made "according as God has given him the will."¹⁵⁷

The obit foundation of Thomas Neill, burgess, and his spouse Agnes Wishart, possibly a relative of Adam Wishart, provides another example of a complex foundation requiring high standards of execution. Neill and Wishart exhaustively outlined the behaviour required of the "chaplains and choristers" of Ayr at a yearly sung "mes of note" at the Holy Blood altar in the parish church. This included the ringing of the great and small bells nine times between 8 and 9 a.m. exactly, before the priests had celebrated mass. The chaplains were ordered to wait after the bells were rung to make sure that the laity, even those living in the farthest reaches of the burgh, could arrive to hear the mass. Then Neill and Wishart gave directions about how the chaplains were to come from the altar with a lighted torch at the beginning of the mass, along with a "sacryne bell", before the sacrament. The priest was to exhort and the attending laity to pray for the weal of the king, the temperance of the weather, and the souls of Neill and Wishart. Once the mass

was done and the *decesses* for the founders were sung, the clerics were to pass, in their surplices and with the proper equipment (*mess graith*), to the grave of Neill and Wishart and there say the *De Profundis* for their souls.¹⁵⁸ Neill and Wishart's specifications went beyond the normal lay requirements for obit celebrations. Even the most demanding of laypeople usually did not feel it was necessary to go beyond outlining the main elements of the services.

As the choristers were the main participants in exequies and obit-masses, the money apportioned to an obit was usually given to the curate of Ayr on behalf of the choristers.¹⁵⁹ Individual laypeople, as well as their corporate representatives the burgh councils, or craft guilds, showed their concern for musical standards, and singing in particular, in their foundations of chaplainries, collegiate churches and obits; their attitudes and actions in this regard mirroring those of the lower and higher clergy.¹⁶⁰ In lay foundations, high qualifications were expected, arrangements were made for clerical upgrading, and money was apportioned for song schools. This situation differed from England, where singing qualifications were less emphasised by lay founders.¹⁶¹

Great concern was expressed by laypeople about the standards of singing which the choristers were willing to maintain for obit services, the choristers' primary function as singers being made clear by the words used in obit foundations to define their function (egs. *choristers, singers, chaplains of the choir, priests of the choir*).¹⁶² The obit-mass was often described as a mass "in chant" (eg. Patrick Ker, d. 1507);¹⁶³ traditionally it was chanted, and traditional ways of clerical celebration of rites were viewed as the most efficacious, so the laity emphasised in their obits the sung

aspect of the obit-mass. For example, Margaret Mason in 1525 reminded the choristers that the "mass of requiem" was to be chanted, as was usual.¹⁶⁴

The Ayr laity as a collective unit indicated their concern for musical standards in the burgh church of St. John the Baptist by appointing Robert Paterson on 13 May, 1535, to play the organ, sing in the choir, and teach the song school. His fee was to be a generous £20/year,¹⁶⁵ £16 of which was to come from the common purse of the burgh. Lay concern for high standards was made clear by the council, which stated that Paterson's good behaviour would result in an even higher salary.¹⁶⁶

Ayr also endeavoured to encourage high musical standards in the burgh church by spending money on organ work. The burgh accounting of 1536-7 included payments for candles for the organs at evensong in the winter, for working on the "iron" for the organs, and for a "burd" for the organ loft. A payment was made to reimburse the treasurer, who had paid £5 to Thome Broun, monk of Kilwinning, for making organs for the burgh.¹⁶⁷

The question arises as to why founders of the more detailed obits, both clerical and lay, were so concerned to outline specific requirements, and to emphasise musical standards in particular.¹⁶⁸ They did not mention a want of training in the clerical celebrants, despite criticisms being made by the higher clergy in their provincial synods in the mid-sixteenth century, by the Protestant reformers before and after the Reformation, and by Ayr burgh council itself in 1533 and 1543.¹⁶⁹ Rather, there was merely a strong emphasis on maintaining high standards, any implied criticism in the obits coming only when it was stated that absence from services would result in fines or non-payment of fees, and apart from Adam

Wishart in 1506, the founders who mention fines for non-performance were clerics,¹⁷⁰ the majority of the laity presumably being more trusting, or less informed about what was involved in the celebration of an obit. Further, there is no pattern of rising concern about clerical standards, concerns being expressed as early as 1450, and also in 1492 and 1507.¹⁷¹

The majority of the laity did not question the appropriateness or importance of the choristers as celebrants of the *Placebo*, *Dirige* and nine lessons of the Office of the Dead, nor of their central role in the obit-mass.¹⁷² In the Ayr obits themselves there was no mention of the qualifications required of choristers nor any clear evidence that the laity felt standards were slipping, but over time founders became more careful to outline exactly what services were required so that the obits would contribute effectively to the salvation of the founders' souls, and evidence from other sources indicates that the laity were constantly aware that high standards of celebration were crucial to success, and that the clergy must not be allowed to become at all lax.¹⁷³

CONCLUSION TO DISCUSSION OF AYR OBITS

Ayr laypeople believed that by founding an obit they could increase their level of spiritual worthiness after death. The clergy's teaching about purgatory and the value of the prayers and masses said by the living had been understood and believed by Ayr laypeople, who had then acted upon this understanding by founding obit services devoted solely to the spiritual welfare of dead souls. Founders also named other people in their obit foundations, thereby aiding others spiritually as well as themselves, although their belief in the importance of the date of celebration led most founders to place the celebration date on their own date of death.

Spouses were the most commonly named persons in obit foundations, apart from the founders themselves, although other family members, benefactors and the "faithful dead" received mention in a number of obits.

Some laypeople believed that by having their obit celebrated in places other than the choir,¹⁷⁴ they could further enhance the spiritual efficacy of the services. For example, certain founders favoured celebration of their obit at altars dedicated to Mary or Jesus in His role as crucified Lord, or in the aisle dedicated to the triune godhead itself (Holy Trinity). Laypeople accepted the validity of the obit as an expression of religious faith and an effective means of obtaining God's favour and mercy while in purgatory, desiring above all to ensure a full complement of obit services and a high standard of execution, such that God would be honoured and would respond by accepting them more quickly into heaven.

Testaments served a similar function to obits, providing laypeople with a mechanism for expressing their belief in an afterlife comprised of heaven, hell and purgatory, their understanding of God's complete control over entry into heaven, and their acknowledgement of personal sinfulness and the need to make recompense as part of preparation for death. The following study of Ayrshire testaments complements the preceding study of Ayr obit foundations; in particular, use of testaments can enhance historical understanding of the attitudes and activities of the landed classes in Ayrshire who do not appear in the Obit Book of Ayr.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF NATURE AND FUNCTION OF TESTAMENTS

Together, obits and testaments offer useful insights into the nature of lay faith in the period 1480 to 1560. Testamentary

records complement the information available from obits, and lead to a greater understanding of the nature of lay responses to images of God. Testaments recorded in the Glasgow Commissariat Register of Testaments provide evidence of the religious outlook of Ayrshire society in the immediate pre-Reformation period, particularly laypeople's motivations. In their testaments, laypeople gave instructions about funerals and obits and made donations to friars, the poor, and various clerics for prayers and masses. They also passed on instructions to their executors and threatened them with God's judgment for maladministration of their testament, and the introductory phrases of the testament reflected commonly held attitudes about the afterlife and supernatural beings. Before discussing the testaments from the Register of Testaments of the Commissariat of Glasgow, it will prove useful to discuss the general form and function of testaments in the late medieval period.

Philippe Aries believed that the function of the testament from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries was as a forum for people to express their belief in an afterlife, voice their devotion to God, their possessions and their loved ones, and also to express their understanding of the best means of ensuring the salvation of their souls and the "repose" of their bodies. Aries emphasised that the testament was a deeply personal document, as death was the primary concern of the person who was dying. However, its structure also required the cooperation of the living, whose involvement was further encouraged by the plaques, foundation charters, and monuments which reminded survivors of the last wishes of testators. The testament was a particularly good means of publicly involving the executors, the "financial directors of the church" (*la fabrique*), the curate of the parish and/or the staff of other

religious establishments (egs. monasteries, collegiate churches) who were to carry out the wishes of the testator. As it was signed by witnesses, and a copy was kept by the notary public, people named as executors were more likely to be held to account, and to carry out their tasks properly.¹⁷⁵

The popularity of testament-writing in Scotland from 1480 to 1560 is closely linked to the religious nature of the testament and its role as a means of ensuring the efficacy of the sacraments of the church. That is, the testament operated in conjunction with the sacraments of the church to provide the laity with its best opportunity of reaching heaven. (See Appendix A and Appendix B)¹⁷⁶

The testament had not begun as a religious document, its religious nature being a result of centuries of church influence. The testament had Roman and Germanic roots, the Roman testament having been an essentially secular document.¹⁷⁷ During the Middle Ages the church attempted to convince people to view testaments, and particularly the pious donations to religious institutions included in them, as a complement to the sacraments of the church. Pious donations were a form of alms which allowed laypeople at the end of their lives to make recompense for sin. Such sins might include those for which they had neglected to make sufficient reparation through penance or pilgrimage, or those which they had neglected to confess altogether.¹⁷⁸

The church urged laypeople to make testaments and generous pious donations, warning them that not to do so might endanger their souls, even if they had confessed and received extreme unction and the Viaticum.¹⁷⁹ In France in the fifteenth century, it was considered a public crime to die without being confessed, so people were strongly urged to confess if they were ill. However, the efficacy of confession prior to death was nullified if the dying

person did not make a testament to compensate for sins, so the testament was crucial to the attainment of spiritual worthiness, apart from its obvious practical use as a way to arrange for later religious foundations or the payment of earthly debts (ie. a form of "satisfaction"). Once confession and the testament were complete, and extreme unction carried out, laypeople could consider themselves to have fulfilled the criteria of the author of "The Craft of Deyng", who wrote that even those who died violently in war need not fear death, as long as they had confessed and died in the faith and sacraments of the church.¹⁸⁰

Laypeople who died intestate, without having made a testament, died outside the fold of the Christian church, and thereby endangered their souls. From the attention given to burial site, the payment of debts and the apportioning of money for funeral rites by Ayrshire testators, it is clear that laypeople understood the preparations for death which were of greatest importance to success on the Day of Judgment, and that they understood that making a testament was an important step on the path to spiritual acceptability and the perfect joy of heaven.¹⁸¹

Pious bequests were a standard part of a medieval Christian testament. Testament and obit evidence from Scotland points to a difference of opinion between French and Scottish laypeople with regards to pious donations made in testaments. Unlike the French, Scottish testators tended to make fewer bequests to religious institutions, and proportionally far more to their friends, relatives and servants.¹⁸² However, Scottish testators certainly were convinced of the efficacy of funeral and anniversary rites; if religious arrangements or bequests were made, they usually were oriented to obtaining religious services to benefit their souls.¹⁸³

Late medieval Scottish and French testamentary evidence is similar in that they both display a trend to the foundation of commemorative rites (eg. anniversaries) and the reduction in simple donations to religious institutions.¹⁸⁴

The Scottish laity's relative unwillingness to give generously to spiritual purposes resulted in some haranguing by clerical writers. For example, the author of "The Craft of Deyng" railed at the tendency of laypeople to bequeathe their movable goods to their families, even at the expense of debtors, not trusting God to look after their families after death, and not believing that their riches could be disposed of for the good of their souls.¹⁸⁵ This final accusation seems to have been misplaced, or at least an exaggeration for effect, for the obits and testaments of the period 1480 to 1560 clearly demonstrate that laypeople understood that their actions would benefit their souls, and that debts needed to be paid in order to give proper satisfaction to God.

Executors were to act in the name of the testator and were responsible for disposing of the testator's goods according to the terms of the testament; typically, executors were warned that they were to act for the testator's soul as they would answer before the "highest Judge" (God) on the Day of Judgment.¹⁸⁶ The statutes passed by the general council of the Scottish church in 1549 included a warning to executors that they had to inform the ordinary of their "faithful rendering" of the will of the deceased, the ordinary waiting to confirm a testament until the executors had testified to the accuracy of the inventory and the value of the goods. That testaments often were confirmed soon after they were drawn up implies that executors did carry out their duties promptly and properly.¹⁸⁷ In many cases, the testator had only given a few

vague instructions to the executor, or made only a limited number of bequests, leaving the remainder to be distributed by the executor(s) "for the good of the soul" of the testator. Thus the onus was on the executor to act responsibly and in a trustworthy fashion.

Most executors in the Glasgow diocese testaments were spouses or heirs of the testator, who might have been relied upon to care for the soul of the deceased, but equally were in a good position to profit by neglecting to alienate goods and monies to religious purposes, although the common appointment of more than one executor would have reduced the likelihood of fraud. In any case, the testators' warnings to their executors reveal a general belief that the misuse of an executor's power would have serious repercussions at the Day of Judgment, so an executor was unlikely to take such a risk with his or her own spiritual future.

The answer to the apparent lack of Scottish interest in making specific religious provisions seems to have been that Scots relied upon the activity of their executors to establish religious services to benefit their souls. Out of twenty-seven clearly readable testaments from Ayrshire and nearby, twenty-two included an order to the executors to dispose of their goods as they would answer before the highest judge on the Day of Judgment, with the implicit or explicit threat that this disposition would be for the health of their soul.¹⁸⁸ English testaments included similar warnings, John Dalton of Hull reminding his executors to act according to their wisdom and conscience as they would answer before God on the "drefull day of dome".¹⁸⁹

Of the four Scottish testators who did not thus remind their executors of the impartial justice of God the Judge, Margaret Horsburgh of Cardrone, did order her executors to dispose of her

goods for the health of her soul.¹⁹⁰ Horsburgh did not accompany her request with the usual threat about the Day of Judgment, but in common with other testators, she had to trust the safety of her soul to her executors. As almost all testators named spouses or children as executors (a few named relatives or clerics), doubtless the belief was that one's own family and friends were the most likely to act responsibly and quickly for the benefit of one's soul.

Further, many laypeople made pious donations and obit foundations prior to the drawing up of a testament. Obits might be founded a few years prior to death, or at least several weeks prior, not necessarily in the final days of life, when many testaments appear to have been drawn up. Donations in money or goods to various religious institutions might easily have been made throughout life, propitiation of God being beneficial during life as well as after death. Moreover, the more important the layperson considered commemorative services (eg. obits) and pious donations, the more likely they were to make arrangements for these donations and foundations prior to the writing of their testament. Death was understood to be uncertain, and the fear of sudden death was great, so laypeople who were concerned for their spiritual future would have been unlikely to take the chance of dying before making proper provision for their souls.¹⁹¹

The testament was used by testators to restore their relationship with God before dying, part of this reconciliation being expressed through the payment of debts. (See Appendix A) The payment of debts took centre stage in most Scottish testaments, as it did in the testament of Hugh Montgomery, second Earl of Eglinton. The Earl's main concern, apart from fulfilling the terms of his

grandfather's testament, was that his own debts be paid, revealing his understanding of God's expectations of him.¹⁹²

In his study of fifteenth century French testaments, Engelmann emphasised that the terminology used to describe the payment of debts in testaments revealed that this act was of a religious nature. That is, the payment of debts was believed to be a form of "satisfaction" to one's neighbour and therefore the fulfilment of God's law to love one's neighbour; "satisfaction" was a means of righting a spiritual wrong.¹⁹³ Thus the Earl of Eglinton was correct to make payment of debts one of the most important means of pleasing God and improving his chances at the Day of Judgment.

The importance of the payment of debts was reinforced for the Scottish laity by clerical authorities and writers.¹⁹⁴ A number of contemporary authors explained to laypeople why it was so important for them to arrange for the payment of their debts. For example, the mid-fifteenth century author of "The Craft of Deyng" stated that goods were merely lent to the living by God, and that they must be surrendered willingly at time of death, with satisfaction made for those goods wrongfully obtained, and the disposition of the remaining goods and monies used to profit the soul. The author blamed the devil for tempting people with worldly goods, such that they became too possessive of them and unwilling to pay their debts, wanting rather to leave their goods to their families, whether the goods were lawfully or unlawfully obtained. This displayed the testators' want of trust in God to provide for their children, and a wrongful attitude of possessiveness.¹⁹⁵ A century later the Catechism of 1552 affirmed that unpaid debts hurt one's chances of obtaining entry to heaven.¹⁹⁶

Comparisons with contemporary testaments made by laypeople of other nationalities supports this interpretation of the importance of the payment of debts to salvation. English merchant John Dalton of Hull, whose testament was in the vernacular and dictated by himself, exhibited the attitude proposed by the Scottish author of "The Craft of Deyng". He wanted his executors to discharge his debts so that he and his soul might be free of them, referring to the goods which he owned as those which God had "lent" him, and expressing no fear that God would abandon his children financially. He was so concerned that his brother, his executor, act properly, that he appointed Maister Baxter to ensure that his brother discharged the debts.¹⁹⁷

GENERAL NATURE OF AYRSHIRE TESTATORS AND THEIR TESTAMENTS

Half of the most useful testaments found in the Glasgow Register of Testaments (1547-53) are from Ayrshire. They include four from Irvine, just up the coast from Ayr, one from Ardrossan, and one from Ayr itself. Testators were burgh-dwellers of burgess or like status, with enough money and goods to be worth bequeathing, so they were of similar background to those burgh-dwellers responsible for obits in the Obit Book of Ayr. The testaments made by Ayrshire people of lairdly status are three in number, but are supplemented by four testaments from nearby Dunbartonshire and Lanarkshire. The premise here is that Ayrshire lairds would have shared the religious outlook of lairds from nearby counties, as their education, living standards, intellectual influences, and social circle would have been similar. This premise is historically valid, writers such as John Knox grouping together the Protestant-leaning men of the "West Country". People of lairdly class moved around, meeting people from different localities. Evidence of this

movement occurs in the testaments themselves. For example, Katherine Carmichael, Lady of Cambusnethan, Lanarkshire, had her testament drawn up in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, some twenty-five miles to the west of Cambusnethan, although the writer of the testament was John Lyndesay, curate of Cambusnethan.¹⁹⁸

Given that the testament was intended to mirror the will and attitudes of the testator, and that the images used in testaments were similar to those found in other documentary and literary evidence, the historian can use Ayrshire testaments to assist in an analysis of lay religious attitudes. Some testaments echoed the Ayr obits in their desire to fund masses, perpetual or one time only, or to give alms to the poor in return for prayers. Others gave alms to friars, implicitly or explicitly requiring prayers in return, and most testators reminded their executors of the seriousness of their duty, and threatened them with God's punishment on the Day of Judgment. Of the fifteen most useful testaments in the Glasgow diocese commissariat records, ten testators made arrangements for their funeral or obits, and of these ten, three were non-lairds. As well, two clerics' testaments mentioned obit and funeral arrangements.¹⁹⁹ The non-lairds were wealthy burgh-dwellers Marcus Gledstone (probably Dumfriesshire),²⁰⁰ Margaret Fullarton (*Foullartone*) (Ayrshire),²⁰¹ and Alexander Boyd (Ayrshire).

The "formulaic" parts of the Ayrshire testaments are useful as indicators of generally accepted religious attitudes in the middle of the sixteenth century. (See Appendix B) Most testators in Ayrshire and nearby counties commended their souls to omnipotent God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the saints in heaven. The variation came in the exact description, for whilst God was invariably "omnipotent", emphasising his stern role as powerful

judge, Mary often was described as the "glorious Virgin Mary"²⁰², although the "most blessed" Virgin Mary²⁰³ or the "Blessed Virgin Mary" were more common descriptions. The addition of the term "glorious" denoted Mary's power as queen of heaven, reflecting the late date of these testaments, for during the period 1480 to 1560, Mary was increasingly eulogised by laypeople who wished her comfort, intercession and support on the Day of Judgment. (See Chapters 7 and 8)

In the general introduction to the testament, testators described the saints in heaven in various ways, from the common "celestial court",²⁰⁴ to the "whole celestial court",²⁰⁵ the "blessed celestial court"²⁰⁶ or merely "all the saints".²⁰⁷ Only one testator mentioned a particular saint, that testator being Thomas Kennedy of Knockdaw in Carrick, twenty-two miles from Ayr. Kennedy commended his soul to omnipotent God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel and the rest of the saints. He may have been exhibiting the traditional loyalty of the knightly class to St. Michael the warrior saint. Ayr burgh had a public fair on the day of St. Michael the Archangel, so it is also possible that there was a regional partiality for St. Michael.²⁰⁸

Particular saints also were mentioned when testators designated their burial site, John Dunbar of Knockshinnoch asking that his body be buried "in the dust of St. Comalli of Cumnock".²⁰⁹ However, describing saints as part of a group of heavenly courtiers gave them a position near the throne of God, but not a position as valuable to the laity as that held by, for example, the "glorious Virgin Mary", who was in an excellent position to intercede for humanity as spouse and mother of the godhead. Further, evidence from other documentary sources indicates that it was Mary as powerful mother of Jesus, and Jesus as Saviour and influential

friend of humanity, whom the laity believed to be most crucial as guarantors of success on the Day of Judgment, not the saints. In any case, the terse nature of Scottish testamentary sources provides little more than a glimpse of lay imagery of supernatural beings during the period under study, better sources for this imagery being available elsewhere, particularly in literature.

It would be misguided to make too much of the slight variations in imagery in the Ayrshire testaments, as they were mostly written in Latin and highly formulaic, and thus it is difficult to know whether the words being used actually represented those of the testator. (See Appendix B) General introductions to testaments probably were written down by the notary public as a matter of course, although the testator was expected to share the sentiments being expressed, for the notary public legally was required to represent the will of the testator. If one did not believe in an omnipotent God, for example, there would have been little point in placating Him by settling debts, founding an obit, or giving alms to friars and the poor; it would have been more sensible to make greater provision for one's loved ones.²¹⁰

On the other hand, many of the testaments were clearly dictated by the testator; by stating that the entire testament was according to the dictation of the testator, it implied that all the ideas contained therein were his or hers. Thus, if a testator objected to the wording of the notary public, or wanted his own wording, the notary had to accede to the testator's request. The phrases used to indicate that the testator had dictated the testament included *ore proprio*,²¹¹ *ab ore decedentis*,²¹² and *per os defuncti*.²¹³

An example of a testament which clearly indicates the testator's hand in the wording is that of William Cunningham (*Cunyngame*) of Glengarnock in Cunningham. He made his will at his place of Glengarnock on 29 August, 1547, and the unusual wording of the introduction, albeit in Latin, seems to indicate that the ideas put forward were his own. Most testaments included the phrase *Cum nihil sit certius morte nec incertius hora morte*, and there is no question that both before and after the Reformation the fear of dying was uppermost in lay minds and had a strong impact on the nature of testaments and religious attitudes in general. Cunningham showed that he both understood and believed in the sentiments expressed in the *Cum nihil* phrase, for he followed it with the following phrase, roughly translated as follows: "Thus it is that I, William Cunynghame of Glengarnock, on my way to fight [the English, presumably], the method seized to overcome the old enemy, and [as] by chance death will take me, my testament and last will follows in this manner. First I leave my soul . . . " The will was signed by him as "William Cunyhame of Glengarnok with my hand. . . ." Thus Cunningham gave a clear motive for having his testament drawn up - the possibility of death in war and the necessity of making provision beforehand for his soul and the distribution of his goods. Despite the value of his goods being £340, Cunningham gave only 20d. to a chaplain for prayers for his soul in the parish church of Kilbirnie, one mile north-west of Glengarnock. He also gave 10 merks to Sir Robert Cunningham (*Cunyngame*), chaplain (*sacellano*), so it is possible that Sir Robert was a relative who was chaplain of a family chapel or chaplainry, and that the 10 merks was to pay for prayers for Cunningham's soul.²¹⁴

Testaments partly written in Scots, with indications that the testator had dictated them, were most likely to have been very close to the exact wording as spoken by the testator, and thus more revealing of religious attitudes. For example, In 1549, a testament was drawn up for Marcus Gledstone (*Gledstanis*) of Glasgow diocese (possibly Dumfriesshire). The testament had an introductory section in Latin, followed by one in the vernacular, including a "legacies" section where he made a number of bequests to relatives, left money to the church, and designated funds for his funeral.²¹⁵ (See Appendix A)

ARRANGEMENTS FOR FUNERALS, MASSES, AND BURIAL IN AYRSHIRE TESTAMENTS

By the Middle Ages, a form of judgment was felt to come immediately after death, the 1552 Catechism's "particular" judgment. Consequently, there was a strong sense of urgency to effect a reconciliation with God and make donations and foundations to compensate for one's sinfulness and thus ensure success at this particular Day of Judgment. The testament was an effective means of doing this. As Aries emphasised, the testament represented an "awareness of self" in that one took responsibility for one's own destiny by making testamentary arrangements.²¹⁶ Further, laypeople were increasingly concerned about spiritual acceptability. They were aware of the moral failings of themselves and the clergy, feared the temptations and activities of the devil, and believed that they could not rely solely on Jesus' sacrifice to gain entry to heaven.

The testament provided Ayrshire laypeople with the opportunity to assign monies for funeral rites and indicate their choice of burial site, and arrange for prayers for their souls if they had not already done so (by donating monies to religious institutions and/or

by founding commemorative services such as obits). Testators were forced to rely upon their executors for the successful implementation of their wishes, so most Ayrshire testaments include some warning to the executors to act responsibly.

Obits and wills shared a compensatory function, the obits by including their benefactors in the named souls, the testaments by naming creditors and threatening executors with divine punishment on the Day of Judgment for failing to pay debts and otherwise act for the welfare of the testator's soul. For example, William Wallace of Ellerslie, Ayrshire (d. 1550), reminded his executors that they would answer before the highest Judge on the Day of Judgment.²¹⁷ Following the section of the testament devoted to the payment of debts was a "Legacy" section, used to reward loving relatives or friends, do good works (alms to friars and/or to the poor), and/or make specific provisions for prayers for the dead.

It is the arrangements for soulmasses and funeral rites in a testament that are of greatest interest to an historian of religious beliefs. Alexander Boyd of Irvine made arrangements in his testament very similar to those in the Ayr obits, including in his testament a variety of arrangements intended to benefit his soul. He donated 20s. as a "legacy" to the vicar (vicar Thomas Andreas wrote up the testament as Boyd dictated it, *ab ore decedentis*). He gave 40s. to the choristers (*coristis*) of Irvine, that is, the vicar and the rest of the chaplains, plus 20s. to the poor on the day of his burial, an indication that the 40s. to be paid to the clerics was intended to defer burial and funeral costs. A priest was paid to pray for the health of Boyd's soul for one year, and the Friars Minor of Ayr were given two merks, Boyd presumably intending this to obtain their prayers for his soul.²¹⁸

By choosing to donate this money to the Observant Franciscans, Boyd expressed the laity's regard for the Observant Franciscans in the period.²¹⁹ Further, he wanted his spouse, who was one of his executors, to spend 30s. to buy a stone cenotaph for his tomb. Then he appointed Mr Boyd as "superior", most likely to watch over his executors, who had been warned to act for the welfare of his soul as they would answer before the highest Judge. Thus in his testament Boyd made provision for his funeral, for a year's constant prayers to shorten his time in purgatory, and the appointment of his tomb; all of this presumably was intended to ensure that prayers were said for a sufficient period of time and for the correct soul, and that God was glorified through these prayers and the tomb's appointments. Boyd's emphasis on the efficacy of the prayers of the living was made even clearer by his allotment of 20s. for the prayers of the poor on the day of his burial; such a donation would have been to his spiritual advantage as alms-giving as well.²²⁰

Lairds also made funeral and obit arrangements in their testaments. Katherine Carmichael was Lady of Cambusnethan in Lanarkshire, but her testament was drawn up in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, dictated by her (*per os decedentis*) on 21 August, 1552, to the curate of Cambusnethan, John Lyndesay. She gave £20 toward her funeral expenses on the day of her funeral, a substantial sum in comparison with other Scottish testaments. The rest of her goods were to go to her two daughters, and her executors, husband John Somervell and son James, were warned to dispose of them for the health of her soul, as they would answer before the highest Judge on the Day of Judgment. Apart from the usual 4d. to the fabric of St. Kentigern,²²¹ the metropolitan church of Glasgow, and a request to be buried in the dust of the blessed Aidan, she made no special

arrangements for her soul. Presumably she trusted her executors and the clerics of the church to arrange whatever ceremonies would best contribute to the welfare of her soul.²²²

When James Cleland of that Ilk had his testament drawn up on 12 July, 1547, he was more specific than most testators about what he wished for in terms of religious services. He asked that his obsequies be done "honestly" in the church of Bothwell, that an "honest" obit be founded, and that a priest be appointed to sing masses for his soul for one year. However, he did not specify the exact amount of money to be spent on these activities, nor did he ensure the standard of service by naming the celebrants to be hired, the dress of the celebrants, or the contents of the various services. Instead, he relied upon his spouse and son Alex, who were his executors, to act on his behalf. He asked his spouse to take particular care to ensure that a yearly mass and *Dirige* was celebrated near the date of his death, naming her principal executor and reminding her that "she will anser on the day of Jugement". The wording of the testament was Cleland's, the testament having been dictated *per os decedentis* and signed by him. Appointment of his wife and son as executors, his own dictation and signing of the testament, and his executors' awareness that non-fulfilment of a testator's wishes was a sin, made it highly likely that Cleland's testament would have been executed properly.²²³

Cleland's testament was unusual in Scotland in its inclusion of an obit foundation, or the foundation of any other type of commemorative service or pious donation, most testators leaving it up to their executors to make donations and foundations to aid their souls in purgatory. However, the number of Ayr widows who quickly made foundations on behalf of husbands, or other laypeople who

founded obits for recently deceased family members, suggests that part of the expected activities of executors "for the health of the soul" of the testator was the foundation of an obit, and that many laypeople fulfilled this expectation promptly upon the death of the testator.

Burial of burgh-dwellers remained, as with Lorcin's Plat Pays laity near Lyon, a matter exclusively for the local parish church, so many testaments included payments to clerics to celebrate funeral rites, and most testators requested burial in their parish church.²²⁴ The forty-seven obits from Ayr's parish church of St. John the Baptist testify to the trust invested in local clerics by the local lay community. Payments to the vicar or curate recorded in testaments may have been intended as payment for the writing of the testament, at least in part. This seems to have been likely in the case of Irvine burgh-dwellers Margaret Fullarton and Alexander Boyd. However, while Andrew Wilson (*Wilsone*) of Ardrossan or Fullarton's payments of 5s., or Irvine burgh-dweller Bessete Boyle's of 10s., may have covered only the testamentary fee, the 20s. Boyd gave to the vicar most likely was expected to pay for the celebration of funeral rites as well.²²⁵

As has been discussed, laypeople of burgess and laird class often apportioned specific sums for funeral (commonly) or obit (occasionally) services, and it is possible that funds designated as alms to secular clergy or friars were expected to bring prayers for the donor's soul as well as to improve his or her spiritual standing by counting as good works. However, for the most part, testators in Ayrshire and its environs relied upon their testators to dispose of their goods for the welfare or safety of the testators' souls. This probably involved an expectation that at least some of the money was

to be spent by executors on funeral or obit arrangements. The executors of the testament of Sir Arthur Reid (d. 20 November, 1500) founded an obit according to Reid's wishes as expressed in his testament.²²⁶

As it was a generally accepted practice to found obits to provide for the welfare of souls, testators might not have felt it necessary to state explicitly that "disponing for the health of his/her soul" meant founding an obit. Further, spouses tended to be included in obit foundations, and were the most likely to take responsibility for founding an obit for their spouse after death. Most laypeople took further precautions by appointing their spouses as executors or co-executors of their testaments. Hence it would not have been an unusual assumption that the testator's spouse and executor, warned to act for the testator's soul and reminded of the impartial justice dispensed on the Day of Judgment, would quickly found an obit for the testator's soul.

Of the fifteen most useful Glasgow diocese lay testaments, four of seven lairds and five of the eight burgh-dwellers specifically asked their executors, all of whom included their spouses, to dispose of their goods for the good of their soul, and others made it clear that their spouses were in complete charge of ensuring their spiritual welfare after death.²²⁷ In this period, there was an increasing tendency for the laity to rely on other laypeople to look after their souls. Clerical ceremonies and rituals were valued and donations were made to obtain such rituals (eg. masses for the dead). However, the laity organised the foundations, kept an eye on their execution, and withdrew funding or replaced celebrants if necessary. Burgh councils were particularly visible in their insistence on the maintenance of high standards,

fining or otherwise disciplining ill-qualified or badly behaved clerical appointees. (See Chapter 10) Lay testators or obit founders could request the supervisory assistance of burgh councils or craft leaders in such matters, Ayr obit founder John Brown (d. 1524) appointing the dean of guild to watch over the principal priest's distribution of food to the poor.²²⁸

One laird who relied upon his executors (spouse and son) to make arrangements for his soul was Thomas Kennedy of Knockdaw. His place of Knockdaw was two and a half miles north of Colmonell in Carrick, where he indicated that he wished to be buried. However, apart from this requirement, Kennedy did not outline in any detail his spiritual requirements, only stating that he wished to have twenty-four masses celebrated for his soul, and three pounds of wax purchased. By choosing to emphasise the celebration of masses in his parish church, Kennedy appears to have shared the basic religious attitudes of the Kennedys of southern Ayrshire, and European society in general, where the tendency was increasingly to found commemorative services within the confines of the parish.²²⁹

FRIARS AND THE POOR AS BENEFICIARIES IN AYRSHIRE TESTAMENTS

Friars were major beneficiaries of the Ayrshire testators. They were involved in praying for souls and preaching, and donations to friaries counted as "good works". Laypeople constantly sought to improve their level of spiritual acceptability and thus their chance of salvation, and one means of doing so was to bequeathe sums of money to worthy friars. The testamentary practice of donating funds to friaries was well-established in Ayrshire and nearby areas, testators assuming that their donations would result in spiritually efficacious prayers being said for their souls. As usual the laity did not spell out their motives in their testaments, but evidence

from the preceptory of St. Anthony's near Leith provides the historian with the commonly understood rationale.²³⁰

The importance of the friars' preaching role was indirectly attested to by the scorn heaped upon them when they did not fulfil their role properly. Reformers attacked them in a vituperative fashion as "sergeantis of Sathan, and deceavaris of the soules of men", these particular words being attributed to George Wishart.²³¹ It is likely that laypeople in Ayrshire, particularly those who lived near to friaries (egs. Irvine and Ayr), would have listened to the friars' preaching. The content of the preaching would probably have been based upon orthodox Catholic doctrine. The friars were prominent as defenders of the Catholic status quo and thus would have disseminated orthodox views on purgatory, indulgences, and the right of the clergy to control the mysteries of the Scriptures - anathema to the Reformers. However, reformed ideas also would have been disseminated by some preachers; Ayrshire preachers, often ex-friars, were prominent in the ranks of the Reformers,²³² and Knox enthusiastically touted late medieval Ayrshire as a place ripe for religious conversion.²³³

Certain orders appear to have impressed the laity. The Observantine movement in Scotland was lay-sponsored, most particularly by the royal Stewarts.²³⁴ James IV praised the order's piety and frugal lifestyle, ascribing opposition to the order as jealousy of its widespread distribution and superior lifestyle: "The Observants have stood for the salvation of souls: they have remedied neglect by others; the sacraments are ministered, and Christ's word is faithfully proclaimed."²³⁵ Thus the order of Observant Friars Minor was a recent importation, filled with the first flush of enthusiasm for spiritual excellence and in need of

lay support. It was understandable that the standards of services maintained by the Friars Minor was perceived by the laity to be higher than those of other orders. Further, the Third Order of the Franciscans, which the laity could join, gave the order a higher profile amongst the laity. Hence the Observant friars of Ayr were the product of a recent lay enthusiasm for the mendicant movement and in particular the newer, stricter elements of it.

There is ample evidence for the Ayrshire laity's belief in the work of the Friars Minor, clerical testators sharing this faith in the spiritual efficacy of the order as providers of prayers for lay souls and as worthy recipients of pious alms.²³⁶ The tendency of testators to support local religious institutions is also clear, the Ayrshire laity showing a marked preference for the house of the Friars Minor of Ayr, a notable supporter being Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton (testament of 23 September, 1545). In his testament, the Earl donated monies to a number of different mendicant groups, but saved his greatest generosity for the Friars Minor, particularly the Friars Minor of Ayr, requesting their prayers for himself and his spouse for three years, in return for a donation of £10. He also gave 10 merks to the Dominicans of Ayr and £5 to the Carmelite friars of Irvine to pray for him for one year.²³⁷

The testament of Alexander Duglas of Mains (*Manyss*), Dunbartonshire, displays the same preference for the Friars Minor, while demonstrating that, while he valued mendicant prayer, he also deemed important the funeral rites and obits celebrated by the secular clergy. Duglas bequeathed 40s. to the "Friars Minor" (possibly of Glasgow) in his testament of 16 February, 1549, bequeathing only half that amount to the Dominicans of Glasgow. Although his obit was not to be celebrated at the church of the

Friars Minor (40s. was paid to the vicars of the choir of the church of Kilpatrick for his "obit and mass",²³⁸ as well as 20s. to the chaplains of Bothwell, Lanarkshire), Douglas' expressed faith in the honesty, efficiency and spiritual knowledge of the Friars Minor by placing them in charge of the disposition of his goods; however, he also revealed the growing lay tendency to appoint lay supervisors of religious supervisors, placing his executors (spouse Margaret Stewart and son Ninian Douglas) in charge of administering the 40s. set aside for his obit and masses in the church of Kilpatrick.²³⁹

Douglas' trust in the friars, expressed as late as 1549, provides some balance for the view expressed by some contemporaries that the friars were spiritually and morally impoverished and rapacious (eg. Beggars' Summons of 1559). Certain critics of the friars have influenced modern historical writing on the subject to a perhaps undue extent, for contemporaries such as James V stressed the purity and holiness of the Friars Minor.²⁴⁰ The king's emphasis on the blameless life of the Observant Franciscans helps to explain why they were popular in Ayrshire, as elsewhere, and points to the possibility that part of the acrimony of the Reformers was an attempt to discredit their major opposition, which was articulate and living in close proximity to the laity, and thus in a good position to fight back.

Certainly proximity to friaries, largely based in burghs, did not appear to have convinced Ayrshire Scots of any spiritual degeneration amongst the Friars Minor. It was lay residents of Ayrshire burghs who gave the most money to friars in the testaments of 1547-52; this finding is in keeping with the pattern shown in Marie-Therese Lorcin's study of the Plat-Pays region outside Lyon

(1301-1545), where the tendency was to support the religious institutions closest to home.²⁴¹

Ayrshire testators of burgh class tended to confine their donations to friaries to those in the immediate locality, unlike the wealthier lairds such as Alexander Duglas of Mains, who supported not only the religious in his local parish Kilpatrick, but also those of Glasgow and Bothwell. Burgh-dwellers Bessete Boyle, Margaret Fullarton and Alexander Boyd, all of Irvine, and Andrew Wilson of Ardrossan, confined their donations to Ayr, Irvine and Failford.

Bessete Boyle (d. 1547)²⁴² was the most generous to the friars, bequeathing half a merk to each of the Carmelites of Irvine,²⁴³ the Friars Minor of Ayr and the friars of Failford. Boyle was also the only one of the four Ayrshire burgh-dwellers to donate money to the friars of Irvine, whereas all four burgh-dwellers donated money to the Friars Minor of Ayr (termed "Friars Minor" by all except Wilson, who called them the "Observant" friars), indicating that the average burgh-dweller shared the favourable opinion of the Friars Minor held by lairds, magnates and monarchs. Further, this discrepancy between Boyle and her fellow donors might indicate that Boyle had faith in the spiritual efficacy of a number of mendicant groups. However, the Failford friary was somewhat decrepit by 1546 when she made her testament.²⁴⁴ Most likely Boyle distributed her alms widely in order to obtain as many prayers as possible from a diverse group, to avoid the possibility of having no prayers said for her if a particular group ceased functioning, and to impress God with her generosity, rather than that she thought that each of these mendicant groups was particularly spiritually worthy.

Irvine was only about eleven miles up the coast from Ayr, and Ardrossan only about seventeen, with communication presumably being good between these burghs. As the stock of the Ayr Observants was high with the laity, belief in the friars' spiritual commitment and efficacy led each of Boyle, Wilson, Fullarton and Boyd to bequeathe between half a merk and two merks to the Ayr Friars Minor.

Mr Patrick Dunlop, a married university graduate, with goods worth £140 4s.6d. per year, proved that he believed in the Ayr friars' spiritual abilities by giving them a boll of meal (*farrum*) for trentals of masses.²⁴⁵

While support for the friars came partly because laypeople wished to have prayers said for them as benefactors, another reason was that alms-giving to friars was in itself a good work. As good works helped to right the balance on the Day of Judgment, donating alms before one died was a fairly easy way to gain spiritual credits. The laity believed in the merit of alms to help achieve salvation, and the friars' preaching had convinced the laity of the merit of alms to aid salvation, the "Beggars Summons" of 1 January, 1559, railing against this perceived mendicant manipulation of lay anxieties:

"And als ye have, be your fals doctryne and wresting of Godis worde (lernerd of your father Sathan), induced the hale people, hie and law, in seure hoip and beleif, that to cleith, feid and nurreis yow, is the onlie maist acceptable almouss allowit before God; and to gif ane penny, or ane peice of breade anis in the oulk is aneuch for us."²⁴⁶

This final accusation, that the friars had not only convinced the laity that the friars themselves should be given alms, but also that care of the poor was not important, clearly enraged the writer(s) of the "Summons". However, the evidence from burgh records, obits and testaments, is that the laity was increasingly concerned to give

alms to the poor as part of a general assumption of the social roles of the church (egs. education, care of the poor), and in order to gain spiritual benefits from this good work and the resulting grateful prayers of the beneficiaries. Thus the "Beggars' Summons" has more the ring of polemic than objective reporting.

As discussed previously with regards to obit foundations, sixteenth century laypeople increasingly concerned themselves with the state of the poor. Sometimes lay action was taken as a group, burgh councils worrying about the number of migrant beggars and the finite resources of the parish, and sometimes individuals took action, testators and obit founders utilising the prayers of the poor to improve their chances of entering heaven. Whatever the basic motives of the laity, the institutional church made it clear that there were spiritual rewards for doing one's duty to the poor.²⁴⁷ Not giving alms was to fail in one's duty as a Christian, and to fail to do so in one's testament was spiritually disadvantageous, as one missed a final opportunity to compensate for sin.²⁴⁸ (See Appendix A)

Some laity, generally the land-owning class, did exhibit a concern for the poor which went beyond purely selfish motives. For example, the Earl of Eglinton (d. 1545) dictated that the poor were to pray on the day following his date of death, for which they were to receive £10 in alms, but he also required that his executor concern himself with the Earl's *servitoribus indigentibus*, or needy servants.²⁴⁹ However, the Ayrshire testaments reveal that most of the laity were primarily oriented to using the poor to improve their own spiritual condition. Alexander Boyd of Irvine (testament of 9 October, 1551) is an example of a burgh-dweller who did so, reserving 20s. for the poor on his day of burial - a substantial

amount, half of what was given to the clerical celebrants for their ceremonies; but the main reason for the donation was to buy the prayers of the poor.²⁵⁰

Clerics also emphasised support for the poor for the purpose of obtaining their prayers. Archbishop of Glasgow Gavin Dunbar wanted money to be distributed to the poor who prayed at his exequies and obit. He also made a donation of 20 merks to purchase clothing for the poor of the hospital of St. Nicholas,²⁵¹ and while this donation was not strictly a reward for prayers, the inhabitants of hospitals regularly prayed for the souls of donors. Thus Dunbar's generosity would have counted as a "good work", and also resulted in prayers being said for him on a regular basis. Dunbar's uncle, Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, justified his foundation of a hospital in Old Aberdeen (24 February, 1531/2) on the grounds that care of the poor brought great spiritual benefits to the benefactor:

We . . . think it is not enough for obtaining blessedness that we should add to the number of ministers, in order to increase divine worship, and to come to the help of the state, but that the work which is of real value is supporting the poor according to the divine command, by giving them food and clothing. We desired, therefore, by means of a new charitable institution, to obtain some help towards earning the divine favour by relieving the want of the Christian poor, and supporting them . . . ²⁵²

CONCLUSION

In a society which believed in the "other reality" of the afterlife, the foundation of obits and making of testaments was a means of coping with the fear of death and dying shared by all members of society. Obits and testaments were methods of attempting to control the uncontrollable; death came at the will of a stern, reproving father-judge who threatened eternal punishment in hell if sins were not erased. Most Ayrshire laypeople believed that, no matter what they did on earth to make reparation to God, their

inherently sinful nature and life circumstances meant that they would still need a period of spiritual purification after they died before God would accept them in heaven. Consequently, the most that "good Christians" could hope for was a time spent in the lesser fires of purgatory, a place which had been made real in their minds through art, literature, preaching, and their own psychological needs and concerns; shortening their time in this lesser hell was a major impetus for founding obits and making testaments.

Once in purgatory, souls were completely reliant upon the actions of the living and the intercession of the saints, Mary and Jesus to bring them sufficient spiritual worthiness for God to pronounce them fit for heaven. During the period 1480 to 1560 the level of spiritual anxiety experienced by laypeople increased, manifesting itself in demands for higher standards of clerical execution of obits (eg. musical standards), and in a desire to employ laypeople to pray for souls and supervise religious foundations. Laypeople in Ayr used their foundation charters to influence the contents of obit services and the maintenance of standards of execution, hoping that by doing so, God would be honoured and the spiritual standing of named souls would be enhanced. Ayrshire testators carefully chose their executors, often appointing family members, particularly spouses; executors needed to be trustworthy, since they were responsible for acting for the benefit of the testators' souls, often by founding obits to provide perpetual prayers and masses.

Contemporary writers despaired of laypeople's only too human tendency to avoid thinking about sin and death while still young. Writers warned laypeople not to deprive themselves of sufficient time to prepare for death, although they acknowledged that the

reality of the situation was that most people tended not to act in any decisive way until forced by age, illness, or the prospect of death in war.²⁵³ Thus obit foundations and testaments were two religious acts often undertaken in the last years of people's lives, when awareness of their coming death and the dangers of the afterlife encouraged them to take steps for the safety of their souls.

Obits and testaments were popular lay expressions of religious faith, and their form and content revealed a common lay understanding of the nature of God and the afterlife, and of what was required to find happiness after death. Obits provided laypeople with reassurance that prayers and masses would be said for their souls in perpetuity, so that when they came before God at the general Day of Judgment they would have accrued sufficient spiritual merits to be judged fit for heaven. Testaments provided satisfaction to earthly fellows through the payment of debts, and thus pleased God, and also provided a final opportunity for laypeople to found obits and other masses for their souls and to pay for a funeral which would put them on the right footing with God at the particular Day of Judgment. Testaments also offered laypeople the opportunity to make pious bequests, often to friars or the poor; these bequests were considered good deeds and thus improved the testator's spiritual standing, but they also purchased prayers for the testator's soul in purgatory.

Most people accepted the validity of the church's teaching on the spiritual benefits these acts would bring. By founding obits and making testaments, laypeople in Ayrshire acted to ensure their own happiness in the afterlife; this reduced the spiritual anxiety brought about by strong feelings of personal sinfulness, by

knowledge of the certainty of death, and by fear of the judgment to come.

NOTES

1. William Dunbar, "Of Manis Mortalitie", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 25-8, p. 150.

2. Ecclesiastical institutions such as friaries (egs. Franciscans of Ayr, Edinburgh, Perth, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Elgin, Stirling, Jedburgh and Aberdeen) "preceptories" (eg. St. Anthony's of Leith) and parish churches (eg. Ayr) kept records of the obits that were to be performed at their institution, the Obit Book of the parish church of Ayr being one such record. cf. Alasdair A. MacDonald, "Catholic Devotion into Protestant Lyric: The Case of the Contemplacioun of Synnaris", IR (Glasgow, Autumn, 1984), XXXV, 2, p. 70.

3. The assumption here is that the socio-economic and intellectual climate of lairds within a twenty mile radius of Ayrshire was similar to that of lairds living within the boundaries of Ayrshire proper.

4. Margaret H.B. Sanderson, Mary Stewart's People. Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1987), pp. 159-60.

5. cf. Richard McBrien, Catholicism, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Oak Grove, MN: Winston, 1979), p. 1144, in which McBrien traces the acceptance of the doctrine to the Council of Florence's Decree for the Greeks (1439). At this time the Council attempted to strike a balance between the eastern church's conception of purgatory as a process of purification, and the western church's conception of purgatory as an intermediate place after death in which souls suffered to expiate and make satisfaction for sin. The Council carefully did not define purgatory as a place of fire, in deference to the wishes of the eastern church (Origen had spoken of a purifying fire), in Ibid., pp. 1144-5. However, clearly the official church's wishes were not of primary importance to laypeople searching to define purgatory in a way that was meaningful to them, such that they could discover methods for shortening their time there.

6. ed. James Paterson, The Obit Book of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Ayr (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), pp. 5 (Fary) and 46 (Thomas Sorlie).

7. Note that there were obit foundations made after 1540 at collegiate churches and chaplainries all over Scotland. The evidence for obits is so extensive that it would require a full-scale investigation to give a general account of Scottish obit-foundations. As evidence of the popularity of masses for the dead beyond the Reformation, burgess Robert Birre of Edinburgh reported in his diary on 23 March, 1566, that the "papists" had sung a "solemn saul mass" with a "dergie" (*Dirige*) for the soul of the late Henry Stewart in the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse, in NLS AdvMS 33/7/28, p. 9. An example of a West country laird including an obit in his testamentary arrangements is that of Alexander Duglas of Mains (*Manyss*), Dunbartonshire. Duglas was a particularly generous and organised individual in terms of his funeral and obit

arrangements, possibly partly because he was quite wealthy, having goods valued at £197 7s. He gave £40 to the vicars of the choir of Glasgow for an obit for the health of his soul, and 40s. to the vicars of the choir of the church of Kilpatrick in Dunbartonshire, where he was to be buried. He also gave 20s. to the chaplains of Bothwell, 40s. to the Friars Minor (of Glasgow, possibly), and 20s. to the Dominicans of Glasgow, presumably expecting all of these groups to pray for his soul. To obtain lay prayers for the welfare of his soul he gave alms for distribution to the poor, expecting them to pray on the day of his funeral (*ignitu meum*). He also gave 40s. to the native poor on his lands (*pauperibus domesticis*). Both the alms for the poor praying at this obit, and alms to his native poor, would have counted as "good deeds" and aided Douglas in his search for spiritual acceptability.

8. Occasionally non-money financing was offered. The first recorded obit, that of William Fary who died on 20 April, 1306, included a donation of seven roods of land to finance the obit, and in 1496 burgess Patrick White gave a workshop, land and its pertinents to the chaplains, who were expected to let the land and use the annual rents from it to fund the obit. Alternatively, lump sums were donated with a view to their conversion into annual rents, as in the case of the 1523 obit of John Ray (*Raye*), who left 6 merks and 8s. to purchase an annual rent of 6s. 8d., in *Ibid.*, p. 62. However, most founders merely donated an annual rent already being paid to them, in *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 54-5, 62 and *passim*.

9. Although in the 1500's funding levels began to rise slightly, and 8s. came to be the average sum apportioned for an obit, this may have been merely a rise related to normal inflation. From the 1480's to 1500's the standard sum for laity and clergy alike in Ayr was 6s. 8d., although by 1507 Sir Andrew MacCormyll's (*McCormyll*) obit was set at a startling 20s., more than double the normal amount. MacCormyll gave 8s. to the poor alone, indicating that he valued lay prayer, or at least valued the spiritual benefit which doing a "good deed" brought him at the Day of Judgment, in *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7. The other unusually generous founder from the earlier part of the period was John Craufurd (d. 13 July, 1496), who gave 14s. 8d. to the choristers of St. John's church for his obsequies, nine lessons, mass in chant and private masses. Unusually, all of these services were to occur on his date of death. Note that the importance of the death date had particularly impressed itself upon Craufurd, in *Ibid.*, p. 54.

10. Further, in proportion to their numbers, Ayr clerics were more likely to endow their obits generously than laypeople, obits founded by clerics in 1450, 1500, 1507 and 1542 being valued at 9s., 16s. 4d., 20s., and 12s., respectively. The greater generosity of the clerics may have been because they did not have children and so felt able to direct a larger proportion of their resources to their obit. It is also quite possible that people who had chosen the religious life, had received religious training, and had spent their lives carrying out church rituals, were more likely to believe strongly in the efficacy of its rites. Sir James Strait, chaplain of the blessed and spotless Virgin Mary in the aisle of the blessed Mary (d. 1492) wished his exequies and masses to be celebrated in that aisle, in *Ibid.*, p. 51. Another such example is that of

chaplain and chorister of St. John's church, Sir Arthur Reid, who chose to have his obit celebrated in the choir of St. John's where he had worked, in Ibid., p. 65. Clearly Strait believed in the efficacy of the obits which he had celebrated for laypeople, or he would not have chosen to pay for obits for himself. That he chose to found his obit at the chaplainry served by himself indicates that he expected his obit to be particularly effective, as he had already gained spiritual merit by honouring Mary and God in his work as chaplain.

11.ed. James Balfour Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1513-1546, Vol. III, Part 1 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1883), #563, p. 125, and John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846), p. 340.

12.Paterson, p. 40. The Catechism provided a justification for the saying of prayers and masses for the dead, saying that prayers, good deeds, oblations and masses could help dead souls, in John Hamilton, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559, ed. Alex F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), f. cc.

13.Ibid., p. 11.

14.The *Placebo* was the "evensong of the dead", and the *Dirige* the "matins of the dead", which together made up the office of the dead. They were occasionally found together in a separate book, the *Dirige Book*, as well as in the *Primer and Breviary*, in ed. Ida Darlington, London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547 (Chatham: London Record Society, 1967), p. 2. A sixteenth century Book of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary (French, Roman Use) included the *Placebo* as part of the vigils of the dead: "Placebo domino in regione viuorum. Requiem eternam dona eis domine: & lux perpetua luceat eis. a antiphono. Heu michi.", in BM MS 35318.

15.Paterson, p. 53.

16.Ibid., pp. 5 and 60.

17.Ibid., p. 50.

18.Ibid., p. 69.

19.Ibid., p. 8.

20.Other terms for the obit-mass were "requiem mass" (Margaret Masone, d. 1528) and "mass in singing" (eg. William Fary, d. 1309). It is possible that a reference in 1491 to a "funeral service in chant" referred to the obit-mass, as the founder had distinguished this "funeral service" from the *Placebo*, *Dirige* and "remaining services" which together formed the "perpetual obit", which was the most popular term to describe the entire set of obit services (eg. David Butler, d. 1491), in Ibid., pp. 1, 5 and 11.

21.Ibid., p. 7.

22.Ibid., p. 1.

23.Ibid., p. 55.

24.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cc and clxxxxix.

25.Lockhart was the son of James Lockhart and Mariote Multray, the latter being included in another obit of 1481 (she died 31 March, 1500, and her first husband (presumably) Hugh Howson (*Housoune*), died 8 April, 1481), in Paterson, p. 47.

26.Paterson, p. 47.

27.Comments made by Alex F. Mitchell in his introduction to Hamilton's Catechism, p. ii. Note that the Catechism made no mention of the Pope, so in that sense differed from the Catechism of the Council of Trent. However, how much difference the Pope made to the spiritual lives of the average lay Scot is open to doubt. Far more important from the perspective of the average layperson was the "official" church's views on prayers to saints and Mary, prayers for the dead, and the efficacy of the seven sacraments; these matters were treated extensively in the Catechism and followed orthodox teaching.

28.However, the Catechism was extremely well-written and directed at the laity's major spiritual concerns as well as those of the higher clergy which wished to educate the flock. Thus it is unsurprising that as late as 1597 a certain David Calderwood (*Calderwod*) was challenged by the kirk authorities concerning his possession of an old Catechism (Hamilton's). Calderwood agreed on 3 January, 1597, that he did possess the Catechism, claiming to have received it from the late Sir William Herbertsone, in eds. Alexander Macdonald and James Dennistoun, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. I of 4 vols. Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1834), p. 89.

29."Minimalising" tendencies included the absence of references to the Pope, which put the Scottish Catechism at odds with the Catechism produced by the Council of Trent. The Scottish Catechism's emphasis on interior faith would have been popular with reformers. "Catholic practices" included prayers to saints and Mary, and prayers for the dead. See Mitchell's introduction to Hamilton's Catechism, pp. vi-vii and xiv-xv.

30.Ibid., f. clxxxxix.

31.Ibid., ff. cc, ccii-cciii and clxxxxix, citing St. Augustine.

32.Ibid., ff. clxxxxix and cc, citing St. Augustine and John Christosome.

33.Ibid., ff. cc-cci, clxxxviii and cci.

34.Ibid., ff. clxxxxix and cc-cci.

35.It is significant that the clerics, some of whom lived and worked in Ayr's burgh church, believed sufficiently in the efficacy and commitment of their clerical fellows to entrust to them their

spiritual welfare through obit foundations (egs. Sir James Strait, chaplain of the blessed and spotless Virgin Mary, (d. 1492) and Sir Arthur Reid, chorister and chaplain (d. 20 November, 1500)), in Paterson, pp. 51 and 65.

36.SRO CC9/7/1.

37.Ibid.

38.NLS AdvMS 9A/1/12, ff. 48v-50v and SRO CC9/7/1. The third prebend and the three boys of Houston's collegiate foundation (1549), presumably because of their singing abilities, were to sing the *Placebo* and *Dirige* in the afternoon of St. Anne's Day between the third and the fourth hour. They were also to sing the psalm *De Profundis* with prayers and orisons (*precibus et orationibus*) as was the custom. The services were also to include the celebrating of "pater" and "mater" "familias", penitential psalms or the rosary (*rosarium*) of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (See Appendix A) The next day a mass of requiem was to be celebrated for the souls mentioned in his obit foundation, plus all the faithful dead, and especially for Houston himself. Note that in Houston's testament (1550) he expressed great concern that his executors, the rector of Eaglesham and vicars of Dunlop and Rutherglen, dispose of his goods for the health of his soul. He spent a large proportion of the £90 in his "legacy" section on bequests to benefit his soul, clearly setting great store by a judicious apportioning of goods for spiritual purposes. For example, he gave £10 to the Friars Minor of Glasgow, £10 to the Dominicans of Glasgow, and 20s. to each of the monks of Monkland, presumably the Cistercian monks of Newbattle abbey. (Newbattle abbey was attacked by the English on 15 May, 1544, and in June of 1548, when it is said that six of the monks were taken as prisoners to England. In 1528 there were twenty-eight monks, and by the Reformation only fifteen, which makes it sound as if the six monks had never been replaced, in Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), p. 77. In any case Houston must have felt that the remaining monks were well able to offer sufficient prayers for his soul to make such a donation useful) He also gave £10 to the vicars of the choir of Glasgow for exequies and a procession on the day of his obit, and 12d. to each presbyter involved in his obit apart from the vicars of the choir. He courted the laity, offering the poor of the hospital of St. Nicholas of Glasgow 2s. for their prayers on the days before and after his obit.

39.These obits do not include those founded for laypeople by clerics, or Thomas Neill (Nele) foundation of a weekly mass. Twenty-three of twenty-nine obits mentioned the safety or welfare of souls, in Paterson, *passim*.

40.Ibid., p. 55.

41.Ibid., pp. 49 and 61.

42.Ibid., p. 68.

43.Ibid., p. 45.

44. This image was expressed by the Ayrshire Observant friar, William of Touris, in his work "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", John Asloan (compiler), The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, New series, 1925), XVI, p. 228.

45. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. ccii and cciii.

46. Robert Henryson, "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 8, 16, 24 and 32, p. 136, and SRO RH2/8/35, f. 26-7.

47. Ibid., p. 67.

48. ed. W.S. Cooper, Charters of the Royal Burgh of Ayr (Edinburgh: Ayr and Wigton Archaeological Association, 1883), p. 99.

49. Included in this figure of 950 testators, whose testaments dated from 1301 to 1545, were 86 ecclesiastics and 104 nobles, plus some bourgeois families and rural notaries, in Marie-Therese Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", Le Moyen Age. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie, Tome LXXVIII/4^e serie-Tome XXVII (Brussels, 1972), LXXVII, 2, pp. 288 and 291.

50. Ibid., pp. 317-8. Note that the famous late medieval writer of sermons, Jean Gerson, was believed to be influential in the Lyon area. He interpreted illness as God's way of warning people to prepare for death, so advised laypeople to take this illness as a warning and to throw themselves on God's mercy, rather than facing the perils of hell through sudden death without having made spiritual preparations for it, in Lorcin, p. 317, citing Jean Gerson, "La medecine de l'ame", VII, p. 405. French laypeople in the Lyon area may not have used the term "purgatory" in their testaments, but it is wholly likely that they well understood the concept, Gerson himself having written a sermon entitled "Complainte des ames du Purgatoire", in Marie-Therese Lorcin, Les Campagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles (Lyon: BOSC Freres, 1974), p. 453.

51. The northern English attitude toward religious donations and foundations in testaments was expressed admirably by Walter Cawode (probate of will was 12 December/12 November, 1507) when he asked that the residue of his goods be used for suffrages and masses for the souls of himself, his wife and son, and his ancestors, as he felt that it was "convenjent and behofull to purchas us mercy of our Lorde Gode". John Dalton emphasised the need of humanity to obtain this mercy by stating that he hoped to die "truely confessed, with contricion and repentance of all my synnes . . . of the which offences I aske and beseke Almighty God of pardon and forgifnes", and he also asked for the prayers of the Mary, the saints, and Jesus "that sufferd payne and passion for me and all synfull creatures", in Raine, pp. 266 and 23.

52. Scottish lay testators were not nearly as forthcoming as English testators. Scottish collegiate foundations sometimes contained longer preambles stating religious motivation (eg. Malcolm, Lord

Fleming's Biggar foundation of 1546, See Chapter 10), and clerical founders such as archbishops tended to elaborate somewhat (eg. Archbishop of Glasgow Gavin Dunbar, d. 1547), but the average lay Scots testament was a terse document. Thus one must be contented with less explanation of motivation, often as little as a request to "dispone for the good of my soul" and the usual *Cum nihil* phrase. To evaluate religious attitudes, lay and clerical writings and activities must be analysed (egs. poetry, founding or supporting of rituals or institutions), in David S. Rutherford, Biggar St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), pp. 27-8 and SRO CC9/7/1.

53. Joan Hughes and W.S. Ramson, Poetry of the Stewart Court (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982), pp. 43-4.

54. This number does not include a weekly mass foundation by Thomas Neill and Agnes Wishart, who also founded a yearly perpetual obit for themselves, in Paterson, pp. 36-7 and 60.

55. Ibid., passim. One of these couples, Thomas Neill and Agnes Wishart, also founded a weekly sung mass on Thursdays throughout the year, in Ibid., pp. 60-1.

56. Ibid., p. 69.

57. Fully half of the eight women (17%) who founded obits were widows, not including those who were co-founders of obits, in Ibid., passim. Three of the eight appear not to have been married at all, since their obits do not follow the usual practice of naming both founder and spouse. Note that modern studies of bereavement indicate that one of the responses of widows to bereavement is to attempt to lessen their guilt by making amends for a perceived wrong done to the deceased, or to attempt to "mitigate" the loss. That is, by "mitigation", or keeping the deceased nearby, the widow lessens the loneliness that comes with loss and increases her sense of personal security. This can be achieved by building memorials ("lost person" is now "found" because he has a location, eg. in a grave), feeling that the bereaved's prayers are heard by the deceased, or doing something which the bereaved believes that the deceased would wish her to do, in Colin Murray Parkes, Bereavement. Studies of Grief in Adult Life (London: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 77, 79 and 102. These modern studies contribute greatly to an understanding of the motivations of widows in the period under study.

58. Paterson, passim.

59. SRO CC9/7/1.

60. Other married women of burgess or lairdly classes made arrangements for religious services or prayers in their testaments. Other examples of women founding such obits were Margaret Fullarton (*Foullartone*), wife of John White (*Quhite*) and inhabitant of Irvine. When she made her testament, a considerable time before her death, she gave 2s. to each of those celebrating prayers for the dead as well as money to Irvine's vicar and to the friars minor of Ayr. Fullarton appointed her husband and son as her executors, but

emphasised her faith in the efficacy of prayer by apportioning funds specifically to those praying for her, in Ibid. Often testators founded their obits or similar religious foundations before drawing up their testaments, presumably because many people were ill by the time they made their testaments, having waited until then to prepare for death. Lady Katherine Carmichael, lady of Cambusnethan, had her testament drawn up in Kilmarnock on 21 August, 1552. She wished to be buried in the dust of the blessed St. Aidan, her parish church, and she gave £20 toward her funeral expenses on the day of her burial, the largest sum assigned specifically to a funeral in the Ayrshire testaments. She made John Somerville (*Somervell*), her husband, and James Somerville (*Somervell*), her son, her executors, ordering them to dispose of her goods for the health of her soul. However, by specifying the amount to be spent on her funeral, she ensured that a lavish and complete funeral service would be performed, thereby making her soul more acceptable to God on the Day of Judgment.

61. The expectation was that religious institutions would include donors in their prayers, the Preceptory of St. Anthony's, Leith, making this clear in 1526, when it stated that: ". . . our Scheptour for . . . the saulis of thaim that has gevin zeirlye perpetuall rent to this Abbay and Hospitall of Sanct Antonis besyd Leith or has augmentit Goddis seruice be fundacion or ony vther vays has gevyn substancially of thair gudis to the byggyn reperacion and vphaldyng of the forsaid abbay and place that thai be prayit for euerylk sunday till the day of dome", in ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany. Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1836), p. 299.

62. Philippe Aries, The Hour of Our Death, trans. Helen Weaver (London: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 201.

63. Paterson, pp. 59-60.

64. Ibid., p. 50.

65. Ibid., pp. 67-8.

66. Ibid., p. 46. In an earlier age, concern for the spiritual welfare of parents resulted in different religious foundations. For example, in 1252, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, chose to found a monastery at Haddington for the benefit of his "beloved" father's soul, in SRO RH2/7/5. By the late Middle Ages the obit foundation was a very popular form of religious foundation, accessible to laypeople of varying financial means. Thus while the Ayrshire burgesses were founding their obits in St. John's church, magnates such as Malcolm, Lord Fleming were founding collegiate churches dedicated primarily to masses for souls; Fleming named family members in his mass foundations, as well as himself, in David S. Rutherford, p. 27.

67. Paterson, p. 41. A similar example is that of Margaret Mason (*Masone*) (d. 5 February, 1527/8) and her spouse John Dickson (*Dixsone*) (d. 1513), who included friends, benefactors and the faithful deceased in their obit foundation arranged in 1525, in Ibid., p. 43.

68. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cc.

69. Ibid., ff. cc, ccii and cciii.

70. William Dunbar, "Of the Passioun of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 124 and ll. 130-2, p. 159.

71. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxxxxi, clxxxxviii and cciii.

72. Ibid., f. cc.

73. For example, Mr George Lockhart included his mother in his own obit foundation of 1542, although she had died several years earlier, in Paterson, p. 47. James Houston, sub-dean and vicar of Glasgow, founded three separate obits for others, as well as his own, although he did not do so until his own death was imminent. In his testament of 1550, Houston founded an *exequie cum canto* for his mother Janet Lundie (*Jonete Lundy*) (d. 13 June, 1529) which was to be celebrated on the last day of May. Services were also to be held for Mr Montgomery, rector of Eglisson and canon of Glasgow who died on 1 September, 1549 (an obit), and for Mr Ade Colquhoun, rector of Stobo, who died on 7 February, 1541 (an *exequie*). These three obits were to involve the eleventh prebend (*exequis*), the three boys, the sacrist minor (ringing of the bells and *cooperatione tabule pro ymaginibus et candelis et cereis*), and the person who rang the bell of St. Kentigern, in NLS AdvMS 9A/1/12, f. 50v.

74. In general, the "exequies", "obsequies", or normal funeral services which took place on the date of death were performed in the choir by the choristers of Ayr parish church. If the venue of the next day's obit-mass was other than in the choir, the founder indicated this in the obit charter.

75. In the Ayr Obit Book, the only places specified for the celebration of the obit-mass other than the Holy Blood, Trinity and Marian altars were the altars of St. Christopher and St. Nicholas, designated by Adam Wishart (d. 1521) in 1506 and 1507, and by John Chapman (d. 1503), respectively. Most probably they had guild associations with these saints, in Paterson, pp. 51 and 69.

76. Ibid., p. 48.

77. Ibid., p. 42.

78. The clergy shared the laity's devotion to the Virgin and belief in the efficacy of saintly intercession, Sir James Strait (d. 1492), chaplain of the altar of the blessed and spotless Virgin Mary in the aisle of the Virgin Mary (not specified north or south), requiring that his *exequies* and masses be celebrated in the aisle of the blessed Mary. These *exequies* were to include the normal nine lessons, the *exequies* being performed on the second holiday after the festival of the Trinity, and the masses on the third holiday, in Ibid., p. 51. Part of the reason for the increasing emphasis on Mary was her position as mother of Jesus. The late medieval period in Scotland was one of intensifying devotion to Jesus, with an increasing concentration on His Passion as a symbol of His sacrifice

to redeem humanity from sin. Jesus' own humanity was focussed upon His affinity to humanity, and His willingness to sacrifice himself. The strongest link between humanity and God as He existed in Jesus was the person of Mary, who had borne God. Despite being human she was supremely acceptable to God, free from sin, full of the grace of God; the proof thereof was that she had been chosen by God to bear Jesus, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxxi. Hence she was a perfect intercessor for humanity as she was pure and of proven acceptability to God; her popularity with the laity is not surprising, concerned as it was with personal unworthiness and salvation. (See Chapter 8).

79.Ibid., p. 62.

80.Ibid., p. 63.

81.Ibid., p. 43. Note that the expectation was that the poor would pray at the obit.

82.Passion imagery has not been treated extensively in this work, due to space constraints, but some indication of the importance of this imagery can be found in Chapter 9.

83.Paterson, p. 60.

84.Ibid., pp. 36-7.

85.MacCormyll donated 20s. to the bellman (4d.), the poor (8s.), the overseeing principal priest (12d.), the sacristan (12d.), and for the light at the altar (6d.). He had a complex series of fines for sacristan, celebrating priests, dean of guild or principal priest (whoever supervised the distribution to the poor), believing that there was "danger" associated with an obit not being celebrated on the specified day, in Ibid., p. 66-7.

86.ed. Iain Ross, "Our Saviour Christ, King of Grace", The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), ll. 5-6, p. 17.

87.Paterson, pp. 66-7.

88.Ibid., pp. 44-5 and 47.

89.Small sample of five (three of five were married women, one not specified). As is often the case, the numbers with which one is working are relatively small; nevertheless, some patterns can be discerned, in Ibid., passim. Note that the general conclusions arrived at in this chapter have been judged within the context of trends throughout Scotland. Although it has not been possible to use obit and testament evidence from the rest of Scotland in any systematic manner in the rest of the thesis, there is a good deal of evidence from other regions which supports the general conclusions drawn from the Ayr Obit Book and the Commissariat of Glasgow's Register of Testaments, in this case with regard to obit celebration dates.

90.Ibid., pp. 54-5.

91.Ibid., p. 45.

92.Ibid., p. 44.

93.Ibid., p. 68.

94.Ibid., p. 63.

95.Ibid., p. 43.

96.Ibid., p. 66.

97.Ibid., p. 50.

98.Ibid., p. 60. Another example of an obit founded on a date related to the Passion was the foundation of Sir John Rait (*Rayth*), priest, son and heir of burgess Alexander Rait (*Rayth*) (d. 13 April, 1495). Sir John founded an obit for his father and his father's three wives, to be celebrated "at the Passion of our Lord", in Ibid., p. 49.

99.Ibid., pp. 36-7.

100.Thomas Neill (d. 1533) was an exceptional layman in that he made his own foundation twenty-five years before his death, but arranged for the obit to begin from the death of the first spouse (current wife was Agnes Wishart), in Paterson, pp. 57-8, 62 and 60.

101.Margaret Mason (*Masone*) (d. 5 February, 1527/8) was an exception in that she made her obit foundation over two years before her death, but twelve years after the death of her husband at Flodden. Hers was probably a case of someone who did not think much about death and the afterlife until the onset of illness brought an awareness of life's finiteness, in Ibid., pp. 68, 63 and 43.

102.ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), pp. 1-2.

103.Paterson, p. 63.

104.Ibid., pp. 54, 62 and 65.

105.SRO CC9/7/1. Cunningham's testament was dated 29 August, 1547 and Girvan's was dated 6 May, 1548.

106.Ibid.

107.Ibid.

108.ed. James Raine, Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York, Vol. IV (London: The Surtees Society, 1869), LIII, passim. Whereas the most substantial spending for a funeral in the Glasgow Commissariat testaments was by the wealthy Lady of Cambusnethan Katherine Carmichael (testament of 21 August, 1552) who apportioned £20 to her funeral expenses, a mere English knight such as Sir John Neville of Liversedge (testament 20 December, 1501, d. 22 October, 1502) gave 10 merks (£6 13s.4d.) for

his funeral, in SRO CC9/7/1 and Raine, p. 198. Merchant of Hull John Dalton (testament 12 October, 1487, and 10 March, 1492) arranged for 7 merks per year to be paid to a priest to sing for his soul, plus an obit on the anniversary of his death, in *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4. The 7 merks per year from Dalton was determined thus: £4 13s.4d., thus 10s.4d./year and £46 for 10 years. Then wealthy Scottish lairds such as Andrew Crawford of Giffertland, Ayrshire (testament of 1 February, 1542/3), with goods and money worth £365 1s.8d., plus numerous animals and crops, or Margaret Horsburgh (*Horsbruk*), wife of William Govan (*Govane*) of Cardrone (testament of 25 January, 1547/8) with goods worth £180, left only 4d. to the fabric of the metropolitan church of Glasgow, in SRO CC9/7/1. a payment made by almost every testator; Crawford gave a further 40s. to the vicar of Dalry, presumably for the drawing up of the testament, in SRO CC9/7/1. Note that the thirteenth century synodal statutes of Aberdeen diocese explained that the priests who attended those who were ill were to advise those who wished to make a will (after confession has been heard) that they should remember in their will the "fabric of the cathedral", since it was from the cathedral church that "the parochial churches receive the doctrines of salvation". The testators were to be encouraged to give to the fabric of the cathedral according to their means, but by the period 1480 to 1560, almost all testators donated 4d. only, in ed. David Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), #72, p. 41.

109. Except for Mr George Lockhart, dean of Glasgow in 1542, all clerics apportioned some of their money to the poor and/or to the bellman who was to summon the poor to pray for them, in *Ibid.*, p. 47. However, note that Lockhart was eager for the bellman to bring laypeople to pray at his obit. In 1507 Sir Andrew MacCormyll, vicar of Straiton, gave 8s. from a total of 20s. (40%) to the poor attending the obit-mass, along with 4d. to the bellman to walk through the streets loudly encouraging the poor to attend the obit mass, pray for the founder, and receive alms for their pains, in *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7. There are other examples of clerics donating money to bellmen or the poor. For example, In 1450 Mr. Richard Pethede, canon of Ross and vicar of Stevenston in Ayrshire, gave 2d. to the chaplain to ring the bell through the streets, as well as 6d. for being part of the obit services. Fifty years later, in 1500, Sir Arthur Reid, chaplain and chorister of the church of St. John the Baptist of Ayr, gave 26d. in food and drink, from a total of 16s.4d. (8%), to the poor attending the obit mass. Mr. George Lockhart, dean of Glasgow, was less generous than Reid and MacCormyll, although he founded his obit much later in the period (1542). He only referred to lay prayers in passing, requiring the handbell to be rung through the town "to summon the people to pray "as was usual", in *Ibid.*, pp. 42 and 65. When Lockhart founded his obit in 1542, he was much more concerned to describe the procedures for the clerics' spiritual activities than to outline how money was to be spent on the poor.

110. A cleric who wanted his foundation to increase divine worship was Sir Arthur Reid, chaplain and chorister of the church of Ayr (d. 20 November, 1500). He made his foundation "from a devout affection for the safety of his soul" but also "for the increase of the worship of God", in *Ibid.*, p. 65. It is difficult to know if the

words of the foundation can be attributed to Reid himself, as the foundation was made by his executors according to a bequest in his testament, which does not survive. The wording is not necessarily attributable to the notary public, for the notary Patrick Law wrote another obit in 1507 and did not mention anything at all about motives.

111.Ibid., p. 58.

112.The obit services in which lay prayers were offered included clerical activities in the choir and at various altars, or at one altar in particular (eg. John Chapman's at the altar of St. Nicholas from 1503), in Ibid., p. 69.

113.NLS AdvMS 33/7/28, p. 5. This passage is testimony to the queen's belief in the power of lay prayer, which echoed the attitude of her grandmother Queen Margaret Tudor. James IV prayed at the shrine of St. Ninian in Whithorn in March 1507 for her recovery from childbirth and the survival of her son, and Queen Margaret credited her recovery to her husband's prayers. She and the king thanked God for His mercy by making a pilgrimage to Whithorn, in John Leslie, The Historie of Scotland, cited by Norman Macdougall, James IV (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), pp. 196-7.

114.Francis Oakley, The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979), p. 82.

115.Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxxxvi. Note that Alexander Rait, priest, emphasised the importance of the latter when he founded an obit for his parents to occur "at the Passion of Our Lord", in Paterson, p. 49.

116.Earlier in the period, there appears to have been a greater emphasis on pure propitiation, God being honoured and His favour sought by the act of making the foundation, but later in the period the laity emphasised the prayers of the poor to help convince God to grant forgiveness.

117.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cc.

118.cf. Thomas Lewington's work The Book Intytulid the Art of Good Lywyng and Good Deyng, in Emmanuel College, Cambridge MS S9/2/51. Lewington's work was a Scottish translation of a French work on the proper means of dying well. In 1505 it was anglicised and published as The Crafte to Lyue Well and to Dye Well (1505), in Cambridge University and British Museum manuscripts, cited in James Fowler Kellas Johnstone and Alexander Webster Robertson, Bibliographia Aberdonensis, 1472-1640 (Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1929), pp. 8-9, although in Johnstone and Robertson's book the author is incorrectly named as Alexander Barclay. cf. Short Title Catalogue #971.

119.cf. Hamilton, Catechism, passim, regarding attendance at preaching, understanding of the Ten Commandments, the importance of prayers for souls, to God, Mary and other saints, among other matters.

120.Ibid., f. cc.

121.A relevant passage from Henryson is:

"Als we exhort that every man mortall,
 For His saik that maid of nocht all thing,
 For our sawlis to pray in general
 To Jesus Chryst, of hevin and erd the King,
 That throwch His blude we may ay leif and ring [endure,
 prevail]
 With the hie Fader be eternitie,
 The Son alsua, the Haly Gaist condng,
 Thre knit in ane be perfyt [excellent] unitie.

in Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid-Pollis", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, ll. 57-64, p. 135. cf. Woodcut illustration in Thomas Davidson's publication of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland in 1541, showing lay souls on their knees, praying to God through the rosary, for the souls in purgatory, in The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540 (Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson, 1541), f. 27v.

122.William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 37, p. 164 and Hamilton, Catechism, ff. xxxviii and xli.

123.Paterson, pp. 51-2.

124.Ibid., pp. 58-9.

125.Ibid., p. 43.

126.Laypeople accepted the efficacy of lay prayer, particularly later in the period. In 1507, Adam Wischart only assigned 2s. from his 10s. donation for distribution to the poor after the obit-mass for his father John, in Ibid., p. 52. However, in 1512, 40d. of the 13s.4d. (25%) spent on Thomas Tait's obit was for the poor attending the obit-mass, in Ibid., pp. 55-6, and John Brown (d. 9 November, 1524) apportioned 12s.4d. of £1 9s. (43%) to the poor, in Ibid., p. 58. Tait and Brown were the most generous obit donors in absolute terms, but even less generous founders apportioned money to the poor, especially in the latter part of the period. For example, in 1515, burgess William Johnson (*Johnsone*) assigned 2s. in food to the poor out of the 10s. assigned to his obit, in Ibid., pp. 59-60.

127.To gain a better understanding of the laity's growing interest in education and care of the poor, as well as the maintenance of high standards of clerical execution and appointments, the burgh records of the period are a good starting point, particularly those of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. See primary printed sources section of the bibliography.

128.Paterson, p. 58. Unfortunately the manuscript is missing some leaves, where no doubt the notary's name had appeared, so it is impossible to check the wording against other obits written by the same notary. However, neither Stephen Preston (*Prestone*) nor Sir John Fair, both of whom were notaries for obits in 1525 and 1523 mentioned anything other than the welfare or safety of souls of the

obit founder and the others named in the obit, except for Preston's obit written for Agnes Baillie (*Balze*) (1525), which stated that she was "moved with piety" for the souls of the faithful deceased. The distinctive wording suggests that she herself was responsible for the wording. Fair may well have been responsible for Brown's obit foundation, as his name was associated with most of the signed obits of the 1520's, and the foundations associated with him have only terse references to the "safety" or "welfare" of souls.

129. Note that support for education was viewed as a "good work".

130. Brown also asked Ayr residents to intercede with the "spotless mother" of God on behalf of himself and his wife, an indication of the importance placed by the laity on the purity of Mary to ensure her supremacy as intercessor with God and Jesus on behalf of humanity, in Paterson, p. 58. See Chapter 8. Of the 12s.4d. apportioned to the poor, half was to be spent on bread, that is, a cake valued at 1d. for each old person, and a cake valued at 1d. to be shared between poor scholars and other poor people. The other half of the 12s.4d. was to be spent on venison for the "old poor and leprous" (32d.), "hard cheese", and fish, in *Ibid.*, p. 58. The term leprosy in the Middle Ages was used to describe a variety of degenerative diseases.

131. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cci.

132. *Ibid.*, f. clxxxxvi.

133. Paterson, pp. 58-9.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

135. See note #134.

136. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cciv.

137. Paterson, pp. 58-9.

138. Lorcin maintained that the manifestations of piety in the rural world of the Lyonnais was very uniform amongst the peasants, nobles, gentry (*chevaliers*) and clerics. That is, they exhibited the same preferences as regards funeral arrangements, types of beneficiaries, and a common growing preference for commemorative services rather than reliance on alms or pious bequests, in Lorcin, Les Compagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles, pp. 186 and 455. This judgment, based upon an exhaustive study of the Lyonnais region of the Plats Pays, is of immense interest as it indicates that individual socio-economic circumstance was not a deciding factor in the nature or expression of faith, and that the rural society of the Lyonnais region shared a common religious outlook. Clearly the financial circumstances of the laity must have helped to determine their concrete expression of religious faith (eg. collegiate churches vs. chaplainry foundations), but Lorcin indicated that it was not their religious outlook which was the basis for their different activities.

The Scottish imagery in literature, art and theology reflected a unity of religious belief which was expressed in a variety of

ways. Further, based upon Lorcin's findings, it would be incorrect to make any great distinctions between the motives and concerns of the higher and lower eschelons of society, beyond recognising that the higher orders of lay society were expected to exhibit piety and generosity in accordance with their greater means. cf. John Asloan (compiler), "The Porteous of Noblenes", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. I of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), XIV, passim. That is, it would be wrong to attribute to the magnates the motive of a secular age, namely that of "earthly fame", and then to credit lowly burgesses with "religious" motives. In any case, the idea of earthly "fame" (cf. Latin meaning of "good reputation") needs to be discussed in the late medieval context. Along with the notion of "honour" (also to be sought through good "religious" behaviour), earthly "fame" had more to do with spiritual worthiness than it did with earthly ambition. (cf. "The Porteous of Noblenes") Further, since most testaments were written at point of death, it is even less likely that image-creation was the primary motive of testators. Hence the meagre financial resources of a craftsman encouraged him to contribute to his craft altar and participate in craft religious processions. He would also have a testament drawn up to ensure: prayers for his soul after death; the intercession of the saints, Mary and Jesus with God on his behalf; God's mercy on the Day of Judgment. On the other hand, the greater resources of a magnate would lead him or her to found lavish chaplainries, prebends, chapels or even a collegiate church. There the souls of the founder, family, friends, and the faithful dead, would receive the prayers of the living for all eternity.

Lorcin emphasised that, from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, all members of Lyonnais society were moving away from reliance upon pious bequests and the giving of alms and toward the celebration of masses at burial or on various anniversary dates, in Lorcin, Les Compagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles, p. 456. This parallels the Scottish evidence. From the middle of the fifteenth century, Scottish testators and founders increasingly put their hopes for salvation into obit, altar and collegiate foundations, and the founding of regular masses to Jesus, Mary and saints closely associated with the Day of Judgment, or daily, weekly or yearly prayers and other services for the dead. There was diminishing support for religious institutions such as monasteries, and what support they received was often directed to specific activities, such as prayers and obits, rather than being bequests to general monastic funds.

Rather than concentrating on the decline and abuses of the Scottish clergy in the pre-Reformation period, and assuming that the laity's main concern was the state of the clergy, a study of lay spirituality must follow closely the attitudes and actions of laypeople to discover how they attempted to meet their spiritual needs and wants through a re-alignment of devotion and support for different institutions.

A study of religious faith must comprise both thought and action. Scottish religious belief from 1480 to 1560 greatly resembled that of its European contemporaries, as did the acts which turned religious beliefs into concrete manifestations of faith. There are two main methods to determine the nature of this faith. They are to study the written evidence, whether literary or documentary, which attempted to express these religious beliefs (egs. William Dunbar's poetry or Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism),

and to study the acts which appear to have arisen from religious motives, and correctly to relate those acts and the beliefs and concerns upon they were based; this present work on Scottish lay faith has attempted to do this, using the extensive European work on similar topics as a guide to possible lines of enquiry.

139.The testamentary requirements of Hugh Montgomery, first Earl of Eglinton, included various donations to friars, alms to the poor on the day of his obit-mass, the hiring of three priests to pray for his soul for five years, and a supervisory role for his grandson Hugh Montgomery, his executor, in William Fraser, Memorials of the Montgomeries. Earls of Eglintoun (Edinburgh, 1859), Vol. II of 2 vols., pp. 132-3.

140.The wording of the promise was: *fideliter perimplere promisit*, in Ibid., II, p. 132. The sense of responsibility felt by an executor is visible in the testament of Hugh Montgomery, second Earl of Eglinton. Already ill himself, he made his testament only a year after the testament made by his grandfather. The second Earl asked that those conditions which he had not yet carried out with respect to his grandfather's testament be accomplished by his own executors. Although the first Earl had not threatened his grandson and executor with the reality of punishment on the Day of Judgment, it must have been in the second Earl's mind as he wrote his testament that he would be held accountable for his behaviour on the particular Day of Judgment, including his activities as his grandfather's executor, in Ibid., II, p. 142.

141.Ibid., II, p. 142.

142.Comments relevant to God's expectations of noble attitudes to others in society, particularly those of inferior social status, are contained in the discussions of the virtues of "lawte or treuth", "worthyness" and "luf", in The Porteous of Noblenes, contained in John Asloan (compiler), The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. I of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1923), pp. 174, 177 and 178.

143.For Ayr leper houses, see: SRO Ayr Burgh Court Book, I, 1428-78, f. 50v and SRO Court Book of Barony of Alloway 1492-1538, f. 42, and ed. M. Livingstone, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. I, #1266, p. 183, regarding the hospital of St. Leonard of Doonslee near Ayr (25 May, 1506).

144.See Chapter 10 regarding lay feelings of spiritual inadequacy and demands for high clerical standards.

145.Rutherford, p. 33.

146.Paterson, p. 59.

147.Ibid., p. x.

148.Ibid., pp. 69-70.

149.Ibid., pp. 64-5. Note that they gave £4 8s. to Ayr's parish church choristers to buy an annual rent to finance this obit. The date of death for Langmore was written as 18 November, 1599, but this appears to have been a notarial error. The date may have been 1499, since Margaret Mason herself handed over the annual rent for the obit, which the choristers had purchased from her to fund the obit, and Mason died in 1527, in Ibid., p. 43.

150.Ibid., p. 46.

151.cf. Lorcin's Lyonnais laypeople offered no descriptions of religious services in their testaments, which Lorcin attributed to their belief that the contents of these services were fixed, and that they had no right to dictate terms, in Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles", p. 308. This contrasts with the Scottish situation, in which there was a growing tendency to specify contents of religious services, as if to ensure that no important part would be left out to the detriment of the welfare of the founder.

152.Ibid., p. 50.

153.Ibid., p. 48.

154.The burgh made payments of £3 8s. and 24 s. in 1559-60, in ed. George S. Pryde, Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1937), p. 34.

155.Ibid., p. 20.

156.Another example of a burgess whose obit requirements were detailed and demanding was John Chapman (d. 18 December, 1503). He did not specify the first day's services of *Placebo*, *Dirige* and nine lessons, as was normal, merely referring to "annual obsequies" and an "obit mass", but he did state that the chaplains of the choir were to receive 8s, of which they were to receive 7s. The rest was to be spent on wax (8d.), and the "clerk" and bellman of the town were each paid 2d. It is possible that the "clerk" was the sacristan of the church who was to ring the great bells at the funeral service, and that the "bellman of the town" was the person in charge of ringing the bells throughout the town. The bellman of the town was to summon the laity to pray for Chapman's soul, and the souls of his two wives, who were also named in the obit. The next day's obit-mass was to be celebrated at the altar of St. Nicholas, one of the lesser altars in the church of St. John the Baptist, in Paterson, p. 51.

157.Ibid., p. 51. Adam Wishart's commitment to the obit as an effective spiritual tool to help his family was made clear by his foundation of an obit for his father John sometime after his father's death in 1507. This obit was similar to his own in that it designated 8s. for the celebrating choristers and outlined the types and location of services. However, he did not apportion special funds for bell-ringing or lights, despite requiring the ringing of the great bell three times on the death day. No doubt the special funds given for bell-ringing in his own obit, with an accompanying "fine" for non-compliance, were intended to encourage the celebrants

of his own obit to carry out the foundation requirements to the letter, in Ibid., pp. 51-2.

158.Ibid., pp. 36-7.

159.For example, on 26 October, 1525, widow Margaret Mason resigned 12s. to John Muir, bailie of Ayr, who gave the money to Sir Henry Hunter, curate, on behalf of the said church and in the name of the other choristers, in Ibid., p. 43.

160.The clergy were always more aware of their right to demand high standards of service from the celebrants of their obits, and they perhaps felt more qualified to judge just what should occur in obit celebrations. Hence from the first recorded clerical obit of Ayr, founded by Mr Richard Pethede in 1450, detailed instructions were included in the foundation charter regarding the clerics who were expected to attend, the type of services, place of celebration of the various services and dress of celebrants, and these requirements often were accompanied by threats of fines for non-compliance, in Ibid., p. 42 and passim. Mr James Houston's obit foundation in his collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne emphasised the musical qualifications of certain members of the college community. The anniversary was to consist of an annual celebration on St. Anne's Day of a *Dirige* and *Placebo* by the third prebend and the three "boys" (*pueris*). The third prebend had been founded in honour of St. Anne, and the twelfth prebend was that of the "Three Boys", who were to be well and diligently instructed by the master of the third prebend in singing styles (eg. Gregorian), descant and prick-song or "priket sang" (*precato*) and to play the organs. The three boys and the third prebend, presumably because of their singing abilities, were to celebrate the *Dirige* and *Placebo* in the afternoon of St. Anne's Day between the third and the fourth hour, plus the psalm *De Profundis* with prayers and orisons (*precibus et orationibus*) as was the custom. The founder exhibited his concern for standards of execution by ordaining that boys were to be removed when their voices failed (ie. changed) or they ceased to regularly exhibit good behaviour, as decided by the Provost and the prebendars, in NLS AdvMS 9A/1/12, f. 43r and 26r.

161.K.L. Wood-legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), passim.

162.Note that if the choristers were not named as such, this being the most common designation, then they were referred to as the "singers of the choir" (eg. Michael MacIlroy (*Makylroy*), d. 1501), the "chaplains of the choir" (egs. Patrick White, d. 1496, and Allan Paterson (*Patersoun*), d. 1519), the "choristers and singers" (eg. Katrine Thomson, d. 1525) or the "priests of the choir" (eg. obit for Alexander Rait, d. 1495, founded by his son Sir John Rait, priest, in Paterson, pp. 48, 55, 67 and 49.

163.Ibid., p. 45.

164.Ibid., pp. 43.

165. By contrast, chaplain, singer and music teacher Sir Thomas Binnie (*Bynne*) of St. Michael's altar, St. Nicholas church in Aberdeen, on 20 September, 1505 was appointed to the altar for one "burges" worth two marks every two years (no doubt he held other positions), in ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, Vol. II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), VII, pp. 344-5. In Edinburgh on 31 January, 1555/6, singer and organ-player Alexander Scott only received £10 per year, in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869), p. 236.

166. Paterson, p. ix.

167. Pryde, pp. 20 and 28.

168. The clerical evidence supports the patterns visible in lay obit foundations. In 1450, Mr Richard Pethede had declared that non-attending chaplains were to receive no payment, that absentees from the *Placebo* and *Dirige* were to lose 4d., and that if the *Placebo* and *Dirige* were not celebrated on the date of death, the chaplains would lose 4d. Further, in order to receive the full sum of 6d., chaplains had to wear the surplice and the bells had to be rung in the church "reverently". The money deducted from those who broke the rules was to be given to the poor. Hence the welfare of the founder's soul, having been endangered by improper clerical ritual, would be restored by giving money to the poor as a "good work" (no money apportioned to the poor specifically, as was the case in the early part of the period). Sir James Strait's attitude (d. 1492) to absentee celebrants was simply not to pay them, whereas Sir Andrew MacCormyll's (d. 1507) was similar to Pethede's. Those absent from "obsequies" were to lose 4d. (dean or priests), and those who missed the "whole mass" were to be paid nothing, with the money saved being distributed to the celebrating priests and the poor (who already were allotted 8s.), in *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 51 and 66-7.

169. The general trend in Scotland was for laypeople to express their concerns about clerical standards of execution and qualifications, often via the burgh council, which undertook to enforce laypeople's foundation charters. For example, in 1533, Ayr burgh council dismissed all of its chaplains, effective the following Whitsunday, until "their dispositions improved", which may indicate that the chaplains of the burgh church were resisting lay demands for higher standards of execution of services, in John Durkan, "Chaplains in Late Medieval Scotland", Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1980), XX, citing SRO B6/28/1, Barony of Alloway Court Book, f. 194. Then on 7 May, 1543, the burgh council threatened to deprive clerics of their benefices unless they continued to "persevere in their gud and thankfull service to the honour of God, and behaif them thankfullie for the gude and common weill of the toun." If they did not do so, their benefices were to be given to people who were "mair qualifiet", in Paterson, p. x. However, there is certainly no reason to believe that Ayr burgh council was more concerned about such matters than other councils, such as Peebles and Edinburgh. (See Chapter 10) Nor is there any reason to equate calls for higher standards with a rapidly declining quality of service. Rather, calls for improved standards of service

and qualifications of clerical appointees indicate rising lay expectations and the laity's desire to exert control over financing and thereby obtain the means of enforcing their demands.

170. The complexity of the clerics' obit foundations meant that they may have had greater need of obit supervisors than did the majority of the laity. Notary public and vicar of Straiton Sir Andrew MacCormyll evidently thought so, and as writer of numerous Ayr obits himself, as well as a cleric, he may have been more aware than most people of celebrants who shirked their duties. In any case, in his own foundation he appointed the principal priest to make the distribution of 8s. to the poor, requiring the dean of guild to supervise the operation. He also assigned 12d. to the overseer to encourage him in this supervisory role, in Ibid., pp. 66-7.

171. So in this sense one cannot trace a gradual disenchantment of obit founders with clerics over their standards of execution; in fact, it is clerical founders who seem most concerned about standards, not lay founders.

172. In general, the services expected in an obit were standard. The most common variation was the requirement that the principal priest distribute, under supervision, food and drink or money to the poor, and occasionally masses were requested of chaplains at their individual altars after the main services in the choir. However, usually money was provided for an exceptionally demanding set of obit services. Hence Sir Andrew MacCormyll and John Brown's foundations were complex, demanding and well-funded, with those involved expected to work hard and up to standard to earn their money, in Ibid., pp. 58-9 and 66-7.

173. Ayr burgh council took its responsibilities to lay founders seriously. In 1533 the council dismissed all of its chaplains, effective the following Whitsunday, until "their dispositions improved", in John Durkan, "Chaplains in Late Medieval Scotland", Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1980), XX, citing SRO B6/28/1, Barony of Alloway Court Book, f. 194.

174. Note that normally celebration of services near the high altar would have been considered the best site possible to gain God's notice and favour. Celebrations of obits in the choir placed the obit founder's memory closest to the place of greatest sanctity in the church - the high altar - the place where Jesus' sacrifice was re-enacted in the Eucharist, and therefore the place from which the benefits of Jesus' Passion emanated.

175. Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, pp. 63-4. Note that all of the Ayrshire testaments in the Register of Testaments include a payment to the "fabric of St. Kentigern" (Glasgow cathedral), usually 4d., in SRO CC9/7/1. The higher clergy attempted to encourage executors to do their work properly. In 1551-2, the general council of the Scottish church insisted that the items to be confirmed in the testament be indicated severally, not put under a general total, presumably to prevent fraud. Further, the deans which had charge of the ordinaries' and archbishops' registers were to submit these registers twice each year for inspection by the commissaries-general or officials, to give instructions to the procurators-fiscal

regarding "the preparation of count and reckoning as to these same wills", and to ensure that "the said accounts are expedited in form of law as soon as possible". These church officials were threatened with deprivation of their office if they failed to carry out their duties properly, in Patrick, #243, p. 137. In terms of executors to those who died intestate, the church wished to preserve its own interests as well as those of the surviving spouse and children. Thus in 1559 the general council insisted on outlining the procedure to be followed by the executors who were appointed, such as the payment of debts, in Patrick, #280, p. 177. Note that in the thirteenth century, the Scottish church had affirmed its right to uplift one third of the goods of a deceased person's goods if s/he died intestate, as well as the usual monies owed the church, in Ibid., #88, p. 46. In 1559 the usual monies or goods included the "mortuary", or 40s. to the vicar for one year of daily masses for the deceased, if the deceased's goods amounted to only £10 after debts were paid, plus the "uppermost garment" (church usually took the uppermost cloth on the bed first, or outer garment of deceased if this cloth already taken for other spouse who had died recently). This same statute also described the lesser amounts to be paid if the goods of the deceased were worth less than £10, in Ibid., #281, p. 178.

176. For a discussion of Scottish testaments within a European context and the "formulaic" nature of testaments, see Appendix A and Appendix B.

177. Engelmann, p. 2.

178. As the church viewed itself as responsible for care of the poor, ill and generally disadvantaged, as well as for cure of souls, it needed money to carry on its social work. Thus encouraging testators to donate monies and goods to religious institutions helped to fund church activities.

179. Andre Perraud, Etude sur le Testament d'apres la Coutume de Bretagne (Rennes: Plihon & Hommay), 1921, p. 52, and Engelmann, p. 8. Changes in testamentary practice with regard to French serfs provides evidence of the perceived inter-dependency of pious donations and the sacraments of the church. That is, in the tenth century serfs were not allowed to have a testament drawn up, but by the thirteenth century they were being allowed to do so. It was considered unfair to deny them the means to make the rites of the church fully effective, so they were allowed to leave five *sols* for the health of their soul, in Engelmann, p. 60.

180. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", pp. 1-2. No doubt fear of dying unconfessed and without a testament was an important reason for William Cunningham of Glengarnock making his testament before going off to war, in SRO CC9/7/1.

181. Perraud, p. 52. An example of a layperson whose testament included a concern for burial and payment of debts was Janet (*Jonete*) Watson (d. 1548), spouse of Bartholomew Palmer, burgess in Dumbarton. She left it up to her executors to act for the welfare of her soul (and pay her debts), but designated her burial site as the church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of Dumbarton, in front of

the altar of St. Thomas, in SRO CC9/7/1. An example of a testament in which the testator commented upon the importance of not dying intestate was that of William Forbes of Corsindae (*Corsindave*), Aberdeenshire. On 2 June, 1535, the notary indicated that "after a reference to the effect which severe sickness of body has upon the mind, and because he knows not God's will, lest he should die intestate, knowing that the soul is more precious than the body, he made up and ordered his testament in this manner. . ." Then Forbes went on to commend his soul to the "most High Creator", the "Blessed Virgin Mary" and the "court of heaven". He asked his executors [spouse, son, heir apparent and two clerics] to "dispose for his soul", warning them to act only with the counsel of two named vicars, "as they [the executors] shall answer in the day of judgment to the supreme judge", in ed. R. H. Lindsay, Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone 1518-1551 (Protocol Books, I) (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), #155, p. 38.

182.SRO CC9/7/1, SRO 20/4/1 and SRO 8/8/1A, *passim*.

183.A large number of Ayrshire testaments included monies set aside specifically for funeral rites, indicating that testators wanted to be sure that their immediate spiritual requirements after death were taken care of, but leaving it up to their executors to decide which other donations or foundations were necessary to aid their souls in purgatory.

184.Englemann, p. 94, Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", p. 316, Lorcin, Les Campagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles, p. 453, and SRO CC9/7/1, SRO CC20/4/1 and SRO CC8/8/1A.

185.Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 6. The author of the "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis" also devoted a considerable part of his work to convincing laypeople to let go of their devotion to Riches and Kindred (allegorical characters, the protagonist's "friends") and to devote themselves to Good Deeds (third "friend"), in ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis, New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), *passim*.

186.See SRO CC9/7/1 for Ayrshire testaments. However, most testaments consulted in Scottish commissariat registers from the late 1540's to mid-1550's included this threat to the executors.

187.Patrick, p. 115. The church council insisted that the church's desire to oversee the activities of executors was in order to ensure that the wishes of the testators were carried out.

188.SRO CC9/7/1, *passim*.

189.Raine, p. 21.

190.SRO CC 9/7/1.

191. Note that one of the reasons that laypeople were so devoted to Mary was that she was believed to advise them of the hour of their death, and thus be a comfort and an aid in allowing laypeople to prepare themselves emotionally and spiritually for death. See Chapter 8.

192. Fraser, II, p. 142.

193. Jean Engelmann, Les Testaments Coutumiers au XV^e Siecle (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1975, first published 1903), p. 83.

194. Even the Scottish version of the *Pater Noster* emphasised this by referring to the forgiveness of debts rather than the English forgiveness of trespasses. cf. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxv.

195. Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", p. 6.

196. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. lx-lxi. Note that executors who did not carry out the will of the deceased for the benefit of his or her soul were to be considered "oppin reffaris", and testators were warned that those who did not pay their debts would suffer spiritual punishment as breakers of the seventh Commandment.

197. Raine, pp. 21 and 23.

198. SRO CC9/7/1. cf. A certain David Kennedy was buried in his parish church of Kirkmichael in Carrick, but one of his executors was John Dunbar in Knokshinnoch, which is about twenty miles from Kirkmichael, in Ibid.

199. These clerics were Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and James Houston, subdean and vicar general of Glasgow, in Ibid.

200. The £5 which wealthy Marcus Gledstone (d. 1549), Dumfriesshire, donated to "expenses" most likely was intended to pay for his funeral expenses, as the testament also noted that he was to be buried in the dust of St. Michael the Archangel his "patron", presumably the parish church of St. Michael, Dumfries. 40s. was designated for the curate, Patrick Wallote. Note that the general council's decision about mortuary fees in 1559 was that 40s. would be paid to the vicar of the parish church for the purposes of the "annal or mortuary", or rather, a year's worth of daily masses for the soul. However, people whose goods were worth more than £10 were expected to pay the full cost of the "said premisses". Hence the £5 paid by Gledstone most likely was not a testamentary fee, but rather a payment to cover equipment and personnel on the day of his funeral and burial, with the remainder going to alms to the church, in Ibid. As Gledstone's goods were worth £178 16s.9d., £5 seems somewhat meagre, and indeed, compared to equivalent English wills in York diocese of the time, the sum is low indeed, in cf. Raine, *passim*.

201. Margaret Fullarton had her testament drawn up a decade before her death, in Fullarton's testament was dictated on 4 March, 1540/1 and confirmed on 13 March, 1550/1, so she was either unusually concerned to arrange for her spiritual welfare prior to death, or had been ill ten years previous to her death. It is also possible that, as women were continually taking considerable risks in

childbirth, some women decided to have their testaments drawn up if they thought that they had a difficult birth ahead of them. Fullarton asked to be buried in the parish church of Irvine, and arranged for 2s. to be paid to each cleric celebrating prayers for her soul. She also gave the normal 4d. to the fabric of St. Kentigern, and 5s. to the vicar, presumably Thomas Andreas, vicar of Irvine, who had drawn up her testament. Fullarton's donation of half a merk to the Friars Minor of Ayr was probably intended to elicit further prayers for her soul. In the context of her generous bequests to people such as Elizabeth Mure (£10) and Robert Cunningham (*Cunyngname*) (£5), the amount set aside for prayers seems small, but it is likely that she relied on her executors to make further donations to aid her soul. Her executors, husband John White (*Quhite*) and son Stephen White (*Quhyte*), had been ordered to dispose of her goods for the health of her soul, in SRO CC9/7/1.

202.egs. Margaret Horsburgh, spouse of William Govan of Cardrone, Glasgow diocese, d. 1548, goods worth £180, and Margaret Fullarton of Irvine, testament confirmed 1551, and Alexander Boyd of Irvine, testament confirmed 1552, in SRO CC9/7/1.

203.eg. William Cunynghame of Glengarnock, Cunningham, testament dated 1547, goods worth £340, in Ibid.

204.egs. Mr Patrick Dunlop, n.d., and David Gemil of Irvine, in the late 1540's, goods worth £175 4s.2d, in Ibid.

205.eg. John Norval of Loudoun, Ayrshire, testament 1549, in Ibid.

206.John Paton (*Pawtone*) of Irvine, testament 1545, in Ibid.

207.eg. John Dunbar of Knockshinnoch, Kyle, testament confirmed 1551, in Ibid.

208.Kennedy's testament was confirmed by James II on 28 May, 1458, in Cooper, Charters of the Royal Burgh of Ayr, pp. 29-30.

209.SRO CC9/7/1.

210.But note that if people died intestate, they lost a large portion of their goods to the church automatically, so making a testament may have appeared to safeguard people's goods for the benefit of their families, in Patrick, #88, pp. 46-7.

211.eg. Margaret Horsburgh, spouse of the laird of Cardrone, d. 1548, in SRO CC9/7/1.

212.eg. Margaret Fullarton of Irvine, testament confirmed 1551, in Ibid.

213.This phrase was used for the testament of John Norval of Loudoun, Ayrshire (d. 1550). The testament was dictated by Norval himself and then written down by the curate of Loudoun, William Wilson, in Ibid.

214.Ibid.

215.Ibid. Other examples of testators with part of their testaments in Scots include James Cleland of that Ilk (d. 1547), who also signed the testament, and Thomas Kennedy of Knockdaw. Kennedy made his testament in 1549 "pro me thoma Kennedie", in front of witnesses, and put the last section in Scots in the first person. Another combination of Latin and Scots can be seen in the testament of Agnes Arnot, which was drawn up in Craig or Craighouse in the parish of Kilmarnock, Cunningham, in 1553. Her latter will was in Latin, but her inventory was in Scots, in Ibid.

216.Aries, The Hour of Our Death, p. 201.

217.SRO CC9/7/1.

218.SRO CC9/7/1. Note that, according to thirteenth century statutes of the Scottish church, the payment for the thirty masses for the deceased, as well as the anniversary mass, was to be divided between the parson and the chaplain, in Patrick, #88, p. 47.

219.See later discussion in this chapter of lay support for the order of the Friars Minor.

220.SRO CC9/7/1.

221.Almost all testaments from the Glasgow Commissariat Register of Testaments included a payment of 4d. "to the fabric of the church of St. Kentigern". The testaments offer no explanation for this payment, although Aries refers to French payments to "la fabrique" which were administered by the financial directors of the church, in Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death: from the Middle Ages to the Present, p. 63. It appears to have been a traditional payment for confirmation of the testament, meaning little in terms of religious attitude, for the amount usually remained 4d. irrespective of the social class or income of the testator, or the level of religious concern expressed in their testament. Most lairds gave only 4d., including Alexander Douglas of Mains, whose goods were worth £197 7s., Margaret Horsburgh, wife of a laird, whose goods were worth £180, and William Cunningham of Glengarnock, Ayrshire, whose goods were worth £340, more than sufficient to finance a higher donation to the metropolitan church, in SRO CC9/7/1. Hugh Montgomery, first Earl of Eglinton, was an exception to the rule, donating 20s. rather than 4d. The Earl may have been hoping to gain higher status amongst his peers by leaving a much larger sum than normal, but he probably also hoped to gain spiritual advantage on the Day of Judgment, in Fraser, II, pp. 132-3. Perhaps the Earl was hoping for some spiritual advantage by making a larger donation, but the reason is unstated and there is no clear motive discernable. Note that in the thirteenth century, a general statute of the Scottish church dictated that from the beginning of Lent to the Octave of Easter, all parishioners were to be reminded on Sundays after mass and feast days that donations made to Glasgow cathedral for building work (probably the choir) would bring with them an indulgence, in Patrick, #49, p. 25. It is entirely possible that this tradition of expecting spiritual recompense for support of the fabric of the metropolitan church continued into the sixteenth century, and that, while the 4d. may have become a standard payment, laypeople still believed that it was necessary to make this payment in order to be acceptable to God. As this payment went to the metropolitan church

rather than to the local parish church, clearly it was not remuneration for burial or funeral services. However, it was present in almost all testaments, regardless of whether the testator had made any other donation to religious institutions or for religious ceremonies.

222.Ibid.

223.Ibid. Most testators did not include obit foundations in their testaments, one such testator being Janet (*Jonete*) Watson of Dumbarton, spouse of burgess Bartholomew Palmar, who ensured the validity of her testament (1548) by having a number of witnesses present. She warned her executor husband to dispose of her goods for the health of her soul as he would answer before the high Judge, but she made no specific religious provisions in her testament, leaving it up to her executor to do so on her behalf, in SRO CC9/7/1.

224.Lorcin found that the only difference between rich and poor was that the rich sometimes wished to be buried in a chapel within the parish cemetery, in Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", pp. 292-3.

225.SRO CC9/7/1. Note that Boyd also left 20s. to the poor for their prayers on the day of his burial.

226.Paterson, p. 65.

227.James Cleland of that Ilk (d. 1547, goods worth £333 6s.8d.) reminded his principal executor, his spouse, that she had to answer for her actions on his behalf on the Day of Judgment. While he left it up to her to arrange the details of masses and "honest" exequies and obit, he did ask that these activities be carried out (ie. "obsequies" done "honestly", as well as the celebration of an "honest obit", each year a soul mass and *Dirige* celebrated "about the samyn day" that he died, and a priest to "syng messes for my saule" for one year). Then he revoked all previous testaments and signed the testament himself on 12 July, 1547, putting himself entirely in her hands. As Cleland had dictated (*per os decedentis*) and signed the testament, and it was written mostly in the vernacular, it is likely to have been his exact words, in SRO CC9/7/1. Cleland's expressed concern that his obit be celebrated on his date of death accords with the concern expressed in most Ayr obits, in Ibid.

228.Paterson, p. 59.

229.SRO CC9/7/1. The Kennedys of Carrick were an extensive and prominent family in southern Ayrshire, one of the most prominent "Catholic" figures being Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Earl of Cassilis (1541-76). Note that the third Earl of Cassilis, Gilbert Kennedy, was part of the "English" party in the 1540's, and supporter of Protestant preacher George Wishart (*Wischart*) in 1545. The fourth Earl of Cassilis had proved his loyalty to the central Catholic ritual of the Mass, and perhaps also his loyalty to his Catholic Queen Mary, by supporting the continuance of Catholic rituals in his sphere of influence. On 27 December, 1560, the General Assembly

stated that Mass was being encouraged in Ayrshire. The Earl of Cassilis was accused of being responsible for this situation, along with the Earl of Eglinton, William Hamilton of Cambuskeith, the Abbot of Crossraguel, and the parishioners of Maybole, Girvan, Oswald and "Dailly", in whose churches Mass was "openly said and mantained". The fourth Earl remained Catholic until he married Margaret Lyon, daughter of the ninth Lord Glamis, in 1566, whereupon he "reformed" the churches in Carrick. It is possible, of course, that the Earl's "conversion" was less religious than a recognition that the Catholic cause was lost, and that the best way to maintain his influence was by throwing in his lot with the new, Protestant, authorities. Quentin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel and second son of the Earl of Cassilis (1520-64), registered his criticism of pre-Reformation church abuses in his "Ane Compendious Tractive" (1558), stoutly defending the institution of the Catholic church, and challenging to debate John Knox as well as John Willock. The above information comes from Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 111 and 134, John Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. II of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848), p. 533, ed. Thomas Thomson, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland From the Year MDLX (The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland), Vol. I of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1839), p. 6, and John Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox Concerning the Mass, 1562", in The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. VI of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1864), pp. 185-220, and Duncan Shaw, "John Willock", Reformation and Revolution, ed. Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), p. 56. cf. Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", *passim*.

230. The preceptory of St. Anthony's was founded by layman Robert Logan (*Logane*), knight, in 1439, and its responsibilities to donors were made official in a statute of 1526. The statute stated that those who had given perpetual annual rents to the preceptory and hospital of St. Anthony's, or had augmented God's service by foundation or had otherwise significantly contributed to the building, reparation and upholding of the place, would be prayed for every Sunday "till the day of dome". The importance of being named clearly is evident from the statute's promise that donors' names, both dead and living, would be "oppynly expremyt"; this would result in the donors receiving the full benefit of the suffragans' prayers and the power of the order, along with the indulgences, prayers and pardons granted by Rome, in ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1836), p. 299.

231. Wishart was referring to two Franciscans who had been listening to his sermon in Inveresk, Midlothian, in 1545, in Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, p. 136.

232. For example, the able and outspoken Dominican John Willock, from Ayrshire, was a man of principle and ideals, who was important as a Reformed preacher. He fled Scotland in 1536, but returned briefly in 1555 and 1556 as a trade emissary, then returned permanently in October 1558 to begin preaching, remaining in Edinburgh as preacher

in 1559 when Knox had left because of danger from the Catholic party. Even in 1556 Knox mentioned that, despite grave illness, Willock "ceased nott from laubouris, but tawght and exhorted from his bed . . . some of the nobilitie, (of whome some ar fallen back, amongis whome the Lord Setoun is cheaf,) with many baronis and gentilmen, war his auditouris", in Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 245 and 256. Note that Knox mentioned Lord Seton as one person who had lapsed back into Catholic ways, this comment supporting the contention that it is best to conceive of lay spirituality as the search for spiritual worthiness, rather than as adherence to definable religious camps. Laypeople sought to perfect themselves spiritually in order to improve their chances for heaven. By and large they were not particularly concerned about definitions of "Catholic" or "Protestant", at least in spiritual terms. If Lord Seton supported reforming preachers and reforming ideas, that did not mean that he wished to cease support for all traditional Catholic traditions or rituals, his family having a long history of commitment to the Catholic faith. See Chapter 10.

233. For example, Knox referred to Kyle as "a receptakle of Goddis servandis of old", in Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, p. 105.

234. Mary of Gueldres had wanted to bring in the Observants, as had "certain merchants", and the idea had been approved in principle by Pope Pius II on 9 June, 1463 (proposal confirmed by James III in 1479). This led to the foundation of houses at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow and St. Andrews, and James IV enthusiastically continued royal support by completing the foundations begun at Ayr, Perth, Jedburgh, Elgin and Stirling by James, Bishop of Dunkeld, who had petitioned Pope Sixtus IV on 19 March, 1481/2, to found two or three other houses. Ayr's houses was functional by 7 March, 1497/8. James IV also took his personal confessors from this order. ed. William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols, Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), pp. 275-6, and Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, pp. 130-1. There are many examples of Scottish testators outwith Ayrshire who singled out the Friars Minor for support. One example is that of Lady Catherine Lauder in Berwickshire. In her bequest of 1515, she left £10 to the Friars Minor of Haddington, this being the only bequest she made to a religious institution apart from the £10 she left for the poor, chaplains, and other necessities on the day of her burial in the parish church of Cranshaws, Berwickshire. To ensure that she obtained the spiritual benefits of such a bequest, John Swinton of Swinton, her spouse, promised to make good on her bequests if her share of the goods was insufficient, in ed. Archibald C. Swinton, The Swintons of that Ilk and their Cadets (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1883), pp. lxxxix-xcii. cf. Note that the Dominicans were also popular with Ayrshire laypeople to a lesser degree (there was a Dominican friary at Ayr which received lay support), and that the Dominicans in Scotland had been erected into a province of the order in 1487, although the order had been in Scotland from the thirteenth century, in ed. R.W. Cochran-Patrick, Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr (Edinburgh: Ayr and Wigton Archaeological Association, 1881), pp. xix and xxi, and passim.

235. This comment is from a letter of 1511, in Robert Kerr Hannay (calendared) and R. L. Mackie (ed.), Hannay, Robert Kerr (calendared) and Mackie, R.L. (ed.) The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-1513, Third Series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1953), p. 54. On 1 February, 1506/7, in a letter to the pope, James IV had praised the order's piety and frugal lifestyle and then asked the pope to protect the order against the Conventual Franciscans, in Bryce, II, pp. 276-7. The Aberdeen Friars Minor rewarded him for championing the order and founding the Stirling house by celebrating special prayers for him as well as an obit, in Ibid., II, p. 325.

236. Clerics agreed with the laity about the appropriateness of the Friars Minor as recipients of alms and providers of prayers for souls. Another example of clerical support for the mendicants was the subordinate of Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow. James Houston, sub-dean and vicar general of Glasgow, shared the archbishop's desire to obtain the prayers of friars. However, instead of donating money to a variety of friaries, as the archbishop had done, he gave only to the Friars Minor and the Dominicans of Glasgow. However, out of a total of £90 in "legacies", £20 (22%) went to these two groups, so he clearly believed that their efforts on his behalf would be spiritually efficacious. Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow (testament confirmed on 30 May, 1548) was concerned that his legacies be used for pious purposes to benefit his soul, so his bequests to friars were clearly intended to contribute to his spiritual welfare. He made bequests to a number of friaries under his jurisdiction, as well as a few outside his sphere of influence (egs. Perth, Stirling, Linlithgow), but he singled out the Friars Minor for his most generous support. The Friars Minor of Glasgow, in the burgh where he had his seat, received £10, which was 40% more than the usual £6 13s.4d. (10 merks) made to other friaries. The only other friary to receive such a large bequest was that of the Friars Minor of Ayr, who also received £10, providing some indication that the support of the Ayrshire laity for the Friars Minor in Ayr was due to more than mere proximity, but rather to belief in the friars' spiritual worth, in SRO CC9/7/1. Note that the sisters of the Sciennes of Edinburgh received £40. This Dominican convent was a recent lay foundation (1517), and received a large level of financial support over several years, including large sums from various laypeople - a sign of their good reputation. cf. SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1524-9, with various lay donations therein. Dunbar seemed to have favoured the Friars Minor over other mendicants, but the Friars Minor of Stirling only received the customary £6 13s.4d. The Carmelites of Irvine, who received the donation from Bessete Boyle of half a merk, received only £3 6s.8d. from Dunbar, indicating that his support for them derived from their status as friars within his diocese rather than any particular spiritual merit. Thus Boyle's support for the Carmelites may have arisen from their position as the local friary. However, while the Carmelites may not have been particularly outstanding as preachers or providers of prayers, neither were they scandalous or without spiritual utility as recipients of alms, or she would not have given them her support.

237. Note that Bessete Boyle also chose to donate money to the Carmelites of Irvine, in her testament drawn up 1547, in SRO CC9/7/1. Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton (d. 1545) chose his family's traditional burial site of the choir of the monastery of Kilwinning,

his family having founded the monastery several centuries earlier. However, although he wished his obit to be celebrated at the monastery, he did not disregard the possibility that spiritual benefit could derive from offering his support to a number of different religious institutions. By doing so, he increased the number of prayers being said for his soul in purgatory, and God would reward him for each "good deeds" (ie. for financially supporting a variety of institutions). The Earl continued his pattern of favouring the Friars Minor over the Dominicans in his donations to these two orders in Glasgow. The Friars Minor of Glasgow received £10 but the Dominicans of Glasgow only received 10 merks, minus any explicit requirement to pray for his soul, although presumably this was implicit in the donation. Apart from the tendency of the laity to support religious institutions close to home, a tendency also found in French testaments, the "cost" of prayers appears to have varied. That is, while the £10 the Earl donated to the Ayr Friars Minor obtained their prayers for three years, the £10 he donated to the Glasgow Friars Minor was only intended to purchase one year of prayers, in Fraser, II, p. 132. cf. Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles", p. 304 (regarding lay orientation to the parish). Note that a later Earl of Eglinton was one of the parties named in 1560 when the General Assembly accused certain people of encouraging the celebration of the Mass in their localities, which indicates that the family continued to believe in the value of Catholic church rituals beyond the Reformation, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, I, p. 6. The Earl's favouring of the Friars Minor of Ayr over the Dominicans was in keeping with contemporary Ayrshire attitudes, in SRO CC9/7/1, passim. An example of the general popularity of the Friars Minor comes from the activities of Egidia Blair, widow of James Kennedy of Rhu, Dunbartonshire. On 24 April, 1516, she founded a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Mary in Maybole, but did not confine her search for prayers to the western part of country, nor to clerics devoted entirely to masses for the dead. In 1537 she made a 120 merk donation to help construct a new church for the Aberdeen Friars Minor and to provide them with certain other necessities. In return special prayers were to be said for her soul, that of her late husband, and for others named by her, in Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, citing SRO Airlie Writs, I, #246, and Bryce, II, p. 331.

238. Kilpatrick was Duglas' parish church, for it was four miles from his place of Mains, so Duglas was expressing the normal desire to be buried in his parish church. The prayers of the poor were also to be solicited by distributing alms at his funeral, and 40s. was to be paid to *pauperibus domesticis*, a term used commonly to describe the native poor of one's estate, in SRO CC9/7/1.

239. SRO CC9/7/1.

240. The Beggars' Summons (1559) referred to the friars' "pretence of poverty . . . quhat be feynyeit halynes, quhilk now is declared superstition and idolatrie", in eds. William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson and Isabel A. Milne, A Source Book of Scottish History, Vol. II of 3 vols., 1424 to 1567, Second edition (London: Nelson, 1958), pp. 168. Yet in 1534, James V had indicated that the

Franciscan order was still a vibrant spiritual force in the country, referring to it as an order which stood above others in purity and holiness (*integritate et vite sanctimonia*), in Robert Kerr Hannay (calendared) and Denys Hay (ed.), The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), p. 275.

241.Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", p. 304.

242.Boyle's testament was written 28 August, 1546, and confirmed 17 November, 1547, in SRO CC9/7/1.

243.The Carmelites of Irvine were an ancient foundation, in Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, pp. 136-7.

244.According to James IV when he wrote to Pope Julius II on 2 July, the Trinitarian friary of Failford was in a bad state of deterioration by 1507. Consequently the king requested that the provincial of the Dominicans be made commendator, allegedly to aid in the restoration of discipline. On 9 February, 1545/6, at the time Boyle made her testament, there were seven friars and a minister, although by 1558 there were only three friars, in *Ibid.*, p. 109. Nevertheless, Boyle must have believed that the prayers and services taking place in the friary were of spiritual value, or she would not have donated alms to the friars, nor trusted them to pray for her soul.

245.SRO CC 9/7/1.

246.Dickinson, Donaldson and Milne, II, p. 158.

247.That is, the church avowedly aided the poor out of a desire to follow Jesus' commandments to do so, a general statute of the Scottish church of 1551-2 stating that the foundation of hospitals had occurred out of a desire to care for "Christ's poor", in Patrick, #245, p. 139. cf. The Catechism's view was that to keep the seventh Commandment properly meant that one had to give alms, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. xi. If one gave alms to the poor, one received temporal, spiritual and eternal rewards from God, in *Ibid.*, f. lxiii.

248.Perraud, p. 51.

249.Fraser, II, p. 132. Another example of concern for the poor was that expressed by Alexander Duglas of Mains in his testament of 16 February, 1548/9. He allotted 40s. to *pauperibus domesticis*, plus alms for distribution to the poor at his funeral, hoping that their prayers would improve his spiritual standing, in SRO 9/7/1.

250.SRO CC9/7/1.

251.This hospital was the foundation of Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow, and was in the patronage of the Bishop, in Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 180. Note that James Houston, subdean and vicar general of Glasgow, shared the archbishop's desire to obtain the prayers of the poor of the hospital of St. Nicholas. The poor from this hospital were to be

given 2s. on the days before and after his obit, thereby ensuring that they did attend and offer their prayers. While the clerics celebrated services in the choir, outside the choir, laypeople would be offering prayers for the founder of the obit in return for alms. Honest and native old people (*senes*) were expected to say thirty *pater* and *mater familias*, and lepers from the leper house of the bridge of Glasgow were to come to the cemetery of the collegiate church to pray, in SRO 9/7/1 and NLS AdvMS 9A/1/12, f. 49r-v.

252.ed. Alexander MacDonald Munro, Records of Old Aberdeen. MCCCCXCVIII-MCMIII, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1909), p. 281.

253.cf. John of Ireland, "Of Penance and Confession", passim, and Lumby, "The Craft of Deyng", passim. Note that laypeople's motives as recorded in the Register of Testaments for the Commissariat of Glasgow included these motives of illness and awareness of possible death through war, and the fact that most testaments were written within months of the death of the testator indicates that many testators waited until they were aged to make their testaments.