

THE SEARCH FOR SALVATION:

LAY FAITH IN SCOTLAND, 1480 TO 1560

by

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CHAPTER 7:

MARY AS VIRGIN AND MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

In the Scottish lay search for spiritual acceptability in the period 1480 to 1560, the Blessed Virgin Mary played a crucial role as mother of Jesus Christ and intercessor with God. The purity or "virginity" of Mary was of great moment, as it was Mary's purity which guaranteed her great efficacy as guarantor of God's mercy. For the Scots, purity was equated with spiritual worthiness, and as the most spiritually worthy member of humanity, she was in the best position to plead on humanity's behalf. Her spiritual worthiness, and the likelihood of God listening to her, had been proven by His choice of her as mother of Jesus, mother of God in His human form. The laity's conviction that Mary would plead with God on its behalf rested on its judgment of Mary's loving and compassionate nature, and on her motherhood of Jesus. She could be defined as mother to humanity because Jesus was a member of the human family in His human form, and laypeople wished for her to be mother of humanity because she embodied perfect maternal characteristics. She lovingly supported Jesus in His sacrifice despite her personal grief at His death, proving her commitment to the cause of human salvation.

Knowledge of Mary's purity was necessary to laymen in particular. In male culture the purity of the spouse was demanded in order to ensure that one's children truly were one's own. Since Mary was the perfectly pure spouse of God, Mary's son Jesus was truly the son of God, capable of purchasing human salvation by His sacrifice on the Cross.

To laywomen Mary represented more than surety of salvation through Jesus. She also served as a model of perfect womanhood. However, Mary was a difficult role model, since being a mother yet eternally sexually pure was an unachievable combination. Mary Magdalen was a more likely role model, as a repentant and forgiven sinner. Thus women could combine the roles of mother and chaste, repentant sinner by having their children and then retiring to nunneries or lives of chastity within the world. This was the route taken by such pious benefactors as Dame Janet Hepburn (d. 1558) and Dame Katherine Sinclair (d. after 1409), both of whom married into the Seton family. They married and raised a family, made a number of pious foundations, including extensive work on the church of Seton, and eventually retired as widows into a life of religious devotion, Hepburn at the convent of St. Catherine of the Sciennes near Edinburgh, and Sinclair in the "priest's chambers" of the parish church of Seton.¹

Study of the nature and strength of Scots' lay devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary should be viewed in the context of devotion to the saints in general. As it is not possible to discuss all the aspects of devotion to saints in the period, Mary has been chosen for a representative study. She shared with other saints God's favour and her intercessory and protective roles. However, she unquestionably commanded the greatest loyalty from the laity. The saints were to be venerated as "higher citizens", in the words of a 1499 lay chaplainry foundation in Paisley.² However, the Virgin Mary was the "most glorious Mary always virgin, genetrix of our lord Jesus Christ".³ She was a human of absolute purity and sinlessness, which made her degree of spiritual worthiness higher than that of other saints. Proof of her worthiness had come in God's choice of

her as mother of Jesus. Further, her role as mother of God gave her the ear of the King on the Day of Judgment, and she was believed to be the most compassionate listener amongst the saints: "Supposs all sanctis our synfall prayere contempne / Thyne eres ar' ay opyn at our request."⁴ Thus as an intercessor and protector Mary stood above all the other saints.

Mary represented the perfect human being, but the less than perfect saints did share her basic intercessory and protective roles, transferring their merits to aid in lay salvation. Lay belief that purity equated with holiness manifested itself in devotion to virgin martyr saints such as St. Barbara, and the importance to salvation of Sts. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Michael the Archangel often placed them alongside Mary in prayers and foundations. Other saints will be mentioned during the course of the discussion of Mary, when they played a similar role to Mary, or cooperated with her in her endeavours. This will help to illustrate the rich environment of saintly devotion which existed in Scotland prior to the Reformation.

The role of Mary was also very much entwined with that of Jesus and the Trinity. Discussion of such themes will occur in the present and following chapters on Marian devotion in Scotland, particularly with regard to Mary's influence as mediator with Jesus and God, and her bearing of the saviour.

Study of the major Marian themes of purity and motherhood will follow a general discussion of the extent of Marian devotion in the period 1480 to 1560, using literary, artistic, foundation and dedication evidence. The theme of intercession will be the subject of the following chapter, Mary's role as supreme intercessor being a direct outgrowth of her nature as absolutely pure human being and

perfect mother of Jesus, and the source of her greatest attraction to a laity plagued with fears of dying and the afterlife.

GENERAL NATURE OF LAY DEVOTION TO MARY IN SCOTLAND

European evidence demonstrated that the main motivating force behind devotion to Mary was the laity, often resulting in localised cults described as "Our Lady of X". However, as time went by the trend was toward a more generalised devotion to Mary, Scotland also exhibiting this trend.⁵ Thus by the late medieval period, lay devotion to Mary in Scotland had taken on general characteristics which can be ascertained through the use of literary, artistic and dedicatory evidence, and a general understanding of Marian devotion in Scotland can be gained.

By 1480 Marian devotion in Scotland was well-entrenched in clerical minds as well, from the lowest to the highest echelons of the church hierarchy.⁶ One explanation for clerical devotion to Mary was that she posed no threat to male autonomy. The imagery associated with her emphasised her motherhood, which meant that her status came primarily through her son. Further, her humility, modesty, lack of human sexuality, obedience and self-effacement were all virtues which preserved male authority and control.⁷

The ideal of non-threatening womanhood, promulgated by early medieval writers such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux,⁸ was echoed by Scottish writers such as William Dunbar. He idealised "suete womanhede" with the virtues of loveliness, good reputation, patience and discretion,⁹ and Mary in particular as one whose great worthiness encompassed complete purity, beauty and mercy, leading God to choose her to bear his son Jesus.

Ros Mary, most of vertewe virginale
Fresche floure on quhom the hevinlie dewe doun fell;
O gem joynit in joye angelicall,
In quhom Jhesu rejosit for to duell;

Rute of refute, of mercy spring and well,¹⁰

Reformers were loathe to honour Mary to any significant degree, as her influence was so great with the laity. George Wishart maintained that no prayers should be offered to Mary. No doubt his experience as a preacher brought him the realisation that as lay reliance on Mary was so great, only a complete break from her would serve to re-focus attention on God and Jesus, where reformers felt the emphasis should lie. It is likely that Wishart used his platform to counter "wrongful notions" of her.¹¹ Luther, Zwingli and Knox emphasised Mary's position as mother of God. Luther denied her any intrinsic sanctity, merit, or free will in becoming mother of God, wholly emphasising the operation of God's grace. Calvin was loathe even to mention Mary's role as mother of God, as he felt that even mentioning this would encourage a laity already filled with superstitious love for Mary.¹²

Even Catholic theologians attempted to create a hierarchy of veneration, in which Mary was accorded the status of *hyperdulia*, the highest accorded any human being. This kept Mary, in theological terms, one of the redeemed rather than a redeemer,¹³ but lay enthusiasm to found masses, chaplainries and colleges in her honour lifted Mary's status even higher, in accordance with her perceived efficacy as intercessor. In the lay mind at least, there was greater hope of powerful intercession from Mary than from any source other than Jesus himself; in the mind of reformers her position as "locus of universal reconciliation" denied Jesus' sacrifice its centrality to salvation.¹⁴

Mary was also the supreme example to humanity of the new relationship with God which had come about through Jesus. That is, the Garden of Eden represented humanity's fall into sin and

consequent breaking of the relationship with God. In choosing an average human such as Mary to bring Jesus into the world, God showed His willingness to form a new covenant with humanity. She willingly and trustingly accepted her role and followed Jesus as a disciple, at the same time as she bore children and experienced a normal mother's worry; thus her life demonstrated to the laity how it could relate to God.¹⁵ That is, laypeople who led ordinary lives could be saved, as long as they actively displayed trust in God and were willing to be His disciples.

As a human being Mary had evidenced her solidarity with the rest of humanity, and as conceived immaculately she was one of the first humans to be redeemed.¹⁶ Thus the desire grew for Mary to act as mediator between God and humanity. People felt distanced from God, despite the Incarnation which had produced Jesus to be a "brother" to humanity. Possibly paternal "archetypes" (Carl Jung) or *imagos* (Jacques Pohier) had made God a distant and forbidding figure, in contrast to the compassionate and welcoming figure of Mary.¹⁷ The earliest recorded prayer to Mary, of the third or fourth century, expressed this trust and faith in her care, compassion and spiritual worthiness. The prayer encapsulated the major Marian themes of purity, motherhood and intercessory power, even to the point of deeming her a liberator, an attribute which Catholic theologians and Protestant reformers alike criticised the laity for cherishing.¹⁸ Orthodox teaching was somewhat ambivalent on the topic of Mary, as it encouraged devotion to her, while wishing to keep her firmly within the ranks of the redeemed.¹⁹ The Biblical image of Mary as the bride of Christ, based on the Canticles or Song of Songs in the Bible, had encouraged the unification of Marian and Trinitarian imagery, and contributed to

this official ambivalence: "Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse. . . My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up."²⁰

The lay characterisation of Mary came close to the concept of a "quaternity" described by Carl Jung, in which the human unconscious desires to create balance in its conception of the godhead, between good and evil (thus Satan) and/or between male and female (thus Mary). The "Ave Gloriosa" of BM Arundel MS 285 described Mary as "hevinnis queyne", "Cristis mothir deir" and "doctrix maist diuine" who would listen carefully to the suppliant and save him or her from suffering,²¹ terms which linked her very closely to the persons of the Trinity. Linking of Mary to the Trinity through her role as mother of God was expressed through such terms as "port of paradice" and "sepultur of saluacioun". These descriptions came in the same breath as the description of Mary as the one "maist neir ye trone of ye blissit Trinite".²²

Lay support for the concepts of the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which separated her completely from the taint of human sexuality or Original Sin, also expressed the laity's desire to place her at the head table of heaven along with the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.²³ The laity's tendency to regard her as co-redeemer with Jesus, as well as mother of God, conjoined her to the Trinity in belief if not in name, and this concept received artistic as well as literary treatment. For example, she appeared next to the figure of Jesus triumphant (ie. God glorified after the Resurrection) in a painting in Foulis Easter collegiate church.²⁴ In terms of documentary evidence for the commingling of Marian and Trinitarian imagery, there was the foundation by James III of a church dedicated to the Holy and Indivisible Trinity and

St. Mary the Virgin within the bounds of the parish church of Restalrig (petition for collegiate status in 1487).²⁵

Robert Scribner has defined "popular belief" as that "held by the mass of the people" rather than by the "religious elite". Popular belief was revealed in the cult of saints and miracles,²⁶ of which the Marian cult was the prime example. Thus understanding the nature, function and expression of popular belief is important to properly understand the nature of the Marian cult in Scotland, which has been neglected in Scottish historical studies partly through a lack of understanding of the relationship between elite and popular expressions of religious faith, with popular expressions of faith being dismissed or ignored as not fitting in with traditional methods of historical proof.

As popular devotion was more fluid and less structured than orthodox belief, it was more susceptible to various influences. The popularity and acclaimed efficacy of certain shrines, or the nature of the paintings, carvings, statues and vestment imagery surrounding the laity in the church, all had a profound effect on its religious perceptions. Thus the artistic and architectural environment of laypeople in the period 1480 to 1560 must be studied in order to enhance understanding of lay religion, a task made more difficult by the enthusiastic destruction which took place in the post-Reformation period. However, some material evidence does survive, which makes it possible to judge the level and nature of artistic and architectural influences on popular belief.

Popular devotion had a collective as well as an individual nature,²⁷ which has implications for the study of inner spirituality as well as secular and religious rites. One cannot make the mistake of assuming that individual devotion revealed the "true" piety of

the layperson, and participation in and support for public rituals was a matter of mere conformity. In the late Middle Ages the community had everything to do with the religious outlook and fortunes of the individual. This helps to explain the naming of kings in the list of names of obit foundations, as representative of the state and its spiritual state, and the belief that the sins of one segment of the community could bring God's wrath down upon the whole nation.²⁸ It also makes public rituals, such as the public penitential rites for secular crimes, modelled on religious penitential rites, subjects of interest in discussion of personal as well as public faith. That is, the notion of forgiveness as central to reconciliation was made clear by these rites, and reconciliation was of immense importance to spiritual acceptability and eventual acceptance into heaven. In fact, reconciliation with God had to come along with reconciliation with one's neighbour in order for the layperson to be considered spiritually worthy, and thus worked well with a very community-oriented society in which the fortunes of the group depended upon the fortunes of the individual, and vice versa. The inter-mingling of private and public also went along with an inter-mingling of spiritual and secular, a fact of medieval life which tends to be lost somewhat when twentieth century biases are read back into earlier centuries, despite attempts not to do so.

Ideas and practices, both individual and collective, combined to form popular belief. However, the difficulty in defining popular belief lies in a lack of definition of the "ideas" element behind the practices (egs. pilgrimages, plays, images). And yet one must use all means at hand to detect how laypeople invoked and worshipped the sacred, and how they interpreted the system of beliefs presented to them by the clergy which were realised in various church rituals.

For example, certain German statues of the period showed the womb of Mary open, with the Trinity inside. As a visualisation of the Trinity, orthodoxy had been violated, for Mary was the mother of Jesus, not of the Trinity.²⁹ Nevertheless, theological works had emphasised the key role played by Mary as mother of God, which contributed to this lay confusion about Mary's role. Scottish lay belief echoed this popular German attitude. In the poem "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", attributed to William Dunbar, Mary was described as the "temple of the Trinity".³⁰ Trinitarian imagery in Scotland habitually involved mention of Mary, apparently as a means of strengthening her links with the power and humanity of the godhead. And in the lay mind, and likely that of some clerics as well, as mother of God she was mother of the Trinity, as Jesus and the Holy Ghost were aspects of God. With Trinitarian imagery Mary was transformed from an obedient, simple girl into a being approximating a creator goddess.

The literary evidence for Marian devotion in Scotland both reflected popular attitudes and enriched them, and influenced their expression in other forms such as church carving, painting and architecture,³¹ making the laity more familiar with the symbolism of Mary, and encouraging its devotion to her. Devotional prayers were common, such as "The Lang Rosair" of BM Arundel MS 285, which was intended to be spoken by lay men and women to aid in their salvation. It contained details of the life and Passion of "our sueit Saluour Iesu". Each verse was introduced by words such as "Mothir of God" or "Blissit mothir of our Saluour", and each verse was followed by an *Ave Maria*, reinforcing Mary's relationship to Jesus and the power inherent in that relationship. The verses stressed Mary's humility, devoutness, piety, virginity and position

as "trone of the Trinite", and much literature of the period did likewise.³² Writers such as William Dunbar and Sir David Lyndsay, writing for a court audience, or Robert Henryson, writing for a middle class, professional audience, or John Asloan, in his compilation of prose and verse, made the audience familiar with the language of Marian devotion.³³ For example, Mary was often symbolised by the white rose or white lily, repeated in Dunbar's poetry, and reflecting contemporary imagery.³⁴ When translated into church paintings or carvings these images instantly reminded the laity of Mary. Further, the choice of symbol revealed an emphasis on certain aspects of her, thereby helping to form the lay view of her nature and function. For example, the white lily symbolised Mary's purity. Thus the presence of a lily on the stoup in the north wall of Foulis Easter church reminded the laity of Mary's sexual and spiritual purity and freedom from Original Sin, as well as the purifying function of the holy water of baptism.³⁵

A compilation of prayers and devotional works such as that of BM Arundel MS 285, written c. 1540, was filled with eulogies to Mary and requests for aid. It also emphasised Mary's important role as mother of God and thus her access to divine grace, which the laity could appropriate to its own use if it responded to Mary in the correct manner. Even the post-Reformation compilation of George Bannatyne (1568) revealed the extent to which devotion to Mary absorbed the attention of contemporary writers.³⁶

The advantage of literature is that it sheds light on contemporary attitudes and belief structures, and thus it serves as a window into the collective soul of groups in society. The choice of themes and the treatment of them reveals the beliefs and purposes of the writer as an individual, and the "truth" may be further

modified by the cultural biases of the historian. However, by and large the literary evidence of the period 1480 to 1560 is consonant with the evidence provided by other media of expression. Thus it not only provides insight into the individual's understanding of the nature and significance of Mary, but also reveals collective contemporary perceptions.

Devotion to Mary in Europe pre-dated shrines dedicated to her, and continued after those shrines ceased to exist. Thus devotion to Mary was not dependent upon visible expressions of the cult. Rather, as with the cult of the Passion, the Marian cult was focused upon a personal relationship with Mary, not on specific places of pilgrimage or churches dedicated to her. The inner relationship of the layperson with Mary was paramount; the desire to make foundations and dedications, write eulogies and carve representations in churches served only to deepen and express lay devotion to her. Of course in the post-Reformation period the only means of attacking Marian devotion was to attack those visible expressions of devotion to her.³⁷ Thus the General Assembly of the reformed Church of Scotland was active in attempting to prevent laypeople from making pilgrimages to old chapels, wells and other pilgrimage sites, many of which were Marian shrines.³⁸

The carvings and paintings in churches and elsewhere celebrated those aspects of Mary which assisted the laity in its search for spiritual acceptability. Thus the purity of Mary, which lent her such credibility as intercessor, was expressed in carvings of lilies and scenes of the Annunciation, often appearing together in the same image. For example, the sacrament house at Foulis Easter collegiate church had a common image of the Annunciation scene, in which a pot of lilies stood between the Angel Gabriel and

Mary. Below this carving was Jesus' face, flanked by two angels holding the pillar of scourging and the Cross.³⁹ The impression left by these two scenes was in the form of a narrative. That is, it reminded the lay viewer of Mary's purity, which had led God to favour her as the mother of the Son of God, and of Jesus' historical role in purchasing humanity's salvation, and his present role as living sacrifice in the Eucharistic rite, wherein the Passion was re-enacted and the promise of salvation reaffirmed.

Altar retables with Marian imagery, which usually concentrated on Mary's role as mother of Christ,⁴⁰ were common in Scottish pre-Reformation churches, such as those at her altar in the church of St. John in Perth, in Paisley abbey, in King's College church in Old Aberdeen, and in the college of St. Salvator in St. Andrews.⁴¹

Mary's connection to Jesus and His salvation of humanity through the Passion was often reinforced by associating rosary or flower imagery or Mary's monogram with Passion imagery. The Fetternear banner, probably constructed for the confraternity of the Holy Blood in St. Giles church, Edinburgh c. 1520, included a rosary with *Ave Maria* beads arranged in fives (usually tens) to represent the Five Wounds of Jesus.⁴² The font of St. John's church, Aberdeen, c. 1525, included the Marian symbols of a crowned Gothic "M" and a rose, along with Passion symbolism. The monograms of both Mary and Jesus were carved on sacrament houses at Auchindoir and Kintore.⁴³ From the synod of Merton in 1305, it became standard practice to have a statue of Mary as well as the titular saint at the high altar in all churches. This was the case in St. Andrews cathedral, "Le Douglas lady" statue standing with St. Andrew at the high altar.⁴⁴ Nave altars also had statues, such as the alabaster figure in the church of King's College in Old Aberdeen and a statue

of Our Lady of Consolation in the nave of Glasgow cathedral next to the altar of St. John the Baptist. Statues probably also stood in Lady chapels such as that of Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, aisles such as that of St. Tiernan's, Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire, or side altars dedicated to Mary such as that of Seton collegiate church.⁴⁵ This entwining of Marian and Passion imagery reinforced Mary's image as the bearer of humanity's saviour. Mary's importance to salvation was also made clear through paintings representing her as a tearful, grieving mother at the foot of the Cross, such as the Crucifixion painting above the rood screen in Foulis Easter collegiate church. All of these statues, paintings and other "images" in churches would have inspired laypeople to give thanks and praise to Mary.⁴⁶

The representation of Mary in art, literature and theology led laypeople to support rituals and institutions which reflected their perceptions of her nature and value. The scope for a study of images of Mary is great, for she invariably figured in the dedicatory preamble to foundation charters as well as in testaments, themselves an expression of religious faith. Foundations to Mary included obit or mass foundations at altars dedicated to her, chaplainries, aisles, secular colleges, chapels, hermitages, hospitals, prebends, holy wells (which once perhaps had a Marian shrine nearby), and fairs held in her name.⁴⁷ Foundations or augmentations of foundations for which she was not titular saint were intended to honour and glorify her as well, this intention being expressed in the dedicatory preamble of the foundation charter, where the foundation was dedicated to God, Mary and possibly the saints and/or a specific patron saint. For example, an altarage founded by burgess William Alan in 1517 in the church of

St. Andrews in Peebles was done to honour God, the Virgin Mary and St. Christopher.⁴⁸

Descriptions of Mary in foundation charters and testaments revealed which aspects of Mary were most valued by the founder, and also give some indication of the general religious climate. Founders in the same time period differed in their choice of wording, and these differences became greater as the period advanced, indicating that personal choice was involved in descriptions of Mary. A general pattern of change also can be discerned through the period 1480 to 1560, indicating that perceptions of the nature and function of Mary changed over time, and were not merely a product of tradition. Early in the period dedications tended to be to "St. Mary the Virgin" or the "Blessed Virgin Mary". As the period progressed the wording expressed more intense devotion and reliance upon her intercessory power. She was the "blessed and glorious Virgin Mary" or the "most blessed and most glorious". Foundations were often made in honour first of (omnipotent) God, then Mary, then the titular saint, and finally "all the saints in heaven", but as time progressed "omnipotent God" began to be defined in terms of the Trinity. Thus instead of "God" or "omnipotent God", terms such as the "Holy and Indivisible Trinity" became more common, followed by the "most glorious, ever virgin, mother of our lord Jesus Christ".⁴⁹ Instead of Mary being an adjunct of omnipotent God (eg. "Blessed Virgin Mary"), she became the powerful mother of the saviour (eg. "most glorious mother of our Lord Jesus Christ"). Jesus was commonly described not as God, but as the son of Mary, a trend which continued up to the nineteenth century in the Highlands, when a "soul peace" or prayer said over a

dying person referred to Jesus as "Jesus Christ Son of gentle Mary".⁵⁰

The laity put increasing faith in the compassion of Jesus and the saving power of His death, and increasingly viewed God as a separate, remote and stern figure to be feared. Thus the laity came to rely more heavily upon the influential mother of Jesus, who had the ear of God the King as well as of Jesus the Son, and whose position as absolutely pure mother of God guaranteed her efficacy as intercessor for sinful humanity. Two pieces of art represent the changes occurring in this period. An illustration in the Arbuthnott Missal drew a startling contrast between Jesus and God. Jesus was a small, thin, vulnerable young man whereas God was a large, middle-aged king on a throne, holding Jesus across His lap. The message was that God was the living and powerful, haloed and crowned king of heaven, whereas Jesus was the lifeless and puny, unhaloed and uncrowned sacrifice for human sin. Jesus' feet rested on the orb of sovereignty, however, which may have symbolised the power transmitted through His Crucifixion and death.⁵¹

A different version of Jesus was offered to the laity in the Foulis Easter Trinity panel painting. It portrayed a young and personable Jesus triumphant in glory, the risen lord, instead of the vulnerable victim of the Crucifixion.⁵² However, in both the Arbuthnott Missal and Foulis Easter Trinity panel painting it was Jesus who was central to humanity's hope of salvation, not God, and it was through Mary that Jesus' sacrifice was made possible. Thus in one illustration in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book Mary stood grieving at the foot of the Cross, as she did in the Crucifixion panel painting in Foulis Easter church. In one illustration from BM Arundel MS 285 she knelt on the ground, stabbed through with swords

(the "dolours" of the Virgin), and in another she held a vulnerable, dead Jesus across her lap, swords stabbing into her body to represent a mother's grief, a common portrayal of the *Pieta*. As powerful and triumphant mother of God she appeared in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book and BM Arundel MS 285, the crowned queen of heaven holding the baby Jesus, in the Trinity panel painting of Foulis Easter church, tenderly cradling the baby Jesus.⁵³ Thus in foundation charters and dedicatory preambles, just as in literary and artistic creations, Jesus and Mary stood together; the laity understood that Mary's purity and motherhood and Jesus' divinity together offered the greatest hope for spiritual worthiness and acceptance into heaven.

MARY'S PURITY AS PROOF OF SPIRITUAL WORTHINESS

In general terms the Blessed Virgin Mary was the idealisation of the feminine. The aspect of femininity which conferred the greatest honour upon her was her absolute purity. By and large this purity was a sexual purity. It was expressed in a variety of ways, more directly as virginity, sinlessness, or chastity (eg. "intact") and less directly as cleanness, clearness, light, or goodness. Perhaps as a partial legacy of chivalric and biblical imagery, Mary as the ideal woman was described as noble and beautiful, being likened to flowers such as the lily and the rose. Mary's purity was necessary to make her spiritually acceptable to God as mother of Jesus the saviour and mediator with God on humanity's behalf. Male notions of sexual purity were the prisms through which Mary's motherhood and intercessory power were viewed. Hence the basis of a discussion of Mary must include a study of late medieval male attitudes toward sexuality and femaleness.

Sexuality was viewed by the medieval church as, at best, the cause of chaotic human relations.⁵⁴ At worst, as a representation or cause of spiritual unworthiness, sexuality was a threat to salvation. Greek philosophy had separated body and soul, and female sexuality represented base human nature, whereas men represented reason and the spirit. In the inimitable style possessed only by St. Jerome, woman as corrupt and base was summarised as "Woman is a temple built over a sewer." For Clement of Alexandria (d. c. 215) "Nothing for men is shameful, for man is endowed with reason; but for woman it brings shame even to reflect on what her nature is." Eve epitomised the control of female sexuality and the body over male reason (Adam's) and the spirit. Hatred of sin came to mean hatred of the body, particularly the female body.⁵⁵ Original Sin and the banishment from the Garden of Eden gave a narrative framework and focus to these ideas, a means of reminding humanity of its sinful, bodily nature. For the parishioners of Foulis Easter in Angus, the representation of the Garden of Eden in their alms-dish offered a regular reminder of the association between human nature, sin and the body.⁵⁶ No doubt paintings, carvings, and ornaments in other Scottish churches hammered home the same message of sin, shame, and base human nature.

Medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas was very influential in the developing characterisation of sexuality as evil, and its association with the female body. His ideas made it even more important that Mary be separated from the spiritual pollution of female sexuality. Aquinas accepted that God had created woman in His own image. However, he was highly influenced by Aristotelian biology, which asserted that woman was a flawed and subordinate creation embodying the sensuality which threatened male purity of

mind and spirit. Thus Aquinas' compromise position was that, whilst women were created by God for procreation, they were individually defective. They only contributed matter to the fetus, whereas men prepared the matter and God supplied the soul. Thus the Fall could be blamed on the weaker female intellect, women's subjection to men rationalised,⁵⁷ and Protestant relegation of Mary to mere "vessel of God" justified. And yet by the later Middle Ages Mary was of tremendous moment to a laity desperately seeking spiritual acceptability. Not only was she the bearer of the saviour, from which He took His human form, she was the greatest intercessor with God available, her female power sealed by her purity and buttressed by her close relationship with Jesus.

Male painters and writers consistently associated human sexuality with women. Thus women were seen as a threat to the male self-control which gave hope of eventual spiritual worthiness. Women threatened male control by tempting them sexually, so stereotypes of "bad women" were of those who sexually enticed men, such as sirens in mariners' tales, prostitutes, Eve, or the early Mary Magdalen. Art historian Edwin Mullins maintained that the unconscious male fear of what women would do if not controlled led to artists portraying women not as they truly were, but in controllable stereotypes. By reducing women to manageable stereotypes, men alleviated their fear and anxiety, asserted their power, and maintained their own self-image of goodness.⁵⁸ "Good" versus "bad" women were represented in art in sexual terms, a pregnant Eve appearing in Van Eyck's altarpiece along with the Blessed Virgin Mary, so that male feelings of disgust and guilt about sexuality could be directed at Eve.⁵⁹ Philippe Aries asserted that male distrust of women, particularly male clerical distrust,

had increased in the Middle Ages as a type of "defence mechanism against women's growing influence".⁶⁰

Another way of interpreting the situation is found in the work of Katherine Young. Building upon the theories of anthropologist Mary Douglas, Young estimated that, by projecting their aggression and fears onto women and portraying them as temptresses or as sexually insatiable, evil creatures, men felt better able to control the "dangerous forces" which were threatening them.⁶¹ It is no surprise that the danger posed by the devil or one's own evil nature was often characterised as sexual in nature, and that spiritual acceptability was closely linked to the overcoming of human sexuality.⁶² (See Chapter 3)

Child-bearing gave proof of female power and was necessarily related to the sexual act. Male ambivalence about it was expressed in theological terms by John of Ireland in his work The Meroure of Wyssdome. He portrayed Eve as the "bad" woman. Her sorrow, sadness, and bearing of children in pain was God's punishment for having consented to the devil's suggestions. By contrast, Mary was a "good" woman who had overcome the devil by faith and obedience, and thus had found grace and favour with God.⁶³ Laypeople, both men and women, were the "children of Eve" as described in the *Salve Regina* (Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary), or "exiles" in that they were sinners like Eve and as such had been cast from the "Garden" of God's grace and favour. Mary, on the other hand, was the model for a perfect human being, and she sat at God's high table in heaven.⁶⁴

Scots equated sexuality with sinfulness. For example, Don Pedro de Ayala commented that, by 1498 when he visited Scotland, James IV had given up his myriad lovers, partly from fear of God's

wrath.⁶⁵ Sinlessness and spiritual purity were sometimes referred to in the literature as perfect "goodness", and entailed the attainment of perfect sanctity through the suppression of physical desires. The attainment of perfect goodness therefore required considerable personal control; the laity often invoked the aid of the saints, particularly Mary, "the flour of virginis without corrupcioune",⁶⁶ in its attempt to resist the lures of the world, especially those of the flesh. In "The Lang Rosair", the supplicant pleaded: "Pray for me [Mary], yat I be vertu of abstinence may ourcum ye spreit of glutony and lichory, and withstand my fleschely concupissance for trew luf of him and the. Alalua. / *Ave maria*."⁶⁷ Oral tradition, as recorded in the nineteenth century, gave Mary the role of guide in the search for spiritual worthiness.⁶⁸

Clergy, poets and artists threatened the laity with the dire consequences of succumbing to worldly desires and vanities. The Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" of William Dunbar, and carvings of sinners being raked in by the devil in Roslin Chapel, are just three such examples.⁶⁹ Alan Watts maintained that by suppressing natural desires, particularly sexual ones, people intensified their lusts. The unconscious substitution for sexual activity became enjoyment of the inflicting of pain, a ghoulish delight in the torments of the damned.⁷⁰ The paintings of Brueghel and Bosch are classic European examples of this preoccupation. In the field of Scottish poetry, Dunbar's "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" described the punishments inflicted on the damned with great relish.

In terms of artistic representation, Mullins insisted that subject and style were based upon society's beliefs and wants more than the "personal vision" of the painter.⁷¹ This may have been

just as true of the illustrated literature circulated amongst the literate laity (egs. BM Arundel MS 285 and Asloan MS), as it was of the painted panels and murals and carvings in churches viewed by the mass of the laity. Thus it is significant that the most popular images in Scotland were those which served as improving examples to the laity (especially to laywomen), and whose life stories attested to their spiritual worthiness and hence their intercessory power. Consequently sanitised virgins such as the Virgin Mary or Sts. Catherine and Barbara, or penitent sinners such as Mary Magdalen, were popular subjects in Scottish art and literature, and popular titular saints in Scottish foundations. However, even in the portrayal of "good women" there were clear signs of male fear of female power, and the ambivalence this bred. In Foulis Easter collegiate church there was a painted panel of the Trinity, St. Catherine of Alexandria standing to the right of God triumphant. With a serene expression on her face she stood with a heavy sword rammed through the head of the king who had threatened her virginity. The painting sent the laity clear messages - sexuality was evil and punishable by death, and denial of it gave you high status in heaven. Further, the violence of the painting would have inspired a shocked sense of horror and awareness of female power.⁷²

The art and literature created by men revealed how men felt in women's company, how they expected women to act, how they wanted them to act, and what they perceived or wanted women's nature to be. In the move from life to artistic or literary expression, women were transformed "in men's eyes".⁷³ It is primarily through the foundations or testaments made by women that one gains any insight into women's perceptions of their nature or role in society.⁷⁴ By and large it is male attitudes to women of the period that art and

literature reveal; in terms of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the New Testament mentioned her only eight times, and she spoke only a few of those times,⁷⁵ the male construct of the ideal woman was most clearly expressed. As the importance of Mary lay primarily in her utility to human salvation, she came to bear those characteristics which best fitted her to intercessory and maternal roles.

EMPHASIS ON MARY'S PURITY

THEOLOGICAL, LITERARY, ARTISTIC AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Theories about Mary's sexual purity eliminated any sexual threat which might have been posed by a powerful female supernatural being. Most significantly, Mary's purity made her a spiritually worthy human intercessor with God. In order to create Mary as a woman of perfect spiritual worth, great emphasis was put on her virginity throughout life, the Assumption and, to a lesser extent, the Immaculate Conception. Evidence of this emphasis on Mary's sexual purity can be found in theological, literary, artistic and documentary evidence.

The fifteenth century saw western art's greatest preoccupation with women's virtue,⁷⁶ this virtue being a sexual one. Mary, through her virginity and immaculate conception, had renounced her sexuality and thus no longer threatened male control of their own sexuality. Mary Magdalen, the virgin martyrs and nuns had renounced sexuality and by doing so had become "good" women. Thus in 1504 Sir John Maitland of Thirlstane (*Thirlestoune*) lauded the sisters of the order of St. Catherine of the Sciennes near Edinburgh for being "holy virgins" who had renounced the world and lived in confinement, and rewarded their virtue as well as their charitable works by donating £100 in annual rents for the reparation and augmentation of their living quarters (*caenobii*), which were insufficient for the

number of sisters residing at the convent.⁷⁷ The Council of Trent spelled out the need for women to deny their sexuality in order to achieve greater spiritual worthiness, stating this in the context of the debate over virginity and marriage. The Council maintained that "virginity was closer to God than the state of marriage".⁷⁸ In The Meroure of Wyssdome, John of Ireland warned laywomen in the strongest terms not to succumb to their sexuality, or they would lose all hope of salvation, but rather to follow the example of Mary, "the bricht meroure & exemplare of all wertu and womanheid"; at the Annunciation Mary had been stricken with maidenly fear of sexuality, but had been reassured by the Angel Gabriel that she would remain "jn pure virginite" despite her motherhood:

And tharfor, ladeis and virginis, tak exempil fra this haly lady and virgin; gif nocht youre Eris, youre hert and mynd to waurdly plesaunce, to wourdis of lust and fleschly delit; . . . heire nocht the promyss of wenus seruandis . . . youre chastite, youre virginite, youre wertuis and haly name . . . are hevinly tressouris, and eftir that ye tyne thame, jrreparable. . . Consider, ladeis, the foulis and wild bestis tholis na grapin na twichin, And tharfor thai remane clene and net jn fedderis and skin. Quhen ye thol you to be twichit, grapit, and schaw you familar, ye are ourcummyne, The rebald and lichorus man has wone your hert, and his lusty plesaunce youre chastite and your virginite; youre hevinly tressoure, your haly name, your saule is tynt. Ye ladeis of chastite, encheu the company of mene, . . .⁷⁹

Imagery of the perfect woman, the Blessed Virgin Mary, thus exemplified the societal emphasis on sexual purity. Such an emphasis was a human construct rather than one which was divinely ordained and biblically based. Mary was mentioned as a "virgin" only twice in the Bible, whereas she was mentioned as a "mother" twenty-five times.⁸⁰ However, in the search for spiritual acceptability, Mary's sexual purity was important to lay peace of mind. Laypeople who had succumbed to the lures of human sexuality were unlikely candidates for divine mercy; Mary's purity ensured laypeople of a worthy human intercessor with God, this purity being

maintained despite her motherhood, which was explained in terms of a divine act rather than a polluting human one.

It was, in fact, the operation of the Holy Ghost that had made conception possible without human sexuality to taint the product - Jesus. The Holy Ghost was an animating life force like the Egyptian *ka*, a procreative power or function rather than a person, a means of creating a being of divine parentage through a human woman. Through the action of the Holy Ghost in conceiving Jesus, not only was Mary kept separate from human sexuality, humanity also became part of the divine. That is, the bodily nature of humanity was actualised and united to the divine Trinity in the person of Jesus,⁸¹ and thus as true "children of God" humanity received a great promise of divine acceptability.⁸²

In keeping with the laity's preoccupation with Mary as mother of Jesus, Scottish art, literature and theology linked Mary and the Holy Ghost through the Incarnation. In fact, the Holy Ghost appeared in contemporary art almost exclusively in this connection, being present as a dove in the corner of countless illustrations of the Annunciation. For example, illustrations in BM Arundel MS 285 and the Arbuthnott Prayer Book depicted a dove (Holy Ghost) sending rays of light toward Mary, representing divine conception.⁸³ "The Lang Rosair" of BM Arundel MS 285 referred to Mary as the spouse of the Holy Ghost, putting into human terms the relationship which existed at the Incarnation.⁸⁴ With the concept of the virgin birth firmly fixed in the lay mind, Mary could be entirely removed from any degree of sexual awareness and thus from susceptibility to human sinfulness or responsibility for men's sexual urges. Part of a woman's role was to keep men's sexual urges in check. However, as a sexually unaware virgin, the "hie kinrid of the lile of

chaistite",⁸⁵ Mary could not be accused of tempting men to lustful thoughts.

To further remove Mary from the taint of human sexuality and Original Sin, and thus render her spiritually pure and an ideal intercessor, Mary was herself considered to have been the product of a virgin birth. By the twelfth century the immaculate conception of Mary had begun to gain hold in western Christendom, being celebrated in the Feast of the Conception of Mary, although papal approval for the theory of the immaculate conception only came in 1854.⁸⁶ By the fourteenth century the laity led the charge in favour of this theory.⁸⁷ Since the purity of Mary, the laity's best hope of salvation, was essential to the acceptability of her intercessory prayers, her immaculate conception removed her from the female sexuality which had been the cause of the Fall. A virgin mother, and a virgin after marriage, she took no part in the sexuality which daily threatened human spiritual worthiness.⁸⁸ Assumed bodily into heaven, she was proof of the possibility of human reconciliation with God and acceptance into heaven.⁸⁹

Although the concept of the Assumption was not dogma until 1950, it held great currency by the end of the period under study, probably because it so greatly reassured the laity of the efficacy of Mary's intercession. The Assumption of Mary proved that she must have been of divine origin, the Mass of the Feast of the Assumption stating that she was "set up from of old, before ever the earth was", and thus did not inherit the stain of Original Sin which had begun in the Garden of Eden. Her assumed body was free from sin and thus filled with the Spirit of God, and her status in heaven was as consort and co-ruler with Jesus, and divine mother.⁹⁰ In the words of the prayer "O Clementissime" of BM Arundel MS 285, Mary was

"virgin befor thy birth, virgin into thy birth, and virgin efter thy birth", or in the words of the liturgy, "eternally virgin".⁹¹

Mary's assumption into heaven, bringing with it such great proof of God's favour, may have played a part in the decision of Malcolm, Lord Fleming, to put his collegiate foundation of Biggar under the title and invocation of the Assumption of the Virgin (1546). It may also have influenced the decision of Archbishop James Beaton and his nephew Cardinal Beaton to dedicate the college of St. Mary at St. Andrews to the "blessed Virgin Mary of the Assumption" (1539). The seal of the college depicted Mary with the infant Jesus on her right arm, a further reminder to God of her dual role as mother of the saviour, and pure and worthy human being.⁹² In 1513, burgess Patrick Wallis augmented his recently founded altar of the Salvation of Our Lady and St. Gabriel in the church of St. John the Baptist of Perth.⁹³ The title given to the altar may have been intended to celebrate the complete spiritual worthiness of Mary made plain in the Annunciation, with the implicit promise of the salvation of all believers thanks to Mary's bearing of the saviour. Such was the message of Annunciation scenes such as the one in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book, in which the ubiquitous book lying open on a desk next to Mary held the words "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God", the promise of salvation.⁹⁴

Theologian John of Ireland wrote extensively on Marian themes, in poetry and theological tracts. The Meroure of Wyssdome was written in the vernacular, ostensibly at the request of King James III, and carefully examined the nature and significance of Mary. Ireland also devoted an entire devotional tract to a discussion of the issue of purity as it bore on Mary's own conception, clearly conceiving of spiritual purity as closely related to the issue of

sexual purity, and the human body as inherently sinful and representative of humanity's sinful nature.⁹⁵

Ireland maintained that Mary was the daughter of God omnipotent, "consauit without syn in grace". This sin he described as "originale syn" or any "filth", God purifying the matter from which she was formed so that she would have no inclination to "syn, ore fleschly lust".⁹⁶ To Ireland, sin and sexuality were inseparable concepts, and Mary had to be removed as far as possible from their stain. Thus his support for the theory of the immaculate conception was firm. Her purity of body made her the perfect source of matter for the Son of God, a "maist precius and secret chaumere of the hevinly lord and king of gloire. . . euir clene and nete, without any maner of filth or syne", and this made it possible for Jesus Himself to be without sin, a worthy sacrifice to redeem humanity.⁹⁷ As God had purified Mary and thus removed any human tendency to sexuality, she would remain sinless throughout life. Thus Ireland maintained that she committed neither mortal nor venial sin, and her nature encouraged others to refrain from sexual lust as well. Her virtue and grace granted by "hie diuinite", her great purity and holiness shone so from her face that all who looked on her ceased their lust and carnal delight, and were inspired to cleanness and chastity. Thus not only was Mary no incitement to male lust, and therefore no threat to male control, she actually caused men to follow a more spiritually worthy path.⁹⁸

Other Scottish authors testified to the original and continuing sexual purity of Mary. She was "perpetualie abiding in haly virginite", according to "The Lang Rosair" of BM Arundel MS 285, a rosary of prose prayers interspersed by *Ave Maria's*.⁹⁹ Sir David Lyndsay described her as a "immaculat" and "purifyit Virgin

trew". Her "flesche" which clothed Jesus' "divynitie" needed to be as separate as possible from the natural polluting action of the human body, that she might bear the Son of God, who would destroy the devil.¹⁰⁰ In the "Ave Gloriosa" of BM Arundel MS 285, Mary had been "purifyit" by the Holy Spirit so that she was a well of virtue without any vice in her, her "worschipfull body" worthy to be the source of matter for the Son of God.¹⁰¹ William Dunbar referred to her as a "cleir conclaif of clene virginite", the notion of cleanliness being often associated with sexual purity and sinlessness. As this "virgin cleyne" and "inviolat", Mary thus was able to bear the "lambe of innocence" who was Jesus.¹⁰² Walter Kennedy wrote that Mary's body had never been clad with "corrupcioun", as a holy and immaculate virgin.¹⁰³ Robert Henryson's view of sexuality as polluting came through clearly in his description of Mary as an undefiled maid, whose "mervalus hail madinhede" was clean of "carnale cryme".¹⁰⁴ To the writer of the reforming spiritual song "Let us rejoyce and sing", circulating in the mid-sixteenth century, Mary was a "Virgin but defame [reproach]", referring to her essential goodness at the time of the Annunciation, and Adam Wallace, also of a reforming mind, referred to Mary as the "virgine Mary".¹⁰⁵ A Scottish translation of a common Latin text, "Aue Cuius Concepcio", in BM Arundel MS 285, summarised the importance of Mary's Annunciation, Purification and Assumption, all major feasts in the Christian calendar. Her Annunciation was proof of human redemption, her Purification was purgation of human sin, and her Assumption was humanity's glorification.¹⁰⁶ Thus the significance of Mary's life lay in its utility to humanity. The prayer ended with a plea to Mary, God's most perfect human creation, to pray eternally for humanity.

The lay foundations made to Mary in the period 1480 to 1560 echoed the emphasis put by theologians and writers on Mary's sexual purity. She was invariably referred to as the "Virgin Mary", and over time her continued purity was emphasised further by describing her as "Ever Virgin". The 1474 foundation of St. Marthe's hospital of Abirdour was unusual in its early emphasis on the continued purity of Mary, describing her as the "blessed genetrix, perpetual Virgin Mary our lady". This foundation was made by James, Earl of Morton.¹⁰⁷ The 1523 foundation of masses for Sir Simon Preston, knight, in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr in the Castle of Craigmillar, was made to the praise of almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary His "Glorious Mother and Ever Virgin Mary".¹⁰⁸ The 1546 foundation of the collegiate church of Biggar by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, was made to the praise, glory and honour of the "high and Individual Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, blessed and always pure virgin Mother of God and mother of our lord Jesus Christ, saviour". The provost was described as the "provost of the collegiate church of the blessed and pure Virgin Mary of Bigar", which meant that Marian festivals would be the major ones to be celebrated in the church, each having special sequence hymns in plainsong praising Mary. This dedication of certain hymns to the titular saint helps to explain the concern for singing standards expressed by lay founders, include Lord Fleming, as high standards of execution best pleased the saint whose intercession was being sought. In Lord Fleming's foundation the third prebend was to be the sacristan's, who was also given the honour of holding the chaplainry of the blessed Mary with its land and pertinents.¹⁰⁹

Clerics agreed with the laity about the importance of the sexual purity of Mary. Thus Sir James Strait was described as the chaplain of the blessed and spotless Virgin Mary in the aisle of St. John's church of Ayr, when he founded his obit in 1492.¹¹⁰ Apart from an increasing emphasis on Mary's purity, there was an increasing tendency by both lay and clerical founders to emphasise her relationship to Jesus, saviour of humanity. Early documents tended to refer simply to the "Virgin Mary" and "God omnipotent", whilst later ones defined "God" as the "Holy and Individual Trinity, the Most Blessed Ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and our lord Jesus Christ", or some variation thereof.

Artists portrayed Mary as sexually pure, partly through her demeanour and partly through her dress. For example, the Arbuthnott Prayer Book, written 1482-3 for the use of Sir Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott (d. 1506), included a Crucifixion scene in which Mary's white cloth headgear, extremely serious expression, downcast eyes, and homely face indicated a woman far removed from sexuality.¹¹¹ An illustration of the Annunciation in BM Arundel MS 285 portrayed a woman with eyes downcast, her hair plaited in maidenly fashion and her gown modestly covering her. She had a demure, listening demeanour as she knelt at a lectern-like desk, her body facing the lectern but her upper body twisted back toward St. Gabriel, who had arrived to give her the news about her role in the Incarnation. The scroll above Mary announced her as the handmaid of the lord.¹¹² The scene was a common one in paintings, carvings and literature throughout Scotland, reinforcing for the laity the connection between maidenly purity and obedience and God's favour, and the importance to human salvation of the young Mary's response to the words of St. Gabriel.

PURITY AS BEAUTY - MOON, STAR AND FLOWER IMAGERY

Marian imagery equated beauty with purity, often using moon, star or flower imagery to convey its meaning. The language was that of love poetry or chivalric romance. The beauty being celebrated was that of purity, not sexuality. It was the purity of Mary which drew God and humanity to her, and which made her worthy of their adoration, so descriptions of Mary as beautiful served to reinforce her value as worthy mother of the Saviour and intercessor for humanity.

This type of imagery had a biblical basis in the Hebrew "Canticle of Canticles", or "The Song of Songs", which combined the concepts of purity and beauty, and was the source of symbolism for Mary in devotional works and the liturgy.¹¹³ In "The Song of Songs", the lover told his beloved that she was both "beautiful" and "flawless" and that she had stolen his heart, and he asked that she open herself to him. The Christian interpretation of "The Song of Songs" was that Jesus was the lover and Mary the beloved. The lover/Jesus described her as the "Rose of Sharon", "Lily", "sister", "bride" and "dove", as well as a "garden" and "sealed fountain" which he wished to enter.¹¹⁴ Thus Mary was the sister and consort of Jesus, daughter of God, and site of the Incarnation, images which pepper Scottish literature from 1480 to 1560. For example, in the poem "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", attributed to William Dunbar, Mary was hailed as "Chrystys love!".¹¹⁵ In the prayer "O Clementissime" in BM Arundel MS 285, Mary was described as "berar and dochter of the Fathir".¹¹⁶

Christianity celebrated Mary's physical beauty which had arisen out of her perfect spiritual beauty, a spiritual perfection which had so delighted God that he had made her: "fairer than the

children of men: / grace is poured into thy lips; / therefore God hath blessed thee forever" (Psalm XLIV).¹¹⁷ Writers of the Christian liturgy used these biblical images of beauty and purity to portray Mary as the ideal woman, incorporating such images into the regular Marian hymns and liturgy. By celebrating Mary in this fashion, they reinforced the importance of her purity. For example, an Antiphon in the Hours of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception stated: "Thou art all fair, O Mary; there is no spot in the . . . thy raiment is white as snow, and thy countenance like the sun."¹¹⁸

Mary's beauty was proof of her spiritual acceptability to God. There were few dissenting voices in Scotland between 1480 and 1560. In 1533, John Gau insisted that Mary's own physical and spiritual merits had not made her worthy of her role, but only her love for God. However, in "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", Gau admitted that not many people shared his views.¹¹⁹ Most people believed that to be worthy of lay trust and God's favour, Mary had to have been the most beautiful of all women, the "*a per se*",¹²⁰ standing above human womanhood in beauty as she did in virtue, proving her spiritual worthiness through her superiority to the rest of humanity. Thus Scottish writers and artists emphasised her beauty in order to remind laypeople of her utility as intercessor on their behalf, and as guide to spiritual worthiness. In "The Lang Rosair", the laity was called upon to pray to Mary as:

. . . maist honorable and luflye Lady, most fair . . . quhilk be most humile hart and schynnyng chaistite hes / so plesit ye Fader of licht yat he hes chosin ye floure of virginite to be crownit ye quene of chaistite, and to all creature art pilat and glory, ye maist speciall mediatrix for man; be yi merites and continuall supplecacioun ye multitud of synners salbe broucht to saluacioun.¹²¹

Almost the self-same sentiments were expressed in the "Praise of Mary", a paean recorded in the nineteenth century in the Highlands.

It emphasised her role as "pilot", an appropriate image for a sea-going people, and her role as mediator and helper of sinners in their search for salvation.¹²²

Late medieval Scottish theologians, poets and writers of devotional works celebrated the theme of beauty as purity. According to John of Ireland, God ordered "dame nature" to make Mary "ye fayrest lady yat euir was jn yis waurld" in order to make her a worthy mother of God and denote her dignity, nobility and virtue. Ireland specified that this beauty was a "bodely farennes", not just a spiritual beauty.¹²³ Writers used various terms to describe her perfect physical beauty: "specull of pulcritude"; "fairest forme of face"; "peirles pulcritude"; or simply the most beautiful woman to exist.¹²⁴ Once God had created this "fresche floure femynyne",¹²⁵ He proved to be delighted by his handiwork. Mary was: "ye flour delice of ye redolent rois, maist delitabill to the Fathir in Trinite; Vnto quhom ye moist excellent bewte of saule and body wes mair plesand yan all the delittis of paradise".¹²⁶ Mary continued to be portrayed as the most beautiful woman to have lived, a Highland prayer recorded in the nineteenth century describing her as "the fulfilment of the world's desire / In loveliness."¹²⁷

The beauty or perfection of Mary in heaven was expressed through celestial imagery of moons and stars, beginning with biblical imagery, such as that of Revelation XII:1, in which St. John described her in heavenly glory: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."¹²⁸ This type of imagery became common in Catholic iconography to represent Mary after the Assumption, in her role as queen of heaven.¹²⁹ For example, in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book Mary was depicted standing on

a crescent moon, with the rays of the sun as her background, wearing a crown and surrounded by five stars, possibly to reflect the Five Joys of the Virgin (Annunciation, Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension, Assumption). She wore the traditional blue gown with a pure white cloak, possibly to remind the viewer of her purity as well as her queenly status.¹³⁰ Scenes of the Five Joys of the Virgin also decorated a cornice below the parapet of a pulpitum screen in Lincluden collegiate church.¹³¹

The medieval liturgy celebrated the biblical imagery of Mary. For example, the Antiphon at Lauds on the Feast of the Assumption employed a Marian image based upon "The Song of Songs": "Who is she that riseth up as the morning; fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?"¹³² Such imagery would have been expressed and elaborated upon in such churches as Biggar collegiate church, dedicated to St. Mary of the Assumption by Malcolm, Lord Fleming in 1546, and in which special services were held on the feast of the Assumption, 15 August.¹³³

In heraldry, Mary was often associated with moon and star imagery. The burgh seals of Dumfries, Dingwall, Forres and Inverness involved moon and star imagery and the colour blue, which was associated with Mary, and Kirkcaldy included a moon, star and fleur-de-lys in its arms.¹³⁴ Coldstream's shield incorporated the symbols of the star and moon (*crescents*) from the seal of the Cistercian abbey of Coldstream, dedicated to Mary and founded in 1143 by Cospatrick, Earl of Dunbar. The rose also appeared on the burgh seal, attributed by heraldry experts to the family of Dunbar, whose symbol was the rose. However, it is entirely possible that the "Dunbar rose" became the family's symbol at the same time that it founded a monastery in honour of Mary, and staffed it with monks

whose order was largely responsible for spreading Marian devotion throughout Europe.¹³⁵

Stars and moons were commonly used Marian images in Scottish literature, theology and art, although not as popular as rose imagery. In William Dunbar's poem "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", Mary was hailed as a "stern superne".¹³⁶ In BM Arundel MS 285's "The Lang Rosair", she was a star directing sinners in danger of perishing in the stormy sea of earthly tribulation.¹³⁷ In John of Ireland's The Meroure of Wyssdome she was a queen bearing twelve stars in her crown, representing the twelve noble and excellent virtues.¹³⁸ On the ceiling of the main chapel in Roslin Chapel the Marian symbols of the lily, rose and daisy were mingled with that of the star. In the Lady Chapel, carvings of angels played heavenly instruments in a starry sky. One of the instruments being played was the lowly bagpipe to help the laity picture heaven as a perfect yet familiar place. Moon imagery was more common in art than in literature, one example being an illustration in BM Arundel MS 285, where Mary held the baby Jesus in her arms whilst standing on a crescent moon.¹³⁹

In keeping with the biblical and romance imagery, the flowers most commonly associated with Mary were the rose and the lily, and less commonly the daisy. Representations of Mary as a rose date from early times, and the image has continued to be a powerful image throughout the centuries. Apart from the "Rose of Sharon" being an image of Mary from "The Song of Songs", sequence hymns for the Mass on the festival days of Mary described her as a "rose without any thorns" (Sarum Use, common in Scotland).¹⁴⁰ As late as 14 September, 1956, Canon Joseph Daniel began his sermon at the annual Lourdes Rally at the Sacred Heart Convent, Craiglockhart, Edinburgh,

with the words, "Mystical Rose, pray for us!" The "mystic rose" was a common image in English devotional writing in the Middle Ages. The image of the *Rosa Mystica* was in the "Litany of Loreto", and a shrine of Our Lady of Loreto was established by Thomas Douchtie near Musselburgh c. 1536, its popularity with the laity proving distasteful to Sir David Lyndesay.¹⁴¹

Rose imagery occurred commonly in Scottish literature, art, architecture and heraldry in the period 1480 to 1560, the laity's choice of this symbol indicating its belief that praise and honour of Mary through use of her symbol would aid in obtaining her favour and intercession.

A literary association of the rose with the purity of Mary, essential to her Assumption, can be found in the poem "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" which is contained in the compilation of John Asloan from the reign of King James V. In the poem the author described Mary as a "flour Immaculat" and a "Rose Intact virgin Inviolat". Certainly the author concurred with the general belief that Mary's intercession was crucial to salvation, stating that "all my hope & trast Is in your grace".¹⁴² Another of the poems attributed to Dunbar was entitled "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", and it also revealed his preference for the rose as a Marian symbol of purity. In the poem he named her "Rose intemerat [pure]", and in his poem "Of the Nativite of Christ" he referred to Mary as "the ros Mary, flour of flouris" who had produced the "cleir Sone". That is, from her purity she had produced a pure and sinless saviour who was then worthy to purchase human salvation with His own blood.¹⁴³

Dunbar's intermingling of rose and Passion imagery occurred throughout his work. His poem "Of the Passioun of Christ" in The Asloan Manuscript began with the protagonist entering an oratory and

kneeling down "befor ye michti king of glorye" to offer up a *Pater Noster*, "Havand his passioun in memorye". Thus he presumably knelt before an image of Jesus, intending to offer up prayers. However, before doing so, he embraced (*halsit*), or saluted Mary with "ane gaude flore", a hymn to the Virgin. Dunbar's explanation for this was that "till his [Jesus'] moder I did Inclyne".¹⁴⁴ That is, thoughts about the Passion of Jesus naturally gave rise to thoughts about Mary, and it was quite natural and efficacious to combine praise and prayers to Mary with meditation on the Passion of Jesus.

Dunbar's desire to mingle images of Mary and the Passion of Jesus was shared by writers and artists all over Scotland, such as the authors of the devotional poems "Thre Rois Garlandis" and "The Lang Rosair" and the creators of the Edinburgh Fetternear Banner,¹⁴⁵ Paisley Abbey altar retables, "Beaton Panels",¹⁴⁶ and Aberdeen and Foulis Easter baptismal fonts. The combination of Marian and Passion symbolism on baptismal fonts is of particular note, as the font was the site of the ritual purification of Original Sin. The design of the late medieval octagonal font in Foulis Easter church was of scenes from the life and Passion of Jesus, roses forming the decorative border along the base.¹⁴⁷ Although the laity would have been very familiar with the image of the rose as a symbol for Mary, a symbol clearer to the modern, literate age is the monogram "M", which represented Mary. The font of St. John's church, Aberdeen, contained a crowned Gothic "M" along with the normal rose and Passion symbolism (c. 1525).¹⁴⁸ Monograms of Jesus also occurred alongside those of Mary, emphasising their close relationship, as in a carved wooden panel of roof bosses commissioned by David Beaton (?1494-1546) between the 1520's and late 1530's.¹⁴⁹

Roses were a common symbol in heraldry,¹⁵⁰ the royal burgh of Roxburgh having a rose tree as part of its burgh arms, with an eagle to represent St. John the Evangelist and a dove the Virgin Mary.¹⁵¹ The significance of the placement of St. John the Evangelist with Mary lay in his essential role in salvation. The Scottish translation of the Latin prayer "O Intemerata" referred to Mary and St. John the Evangelist as the "twa gemmes of ye hevin". It stated that, at the foot of the Cross, Jesus had lovingly joined together Mary and St. John as mother and son, the latter being a "maist blissit and familiar freind to Crist" and Jesus' "maist fair appostill and ewangelist". Together they were to be "ferme keiparis and meik intercessouris" for the supplicant, as their will was believed to be the will of God, and their wishes instantly granted by God.¹⁵² It was no wonder that in the early sixteenth century Kalendar of Aberdeen Cathedral, St. John the Evangelist was honoured with a major double feast, whereas even an important saint such as St. Michael was only accorded minor double status. The more elaborate the feast, the more vigorously the saint would intercede on one's behalf, but the intercession of the most successful intercessors obviously would have been the most sought after.¹⁵³

It was common for laypeople to include their heraldic shields in religious structures or works commissioned by them, whether intended for placement in a church or secular place. Identifying the donor through heraldry reminded God, humanity and the saint whose intercession was required that the founder/donor deserved special favours for having glorified the saint's name in this fashion. Thus heraldic shields were placed on wooden panels commissioned by Cardinal David Beaton (most likely for his private quarters),¹⁵⁴ *pulpita* (eg. Paisley Abbey),¹⁵⁵ burgh arms

(Roxburgh),¹⁵⁶ baptismal fonts and exterior walls of religious buildings (eg. Seton collegiate church).¹⁵⁷

The rosary, a variation on the standard Marian rose imagery, represented the means by which, via Mary, the laity obtained the mercy and forgiveness of God, and eventual spiritual acceptability and acceptance into heaven. Expressions of devotion to the rosary can be found in such diverse places as the early sixteenth century Fetternear Banner of Edinburgh's Holy Blood confraternity, the mid-sixteenth century "The Lang Rosair" and "Thre Rois Garlandis" of BM Arundel MS 285, and a seventeenth century painted ceiling in Provost Skene's house in Aberdeen.¹⁵⁸

The most explicit artistic representation of the value of the rosary was a full page woodcut in Thomas Davidson's 1541 publication of the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. The woodcut expressed the medieval Scottish conception of religion, with prayers for the souls in purgatory being offered up to heaven, via the rosary, in the name of Jesus and His Passion. In the woodcut, heaven contained the virgin martyrs, confessors, patriarchs and angels on various levels, the highest level holding God in glory, with Mary and the baby Jesus in pride of place to his right, and an angel, possibly St. Gabriel, to his left, along with the dove. This visual representation of the hierarchy of heaven reinforced lay images of heaven as a place where social divisions existed. The whole heavenly scene was enclosed by a circlet of roses, representing the rosary, through which the prayers of the living were being transmitted, the people shown praying outside of heaven holding rosaries in their hands to reinforce the message.

Imposed upon the heavenly scene, within the circlet of roses, was Jesus on the Cross, the Cross itself being festooned with roses.

Five globes were positioned within the circlet of roses, each surmounted by a Cross. These were probably "orbs of sovereignty" like that held in the hand of Jesus in the carving above the sacrament house of Foulis Easter church, Angus, and that on an illustration of the Eucharist in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book. In the Arbuthnott illustration the orb rested on an altar below the crucified Jesus, whose blood was flowing from his side into the altar chalice. The significance of having five orbs in the illustration from the parliamentary acts may have been to refer to the Five Wounds of Christ, a popular literary and artistic image in the period under study. The combination of rosary and Passion imagery was a common one in Scotland in this period, the message being that salvation came primarily through the Passion of Jesus and the active intercession of Mary.¹⁵⁹

In the poem, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", Walter Kennedy celebrated the value of the rosary to overcome human sinfulness and gain Mary's protection and intercession.

Yocht we brek wowis prayeris pilgrimage & hechtis [oaths]
 To ye Rosare and rute of our remeid
 ffor ws fair lady / with ye devill yow fechtis
 And standis full neire ws in ye hour of deid
 Saifand our sawlis from ye playand leid
 Of hell quhar It seruit to be tane to
 Syne stowis ws saifly in to angellis steid
*Cum Ihesu xristo filio tuo.*¹⁶⁰

Kennedy's viewpoint was shared by other Scots, and expressed in terms of tomb decoration. That is, the association of the rosary with divine mercy and acceptance into heaven made it a popular symbol on tombs. For example, a rosary was clasped in the hands of the effigy of George, second Lord Seton, founder of the collegiate church of Seton (1493), and his spouse's tomb was decorated with roses.¹⁶¹ By invoking this image of Mary, Seton and his spouse

could expect comfort at the time of death, assistance in avoiding the just deserts of hell, transportation to the angels' care and thence to heaven, whatever vows, prayers, oaths or pilgrimages they had broken or failed to undertake.

The association of lilies with Mary dates to "The Song of Songs" and her description as a lily.¹⁶² Scottish literary and artistic imagery maintained this symbolism, relating it clearly to Mary's purity. This was achieved by associating it almost exclusively with the Annunciation or with references to her virginity. The popular prayer entitled "Ave Maria Alta Stirps", founded in BM Arundel MS 285, described Mary as the "lile of chaistite",¹⁶³ and lilies were carved in Foulis Easter collegiate church (stoup), Seton collegiate church (piscina), Lincluden collegiate church (painting),¹⁶⁴ and on an Annunciation panel carving made for Cardinal Beaton's private quarters.¹⁶⁵ The decoration of the stoup on the interior north wall of Foulis Easter church reflected the common association of Mary's personal purity with the purification of sin through holy water. The same theme was reflected in Seton's piscina near the high altar, decorated with the fleur-de-lys.¹⁶⁶

All three flowers associated with Mary, lilies, daisies and roses, marched proudly across the ceiling of the choir of Roslin Chapel, a structure in which images of Mary were common.¹⁶⁷ The lilies and daisies represented purity and innocence, and despite the titular dedication being to St. Matthew, were to be found throughout the chapel, including the arches between the pillars of the aisles.¹⁶⁸

In heraldry, lilies were commonly used to represent Mary. The arms of the royal burgh of Cullen portrayed Mary and the baby Jesus

seated on a gold throne-like chair, Mary crowned and holding a sceptre surmounted by a gold fleur-de-lys. The power of the purity and motherhood of Mary was conveyed with this image. It is significant that the burgh seal was modified at the time that the parishioners of Cullen, along with the a handful of clerics and lairds, founded the collegiate church of Cullen in honour of Mary and St. Anne. The college was founded in 1543 when lay faith in the power and influence of Mary was at its height. Consequently in the arms she was arrayed in the full trappings of state, along with the symbols of her spiritual worthiness (lily) and intercessory power (Jesus).¹⁶⁹

Another attempt to link the piety of the founder to the power of Mary through the lily was the seal of the collegiate church of the Blessed Trinity of the Virgin Mary of Restalrig. Under an effigy and a carved canopy was a shield of arms containing a vase with three branches of lily flowers,¹⁷⁰ such an heraldic image being common (eg. Dundee's burgh seal, 1416).¹⁷¹ The significance of three branches may not be ascertainable, but it may have represented the Trinity, to which Mary was intimately bound in the literary and foundation evidence.

The pot of lilies so common to heraldry seems to have had its origins in the representations of the Annunciation which were so common in painting and carving in the period under study.¹⁷² Foulis Easter collegiate church in Angus had the common Annunciation scene carved on its sacrament house, the pot of lilies between Mary and St. Gabriel. However, the placement of the scene provides greater interpretative possibilities, for it lay directly above a carving of Jesus' head, flanked by angels holding the pillar of scourging and the Cross, and decorated a receptacle for the consecrated Host.¹⁷³

That is, the message of this elaborately carved sacrament house was that it was through Mary and her willingness to accept St. Gabriel's message at the Annunciation that Jesus was born, and it was Jesus' historical sacrifice, and present sacrifice in the Eucharistic rite, which had made lay salvation possible.

The Arbuthnott Prayer Book, belonging to Sir Robert Arbuthnott (d. 1506), contained an illustration of the Annunciation which placed a pot of lilies at the base of the scene. It also included a book in the scene, the volume lying open on a table, as if Mary had been reading and had been interrupted by St. Gabriel. On the book were the words "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God", a reminder that the Annunciation marked the first step toward reconciliation between God and humanity, and the role of Mary in the attainment of human salvation through her relationship with the Saviour.¹⁷⁴

The scenes of the Annunciation, in which the lily of purity stood so prominently, as well as other theological, literary, artistic and documentary references to Mary's purity, were of crucial importance to Mary's worth to the laity. By establishing and reminding the laity of Mary's purity, it could be assured of her spiritual worthiness and acceptability to God, and thus her efficacy as intercessor on its behalf. The complementary attribute to Mary's purity was her status as mother of Jesus, which established her as most favoured by God, and most influential saint in terms of intercession with God and Jesus. It also assured the laity of her concern for its welfare, as not only was she mother of Jesus, she also was a perfect mother, with perfect "maternal" characteristics.

MARY'S MOTHERHOOD AS SOURCE OF HUMAN SPIRITUAL ACCEPTABILITY

The motherhood of Mary was a great source of joy and comfort to Scots in the late Middle Ages, for it was through the Incarnation

that their promise of spiritual acceptability and salvation came; it was necessary for God to die in human form to provide full atonement for human sin, and Mary was the means by which this was made possible. As mother of God, a title confirmed by the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D.,¹⁷⁵ Mary had earned the eternal gratitude of the laity. Gratitude might have been the extent of the laity's interest in her, had it not been for her active role in the lay quest for spiritual worthiness. That is, Mary's motherhood was proof not only of her own acceptability to God, and thus her place of influence at the high table of heaven,¹⁷⁶ it also gave her a close relationship with the saviour Jesus and thus with His human family. Mary as a mother was perceived to be totally devoted to her son Jesus, and thus to all human beings as brothers and sisters of Jesus. Human beings were, in effect, children of Mary,¹⁷⁷ a poem recorded in the nineteenth century testifying to the enduring nature of this image of Mary.¹⁷⁸ Jungian theories of archetypal mothers reveal that people conceive of a mother as possessing certain personality traits, and Scottish evidence indicates that the maternal characteristics given to Mary were nurturing, compassionate, forgiving, protective and mediating ones.

In the period 1480 to 1560, devotion to Mary deepened. This devotion encompassed an emphasis on her sexual and therefore spiritual purity, and her maternal commitment to humanity which was as deep as that exhibited toward Jesus at the Crucifixion. As mother of God, daughter of the Father, the bride of Jesus, spouse of the Holy Ghost, temple of the Trinity, and the soul's gateway to paradise, she was a tremendously powerful maternal figure.¹⁷⁹ Her non-sexual nature, proved by her assumption into heaven, transformed motherhood in general from the taint of base, sinful humanity, and

raised it to the status of divine miracle, giving women confidence in their worthiness as mothers,¹⁸⁰ and providing a model of female behaviour acceptable to God. Mary's purity allowed men, both cleric and lay, to revere Mary without being seen to celebrate human sexuality and without risking their self-control and spiritual future by succumbing to the lure and power of female sexuality. The importance of both sexual purity and motherhood to the intercessory power of Mary was made clear in an anonymous ballad in John Asloane's sixteenth century compilation.

O hie empyriss and quene celestiale
Princes eterne and flour Immaculat
Our souerane helpe quhen we vnto ye call
Hale Ross Intact virgin Inviolat
That with ye fader was predestinat
To beir ye barne & maker of ws all
And with no spyce of cryme coinquynate
Bot virgin pure clerar yan cristall.¹⁸¹

Walter Kennedy made much of Mary's sinless motherhood in a poem celebrating her intercessory capability. He reminded the reader that Mary's "corps was neuer with corrupcioun cled / Sancta et Immaculata virginitas", that she was blessed because she was mother of the saviour, and that because of these factors, as well as her own compassionate nature, she was an attentive protector of all penitent people.¹⁸² Thus it was that the constantly repeated phrase *Ave maria, plena gratia* came to be the entry point of humanity to the compassion and intercession of Mary, in poetry, church prayers, lay devotional prayers, hymns of praise, and theological tracts.¹⁸³

EMPHASIS ON MARY'S MOTHERHOOD

THEOLOGICAL, LITERARY, ARTISTIC AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The evidence for the laity's increasing emphasis on Mary's motherhood comes from artistic, literary and documentary sources, and often occurred alongside imagery of Jesus. In these sources she

was lauded as mother of the saviour, Jesus, and as loving mother to all humanity.

MOTHER OF JESUS

As Jesus as saviour became a focus for spiritual devotion, Mary began to be described more in terms of her role as mother of Jesus than as virgin consort to God through the Holy Spirit. Further, as the suffering of Jesus began to be the focus of lay devotion to Him, Marian imagery came to emphasise her role as grieving mother at the Crucifixion rather than as exultant young virgin. As noted by the provincial synod of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century, "it was much more profitable that he [Jesus] died for us than that he was born",¹⁸⁴ so images of Jesus and Mary were increasingly oriented to the last days of his life rather than to a celebration of his birth. Nevertheless, whether Jesus was celebrated as Son of the powerful king of heaven or suffering human being, Mary's status as mother increasingly was singled out as proof of God's favour.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was a trend away from dedications to "omnipotent God" and the "Blessed Virgin Mary", to those emphasising Mary's relationship to Jesus, such as those dedicated to his "most glorious mother ever virgin". References to the Trinity tended to define Jesus as son of Mary, thus separating Him from definitions of God as "Father, Son and Holy Ghost". Thus the laity appeared to link Mary and Jesus more closely than it did God and Jesus. Whilst references to the Trinity did not always occur, the term "omnipotent God" often sufficing for the founder, during the period under study emphasis on Mary's high status and mothering role became increasingly apparent. This emphasis grew stronger as the period progressed, the trend emerging

in a variety of documents, including dedications of chaplainries and churches, prayers in Prayer Books and Missals, and testaments.¹⁸⁵

For example, by 1431 there was an altar dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin in a hospital in Perth, whereas by 1491 a new foundation showed the changing perception of Mary, being founded in the name of St. Mary of Consolation, emphasising her role as grieving mother of the crucified Jesus rather than as pure virgin favoured by God.¹⁸⁶

The high status and motherhood of Mary was affirmed in a number of foundations. More sixteenth than fifteenth century foundations referred to Mary in her capacity as mother of God, although there were a number of fifteenth century foundations which did so. For example, in 1485, David, Earl of Crawford, founded a chaplainry which defined God only as "omnipotent", but Mary as the "most glorious Virgin Mary His mother".¹⁸⁷ Two donations by those of burgess class were made in the late 1490's to the convent of the Sciennes near Edinburgh, and these also emphasised Mary's motherhood. The 1496 donation was dedicated to "God, Our Lady the Glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother", and the 1498 donation further defined Mary as "pure". Thus these latter donations did not separate "God" from "Jesus", but did make reference to Mary's high status and motherhood of the godhead.¹⁸⁸

The foundation and augmentations of the hospital of St. Marthe of Aberdour, Fife, provide an interesting example of the changes in perceptions of Mary which could take place in a short period of time. When the hospital was founded in 1474 by James Douglas, first Earl of Morton, the dedication was to "omnipotent God and his most blessed genetrix and perpetual virgin Mary our lady" and St. Marthe and "our lord Jesus Christ", emphasising the motherhood, purity and nobility of Mary. By the third augmentation of 1486, the dedication

was to "omnipotent God and the glorious virgin Mary his most pious mother, our lord Jesus Christ and all the saints of heaven". Thus at this point Mary's nobility had become less important than her spiritual worthiness, hence her description as "glorious virgin" and "most pious mother". Her spiritual worthiness was of great importance to the laity, for she was its best hope for intercession with God. In 1474, the Earl stated that he hoped that his foundation would convince Mary as well as God to forgive his transgressions. He intended for the foundation to sustain the poor and provide solace for pilgrims, so presumably he expected these "good works" to give God and Mary good reason to ensure his happiness in the afterlife. Apart from the foundation itself being a good work, much of the daily activity in the foundation was related to the salvation of dead souls, particularly his own, including prayers and psalms said near his tomb after high mass daily. Each of the three "augmentations" named various souls to be prayed for, including James I, III and IV, and Queen Margaret of Denmark, plus the usual close family, benefactors, friends, predecessors and successors, and the faithful dead. The various masses and prayers provided for in the foundation, and its augmentations of 1479 and 1486, included a daily sung mass and Antiphones to the Blessed Virgin Mary (1474) and daily devout prayer by the poor and the pilgrims who said the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in the chapel of the hospital (1479).¹⁸⁹

The surviving Scottish lay testaments, which mostly date from 1547, tended to be more terse than foundation charters. Thus God often remained defined as "omnipotent god" and Mary usually remained the "Blessed Virgin Mary" in the dedicatory preamble. However, occasionally she was defined in a different manner. When this

occurred she was referred to in her capacity as mother of Jesus. Thus the 1532 testament of Alexander Fraser of Philorth referred to God as "omnipotent God", but to Mary as "most sweet genetrix Mary".¹⁹⁰ The 1553 Glasgow diocese testament of Janet (*Jonete*) Gray referred to God as "omnipotent" but linked Mary, and thus humanity, to the godhead by describing her as God's "genetrix".¹⁹¹

Clerical perceptions of the importance of Mary's motherhood developed alongside lay perceptions. In the commonplace book of James Gray, priest of the diocese of Dunblane and secretary to William Scheves, and James Stewart, Dean of Ross, one of the prayers described Mary as "holy genetrix of god", with God still as the "holy father omnipotent eternal god".¹⁹² A similar emphasis occurred in a fragment of a Missal of Sarum Use, produced in Scotland, the proper of the feast of the Purification (2 February) referred to Mary as the "blessed ever virgin Mary" and the "virgin Mary genetrix of god" and "kindly lady queen of the heaven" (*domina alma celorum regina*). She was lauded for having fed Jesus from her holy milk-filled breasts, a mother who remained pure (*mater intacta*).¹⁹³ This emphasis in the liturgy on the human process of mothering was reflected in contemporary art. For example, Mary was portrayed as suckling the baby Jesus in the panel painting of God triumphant in Foulis Easter collegiate church.¹⁹⁴

Sometimes "omnipotent god" was superseded by a dedication to the Trinity. Earlier in the period God remained undefined, but Mary began to be defined as mother of God or mother of "our lord". Eventually the name "Jesus" emerged on a regular basis, symbolising the rising importance of the Son of God to lay hopes of salvation. In general terms, the more Jesus was defined as separate from God,

the more the laity relied upon Mary to intercede for it, and the more it believed in her ability to succeed on its behalf.

A 1491 foundation by burgess and Master of Arts Robert Chalmers (*de Camera*) presented an early description of the Trinity, in which Mary was defined as "mother of our lord". Chalmers founded a perpetual chaplainry at his grandfather's altar of St. Andrew in the parish church of Perth, making the foundation in praise and honour of the "holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the most glorious, ever virgin, Mary, mother of our lord, and all the saints".¹⁹⁵ This foundation was correct in a theological sense, not showing any of the ambiguity common to the laity when expressing the nature of the godhead, when it often appeared to lack understanding of the unity of the three persons of the Trinity. However, the foundation is representative in terms of what it reveals about developments occurring in the understanding of Mary. That is, it emphasised her power, purity and motherhood through the use of terms such as "most glorious", "ever virgin", and "mother of our lord". From the wording of this foundation it is clear that Chalmers believed her to be of the highest order of heaven and of a purity so great it continued throughout her human lifetime, culminating in her assumption into heaven, humanity glorified through her.¹⁹⁶

The power of Mary through her motherhood was implicitly recognised in Chalmers' foundation. He stated that one lifetime was insufficient to achieve by good works "the fruit of eternal blessedness", that is, complete spiritual acceptability. His perpetual chaplainry was intended not only to augment divine service in the parish church, a good work, but also to provide prayers for the welfare of the souls of himself, his spouse Katherine of

Kinnaird (*Kynnard*), his predecessors and successors and all the faithful dead at the altar of St. Andrew.¹⁹⁷ Consequently, his effusive praise of Mary in his dedication, and his linking of her to Jesus as "mother of our lord", was intended to profit the named souls by obtaining the mercy of God through the intercession of His dearly beloved Mary.

Whilst in theory the laity may have understood the concept of the Trinity, in terms of the visual imagery which helped form its image of the godhead the Trinity was an imperfectly understood concept. God and Jesus often were assigned different attributes and represented differently in art and literature (egs. God as Creator and Judge versus Jesus as Friend and Saviour), making it more difficult for the laity to conceive of God and Jesus as one person. This separation remained in prayers recorded in the nineteenth century such as "Holy Father of Glory", in which God was "the Father who created each creature" and Jesus "the Son who paid ransom for His people".¹⁹⁸ However, despite the confusion and ambiguity often apparent, it is clear from a variety of documentary and literary sources that a number of laypeople had some understanding of the unity of God and Jesus, which cannot be said for the concept of the Holy Spirit.

If the laity understood that the dove of the Annunciation was truly God in the form of the Holy Spirit, then it certainly ignored that fact as unimportant for most of the time, at least in artistic terms. That is, most of the visual representations of the Holy Spirit were in portrayals of the Annunciation, when a dove representing the Holy Spirit appeared in the corner of the painting or carving. In portrayals of Jesus on the Cross or God in heaven, it was Mary, not the Holy Spirit, who was nearby. For example,

there was no dove to represent the Holy Spirit in the Crucifixion (c. 1480) or Trinity (God triumphant) panel paintings in Foulis Easter collegiate church, whereas Mary appeared in both. In the Crucifixion painting her position was as tearful, grieving mother at the foot of the Cross. In the Trinity painting Jesus was represented as "God triumphant" after the Resurrection. Next to him was St. John the Baptist holding a lamb, representing the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, and next to St. John was Mary suckling the baby Jesus. The Crucifixion and Trinity paintings would have served as a continual reminder to the parishioners of Foulis Easter of the crucial role Mary had played in the Incarnation and the nurturing of Jesus throughout his lifetime, and thus the part she had played in lay salvation.¹⁹⁹

The depiction of heaven, purgatory and earth in printer Thomas Davidson's 1541 Acts of the Parliament revealed that the Holy Spirit was far less important than Mary to the laity of the pre-Reformation period. In the woodcut the Holy Spirit, appearing as a dove, figured in the top right corner of the woodcut, its rays producing the stigmata of St. Francis who knelt before it,²⁰⁰ much as its rays filled Mary with the Holy Spirit in the Annunciation illustration of the Arbuthnott Prayer Book.²⁰¹ The dove also appeared next to the St. Gabriel in the woodcut, and therefore near to God on His throne. However, Mary and the baby Jesus were also nearby, so even in this portrayal, the "Holy Spirit" was most closely associated with the Annunciation. Mary, on the other hand, was present more fully in symbolic and realistic form in the woodcut from the parliamentary acts published in 1541. She received the prayers of the laity and clerics, who knelt on earth holding rosaries in their hands. Roses festooned Jesus on the Cross and encircled heaven, symbolically

representing the importance of Mary as intercessor with Jesus and God, and as bearer of Jesus, who through His Passion "mannis saull . . . full deir hes bocht".²⁰² She also sat at God's right hand in heaven, crowned and haloed, the baby Jesus on her arm, reminding the laity of her position as supreme intercessor with God. This woodcut visually informed the laity that Jesus, as a vulnerable baby and crucified young man, was not in as good a position as Mary to gain the ear of the celestial king, portrayed as a sturdy man on a throne, richly garbed in an ecclesiastical garment which was held together with a brooch in the shape of a rose.²⁰³

Inclusion of Mary in the Trinity, or as sharing in the divine nature in some sense, a "daughter most divin",²⁰⁴ was an aspect of folk tradition in Scotland as elsewhere in Europe,²⁰⁵ her purity, motherhood and influence making her a perfect choice as advocate. By and large theologians preferred to remind the laity that Mary was one of the created, not the creator,²⁰⁶ but occasionally they added to the lay-driven "divinisation" of Mary.²⁰⁷ For example, John of Ireland, a prominent Scottish theologian of the late fifteenth century, actively encouraged devotion to Mary. He emphasised her purity, which had been proved through the Immaculate Conception and Assumption, her inherent virtue, and her redemption of humanity by bearing Jesus, of particular utility to women, for whom the weight of human sin was greater because of Eve's sin.²⁰⁸ Ireland went so far as to interpret Mary's bearing of a divine son as proof of her own divinity. He stated that the "hie divinite" which Jesus had used to overcome "the jnnemy" had come from Mary. He virtually equated Mary's nature and humanity with God's divinity,²⁰⁹ the human and divine nature melding in Mary's womb into the person of Jesus, through the action of the Holy Spirit. Consistent with this

identification of Mary with the Trinity were literary descriptions of Mary as "chaist chalmer of ye Trinity, the trone of ye sone of God, the sacristy of ye Haly Gaist".²¹⁰

Psychological studies confirm that the laity was likely to include Mary in its conception of the godhead. Carl Jung based his interpretation of Mary's role in the Trinity upon unconscious human conceptions of a quaternity which invariably included a female aspect. Alan Watts insisted that the Immaculate Conception and Assumption of Mary, both concepts popular with the laity, showed that Mary was of divine origin.²¹¹ Thus her inclusion in the Trinity would have seemed justifiable to the laity. Further, John of Ireland's celebration of her virtuous and divine motherhood, representative of clerical opinion at the time, would have encouraged lay devotion to Mary. Certainly the devotion of friars to Mary, as preachers to the laity, would have sent a message that great devotion to her was both right and efficacious.²¹² Thus the influence of contemporary theology and preaching, as well as psychological needs, would have encouraged the "divinisation" of Mary in lay minds.

Scots of a reforming turn of mind were prepared to celebrate Mary as mother of God. Sir David Lyndsay described Mary as a "purifyit Virgin trew" who had clothed Jesus' divinity with her fleshly humanity.²¹³ Even the "Scots Confession" of 1560 had to accede to Mary's crucial role in this respect, Article VI stating that God had sent His son to take "the nature of manhead of the substance of women, to wit, of a virgine, and that be operacioun of the holie Ghost".²¹⁴ The Gude and Godlie Ballatis celebrated Mary's bearing of the great "meik and gentill" mediator, Jesus, and thus

the release of humanity from fear of eternal death; it encouraged the laity to love Mary second only to Jesus.

Nixt him [Jesus], to lufe his Mother fair,
With steidfast hart, for ever mair;
Scho bure the byrth, freed us from cair;
Christ hes my hart ay.²¹⁵

John Gau commended Mary for her love for God, which had made her worthy of God's goodness and grace and her role as mother of Jesus. However, he counselled the laity to thank God for Mary's good qualities and motherhood of Jesus, rather than Mary herself: "O almichtie and marciful God blissit be thow quhilk maid that plesand creatur ye virgine Maria and gaiff hir sa greit grace and honour to be the Moder of thy weilbelowit sone our salviour."²¹⁶

Many reformers held back from praising Mary too highly, as they were concerned about the near-idol status which the laity accorded her. Gau referred to the laity's great devotion to Mary, and its belief that she could save people who prayed to her or offered service to her. In common with other reformers, he preferred to emphasise the efficacy of Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross, and was wary of any honour done to Mary that went beyond valuing her as mother of the saviour. However, the laity were not in agreement with Gau, not least because, as an active, loving and devoted mother of Jesus, who had chosen her role, Mary was in an excellent position to offer the same love and devotion to her other children - humanity.

MOTHER OF HUMANITY

Mary's motherhood was extremely important to the laity as it had brought Jesus, the pathway to salvation. However, Mary was also important as the perfect mother, actively interceding with God the Father on her children's behalf. She had all of the characteristics of motherhood which ensured her offspring the best chance at

happiness, and laypeople considered themselves the children of Mary. The maternal characteristics which the laity emphasised in Mary were those of nurturing, compassion, forgiveness, mediation and reconciliation. It was these characteristics which underlay her devotion to Jesus throughout His lifetime, and which the laity believed formed the basis for her devotion to humanity. The lay understanding was that it was the human maternal feelings of Mary which guaranteed humanity her unflagging interest, concern, and intercession on its behalf, particularly on the Day of Judgment, although the expression of these characteristics often occurred within the context of her relationship to Jesus. Much of the laity's effort in respect of Mary was an attempt to elicit her sympathy and support, nineteenth century Highland prayers continuing to reveal the lay reliance on Mary's maternal love and support.²¹⁷

The *Salve Regina*, an Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary popular in the late medieval period, displayed the laity's reliance on a loving and devoted mother of Jesus:

To thee we exiles, children of Eve, lift our crying.
 To thee we are sighing, as mournful and weeping, we pass
 through this vale of sorrow . . . Hereafter, when our earthly
 exile shall be ended, show us Jesus
 The blessed fruit of thy womb, O gentle, O tender,
 O gracious Virgin Mary.²¹⁸

The artistic, literary and dedicatory evidence from the late Middle Ages in Scotland revealed the laity's perception of Mary's nature. It used this knowledge to gain her natural human sympathy, and to make her feel responsible for human welfare in the name of her human son, Jesus.

The concept of the archetype is useful in evaluating lay perceptions of Mary prior to the Reformation. If we accept the concept of the "archetypal mother", then the "true" Mary was

overlaid by emotions and projections of the writers of the gospels, successive theologians, hymn-writers, poets and artists, as well as by average late medieval lay Scots. As she was perceived by the Scots, Mary was an unconscious collective projection influenced by previous generations' views of mothers and motherhood, as well as by contemporary views.²¹⁹ In general, Scots emphasised Mary's mothering role as it brought them the promise of unqualified love and support under all circumstances.

In Europe in the late Middle Ages, Mary no longer was heaven's queen merely by virtue of giving birth to Jesus. By the fifteenth century the laity emphasised her role as nurturer of Jesus throughout his lifetime, a nurse as much as a queen, if not more so. She was an ideal mother figure, which the laity could revere and yet to which it could relate.²²⁰ This ideal maternalism involved a degree of self-abnegation which, along with an insistence on Mary's continued sexual purity, served to remove any menace arising as a result of the natural maternal authority or the sexual desirability as the perfect woman.²²¹ It also reassured men in particular that Mary's sole purpose, as an ideal woman, was to nurture humanity as she had nurtured Jesus. Hence the images of Mary as proud mother of the infant Jesus, dominant in the early Middle Ages, developed into those of self-sacrificing, tragic heroine at the foot of the Cross, still loving her Son selflessly, showing great courage and strength of character by supporting him through to His final hour, and by staying to keep vigil at His tomb.²²²

Liturgical and theological descriptions of Mary as nurturing mother provided a basis for lay characterisations. In the Aberdeen Psalter, for example, Mary was described as the bearer of the creator of the world, glorious, ever virgin mother of God, and the

one who suckled Jesus.²²³ Theologian John of Ireland reminded his readers that Mary had not only born Jesus, but had nursed, cared for, and clothed him; as the bearer of the very foundation of grace, "this lady full of grace was cled with and werraye sone of god [and thus] all the kyrk and hale waurld is vndir hire powere and subieccioune, and sche js crovnit quene of angellis, of men and all manere of creaturis".²²⁴

Writers and artists followed the lead of theologians by combining images of "mundi regina", "emprys of hevyne, of paradys, and hell", with those of nurturing young mother.²²⁵ Kennedy described Mary as the nurse of God and mother of the weak and ill, who had nursed Jesus herself with her "sweit palpis".²²⁶ In the Arbuthnott Prayer Book she was depicted as a crowned queen, surrounded by stars and roses, carefully holding the baby Jesus,²²⁷ and in BM Arundel MS 285 she appeared as a crowned queen surrounded by the flames of the sun and encircled by the rosary. The rosary was inset with five orbs, possibly representing orbs of sovereignty and/or the five wounds of the Passion.²²⁸ On a mid-sixteenth century oak cabinet, apparently owned by Mary, Queen of Scots, a crowned Mary stood with the baby Jesus on her arm.²²⁹

In heraldic terms, the most common representation of Mary was of nurturing mother of the baby Jesus, sitting or standing with Jesus on her arm. The origins of the Marian images on burgh seals such as those of Banff, Cullen, Selkirk, Melrose, Lauder and Leith, were often related to an abbey or other religious insitution close by.²³⁰ These religious institutions were often founded in the high Middle Ages, and thus represented Mary simply as the innocent young mother of the infant Jesus. Later foundations and artistic

representations in Scotland gave more emphasis to her intercessory role, and her lifelong nurturing of Jesus.

Representations of Mary in personal devotional books are revealing of the images the laity carried of Mary. In BM Arundel MS 285, Mary appeared almost exclusively in relation to Jesus, almost always as nurturing mother. Not only did these images reinforce the idea that Mary was the mother of Jesus, they also reminded the viewer of Mary's caring maternal nature. Eleven of the seventeen woodcuts depicted Mary and Jesus together, nine of the eleven where Jesus was an infant. In one representation Mary was looking lovingly down at the upturned face of Jesus, and in another he was portrayed clasping Mary around her neck.²³¹ The love expressed by Mary and Jesus for each other was the basis of lay appeals to each of these beings. Jesus was called on in the name of the love he bore his mother, and vice versa.

Three woodcuts clearly emphasised Jesus' humanity and Mary's nurturing motherhood, as they placed St. Anne alongside Mary and Jesus.²³² In one of the woodcuts Jesus was on his grandmother's lap, but he was leaning forward toward Mary to investigate what she was holding in her hand, and in another Jesus appeared to be rambunctiously jumping from Mary to St. Anne.²³³

Unfortunately images of Mary in sculpture or painting are scarce, but what art does remain from the pre-Reformation period invariably contains images of Mary, and these are usually representations of her as young mother holding the baby Jesus;²³⁴ this emphasis on Mary as nurturer of the infant Jesus gave the laity hope that this nurturing role would extend to itself.

Representations of a young Mary holding the baby Jesus include those in the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle,²³⁵ the Lady Chapel of Roslin

Chapel,²³⁶ and Foulis Easter collegiate church. There is also evidence of an increasing tendency to represent Mary as nurturer of the suffering Christ. A fragment of late medieval stone carving from Paisley abbey, part of a retable, portrays the two Marys at the foot of the Cross. Normally Jesus on the Cross would have been placed above Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary, but in this case each are placed so as to suggest that they are holding up the Cross, a graphic representation of the concept of female nurturing.²³⁷

At Foulis Easter, Marian images are prominent, and include a carving of the Annunciation over the church's sacrament house. Even more visible to late medieval parishioners, and therefore more influential in forming their image of Mary, are the paintings in the church. In the painting of God triumphant, Mary stands to His left. A serene and beautiful young mother, with pale skin and strawberry blond hair, she nurses the infant Jesus. Normally the act of nursing was not portrayed in art, so the painting would have stood out as a strong reminder of Mary's nurturing role, and her position as giver of life to the godhead in human form.²³⁸ Mary's role as nurturer of the adult Jesus is expressed in a painting of the Crucifixion (c. 1480), probably placed above the rood screen at time of completion, and therefore clearly visible to the laity during services. In this painting Mary appears as a weeping, grieving mother. Scenes which probably originally formed part of this painting depict Mary at the Entombment, a symbol of maternal love.²³⁹

Whether Mary was portrayed as an exultant, queenly and tender young mother, or a grief-stricken, empathetically suffering older mother, the message of the visual images presented to the laity was

of a maternal figure who cared deeply for her child, and who would care deeply for her other children as well, that is, humanity.

Foundation evidence made clear the laity's desire to establish the relation of Mary to the humanity and nativity of the saviour, and her nurturing role. In 1482, Lady Beatrix (*Betrecche*) of Douglas, Countess of Erroll, founded a "contass Mes" for souls at the high altar of the Franciscan monastery church in Dundee. However, she made provision that this mass be transferred to an altar of the Three Oriental Kings if and when she built one in the said church. The new altar would be erected in honour of Omnipotent God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Three Oriental Kings".²⁴⁰ The prebendary of St. Mary in Childbirth was part of the new collegiate foundation made in raising St. Andrews of Peebles to collegiate status, this being achieved by John Hay of Yester and the bailies and councillors of Peebles in 1541.²⁴¹ The desire to connect Mary to Jesus through the nativity, and to emphasise her role as young mother, was further expressed in a document of 1490. Robert Graham, as heir to the late Robert Graham of Fintry, formally re-dedicated the altar ornaments and vestments of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of the Mains of Strathdighty near Dundee. He did so in honour of God almighty, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph, vowing to found a perpetual chaplainry in their honour at the said altar.²⁴² The mention of St. Joseph was unusual, but was in keeping with a general desire to portray Mary as young mother of a dependent Jesus. One of the main concerns of the laity was to convince Jesus the Saviour to pay attention to His mother on humanity's behalf. Reminding God of His debt to the woman who gave Him life was a popular line of argument, that, as perfect follower

of the Commandments of God, Jesus would honour His mother and her wishes.²⁴³

The laity needed to establish for itself the compassionate nature of Mary, so that it might be assured of Mary's willingness to put her love and effort behind humanity, just as her nurturing nature, proven by her care for Jesus, guaranteed her succouring of humanity. "Womanlike piety" was a trait praised by society, and as the perfect woman, Mary was of a perfectly compassionate nature.²⁴⁴ Her compassion was celebrated in literature and in foundation charters, and was given artistic expression through representations of Mary as the grieving mother of the crucified Jesus. Once again the laity's estimation of Mary's character lay in her actions toward her son Jesus.²⁴⁵

The liturgy provided the laity with compassionate images for Mary which came to be translated into devotional prayers and illustrations in devotional books, ecclesiastical paintings and carvings, and topics for preaching by friars. A French Book of Hours, c. 1500, in its section on the Deposition from the Cross, described Mary as "mother of God, most full of piety. . . most glorious mother, mother of orphans, consolation of the desolate, way of the erring".²⁴⁶ Next to this text was a scene of the Pieta, a bloody and emaciated Jesus lying across Mary's knees.²⁴⁷ In the Chapel Royal at Stirling a large gold jewel had an image of Our Lady "carrying her son dead upon her knees", clearly a scene of the Pieta.²⁴⁸ It was in the image of the Pieta that the greatest European artistic representations of male love toward women were expressed (egs. Michelangelo and Bellini).²⁴⁹

It was the non-threatening, selfless, wholly compassionate image of the grieving mother of Jesus which most convinced lay and

clerical Scot alike of Mary's compassion and the likelihood of her care being directed toward them. Writers followed the lead of the liturgy in interpreting Mary's character as one of perfect compassion. Thus according to William Dunbar, as "virgin matern" she was "Of reuth [compassion] baith rute and ryne".²⁵⁰ Most of BM Arundel MS 285, a devotional work of the middle of the sixteenth century, contained works relating to the life and Passion of Jesus, with Marian topics filling most of the remaining pages.²⁵¹ In these Marian works, most writers firmly represented Mary as sharing in the work of the Cross by empathetically suffering along with her dying son. That is, she sacrificed her son to God on the Cross just as Jesus sacrificed Himself; in that sense late medieval contemporaries thought of her as "co-redemptrix" with Jesus.²⁵² Thus the long devotional prayers the "Thre Rois Garlandis" and "The Lang Rosair" emphasised Mary's compassion, often commencing verses with a reference to her love for her son, which had taken her with him to Jerusalem and to the Cross at Calvary, to keep vigil at his tomb, and be one of the first to see him after the Resurrection.²⁵³ One of the verses of "The Lang Rosair" began in the following manner:

Mothir of ye king of glory, quhom Iosaphe of Aromathis tuke
fra ye croce and laid him, all baithit in his blude, on thy
kne; mothir & lady of piete: Pray for me, yat I may finalie
be takin fra ye croce of temporalite & tribulacionis, and be
put in possessioun of eternall consolacioun. [Amen].
Aue maria.²⁵⁴

In this long devotional prayer she was hailed as "ye confort of vertu, the singular refute of synnaris" who looked after Jesus as a young child "with all tenderness of mothirly piete".²⁵⁵ In the Scots translation of the prayer "Aue Maria Alta Stirps", Mary was defined as the "fald of godlie cherite" and the "deipe well and fontane of all grace and marcy".²⁵⁶

Mary of Guise's late fifteenth century Book of Hours contained this "Stabat Mater", along with a variety of other Marian prayers, the "Little Office of Our Lady" and a "Litany of Our Lady". In fact, of the 183 pages of the book, fully 87 pages were dedicated to Mary, a clear testimony to the extent of lay devotion to Mary at this high stratum of Scottish society.²⁵⁷ In St. Bernard of Clairvaux's orison "Haill Mary", also in BM Arundel MS 285, Mary was the comforter of the quick and the dead.²⁵⁸ Finally, in the traditional prayer "O Clementissime", Mary was the "maist fulfillit of all piete" (used interchangeably with "pity"), "consolacioun of all desolait . . heill/and hope of all yame yat traitis in the . . ."²⁵⁹

Foundation evidence emphasising Mary's compassion existed earlier than the period under study, but grew more popular in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Elizabeth Gordon founded a chapel of St. Mary of Pity in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, in 1430, and an altar of St. Mary of Consolation was founded at Perth in 1491.²⁶⁰ James Towris founded an altar of Our Lady of Pity in St. Giles church, Edinburgh, mentioned from 1512.²⁶¹

Masses associated Jesus' Passion with Mary, such as the mass in honour of the "Five Wounds of our lord Jesus Christ" to be celebrated at the altar of St. Mary in St. Nicholas church, Aberdeen (founded 1512).²⁶² James IV paid for three trentals of masses of St. Mary of the Cross and of requiem on 21 September, 1501, in Stirling, probably at the Chapel Royal, thereby linking Mary as grieving mother to the merits of Jesus' Passion.²⁶³

In churches, the laity was reminded of Mary's role as grieving mother at the foot of the Cross by the symbolic veiling of her statue during Lent. At the church of St. Salvator in St. Andrews,

as in other Scottish ecclesiastical institutions, the statue of Mary in the church, most probably located at the high altar, was draped with black broadcloth with crosses sewn on them during time of Lent. Thus Mary would have been closely associated with the suffering at the Crucifixion in a powerful visual sense during this significant and emotional point in the Christian calendar.²⁶⁴

Clerics were firm supporters of St. Mary of Consolation,²⁶⁵ Robert Blackadder being one of the most enthusiastic devotees. His enthusiasm for the devotion probably arose while in Rome as James III's *nuntius* or *orator*, at the time when the miracles associated with St. Mary of Consolation had begun to occur (c. 1470). While still in Rome, Blackadder requested from the papacy a bull for the foundation of a hospital for pilgrims, the ill and the poor to be erected at Lasswade, and his petition was granted on 11 March, 1477/8.²⁶⁶ Once made Archbishop of Glasgow in 1483, Blackadder commenced a major building programme at the cathedral, including the 1507 foundation of a chaplainry dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Consolation at the altar of St. John the Baptist, and the building of an altar of the glorious Virgin Mary of Pity in front of the choir screen. Each night the vicars of the choir were to sing one *Salve* or an antiphon of the glorious Virgin Mary (egs. *Ave Gloriosa*, *Salve Regina*) in the middle of the nave in front of the image of St. Mary of Consolation.²⁶⁷

Artistic representations of St. Mary of Consolation tended to emphasise her role as grieving mother at the Crucifixion. Examples of Mary in this role can be found in St. Salvator's church in St. Andrews and Wemyss Castle, Fife, Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus, St. Michael's church, Linlithgow, Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, BM Arundel MS 285, the Yester Book of Hours (c. 1480), and the

Arbuthnott Prayer Book.²⁶⁸ Provost Skene's late sixteenth or early seventeenth century combination of Marian rose symbolism and the Five Wounds showed the strength of the image of St. Mary of Pity beyond the Reformation.²⁶⁹ In the retable from the site of a pre-Reformation church near Wemyss Castle, Mary was depicted next to a stumbling Jesus carrying the Cross, tormented by a man with a scourge,²⁷⁰ reminding the lay viewer of the agony of a mother forced to watch her own child in pain and suffering. The message of motherly compassion and empathetic suffering was also related through the Crucifixion painting of Foulis Easter collegiate church in Angus. A tearful, sad mother, Mary stood at the foot of the Cross. She held her hand near her face in an attitude of grief, keeping her face averted as if unable to bear the sight of her son on the Cross, His side being pierced by a long spear held by a mounted knight, and guided in by two soldiers.²⁷¹ This panel painting would have rested above the rood screen, and been in full view of the parishioners during services, offering them plenty of time to meditate on its message, particularly as the Latin words of the services were ill-understood by most laypeople.

When illustrations were combined with words, the impression of the images upon the lay imagination would have been great. The lay reader lived in a world where the transmission of meaning through art was the norm. The reader would have been expected to empathise with the pain of Mary over her son's death, to share it with her, meditate on the meaning of the Passion and Mary's willing part in it, and be reminded of the overwhelming love for Jesus and humanity represented by Mary's tearful presence at the foot of the Cross. In BM Arundel MS 285, the Scottish version of the Latin prayer "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" related the agonies of Mary watching her son's

painful death; it expressed the yearning of the suppliant to share Mary's suffering and deep love for Jesus, and by so doing, prove worthy of her protection and mediation on the Day of Judgment.

O how sorrowfull and pvnist in hir spreit wes the blist mothir of the / alanerlie sone of God . . . O you mothir, the well of lufe: Gar me . . . yat I murne withe the. And gar my hert birn in luffing of Iesu Crist, sa yat I pleis him . . . And gar me murne / weraly with the, and to haue compassioun of yi crucifyit sone quhill I leif, and yat I stand with the neir the croce . . . And gar yat I be sa inflammit and kendillit [with love for Jesus in His Passion] yat I be defendit be the in ye day of dome.²⁷²

Opposite this prayer was a woodcut which reinforced the literary imagery. Mary knelt at the foot of the Cross, arms crossed over her breast, swords stabbing into her, the image of empathetic suffering.²⁷³ A very powerful *Pieta* woodcut was placed across from the first verse of the Second Garland in the "Thre Rois Garlandis" of the same devotional work. In the illustration Mary was much larger than the crucified Jesus draped across her knees, giving the impression of a powerful, nurturing mother figure. Stabbing into Mary's neck and head, through her halo, were seven swords, representing the seven dolours of the Virgin, all related to the life and Passion of Jesus.²⁷⁴

Mary was usually depicted as a strong, if grief-stricken, maternal figure, but occasionally the desire of the artist to emphasise the human suffering of a mother led to a portrayal of maternal collapse. Thus a swooning St. Mary of Pity, supported by others in her grief, was carved on a Crucifixion retable in the parish church of St. Michael's, Linlithgow.²⁷⁵

The merciful and forgiving nature of Mary was a necessary character trait for laypeople to have confidence in her willingness to intercede on their behalf, and to balance the stern justice meted out by God the Father.²⁷⁶ Poetry and church liturgy and prayers

were full of pleas to Mary to show forgiveness. Laypeople's belief in their own spiritual unworthiness made her intercession with God most necessary. However, their growing sense of unworthiness meant that they had to intensify their efforts to win her favour and forgiveness for their sinfulness, by glorifying her name through art, literature, foundations and dedications, and by appealing to her mercy in the name of the humanity they shared with her son Jesus.

In the prayer "Ave Gloriosa", for which there is no immediate Latin source, supplicants asked Mary's protection against their own sinfulness and shame, the product of human frailty, and for time to amend their lives. She was expected to forgive her sinful children and comfort them, "O mothir of mercy . . . to synnaris send succour".²⁷⁷ In the poem "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", beginning with the line "O hie empyriss and quene celestiale", Mary was asked to help the sinner to forsake his sinful, unclean life, and to beseech Jesus to grant him the time to change before dying.²⁷⁸ The constant references to Mary as "clean" or "good" or "light" in the literature operated as a counterpoint to the "unclean", immoral or "darkness" that constituted the spiritual unworthiness of the average layperson, and this opposition helped to justify the laity's looking to Mary, another human being, for forgiveness of sins and the mercy of heaven.²⁷⁹

In a sense all foundations and dedications to Mary sought her mercy and forgiveness by glorifying her name, only rarely making this fact explicit. However, the 1474 foundation of the hospital of St. Marthe, by James, first Earl of Morton, stated that his foundation was intended to invite God and the Blessed Virgin Mary to forgive him his transgressions. To emphasise the importance of

obtaining Mary's mercy, he insisted that the inmates of the hospital pray the *Ave Maria* after the *Pater Noster* each afternoon, on their knees, praying devoutly.²⁸⁰ The Earl's foundation referred to Mary's purity and motherhood, but the dedication of a successor in 1486, who augmented the favour, made a greater appeal for forgiveness through glorifying Mary, and a greater emphasis on her motherhood rather than her nobility. Thus, instead of "blessed genetrix, perpetual Virgin Mary our lady", Mary was hailed as the "most glorious Virgin Mary his [omnipotents God's] most pious mother".²⁸¹

The forgiveness and mercy of Mary were necessary personality traits to ensure her support of the laity. However, ultimately the forgiveness required for salvation was that of God, the judge on the Last Day. As supremely powerful queen of heaven, with the ear of the king, and the beloved mother of Jesus, Mary's mediation was sought:

Befor our Lord
Meis all discord;
Thou be our beild fra blame.
We be restord,
To ferme concord,
Beseiking his haly name.²⁸²

The laity attributed to Mary the maternal role of mediator between parent and child (God and humanity) and reconciler of their relationship. In the sense that Jesus was perceived as the loving and forgiving son to God and brother to humanity, and thus separate from God, the Father and Judge, Mary's mediation was deemed more efficacious, mothers being even more influential with sons than fathers.²⁸³ Nicholas of Clairvaux, disciple of Bernard of Clairvaux, had stated categorically that Mary controlled all things on heaven and earth, and demanded that Jesus obey her.²⁸⁴

Guibert of Nogent (d. 1124) had encouraged the image of Mary as queen of heaven to support the idea of her as sufficiently powerful to control Jesus and thus human salvation;²⁸⁵ there is Scottish evidence of the link between Mary's queenly power and her influence as mediator on behalf of humanity. In the Arbuthnott Prayer Book and BM Arundel MS 285 there are representations of Mary as crowned queen of heaven holding the baby Jesus, and the prayer "O Intemerata" of BM Arundel MS 285 stated that whatever Mary asked of Jesus, He would grant immediately.²⁸⁶

Humanity could count on Mary's desire to aid her human children, and her success in influencing God on their behalf. As a perfect mother she could be controlled by her love for her human children, whether "the fathirles" or merely the average repentant sinner.²⁸⁷ Further, God's guilt at having made Mary suffer at the foot of the Cross could be used to induce Him to have mercy on the laity for whom she pleaded. God was entreated to have mercy on supplicants: "for the teris scho [Mary] grat, and for all ye dollouris scho sustenit in her hert quhen scho stod vnder the croce and saw ye de apoun ye croce."²⁸⁸ Thus laypeople had some real hope of success when they entreated Mary to be with them in time of tribulation, to receive their souls after death and to offer them to "thy sueit sone Iesu", who Himself had died for the salvation of humanity.²⁸⁹ By receiving her aid and mediation, not only would laypeople be reconciled to God, they would receive the "hevinly sueitnes and consolacioun" of the mother Mary.²⁹⁰

In order to achieve reconciliation with God, laypeople felt that their inherent spiritual unworthiness required the constant guidance of Mary. She was entreated to help them to live lives of morality and faith, doing honour to God. Thus "The Lang Rosair" of

BM Arundel MS 285 began each verse with "Mothir of God", followed by a request for her aid in improving the person's behaviour and relationship with God. For example, the prayer asked Mary to pray for the supplicant, that his or her heart might be kept from evil thoughts and sinful desires which offended God and Mary, that she or he might be "haly loving", and deserve the name of a "trew cristin" person in this earthly vale of misery. Later Mary was asked to pray for the supplicant, that by her mediation the supplicant might be presented to God after death in a state of grace.²⁹¹ Human sexuality in particular was seen as a major stumbling block to spiritual worthiness. As a compassionate and sexually pure maternal figure, Mary often was asked to aid in matters related to the suppression of sexual sinfulness: "Pray for me, that I may be vertu of abstinence may ourcum ye spreit of glutony and lichory, and withstand my fleschely concupissence for trew luf of him and the."²⁹²

Whilst the supplicant hoped to live a good Christian life with Mary's aid, the laity's growing sense of spiritual unworthiness led it to rely more heavily on Mary's mediation, along with the fruits of her son's Passion: "Pray for me, yat I, quhilk be ye merites of my lyfe hes deservit maist bitter deid and pane, may, be ye meritis of his passioun and yi moderly mediacioun, be takin to mercy agane."²⁹³ There was a strong sense within the ranks of the laity that Mary needed to be praised and pleased in order to gain her willingness to mediate on its behalf.²⁹⁴ Therefore, in many verses of "The Lang Rosair", supplicants entreated Mary to help them better themselves in her eyes as well as the eyes of God. In the final stanza of the prayer, supplicants stated that it was Mary whom they most wished to love after God, and to whom the "five roses" was

offered as an oblation. In return, supplicants hoped to obtain her aid on the Day of Judgment.²⁹⁵

The notion of reconciliation was bound up in the Annunciation. Mary agreed to be the mother of God, free will being an article of Catholic faith, and thus had chosen to suffer the ridicule and isolation which would occur when her pregnancy became evident.²⁹⁶ Her humble, calm acceptance of her role, and her trust in and love for God, made her a worthy exemplar to humanity, and forged a new relationship between God and humanity.²⁹⁷ A Scots rendition of the "Magnificat", contained in George Bannatyne's 1568 compilation, expressed the joy of Mary's reconciliation with God on humanity's behalf, through her bearing of the son of God.

My spreit also, with thocht and hairt efeir,
Reioisit hes with fully of aboundance
In God, that is my souerane haill enteir,
And all my joy, and all my sufficance,
My haill desyre, and my full sustenance.

For he from hevin gudly hes behold
Of his hand maid the humilitie.
Quhairfoir, in sic only, for he wold
All kinrikkis saue, Blissit call thay me;²⁹⁸

The original relationship had been marred by the actions of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; it was Mary's act which had turned the "gret malediccioune of eve" into the "benediccioune and blissing" of Mary, and which brought humanity to grace, and to "blis and glore eternal" after death.²⁹⁹

The laity responded to this image of Mary as reconciler of God and humanity. They made religious foundations in honour of the Annunciation, thereby reminding God of Mary's virtuous act and her worthiness as intercessor for humanity. For example, in 1515, William Maxwell of Telling, knight, founded a chapel of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in doing so celebrated and glorified Mary in her first and most important act of

reconciliation between God and humanity.³⁰⁰ Plays about the Salutation of the Virgin and the Expulsion from Paradise in Aberdeen (mentioned in 1511) would have reminded the laity of the importance of Mary's act,³⁰¹ and the staging of such plays would have done her great honour and so benefited the community of Aberdeen. (See Chapter 5)

Mary's forging of a new relationship was of particular importance to laywomen, since Eve received most of the blame for Original Sin. Just as the Jews were held responsible for killing Jesus, female sexuality was held responsible for humanity's banishment from the perfect earthly joy of the Garden of Eden to the vale of misery of sin, evil, death, and the prospect of eternal damnation. As Mary's act brought Jesus to redeem human sinners, so too did Mary redeem the name of woman. As John of Ireland pointed out in his The Meroure of Wyssdome, as a woman without honour or goodness, Eve had brought "gret dampnage and scaithe" from which Mary had delivered humanity.³⁰² That is, he held Eve responsible for having brought about Original Sin, the evil, sexual inclinations of humanity, and its eternal damnation, and that it was Mary who had delivered humanity from these "maledicciounis", and that men could no longer blame women for their lot.³⁰³ Because of Mary, humanity was delivered from sin, had come to grace, and was promised eternal glory and bliss. "And tharfor now the man has na thing that he may plenze of agane the woman, for this haly lady has mendit all".³⁰⁴

CONCLUSION

Thus the period 1480 to 1560 found the average lay Scot convinced of the importance of Mary to salvation. The extent of lay reliance on her varied, but by and large her presence loomed almost

as large as that of Jesus, lay support for the cult of saints increasingly giving way to a concentration on Mary and Jesus. In terms of interceding on behalf of humanity, Mary was the first choice of many. Her great spiritual worthiness, stemming from her bodily and spiritual purity, had made her greatly favoured by God. Late medieval male theories of female sexuality placed most responsibility for human sexual sinfulness on the nature of women, but Mary posed no threat to male spiritual acceptability. She did not tempt men to sexual thoughts, which were considered the height of sinfulness, as even in her motherhood she was non-sexual, this being proven by her bodily assumption into heaven. Thus it was safe to love, honour and praise Mary without fear of misinterpretation or loss of self-control.

Chosen to be mother of God, and willingly accepting her role, Mary redeemed humanity from the judgment of eternal death brought upon it by Adam and Eve. The son she bore was Jesus, who died to redeem the sins of humanity. Based upon their own images of perfect motherhood, enhanced by images from the liturgy, from theologians, poets and artists, Scots defined Mary's traits of motherhood. By doing so, they guaranteed themselves Mary's everlasting nurturing, compassion and forgiveness. They also gained her commitment to intercede with God on their behalf and to effect a reconciliation between God and humanity which would lead to salvation. In her absolute purity and maternal perfection, Mary gained the trust and allegiance of Scots from all walks of life. They centred their hopes of salvation on her and her ability to influence the godhead.

NOTES

1. John Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", Innes Review (Spring, 1962), XIII, #1, p. 72 and George Seton, A History of the Family of Seton (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1896), I, p. 95.

2. ed. W.M. Metcalfe, Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Paisley (1163-1665) and Extracts from the Records of the Town Council (1594-1620) (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1902), p. 56.

3. SRO GD79/4/140.

4. Walter Kennedy, part two of a series of poems "Ballatis of Our Ladye", in 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), XVI, ll. 43-4, p. 274.

5. Benedicata Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215 (London: Scholar Press, 1982), pp. 132-3 and 164-5. Thus the 1536 foundation of "Our Lady of Loreto" near Musselburgh by hermit Thomas Douchtie expressed a "local" sentiment more in keeping with earlier decades than the general dedication to "[God and] our Glorious lady the Blessed Virgin Mary his Mother" of Sir John Maitland of Thirlstane (*Thirlestoune*) in his foundation of 1504. However, since this Loreto foundation was itself the product of an importation of a foreign cult, and the Loreto shrine drew pilgrims from all over Scotland, it was not really a "localised" cult in the true sense, in David McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", IR (Glasgow, Spring, 1966), XVII, p. 44, and SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1526-7.

6. An example of devotion to Mary amongst the lower ranks of the clergy is that of Sir James Strait (d. 1492), chaplain of the Blessed and Spotless Virgin Mary in the church of St. John the Baptist, Ayr. As chaplain at Mary's altar he would have already attained her favour, as long as he celebrated services well and regularly. However, by asking that his obit be celebrated there (exequies and masses), he ensured that she would intercede for him for eternity, in James Paterson, The Obit Book of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Ayr (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), p. 51. In the early sixteenth century Robert Blackadder (*Blacader*), Archbishop of Glasgow, built an altar dedicated to the glorious Virgin Mary of Pity in his cathedral, and endowed a chaplainry of the "ever glorious Virgin Mary of Consolation" at the altar of St. John the Baptist, in Norman F. Shead, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", Innes Review (Glasgow, 1970), XXI, p. 15, David McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", p. 44, and David McRoberts, "Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land", Innes Review (Glasgow, Spring, 1968), XX, 1, p. 92.

7. Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (London: Picador, 1985), p. 145.

8. The Cistercian order, founded in 1098, was particularly devoted to Mary, and had carried their intense devotion to her across Europe and into Scotland, where by 1516 they had seven Scottish nunneries

and eleven monasteries, in Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 72 and 144. Their founder, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, had made an impassioned plea for devotion to her: "Virginity is a virtue that is found with few, but far fewer are they who can only admire the virginity of Mary, apply thyself with zeal to copy her humility, and that will be enough for thee." Even more impressive than her humility and virginity was her combination of motherhood and virginity, as "she unites integrity with fruitfulness", in St. Bernard, in St. Bernard, "First Sermon the Glories of the Virgin Mother", St. Bernard's Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary (Devon: Mount Melleray Abbey Trust, 1984), p. 9.

9. William Dunbar, "The Goldyn Targe", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 160-5, pp. 116-7.

10. William Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 1-5, p. 175.

11. John Spottiswoode, History of the Church of Scotland, ed. M. Russell, Vol. I of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1851), p. 163. Note that the Catholic authorities encouraged lay devotion to Mary by insisting in 1549 that the ancient invocation be used at the beginning and end of discourses, that is the "Our Father" and "Angelical Salutation to the Blessed Virgin Mary" so that "she may intercede with the Lord God to procure divine grace for making the discourse blessed and fruitful" and at the end of a sermon or prayer for dead souls, in ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), LIV, #219, p. 122.

12. David F. Wright, "Mary in the Reformers", in Chosen by God: Mary in Evangelical Perspective, ed. David F. Wright (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989), pp. 165-8.

13. Richard Bauckham, "The Origins and Growth of Western Mariology", in Chosen by God: Mary in Evangelical Perspective, ed. David F. Wright (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989), p. 158, and Bernard Hamilton, Religion in the Medieval West (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), p. 79.

14. John Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 94.

15. Elaine Storkey, "The Significance of Mary for Feminist Theology", in Chosen by God: Mary in Evangelical Perspective, ed. David F. Wright (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989), pp. 196-7 and Bauckham, p. 145.

16. Leonardo Boff, The Maternal Face of God. The Feminine and Its Religious Expressions, trans. Robert R. Barr and John W. Diercksmeier (London: Collins, 1989), pp. 184 and 186, and Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700, p. 8.

17.cf. 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), pp. 71-2 and 83, C.J. Jung, "Brother Klaus", in Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), pp. 231-2, C.J. Jung, "Letter to Pere Lachat", Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), pp. 233-45, Jacques Pohier, God in Fragments, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1985), *passim*, and Bauckham, p. 147.

18.The relevant text of the prayer is: "To you [Mary] we flee for shelter and compassion, mother of God. You alone are chaste and blessed; do not disregard our prayers in this hour of need, but deliver us from danger", in Bauckham, p. 146, citing A. Hamman, Early Christian Prayers, trans. W. Mitchell (London, 1961), p. 76.

19.An example of a foundation which placed Mary as one of the "redeemed" is the foundation of an altar of the Salvation of Our Lady and St. Gabriel in the church of St. John the Baptist of Perth in 1513, in ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, Vol. II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), VII, p. 66. Yet even while her status as a redeemed human being was asserted through this foundation, the laity was reminded of her role as mother of the saviour, this being the point of coupling her name with that of St. Gabriel. Note also that St. Gabriel was important as comforter to the souls in purgatory, so a foundation to St. Gabriel would benefit dead souls named in such a foundation.

20.Song of Songs IV:9 and 12. Note that Freud described female imagery in terms of enclosed spaces, and Marian imagery in theology and literature often emphasised Mary's womb, wherein God dwelt in human form. cf. Alan Watts, Myth and Ritual in Christianity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1954), p. 691, and ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 2, p. 294 and ll. 16-20, p. 295.

21.Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", l. 2, p. 294 and ll. 16-7, p. 295.

22.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 153-5, p. 327.

23.C.J. Jung, Reply to a letter from the Rev. David Cox, "Jung and Religious Belief", Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), p. 284. cf. Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", pp. 27-9.

24.Foulis Easter church, Angus.

25.Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 224.

26.Robert Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 95. Note that Scribner mentioned that the distinction between "beliefs" and "practices" as a means of defining popular belief may not be useful or even possible. Religious beliefs did inform lay religious practices, but laypeople rarely had a clear conceptual framework upon which to firmly base their religious

practices, in Ibid., p. 95. This present work also is careful not to discount the religious content or "belief" base of religious practices, but at the same time does not seek to explain practices through theology, for such an approach would yield results of doubtful validity. cf. Robert Scribner, "Magic and the Formation of Protestant Popular Culture in Germany", Popular Culture in Question (conference), (University of Essex, April, 1991).

27.Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 95.

28.Note the accusation of the author of The Book of Pluscarden that King David II's sinful behaviour, including his keeping of a mistress, had brought God's wrath upon the Scottish people in 1362 in the form of a plague outbreak, in The Book of Pluscarden (Liber Pluscardensis), ed. Felix J.H. Skene, ed. Vol. I of 2 vols. Vol. X of The Historians of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1880), p. 232. Note also Robert Henryson's view that the late fifteenth century plague outbreaks were a sign of God's wrath against a sinful people, in Robert Henryson, "Ane Prayer for the Pest", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), pp. 163-5.

29.Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, pp. 59-60 and 95.

30.Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 19, p. 175.

31.Charles Carter, "The Arma Christi in Scotland", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1959), LXXXX, p. 127.

32.Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, pp. 321-34 (l. 62, p. 324 and l. 155, p. 327 is "trone of the Trinite" reference).

33.William Dunbar, The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), passim, Sir David Lyndsay, "Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and Ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World" ["The Monarche"], The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, Vol. I of 4 vols., Text of the Poems, ed. Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, Third series, 1931), pp. 198-386, and 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.

34.Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 8 and 40, p. 161 and l. 79, p. 162.

35.Foulis Easter church, Angus.

36.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955, passim, and George Bannatyne, The Bannatyne Manuscript, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1928-34), passim.

37.Ward, pp. 164-5.

38. In 1581 the General Assembly received a report from the synodal assembly of Lothian regarding a recommendation that an Act of Parliament be made against those who went on pilgrimage, celebrated superstitious rites or other "papisticall idolatrie" at wells, crosses and images, observed feasts and days dedicated to saints, or put out bonfires for superstitious purposes. Then in 1616, in an attempt to stem the tide of people passing to wells, trees and old chapels in pilgrimage, and the holding of bonfires, the General Assembly instructed ministers to report offenders so that they might be punished, 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), pp. 535-6, and The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Vol. III of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1845), pp. 1120-1.

39. Foulis Easter church, Angus.

40. Subjects for altar retables were usually the Annunciation, Immaculate Conception, Salutation, Nativity, Adoration of the Shepherds and the Three Kings, Circumcision, Presentation in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, and Birth, Marriage, Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary, in James S. Richardson, "Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Mediaeval Date in Scotland", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Sixth series (Edinburgh, 1927/8), LXII, p. 197.

41. Alexander Myln, "Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld", p. 323, cited by Richardson, "Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Mediaeval Date in Scotland", pp. 199-200 and 202.

42. Carter, p. 125.

43. Ibid., pp. 123 and 128.

44. David McRoberts, "The Glorious House of St. Andrews, Innes Review (Glasgow, 1974), XXV, pp. 102-3, citing D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, II, p. 280 and McRoberts, "The Glorious House of St. Andrews", citing St. Andrews Liber, p. 406.

45. McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", p. 44, 1542 inventory of King's College, Old Aberdeen, in Francis C. Eeles, King's College Chapel Aberdeen. Its Fittings, Ornaments and Ceremonial in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), p. 14, St. Tiernan's church, Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire, Roslin Chapel, Midlothian and Seton collegiate church, East Lothian.

46. Foulis Easter church, Angus.

47. There are numerous references to Marian foundations. A representative sampling of various types of Marian foundations follows:

Obits - ed. Marguerite Wood, Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-28, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1953), #86, p. 24 (obit founded by Francis Inchecok in the church of St. Mary of the Fields, Edinburgh for the

souls of John Park and John Glen and his spouse, in return for a sum of money paid to Inchecok by Glen).

- Masses (trentals) - ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland A.D. 1500-1504, Vol. II (Edinburgh, H.M. General Register House, 1900), p. 75 (1502 foundation by James IV of three trentals of masses of St. Mary of the Cross).
- Altars - A.D. Lacaille, "Notes on a Loch Lomondside Parish", Innes Review (Glasgow, Autumn, 1965), XVI, 2, pp. 148-9 (altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Luss).
- Prebends - Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, p. 218 (one prebend dedicated to Mary out of six prebends, Cullen collegiate church, 1543).
- Collegiate- John Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", Churches Innes Review (Glasgow, Spring, 1962), XIII, #1, p. 71 (Seton collegiate church, founded 1493, dedicated to St. Mary and the Holy Rood).
- Chapel - David McRoberts, "Hermits in Medieval Scotland", Innes Review (Glasgow, Autumn, 1965), p. 209 and 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), #1403, pp. 309-10 (shrine cum chapel of the Blessed Virgin of Loreto, founded c. 1534 by Thomas Douchtie, with land donated by the community of Musselburgh).
- Hermitage - McRoberts, "Hermits in Medieval Scotland", p. 207 (hermitage on the burgh muir outside Edinburgh, 1512-3, confirmed to Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist).
- Hospitals - Sixteen of eighty-seven hospitals founded pre-1560 were dedicated to Mary, but the greatest period of hospital foundation was the thirteenth century, with only five hospital foundations being made from 1450 to 1560. Hospitals were often attached to foundations which had Mary as the titular saint, such as the collegiate church of St. Mary of the Assumption founded in 1545/6 by Malcolm, Lord Fleming in Biggar, Lanarkshire, in Cowan and Easson, pp. 162-200 (hospital data) and p. 215 (Fleming foundation).
- Wells - More holy wells were dedicated to Mary than to any other saint, in Russel Walker, "'Holy Wells' in Scotland", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1883), XVII, p. 163.
- Fairs - cf. James Balfour Paul, "The Incidence of Saints' Names in Relation to Scottish Fairs", Proceedings, LII (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 161.

Testaments- eg. SRO CC 20/4/1, passim.

48.ed. W. Chambers, Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Peebles A.D. 1165-1710 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1872), p. 44.

49.ed. William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols. Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), pp. 41-2, a 1543 obit foundation by Philip Gibson in Haddington, and ed. W.M. Metcalfe, Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Paisley (1163-1665) and Extracts from the Records of the Town Council (1594-1620) (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1902), pp. 55-6, a 1499 foundation in Paisley parish church by James Crawford of Kylwynnat, burgess of Paisley and his spouse Elizabeth Galbraith (*Calbrayth*).

50.ed. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, Second edition (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1928), I, #53, p. 121.

51.Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

52.The art and literature which survives from the period indicates that Jesus' face (young) was slowly coming to replace "God's" (middle-aged) in representations of the "king of heaven". However, where Jesus' face did appear, it tended to be limited to representations of the Second Coming (when God was to come in human form, according to the Bible) (eg. Catechism woodcut). In the usual representations of the heavenly court God was a stern, middle-aged man. In documentary sources the idea of Jesus as "lord" and "king" was also growing, apparently in concert with an emphasis on Him as loving, compassionate friend and saviour, and loyal son to the ever-merciful Blessed Virgin Mary. (eg. testaments).

53.Arbuthnott Missal and Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum, Foulis Easter church, Angus, and BM Arundel MS 285, ff. 178v, 187, 198v and 204v.

54.John Bossy, "The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series (London, 1975), XXV, p. 33.

55.Storkey, p. 189.

56.Foulis Easter church, Angus.

57.eds. Elizabeth Clark and Herbert Richardson, Women and Religion. A Feminist Source Book of Christian Thought (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 78-82.

58.Edwin Mullins, The Painted Witch. Female Body: Male Art. How Western Artists Have Viewed the Sexuality of Women (London: Secker & Warburg, 1985), pp. 38 and 224.

59.Mullins, pp. 28-9.

60. Philippe Aries, "St. Paul and the Flesh", in Western Sexuality. Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times, eds. Philippe Aries and Andre Bejin, trans. Anthony Forster (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 38.

61. Katherine K. Young, "Introduction", Women in World Religions, ed. Arvind Sharma (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987), p. 30.

62. This relationship between evil and human sexuality was a common subject in the devotional literature of the period, such as the devotional prayer "The Lang Rosair" in BM Arundel MS 285: "Pray for me, yat my feit of carnall effectionis may be weschin fra all filth of syne, and haue yame anoy[nt]it with balme of deuocioun, yat I may vnto ye luf of God almychti clyme." in Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 138-41, p. 327.

63. John of Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, ed. Charles MacPherson, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society), pp. 133-4 and passim. Note that this work implies free will for both Mary and Eve.

64. Watts, p. 231.

65. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1891), p. 41.

66. Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, p. 148.

67. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 110-4, p. 326.

68. Enfold me in every virtue,
Encompass me from every vice
in Mary Maclellan, "Praise of Mary", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, ed. Alexander Carmichael (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1940), #256, III, p. 129.

69. ed. Alexander F. Mitchell, The Catechism (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1882), f. ix, 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, and Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

70. Watts, p. 223.

71. Mullins, p. 38.

72. Foulis Easter church, Angus.

73. Mullins, p. 1.

74. Such a topic is outwith the scope of this thesis. However, certain patterns of behaviour are noticeable amongst late medieval Scottish women which distinguish them from their male contemporaries. For example, women's choices of foundation tended toward those which offered them the opportunity to continue their care and nurturing of their family after death, viz. obits and other foundations offering prayers for souls. It is true that society as

a whole tended in this direction, but women were much more likely to concentrate their activities on such foundations. Further, women tended to express their concern by founding such obits soon after their spouses' deaths, whereas men tended to wait until their own death was at hand, at which point they founded obits for themselves and their spouses. cf. Marjory Ogilvy, spouse of David, third Earl of Crawford, founded an obit for him in 1478 and Margaret Carmichael of Meadowflat, "Duchess of Montrose" and spouse of David, fifth Earl of Crawford, founded a mass for his soul in 1505, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1906), pp. 18 and 23.

75.Boff, p. 107.

76.Mullins, p. 20.

77.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1526-7. Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, showed extreme generosity to these same sisters in his testament of 1548. He left sums of money to a variety of friaries and monasteries in his diocese, normally from six to ten pounds, but to the sisters of the Sciennes he left £40. Note that the next group to which he was most generous were the sisters of North Berwick. He bequeathed 20 merks to them. He may have felt that the nuns were most in need of financial support when he made his testament in 1548, but alternatively he may have felt that these women religious were doing good work in the spirit of Christian faith, and thus should be supported in their work, in SRO CC9/7/1.

78.Mullins, p. 21.

79.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, pp. 134-5, regarding Mary's concerns about how she would be impregnated with the holy seed, and Ibid., ll. 22-36, p. 136 and ll. 9-10, p. 154 regarding Ireland's advice to women. Ireland continued to warn women not to put themselves in danger of losing their chance of salvation by being at the sexual mercy of men:

. . . encheu the company of mene, nocht anerelie of
strangearis, bot your awine kynnis men and frendis, and namly,
to be allane with thame jn sacret placis and tyme, for gret
perel js, and mony exampilis may be schawin baith jn the
scripture and storyss.

in Ibid., ll. 36-7, p. 136 and ll. 1-3, p. 137.

80.Boff, p. 153.

81.Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", pp. 27-8, 55, 57 and 90.

82.Bauckham, p. 151. Note that the association of the Holy Ghost with Mary had been very close in the Gnostic mind, which considered that as mother of God she was part of the Trinity, in Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", p. 57.

83.Illustration in BM Arundel MS 285, f. 193v, and Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

84.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", l. 150, p. 327.

85.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Aue Maria Alta Stirps", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 221, p. 285.

86.Papal bull Ineffabilis Deus, cited by Boff, p. 128. That is, the theory of the immaculate conception became dogma on this date, in Horace Keast, Our Lady in England. A Panorama of Marian Culture and Devotion in England from Anglo-Saxon Times down to the Present (Helston: Society of Mary, 1984), p. 21.

87.Bauckham, pp. 151-2.

88.cf. Storkey, p. 190.

89.Bossy, Christianity in the West 1400-1700, p. 8, cf. Storkey, p. 197.

90.Boff, pp. 168 and 171 and Watts, pp. 111-2.

91.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Clementissime", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh, Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 11-2, p. 279, and NLS AdvMS 18/8/14, p. 394.

92.David S. Rutherford, Biggar St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), p. 27, James Murray Mackinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural Dedications, I, pp. 96-7, and Cowan and Easson, p. 233.

93.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), p. 66, and Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, II, p. 66.

94.Arbutnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

95.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, p. xxxvii and passim.

96.Ibid., I, pp. 103 and 99.

97.Ibid., I, p. 100.

98.Ibid., I, pp. 99 and 103.

99.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", l. 3, p. 322, and Bennett's comments on the poem, Ibid., p. xxiii.

100.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, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 237 and 265, Vol. II, Book 3, p. 53, and Vol. I, Book 1, p. 265, respectively.

101.Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", ll. 93-4, p. 297 and l. 44, p. 295, and ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Clementissime", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 24-5, p. 279.

102. Anonymous, "Ross mary most of wertewe virginale", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, compiler John Asloan, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. II of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1925), l. 17, p. 271, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Haill, quene of hevin and sterne of blis", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 8, p. 298. (Note that Bennett has not found an immediate source for this hymn, although a number of Latin hymns begin "Ave Regina Celorum", *Ibid.*, p. xxii), and Anonymous, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" ("O hie empryss and quene celestiale"), in compiler John Asloan, 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), l. 4, p. 245.

103. Walter Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", 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), ll. 13-6, p. 273.

104. Robert Henryson, "The Annunciation", Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), l. 31, p. 127 and ll. 49 and 64, p. 128.

105. ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #13, p. 31, and John Knox, ed. David Laing, The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing, Vol. I of 6 vols., Appendix XII (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1895), p. 546, citing John Foxe's Actes and Monuments.

106. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Aue Cuius Concepcio" (an orisoun to Our Lady), Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 271-2, 275-6 and 279-80, p. 287.

107. eds. 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.

108. SRO GD122. Note that on 8 June, 1518, Simon Preston, knight, (d. by 12 April, 1520) had donated an annual rent to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary which he had founded at the end of the bridge of Craigmillar, in SRO GD122/2/358. cf. SRO GD122/3/357. When he died, Preston was also patron of a chaplainry in the church of Musselburgh, in SRO GD122/2/359. This helps to support the contention of this work that Scots of the period often had loyalties to particular saints, but shared a strong loyalty to Mary. This chaplainry may well have been the chaplainry of St. Ninian mentioned in a document of 14 May, 1546, when chaplain John Preston leased certain lands to George Preston, in SRO GD122/2/364. Note that on 3 February, 1528/9, George Preston was given a licence under the Privy Seal to go on pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. John of Amiens because he was under a vow to the late Simon Preston of that ilk, knight; thus Simon Preston's desire to achieve spiritual acceptability led him to seek the intercession of powerful saints other than Mary and to gain the spiritual benefits of pilgrimage (satisfaction and remission of sins) as well those which came from making chaplainry foundations, in ed. M. Livingstone, M., Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of

Scotland, Vol. I. A.D. 1488-1529 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908), #4064, p. 588.

109.ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. V of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1852), XXIV, pp. 297-9. Major Marian feasts in a fifteenth century missal of the Sarum Use, current in Scotland, would have included those of the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (confirmed in England in 1222 and approved by Rome in 1477), and Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Horace Keast, Our Lady in England. A Panorama of Marian Culture and Devotion in England from Anglo-Saxon Times down to the Present (Helston: Society of Mary, 1984), p. 21. Note that a fifteenth century provincial and synodal statute of the Scottish church added the feast of the Nativity of Blessed Mary in September as being an important feast of Mary as well, being a day in which fasting would occur, as well as a cessation of servile work by clergy and people, in Patrick, pp. 78-9.

110. Paterson, p. 51. In 1549 Mr. James Houston, subdean of Glasgow Cathedral, founded the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne. He included in the foundation a prebend dedicated to the "Blessed Mary Ever Virgin", one of the richest of the foundation. In the episcopal confirmation of the foundation, Archbishop Gavin Dunbar of Glasgow referred to Mary as the "Ever Virgin Mary, genetrix of our god and lord Jesus Christ", in NLS AdvMS 9A/1/12, ff. 5v and 26v.

111. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum. The dedication written on the Prayer Book's companion piece, the Psalter, reinforced the definition of Mary as sexually pure. The writer noted that the book of the psalms had been given to the sacred chapel of the glorious virgin by the donor and founder, Robert Arbuthnott, and included a humorous wish that the Psalter not be moved from its place in the Chapel of Our Lady in the church, in W.M. Metcalfe, "The Arbuthnot Manuscripts: A Description" (Paisley: Alexander Gardner). Note that the Arbuthnott Missal, Prayer Book and Psalter were all written by James Sibbald (Sybbald), vicar of St. Tiernan's, Arbuthnott, in the late fifteenth century. The decoration of a capital in the Missal, completed in 1491 by Sibbald, appears to have been of the Assumption. Mary was surrounded by seven winged angels, all grasping her cloak, as if bearing her aloft, in Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

112. BM Arundel MS 285, f. 193v.

113. Note that the combining of the themes of purity and beauty with respect to Mary continued through to the nineteenth century, when a cottar of Barra, Fionnaghal Macdougall, recited the prayer "The Lightener of the Stars" to Alexander Carmichael in which Mary was said to be "of exceeding white purity of beauty", in Carmichael, "The Lightener of the Stars", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, I, #16, p. 45.

114. "The Song of Songs IV:7, The Holy Bible New International Version, cited by Watts, p. 105.

115. Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 69, p. 176.
116. Bennett, "O Clementissime", ll. 94-5, p. 281. cf. Image of Mary as "heavenly daughter of god omnipotent", in Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, ll. 30-1, p. 103.
117. Psalm XLIV:3, The Holy Bible.
118. Watts, p. 113.
119. John Gau, "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", The Bannatyne Miscellany, ed. David Laing, Vol. III of 3 vols., (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), XIXB, p. 357.
120. Alexander Scott, "Quha is Perfyte", The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 224.
121. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 230-41, p. 330 and passim.
122. Thou art the river of grace,
Thou art the well-spring of salvation,
.
Since thou art the full ocean,
Pilot me at sea;
Since thou art the dry shore,
Save me upon land.
.
Plead with thy gracious Son
That He make my prayer avail
My soul, and thereafter
My body, . . .
in Carmichael, "Praise of Mary", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, III, #256, pp. 131, 133 and 127.
123. Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, p. 102.
124. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", l. 34, p. 295 and ll. 97 and 107, p. 297, Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 74, p. 162, and John of Ireland, "Incipiunt Versus de Beata Virgine et de Domino Nostro Jhesu", The Meroure of Wyssdome, ed. Charles MacPherson, Vol. I of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1926), XIX, l. 19, p. 171.
125. Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 10, p. 161.
126. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 69-72, p. 324.
127. Mary Maclellan, crofter, Beoraidh, Morar, "Praise of Mary", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, III, p. 133.
128. Revelation XII:1, cited by Watts, p. 105.
129. Watts, p. 105.
130. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum, and Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, p. xxiii.

131. Stewart Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1986), p. 178.

132. The Song of Songs VI:10, The Holy Bible.

133. Provost John Steinstone's Register of Services, collegiate church of Biggar, in Rutherford, p. 35.

134. The burgh seal of Dumfries included a moon, sun and stars, Dingwall a sun and stars, Forres a blue star and moon, and Inverness a crescent moon and star. One of the two coats of arms of the royal burgh of Kirkcaldy showed St. Bryce, titular saint of the church of Kirkcaldy (1242), standing in the doorway of an abbey. The saint held a fleur-de-lys in his left hand, and a moon and star rested on either side of the abbey, all three being symbols of Mary, in R.M. Urquhart, Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry (London: Heraldry Today, 1973), pp. 223-4, 61, 74-5 and 25.

135. Urquhart, p. 243.

136. Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 1, p. 160.

137. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 297-8, p. 332.

138. Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, ll. 20-1, p. 148.

139. BM Arundel MS 285. In the last century a crofter in the Highlands recited a paean to Mary, "Praise of Mary", which demonstrated the continuing association of Mary with sun, moon and star imagery.

Thou art the sun of the heavens,

Thou art the moon of the skies,

Thou art the star and the path

Of the wanderers,

in Maclellan, "Praise of Mary", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, III, #256, p. 133.

140. Keast, p. 27.

141. Keast, p. 27, McRobert's, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", p. 44 and 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, ll. 2661-8, p. 278. Canon Joseph Daniel's sermon described the Holy Rosary as Mary's "weapon" with which the evils and ills of the world could be solved, these evils being poverty, suffering and forgetfulness of the future, concerns which Scots of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also laid at Mary's door, in The Scottish Catholic Herald, Friday, 14 September, 1956, p. 5, and Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", pp. 322-34, passim.

142. Anonymous, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 2 and 4, p. 245 and l. 18, p. 246.

143. Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 39, p. 176, and William Dunbar, "The Nativite of Christ",

The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 4-5 and 20-4, p. 154.

144. William Dunbar, "Of the Passioun of Christ", 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), XVI, ll. 4-7, p. 242.

145. Thus the "Thre Rois Garlandis" of BM Arundel MS 285 began each section or "garland" with a prayer directed at Mary in honour of herself and Jesus her son, and ended each verse with an *Ave Maria*, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Thre Rois Garlandis", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), pp. 299-321. "The Lang Rosair", also in the Arundel manuscript, began each verse by hailing Mary as mother of God and Jesus as "our Saluour" or "king of glory", followed the salutation with a request for aid or intercession in the name of the sufferings of Jesus, and ended the verse with an *Ave Maria*, in Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", pp. 322-34. cf. The Fetternear Banner, which shows Jesus standing in front of the Cross, covered from head to foot with large droplets of bright red blood, to emphasise his great physical suffering, as well as surrounded by associated Passion imagery (egs. ladder, spear, nails) and the whole depiction surrounded by large red roses with five white beads between each red rose, not only entwining Passion and Marian imagery, but giving the same impression as the depiction in the parliamentary acts of 1541, that to access the merits of Jesus' Passion, one needed to do so via the rosary, in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

146. The retable fragment in Paisley Abbey dates from Abbot George Shaw's tenure (1472-98), and contains scenes of the Deposition from the Cross and the Entombment. Below the Entombment scene is a border of roses, once again linking Mary with the Passion, in Paisley Abbey, Renfrewshire. At some point between the 1520's and late 1530's, David Beaton (?1494-1546), Commendator of Arbroath (1524), Archbishop of St. Andrews (1539) commissioned a series of carved wooden panels. The panels included roof bosses on a panel with the monograms of Mary (MA) and Jesus (IHS). Another panel had a foliage pattern of poppies and roses with heraldic shields interspersed, in Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. Note that Caldwell has determined that the panels were based closely upon illustrations in French Books of Hours, but that they were of Scottish production. He also insisted that these panels were intended for a secular place rather than an ecclesiastical one, pointing out that in the sixteenth century, it was common to combine religious and secular themes along with foliage and heraldic emblems, as well as Classical imagery, in David H. Caldwell, "The Beaton Panels", presented at the conference Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 6-7 and 13. Caldwell's conclusions contribute to a general conclusion of this thesis, that late medieval Scottish society functioned through the combining of the secular and the sacred in daily life.

147. Foulis Easter church, Angus.

148. Carter, p. 123.

149. This panel included the monograms IHS (Jesus) and MA (Mary), in Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. cf. Note #154 for a discussion of these panels.

150. The arms of the royal burgh of Inverbervie consisted of a single five-petalled rose, and probably stemmed from a connection to the local Carmelite convent of Bervie, dedicated to Mary, in Urquhart, p. 96 and Keast, p. 28, regarding the devotion of the Carmelites to the Marian cult. A five-petalled rose was also part of the arms of Melrose. The connection to Melrose Abbey and Mary its patron was definitive, the arms showing the Cistercian abbey itself, with Mary and the baby Jesus enclosed in a shrine above it, a rose in the upper left corner, in Urquhart, p. 239. The arms of Inverbervie and Melrose were simple and appeared to follow quite closely the medieval seals of the abbeys nearby. The arms of the royal burgh of Montrose, an example of which exists from 1553, offered a more complex message. In the centre of the shield was a five-petalled rose, the symbol of Mary. Of particular interest was a wreath inset with five roses, the wreath being clasped firmly by a hand reaching down out of a cloud. Urquhart suggested in his Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry that the rose might have been connected with the Dominican priory at Montrose, founded in 1230 and dedicated to Mary. He also suggested that the wreath might be related to a legend that St. Dominic introduced devotion to the rosary after being shown such a wreath by Mary. However, the hand clasping the wreath was a very masculine one, and emerged from a cloud in a manner reminiscent of numerous late medieval paintings of God, such as the one completed by Michelangelo on the Sistine Chapel ceiling in Rome. Further, the roses on the wreath numbered five, and this was the number commonly used to represent the Five Wounds of Christ, as found on the Fetternear Banner (c. 1520) (rosary is in fives instead of normal tens), or the illustration of heaven encircled by the rosary in the Acts of the Parliament (published 1541). cf. The proximity of roses to the illustration of the Five Wounds of Christ in Provost Skene's house in Aberdeen. The Montrose seal might well represent the Assumption of Mary into heaven, the hand of God emerging from the clouds to grasp Mary, symbolically represented as a garland of roses. The number of roses might make reference to the Passion of Jesus, through which the salvation of Mary and other human beings was made possible. Mary was sometimes equated with the human soul as well, so it is also possible that the depiction was of the symbolic ascension into heaven of the human soul, via the Five Wounds of Christ and the rosary of Mary. The reverse of the seal showed St. Peter in his martyrdom, hanging upside down, the keys of heaven at his waist, representing another method of gaining spiritual acceptability - benefitting from the merits of the saints, in Urquhart, pp. 100-1, Carter, p. 125 and Watts, p. 105.

151. Urquhart, p. 238, and W. Ellwood Post, Saints, Signs and Symbols, Second edition (London: SPCK, 1962), p. 11.

152. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Intemerata", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), pp. 284-5.

153. ed. Bruce McEwen, Epistolare in usum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Aberdonensis (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1924), pp. xlvi and xli.

154. This panel contained a foliage pattern of poppies and roses with heraldic shields interspersed, in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. cf. Caldwell has concluded that the panels were intended for Beaton's private quarters, whether in the abbot's lodging in Arbroath, his house in Edinburgh, or the castle in St. Andrews, in David H. Caldwell, "The Beaton Panels", presented at the conference Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 3, 5-6, 8-10.

155. It is possible that a section of intricately carved stonework in Paisley Abbey formed the decoration of an early fifteenth century pulpitum, although it may have been part of an altar or tomb, although that is less likely. This segment included representations of various Paisley priors and bishops at prayer and celebrating services, along with heraldic blazons with Stewart and Cluniac components, in John Malden, The Abbey and Monastery of Paisley (Renfrew District Council, 1993), p. 14.

156. The royal arms of the Stewarts appeared on the rose tree of the seal of the royal burgh of Roxburgh, in Urquhart, p. 238.

157. The Seton arms were carved alongside Passion imagery on the late fifteenth century Seton collegiate church baptismal font, and two corbels along an exterior wall of Seton collegiate church displayed the symbols of the Passion on one corbel and the Seton arms on the other, in Seton collegiate church, East Lothian.

158. National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, Bennett, "The Lang Rosair" and "Thre Rois Garlandis", pp. 322-34 and 299-321, and Provost Skene's house, Aberdeen.

159. The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540 (Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson, 1541), f. 27v., and David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), p. 193, and Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

160. This poem was contained in John Asloan's compilation of the sixteenth century, in Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", II, ll. 57-64, pp. 274-5. cf. "Hail to Thee, Mary", a prayer to Mary collected by Alexander Carmichael in the nineteenth century, in which Mary is sought to:

Plead for me a miserable sinner,
Now and at the hour of death,
Now and at the hour of death!"

in Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, I, #48, p. 111.

161. Seton collegiate church, East Lothian.

162. Watts, p. 105. cf. Fleur-de-lys as a symbol of Mary, in Keast, p. 28.

163. Bennett, "Ave Maria Alta Stirps", l. 221, p. 285. cf. William Dunbar's description of Mary as a "grene daseyne", editor Mackenzie associating the word "grene" with the Latin "florens", in Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 40 and 43, p. 161.

164. Fleurs-de-lys decorated the crown of the painting of a queenly figure, probably Mary, in Lincluden collegiate church, in Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, VIII, Third series (Dumfries, 1920-1), flyleaf.

165. Further, another carved "Beaton panel" portrayed Mary along with a lily, in David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century, Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), p. 50. cf. Discussion of Beaton panels in Note #146.

166. Foulis Easter church, Angus, Seton collegiate church, East Lothian, and Keast, p. 28.

167. The choir had been completed by the death of its lay founder, William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, in 1484, in MacGibbon and Ross, III, p. 151.

168. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

169. Urquhart, p. 80 and Mackinlay, I, p. 87.

170. Mackinlay, I, p. 91.

171. The arms of Dundee, which followed closely a burgh seal of 1416, included a pot of white lilies (three branches). The parish church of Dundee was dedicated to Mary, so the burgh's seal would have reaffirmed the special right possessed by burgh-dwellers in Dundee to call on Mary for aid and intercession. Note also that the burgh crest also had a white lily on it, in Urquhart, pp. 35 and 47.

172. For example, the sixteenth century Beaton panels contained a scene of the Annunciation in which a pot of lilies took its traditional place between St. Gabriel and a kneeling Mary, in Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

173. Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus (St. Marnock's).

174. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

175. Bauckham, p. 144.

176. cf. Woodcut of heaven encircled by the rosary, The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be James the Fifth kyng of Scottis, 1540, f. 27v.

177. Jung discusses Mary's role as an archetype, and her function in the psychologically based "quaternity" of the human unconscious (eg. bringing "materiality" into the picture with her Assumption) in various works. cf. Jung, "Brother Klaus", pp. 231-2, Jung, a letter to Rev. David Cox, in "Jung and Religious Belief", pp. 294-6, Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", pp. 25-6, and Bauckham, p. 151.

178. O Mary Virgin! and O Holy Son!
Bless ye the house and all therein.

...
It is thou thyself, Virgin, who wast mother to us,

in Donald MacLain, "The Virgin and Child", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, I, #61, p. 145.

179. Bauckham, p. 144, Ireland, "Incipiunt Versus de Beata Virgine et de Domino Nostro Jhesu Xristo", in Book Two of The Meroure of Wyssdome, p. 171, Bennett, "Thre Rois Garlandis", l. 598, p. 320, Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 19, p. 175, NLS AdvMS 1903, and Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", p. 327.

180. Mullins, p. 168. cf. Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, ll. 2-4, p. 144.

181. Anonymous, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" ("O hie empyriss and quene celestiale"), The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 1-8, p. 245.

182. Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 9 and 13-6, p. 273, and ll. 43-4 and 49-56, p. 274.

183. cf. "moder of grace" of Gavin Douglas' "Prologue to the Eleventh Book of the Aeneid", in Gavin Douglas, ed. Sydney Goodsir Smith (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1959), l. 8, p. xiv, William Dunbar's refrain, *Ave Maria gracia plena!* in "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, pp. 160-2, *Ave Maria* interspersing verses in "The Lang Rosair" of BM Arundel MS 285, Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", pp. 322-34, and full of grace in pure, clean and perpetual virginity, full of grace in ardent charity, and full of grace in perfect humility in John of Ireland's The Meroure of Wyssdome, ll. 11-3 and 20-1, p. 147. Note that many European devotional liturgical works have the same orientation, eg. sixteenth century French Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Roman Use, BM AddMS 35318, where all prayers to Mary were followed by the phrase "Gratia plena".

184. Patrick, p. 79.

185. eg. SRO CC20/4/1 testaments in the Commissariat Records of St. Andrews, where testaments of 1544, 1547 and 1548, inter alia, referred to Mary as the "most glorious Virgin Mary" or the "Blessed and ever virgin Mary". References to chaplainry and church dedications in this regard occur throughout this chapter.

186. SRO GD79/4/88 and SRO GD79/4/11.

187. ed. Cosmo Innes, Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: Bannatyne Club, 1856), p. 210.

188. The 1496 dedication was part of the foundation of a hospital, including an oratory and chapel, by Margaret Knox, daughter of Vchteri Knox of Ranfurly and widow of burgess of Edinburgh Cuthbert Purves (*Purveys*), the foundation being made in accordance with Purveys' last wishes. The 1498 dedication was part of a donation giving 20 merks annual rent to the same hospital, at the instance of George Tenant, burgess of Edinburgh, in SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1524-6. Note that the Knoxes of Ranfurly were forebears of John Knox, in Johnston's Gazetteer of Scotland, Second edition, Revision by B.B.

Hartop and M. Rodger (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston & G.W. Bacon Ltd., 1958), p. 205.

189.Thomson, Macdonald and Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, II, pp. 232, 236 and 240-1.

190.Alexander Fraser, The Frasers of Philorth, Vol. I of 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1879), p. 147.

191.SRO CC9/7/1.

192.NLS AdvMS 34/7/3, ff. 81r, 4v and 10v.

193.SRO RH12/28, ff. 1v-r.

194.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

195.SRO GD79/4/20.

196.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ave Cuius Concepcio", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 279-80, p. 287.

197.SRO GD79/4/20. cf. A foundation similar to Chalmers' was made by Henry Sinclair of Hermanstone in 1528. Sinclair founded a new altar in the church of the Dominicans of Haddington to the honour of the "holy and individual Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit" and the "most Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother", a daily mass to be celebrated there for named souls, in SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1234-6.

198.Carmichael, "Holy Father of Glory", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, I, #7, p. 25.

199.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

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

201.Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

202.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), l. 1901, p. 57.

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

204.Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", l. 17, p. 295.

205.Storkey, p. 188.

206.Watts, p. 100.

207.cf. Ninian Winzet defended the place of Mary as the birthplace of the Trinity in his Certain Tractates of 1563. He wrote in response to the argument of some reformers that Jesus had become divine after birth. Winzet ferociously defended Mary's title as

mother of God, insisting that the "maist haly mysterie" of God's uniting with humanity in the person of Jesus had occurred in Mary's womb, in Ninian Winzet, "Vincentius Lirinensis", 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. 43-4. Winzet was following the lead of prominent medieval thinkers such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who had emphasised Mary's indispensable role in the Trinity and salvation which had come through Jesus.

. . . the Three Persons of the august Trinity dwelt in the holy Virgin by the presence of their undivided Majesty, although the Son alone was in her by the assumption of human nature. . .

in St. Bernard, "On the Faith and Virtues of the Blessed Virgin", in St. Bernard's Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary, transl. Ailbe J. Luddy (Devon: Mount Melleray Abbey Trust, 1984), p. 106. cf. Mary's involvement in the Trinity as means by which God took human form, and her relationship to the "Holy Spirit" in terms of its role as the procreative force of the Trinity, in "A Psychological Approach to the Trinity", pp. 57-8. Note that in contemporary art the Holy Spirit as the dove was consistently associated with Mary, so the two would have been entwined in the lay imagination. (egs. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, BM Arundel MS 285)

208.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, pp. 143-4 and passim.

209.Ibid., p. 149.

210.Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 409, p. 313.

211.Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", p. 66 and passim, and Watts, p. 111.

212.cf. Testimony to the power of the friars' preaching, in 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, ll. 1517-9, p. 274.

213.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, I, Book 1, p. 237 and II, Book 3, p. 53.

214.ed. G.D. Henderson, Scots Confession, 1560 (Edinburgh, Church of Scotland Committee on Publications, 1937), p. 49.

215.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #18, p. 41.

216.Gau, "The Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine", III, pp. 357-8.

217. O Mary Maiden,
Never was known
One was was placed
"Neath thy generous care,

Who asked thy mercy,

Who asked thy shielding,
 Who asked thy succour
 With truthful heart,

Who found not thy solace,
 Who found not thy peace,
 Who found not the succour
 For which he sought.

. . .
 To come into thy presence,

. . .
 That thou mayest have me spared
 Misery and mourning,
 That thou mayest have me spared
 Anguish eternal;

That thou mayest help my soul
 On the highway of the King,

. . .
 That thou mayest help my soul
 In the place of justice.

. . .
 Since thou art the star of angels,
 Watch over me on earth;
 Since thou art the star of paradise,
 Companion me to heaven.

in Mary MacDonald, "Prayer to Mary Mother", Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, III, pp. 119, 123 and 125.

218. "Salve Regina", cited by Watts, p. 231.

219. Note that the view of most ethnic religions is that there are no honourable roles outside of the family. Thus a role as mother made Mary of unimpeachable credentials, in Katherine K. Young, "Introduction", in Women in World Religions, pp. 220-1.

220. Mullins, pp. 154-8.

221. Ibid., pp. 165 and 168. Note that through Mary, motherhood came to be viewed as "sacred". (p. 168)

222. Ibid., pp. 154, 159 and 162-3 and Matthew XXVII:55-66, The Holy Bible.

223. NLS AdvMS 18/8/14, pp. 394 and 398.

224. Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, ll. 9-10 and 20-1, p. 147 and ll. 15-8, p. 148.

225. SRO RH12/23 from a missal, and Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, pp. 175-7.

226. Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", l. 5, p. 272 and l. 12, p. 273.

227. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

228. BM Arundel MS 285, f. 198v.

229.National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. The museum was told by the East Lothian lairdly family who donated the cabinet that Mary, Queen of Scots, had been the owner. However, whether the cabinet was hers or not is not as important as the fact that a large carving of Mary and the baby Jesus took pride of place at the centre and top of this prominent piece of furniture. This "sacralising of the secular" was important, as lay images of the afterlife and supernatural beings were informed by laypeople's daily interaction with them, as well as by lay attendance at church rituals.

230.Urquhart, pp. 79, 80, 233, 239, 242 and 247. Mary and the baby Jesus were introduced into the arms of the burgh of Cullen after the foundation of the collegiate church of Sts. Mary and Anne (1543). The arms then displayed Mary holding a sceptre surmounted by a fleurs-de-lys, sitting on a throne-like chair with the baby Jesus on her arm. The image was one of queenly power operating alongside nurturing motherhood, in Mackinlay, I, p. 87, and Urquhart, p. 80.

231.BM Arundel MS 285, ff. 182r and 185r.

232.Note that 26 July was a minor double feast of "Anne mother of Mary" in the early sixteenth century Kalendar of the cathedral of Aberdeen, in McEwen, p. xxxvii. Note also that a prayer to St. Anne included the phrase "per intercessionem matris et filie tue", in BM EG. MS 2125, f. 213r.

233.BM Arundel MS 285, ff. 190v and 208v.

234.Note that altar retables often presented scenes related to the nativity of Jesus, such as the Annunciation, Salutation, Nativity, Adoration of the Shepherds, Adoration of the Three Kings, and Flight into Egypt, in James Richardson, "Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Mediaeval Date in Scotland", p. 197.

235.An inventory of 1505 of the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle (chapel raised to this status by King James III) contained an image of Mary holding Jesus in her arms, surrounded by angels with musical instruments, in Mackinlay, I, p. 81.

236.In the Lady Chapel of Roslin Chapel (collegiate church of St. Matthew), in the patronage of the Sinclairs of Roslin, was a stone pendant with images of the nativity of Jesus (egs. Mary holding Jesus, Adoration of the Shepherds). Pillars nearby contained carvings of angels playing musical instruments, Roslin Chapel, Rosslyn, Midlothian.

237.Paisley Abbey, Renfrewshire.

238.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

239.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus, and Ian C. Hannah, "Screens and Lofts in Scottish Churches", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, LXX (Edinburgh, 1936), p. 197.

240.ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. II of 5 vols. (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1842), VI, pp. 326-7. Several decades later in 1522, burgess of Haddington David Fowrross founded a chaplainry at his altar and chapel of the Three Kings and the

Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Haddington, in SRO RH1/2/339.

241.Cowan and Easson, 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. (Aberdeen/Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press/Her Majesty's Stationery Office Press, 1967), p. 209.

242.SRO GD151/16/1.

243.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, ll. 13-5, p. 101. Fintry's piety extended to support the charitable work of the sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Penitence of Dundee. He erected a house in Dundee for the sisters, dedicating his generous gift to God, Our Glorious Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, and to the said sisters, in SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1520-1.

244.William Dunbar, "Quhone he List to Feyne", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 28, p. 100.

245.The Office of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin Mary was not included in the Aberdeen Breviary of Bishop William Elphinstone, possibly because it was meant to be issued independently. Elphinstone's devotion to Mary was marked, however, evidence of it being his foundation of the college of St. Mary, re-named King's College, in Aberdeen, and his elevation of the new Feast of the Presentation of Mary into a minor double feast, in Leslie J. Macfarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514. The Struggle for Order (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), p. 243.

246.NLS MS 1903, f. 104r-v.

247.Ibid., f. 104r.

248.Charles Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland with the Register of the Chapel Royal of Stirling (Edinburgh: Grampian Club, 1882), p. xlix.

249.Mullins, p. 165.

250.Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 11-2, p. 161.

251.Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, passim.

252.Bauckham, p. 157.

253.Storkey, pp. 197-8.

254.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 302-7, p. 332.

255.Ibid., l. 64, p. 324 and ll. 94-5, p. 325.

256. Bennett, "Ave Maria Alta Stirps", in BM Arundel MS 285, ll. 223 and 224, p. 285.

257. Mark Dilworth, "Book of Hours of Mary of Guise", Innes Review, XIX, 1 (Spring, 1968), pp. 78-9.

258. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Haill Mary, maist meik damesall of the Trinitie", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 306-7, p. 289.

259. Bennett, "O Clementissime", ll. 10-5, p. 279.

260. Mackinlay, I, p. 108 and SRO GD79/4/88.

261. Marguerite Wood, Protocol Book of John Foular 1503-1513, Vol. I (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1941), #801, p. 151, for a reference to Alison Dufton assigning a third part of a "thruich" stone at this altar to burgess Andrew Dikson, and John Durkan, Protocol Book of John Foular 1528-34 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1985), #204, pp. 68-9, for a 1530 reference to a burgh council appointment to this chaplainry.

262. ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1888, p. 129. This mass was founded by Sir John Litstar, chaplain at the altar of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian in the parish church of Aberdeen.

263. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, II, p. 75.

264. eds. Alexander Macdonald and James Dennistoun, "Register of Vestments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., Belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the University of St. Andrews, circa A.D. MCCCCCL", in Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. III of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1843), p. 199. Craill collegiate church's arrangements varied slightly, Sir Thomas Morton (*Myrtoun*) providing veils of black with black velvet crosses and "mort hodie" on them for the "altar", possibly the high altar, but a veil of red fabric to hang before the image of our Lady at Lent, no doubt a reminder of the blood of the Passion, in NLS AdvMS 34/4/6.

265. Dunkeld Cathedral clerics were also supporters of devotion to St. Mary of Consolation. In Alexander Myln's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, he reported that Master George Brown, chancellor and rector of Kinnell (*Kynnell*), founded a perpetual chaplainry of the Blessed Virgin of Consolation in the church of St. George, and that precentor James Fenton (*Fentoun*) founded two chaplainries at the altar of St. Mary of Consolation in St. John's church of Perth. According to Myln, Fenton provided a fine reredos, antemural, sedilia and "suitable" ceiling design, in Alexander Myln, "Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldense", in Rentale Dunkeldense, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1915), pp. 322-3.

266. McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", pp. 42-3.

267. David McRoberts judged this "image" to have been a painting after the fashion of the Madonna della Consolazione in Rome at which the original miracle had occurred (ie. Mary saved a son from unfair execution when his mother prayed at her image), in Shead, p. 15 and McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", pp. 42-4.

268. In its inventory c. 1450, the church of St. Salvator in St. Andrews mentioned a great gilt cross with a crucifix. The decoration included Mary, John and the twelve apostles standing on a great foot and closed with a silver pin. Roslin Chapel in Midlothian had a carving of the Crucifixion above the capital of a pillar near the north door, and a pillar facing it had a carving of the two Marys and St. John, reminding the laity of who had proved loyal to Jesus to the last, and the honour and praise due them for this. The Yester Book of Hours had an image of "Pity" in it. The Arbuthnott Prayer Book put an anxious, serious Mary at the foot of the Cross, one hand at her waist and another at her neck, as if in suffering, a bloodied Jesus with an agonised expression hanging above her. Mary's eyes were downcast as if unable to bear the sight. The background was a medieval city, which would make the scene more real to the lay reader. The above references are from: Macdonald and Dennistoun, "Register of Vestments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., Belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the University of St. Andrews, circa A.D. MCCCCL", The Miscellany of the Maitland Club, III, p. 202, Richardson, pp. 216 and 213, Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus, Roslin Chapel, Midlothian, BM Arundel MS 285, Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, p. 307, and Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

269. Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen.

270. Richardson, "Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Mediaeval Date in Scotland", p. 216.

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

272. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Stabat Mater Dolorosa", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 228-50, p. 286.

273. BM Arundel MS 285, f. 187r.

274. BM Arundel MS 285, and Bennett, "Thre Rois Garlandis", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, p. 307. Note that the seven dolours of Mary were the Prophecy of Simeon, Flight into Egypt, Loss of Jesus for Three Days, Meeting of Jesus and Mary on the way to Calvary, Crucifixion, Taking Down from the Cross and Burial of Jesus, in the The Scottish Catholic Herald, 20 October, 1956.

275. Richardson, "Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Mediaeval Date in Scotland", p. 213.

276. Wright, "Mary in the Reformers", p. 162.

277. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", l. 67, p. 296 and l. 27, p. 295. Note that there are Latin equivalents but no immediate sources, p. xxii.

278. Anonymous, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" ("O hie empyriss and quene celestiale"), The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 13-22, p. 246, and Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 65-9, p. 275.

279. For references to Mary's "cleanness" see ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Obsecro", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 119, p. 293 and "Ave Gloriosa", l. 22, p. 295, and Robert Henryson, "The Annunciation", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), l. 64, p. 201. For references to her in terms of "light" in the context of pure goodness, see Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 3, p. 160 and ll. 27-8 and 32, p. 161. cf. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #13, l. 3, p. 31.

280. Thomson, Macdonald and Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, II, p. 236. Note that the hospital was intended to aid pilgrims en route to the monastery of Inchcolm, hence its location on the road from Aberdour to Kinghorn, in James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VI of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1909), p. 355.

281. Thomson, Macdonald and Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, II, pp. 236 and 241.

282. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", ll. 79-84, p. 297.

283. cf. Bauckham, p. 151, for Mary as mother to all humanity, "mother of all creatures", in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Illustrissima et excellentissima", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 102, p. 282, and Walter Kennedy, "Honour with Age", The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 99.

284. Bauckham, p. 154.

285. Ibid., p. 154.

286. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum, BM Arundel MS 285, f. 198v, and Bennett, "O Intemerata", ll. 20 and 9-10, p. 285.

287. Bauckham, p. 151, Bennett, "O Clementissime", ll. 12-3, p. 279 and Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", l. 27, p. 295.

288. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Goldin Latany", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 190-2, p. 211.

289. Bennett, "Haill Mary, maist meik damesall of the Trinitie", ll. 307-11, p. 289, and Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 43-4, p. 274.

290. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 119-20, p. 326.

291. Ibid., ll. 45-8 and ll. 57-9, p. 324.

292. Ibid., ll. 110-3, p. 326.

293.Ibid., ll. 277-80, p. 331.

294.cf. Armando Bandera, "De la Devocion Mariana a la Consagracion a Maria", in La Consagracion a Maria Teologia -Historia - Espiritualidad, Vol. LI in Estudios Marianos (Salamanca: Sociedad Mariologica Espanola, 1986), p. 115.

295.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 369-77, p. 334.

296.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, p. 144.

297.cf. Bauckham, p. 159.

298.George Bannatyne (compiler), "The Song of the Virgin Mary", The Bannatyne Manuscript, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Hunterian Club, 1896), ll. 9-13 and 17-20, pp. 64-5.

299.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, I, ll. 15-6 and ll. 21-3, p. 143 and ll. 1-2, p. 144.

300.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #41, p. 8.

301.Anna Jean Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland (Edinburgh: St. Andrews University Publications, 1927), XXIV, p. 80.

302.Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, ll. 20-5, p. 143. cf. For views on the Jews' responsibility for Jesus' death, see Walter Kennedy, "The Passioun of Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 425-6 and 439-40, p. 21, and 533-6, p. 24, and for views of Eve's role in the Fall, Ibid., ll. 78-84, p. 10.

303.The Meroure of Wyssdome., I, pp. 144-55.

304.Ibid., I, ll. 1-4, p. 144.

CHAPTER 8:

MARY AS INTERCESSOR

INTRODUCTION

From most religious perspectives the motherhood of Mary was a cause for joy and thanksgiving, having produced humanity's promise of salvation in the person of Jesus. However, concerning the matter of intercession there was more cause for debate. The laity's faith in Mary's intercessory power, however closely it mirrored the teachings of the clergy, was not as scripturally well-founded as others of its beliefs, and thus it came under heavy fire from reformers. However, it was a mark of the strength of Marian devotion that, although Mary's intercessory function was so heavily criticised, it persisted in permeating lay religious beliefs and practices to an impressive degree.

Mary was a constant companion for most Scots during the period 1480 to 1560. She was an aid to the development of personal holiness, a comforting companion at the hour of death, a nurturer and healer of the ill, and a protector in daily life. However, her most important role was as mediator with God to help achieve human salvation, not as provider of material benefits or comforts on earth.¹ Laypeople were greatly concerned about the nature of the afterlife and their position in it. To a majority of late medieval Scots, Mary was supreme intercessor with God, and some came close to according her the status of co-redeemer with Jesus, basing this claim largely upon her absolute purity and bearing of Jesus the Saviour. Devotion to Mary may be held to have strengthened as the

social and political turmoil of the sixteenth century progressed, and as fear of death by war and epidemic disease increased.

The laity demanded ways to express their devotion to Mary by founding masses, obits, chaplainries, aisles, chapels and churches to glorify her name and win her favour. They also donated monies and gifts to foundations dedicated to her, and supported processions in her honour. Medieval theologians, writers of the liturgy, artists and poets encouraged the laity's desire to know Mary intimately in order to please her and gain paradise. Hence devotional works extolling her virtues circulated in manuscript form (eg. BM Arundel MS 285), artists represented her in church carvings, paintings, statues and woodcuts, the church liturgy was expanded to give more time to Marian devotion (eg. feast of the Visitation of the Virgin), theologians wrote learned poetry and treatises describing her virtues and benefits to humanity (eg. John of Ireland's The Meroure of Wyssdome), and poets wrote celebratory pieces to infuse their various listeners with love, trust and devotion to Mary (egs. William Dunbar's "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", Robert Henryson's "The Annunciation").

Laity who sought Mary's help as intercessor had two primary concerns: to understand her methods and to assess the results she could achieve. Once this had been accomplished, laypeople would know how to act so as to make best use of her influence with Jesus, her son, and with God. First, laypeople wished to understand the methods employed by Mary in her intercession with God. This involved the use of prayer, especially prayer directed to Jesus her son. Understanding this process was important to laypeople as it led them to emphasise Mary's relationship to Jesus when they prayed, did good works, or dedicated religious foundations. Mary also

combined her prayers with those of other saints, or rather, her name was coupled with those of other saints to increase her efficacy. Finally, she used the sheer power of her own merits to intercede for humanity, those merits being based upon her purity, perfect maternal character and motherhood of Jesus.

Second, laypeople wished to know the efficacy of Mary's intercessory efforts. This was necessary in order to feel confident about relying upon her to such a large degree. It also helped laypeople to judge how best to orient their good works, prayers and foundations, depending upon their sense of the nature and level of their own sinfulness. Through her intercessory efforts Mary helped to ward off evils and "devils", and so help humanity in its search for salvation. Often Mary was entreated to enlist Jesus' support in this effort, to increase their chances of a short time in purgatory. Mary was also considered a powerful and reliable intercessor on the Day of Judgment, in large part by virtue of her irreproachable purity and position as mother of Jesus. In terms of sheer influence as mediator with her son Jesus,² willing and crucial human participant in the Incarnation, empathetic sufferer at the Crucifixion, and most spiritually worthy human being, Mary took on the status of virtual co-redeemer with Jesus.

Because Mary played such a powerful role in human salvation, the laity did all it could to convince her to mediate with God on its behalf. She was praised and glorified, reminded of her love for Jesus who had died for humanity, and urged to strengthen the fruits of the Passion by applying her own merits and prayer. The church offered the laity a variety of methods to express devotion to Mary, but the overall trend was to support foundations which emphasised frequent prayers for souls.

GENERAL NATURE AND EXTENT OF MARIAN DEVOTION

Lay devotion to Mary developed and sustained itself in an environment of great clerical devotion. Monastic orders such as the Carmelites and Cistercians had Mary as their patron saint,³ and certain secular clergy in collegiate or cathedral foundations also had her as their patron. Interests and attitudes of monks and priests influenced the laity, which often chose to make its donations to monastic foundations dedicated to Mary. Lay communities frequently supported altars in the local monastic houses, as did the laity of the Canongate in the Abbey of Holyrood, who donated an annual rent of 30s. in 1487 to the image of Mary at the parochial altar,⁴ or the laity of Dunfermline, who worshipped in the nave of the local monastery. The statues, paintings, retables and other images of Mary in churches, as well as masses, anthems, prayers, religious processions and other church rituals, conditioned the laity to value Mary's involvement in its relationship with God. Preaching by friars and other designated preachers validated Mary's intercessory role. Presumably what counselling occurred from local parish priests, either in confession and the designation of penances, or while dispensing the sacraments, also reinforced lay belief in the approachability of Mary, and her power and efficacy as an intercessor.

What material evidence remains of decoration in churches, monasteries and cathedrals, or through reports of their contents, indicates that imagery of Mary was prominent. Marian imagery was second only to that of the crucified Jesus, and gained further power by close association of Mary with Jesus. For example, in the c. 1450 inventory of St. Salvator's collegiate church, St. Andrews, three painted "tabilis" of Mary were in the church and cloister, an

image of Mary with a tabernacle was above the altar of the vestry, and her alabaster image hung in the body of the church. Two brass chandeliers were positioned before it to increase its visibility and further honour "Our Lady". To remind the viewers of the importance of the Passion of Jesus and the intercession of Mary and St. John on the Day of Judgment, a silver cross for use in processions was overgilt with images of Mary and St. John. Another great gilt cross bore a crucifix, Mary, John and the twelve apostles. On the provost's cap was a monstrance (*monstur*) with images of the Trinity, Mary and John, to convey the same message.⁵ In St. Mary's collegiate church of Biggar, the provost was to sing the mass of "The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary" at the patronal feast of the college on 15 August; it is likely that Biggar's provost would also have had some imagery of Mary on his person on such an occasion.⁶ Old Aberdeen's collegiate church had an altar retable dedicated to Mary as well as a statue of her, both being located in the nave, according to a 1542 register of furnishings.⁷

Sometime between the early 1520's and late 1530's, Cardinal David Beaton (1494-1546) commissioned a series of oak panels, probably for his private quarters. These panels included scenes of the Annunciation and the Tree of Jesse, which placed a crowned Mary and the baby Jesus at the top of the tree, and the apostles below.⁸

In Glasgow Cathedral, Archbishop Robert Blackadder (1483-1508) founded an altar to St. Mary of Pity in 1503, decorating the base with a border of roses, the rose being a symbol of Mary, and placing the altar in a place of honour flanking the choir screen. To remind Mary and her Son Jesus of whom should be rewarded for the foundation and to remind future celebrants at the altar, he placed his arms on the side of the altar base. In the aisle which he built, the

plentiful ceiling bosses were full of Marian imagery, particularly roses. Roses were often interspersed with symbols of danger to represent Mary's power over evil, or to emphasise her connection to Jesus in his role as Saviour of humanity. For example, one boss had a rose surrounded by seven serpents, others a rose surrounded by dragons, and another a rose surrounded by the crown of thorns. In a corner of the ceiling crouched a medieval layman, looking frightened, a rose between his body and the face of the devil.⁹ The last image was reminiscent of one in Roslin Chapel, where Mary shepherded a layman away from a chagrined Satan, her arm flung protectively over the layman's shoulders.¹⁰ Blackadder placed five roses on a boss with his own shield, itself including three roses, presumably once again emphasising his founder status and right to Mary's favour.¹¹

A strong testimony to clerical devotion to Mary and her image comes from Boece's description of Bishop William Elphinstone's behaviour as a child, which took place in front of the image of Our Lady in the lower church of Glasgow Cathedral, second in importance to the high altar of the upper church. Hector Boece related:

When hardly four years old, through the carelessness of those who had charge of him, he strayed from home, and after a long search was found on his knees before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the most hallowed shrine of the basilica of Glasgow. He was dragged away from this sacred spot and only with difficulty could he be carried home, protesting with tears and childish cries. So strong a desire of gazing at the sacred image had manifestly taken possession of his boyish mind that it seemed to augur in the opinion of many, that in the future he would be a pious devotee of the Mother of God."¹²

Boece could well have been giving the "correct" religious interpretation of what was merely a young child's fascination with a glittering, richly decorated shrine surrounded by flickering candles. However, the story does show that in Boece's day devotion to Mary was expected of the clerical elite.

Clerics also supported church rituals honouring Mary, not only in their paid capacity, but also out of their own pockets.¹³ For example, Rolland Blackadder (*Blacadyr*), subdean of Glasgow (d. 1541), founded a mass of Our Lady at the altar of Sts. John and Nicholas, to be attended by the poor of the newly founded hospital.¹⁴ Enlisting the spiritual support of old and ill laypeople or bedesmen and bedeswomen was a common means of obtaining prayers for souls beyond what the chaplain could provide. As the primary task of bedesmen was prayer, along with some involvement in church rituals, it exposed these particular laypeople to Marian rituals and imagery on a regular basis.

Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen demanded that the bedesmen in his hospital foundation of 1532 devoutly repeat on a daily basis the hymn of Our Lady in the oratory he had built, on behalf of the souls mentioned in the foundation. Each bedesman was to continue Marian devotions in his room by repeating the hymn of the most blessed Virgin Mary along with "appropriate signs", and thus "modestly and reverently" bring to Jesus' mind the said souls, and beg pardon and forgiveness of their sins. Further, bedesmen were to walk in front of general processions with oracles in their hands, praying for the aforesaid souls. Thus prayer and celebration of Mary was considered by Dunbar to be an efficacious method of obtaining salvation for human souls; the dedication of his hospital was intended to honour and glorify "the most blessed Virgin Mary mother of our lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer", and thus gain Jesus' consideration. He stated outright that the way to obtain "blessedness and divine favour" was to augment divine service or aid the state, but primarily to relieve the poor by providing food, clothing and shelter.¹⁵

Exhortations to the laity to emulate clerical devotion to Mary did not fall upon deaf ears. Both the laity and the clergy seem to have been fervent in their devotion, the laity possibly more so, as its efforts increasingly concentrated on obtaining the intercession of Jesus and Mary. The Catechism of 1552 encouraged the laity's inclination to honour Mary, and in a sense documented the level of Marian piety at the time. As did theological and lay foundations and the liturgy, the Catechism emphasised Mary's role as mother of the Saviour and her position as supreme intercessor with Jesus.

The Catechism insisted that "we ar all dettouris to ye blissit virgin nixt eftir Christ", because she conceived, bore and nourished humanity's Saviour, and "lyk a diligent mother had cure of him".¹⁶ Thus it reinforced the image of nurturing and compassionate motherhood. The Catechism continued to state that honour, gratitude and love was due to Mary, as one who had found favour with God, and whose nature was inextricably bound up with the divine Majesty, such that by honouring Mary one honoured "God in hir, and also hir in God".¹⁷ Thus Mary was raised to a position of great power, so close to the Trinity as to be indistinguishable from it by the average lay devotee, and in an unassailable position to intercede for humanity. God was disposed to hear the prayers of any one who followed his order to "loif and honour her", particularly by saying the *Ave Maria*, defined in the Catechism as a giving of thanks and a means of contemplating God's divine Majesty and gifts to humanity.¹⁸

Sa O christin man I exhort the, leir to understand trewly the same salutatioun [*Ave Maria*] and to say it devoitly, to the glorious virgine beseikand almychty God, that quhair he hes geffin sa gret abundance & fulnes of grace to hir that he wald be hir intercessioun, geve to the a drope of grace quhairby¹⁹ thon may be saiffit & cum finally to the kingdome of hevin.

Testimonies to the power of intercession with which the laity invested Mary often came from dissenting voices, both in Scotland and on the Continent. Philip Melanchthon, in his "Apology of the Augsburg Confession", described the power of the Marian cult in his part of Europe, mentioning the encouragement clerics offered to lay fervour. Despite his reforming bent, even Melanchthon was unwilling to forego the benefits of Mary's intercession.

Some of us have seen a certain monastic theologian urge this prayer upon the dying man, "Mother of Grace, protect us from the enemy and receive us in the hour of death." Granted that blessed Mary prays for the church, does she receive souls in death, does she overcome death, does she give life? What does Christ do if Mary does all this? The fact of the matter is that in popular estimation the blessed Virgin has replaced Christ. People have invoked her, trusted in her mercy, and sought her to appease Christ, as though he were not a propitiator, but only a terrible judge and avenger.²⁰

As the reformers developed their emphasis on Jesus and His Passion, they slowly distanced themselves from Mary. In his early years, Luther had thought of Jesus as an "angry judge" and Mary as "our mercy-seat, in whom alone was all our trust and refuge". In later years Calvin advised against recognition of Mary even as "mother of God", for fear of encouraging the laity's "superstitious regard for Mary".²¹

Scottish reformers such as John Knox rejected Mary's power and thus rejected anthems celebrating it, including the popular *Salve Regina*. Knox reported that, while serving in the French galleys, reform-minded Scots dishonoured Mary by covering their heads when others sang the anthem. The *Salve Regina* was one of the traditional hymns to Mary which emphasised her role as merciful intercessor. In this particular anthem she was named "mother of mercy . . . our life, our sweetness and our hope". One of the Scots reacted violently when a painted image of Mary was thrust at him upon

arrival in Nantes. "Truble me nott; such an idole is accursed; and tharefoir I will not tuich it." After the image was thrust in his face, the man threw the image in the river, and said: "Lett our Lady now sail hirsself: sche is lycht aneuch; lett hir learne to swyme."²²

The laity considered certain other anthems effective in gaining Mary's intercession. David, fifth Earl of Crawford and first Duke of Montrose,²³ founded a variety of masses in the convent of Dundee, including a requiem mass each week on Friday, to be openly named the "Duke's Mess of Montrose" (founded 2 August, 1489). At the "Duke's Mess" the Earl insisted on the singing of the "anthem of Our Lady, the glorious Virgin Mary, *Alma Redemptoris*". This anthem and mass were to aid the souls of James III "wham God assoilzie" and all Christian souls. The Earl's piety and desire for intercession was made clear by his acceptance into the confraternity of the Order of St. Francis, along with his spouse Princess Margaret.²⁴ In 1506, David, sixth Earl of Crawford, followed in the footsteps of his father by founding twice annual "exequias" for various souls and a daily mass at the high altar in the choir of the church of the Franciscans of Dundee. The daily mass was to be followed by the hymns *Angelus ad Virginem* and *Ave Gloriosa*, the latter hymn also appearing in the c. 1540 Scottish vernacular devotional work, BM Arundel MS 285.²⁵

The 1477 foundation of James, first Earl of Morton, emphasised the role of these anthems in obtaining the intercession of Mary. After the daily great high mass the Earl required that an antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary be sung in the choir of the collegiate church (erected by himself) of St. Nicholas of Dalkeith. According

to the Earl this sequence was the custom in other churches. He also required that prayers for souls be said at his tomb.²⁶

In churches dedicated to Mary herself, such as that of Biggar collegiate church, founded in 1546 by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, it was the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary which was celebrated at the high altar.²⁷ In the case of the Earl of Morton's foundation, the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary was celebrated at the great altar at the eighth hour.

On 14 March, 1540/1, James V promulgated an Act of Parliament under which Hunter, Lamb, Elder and Anderson (*Andersoun*) in Perth were prosecuted along with Angus cleric Master David Bonar in 1544.²⁸ It demanded that Mary be worshipped and honoured, and that prayers be made to her so that she would intercede with God, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The important point about this act, apart from its implicit recognition that Mary's place was being threatened, was its emphasis on the importance of Mary's intercession for the welfare of the entire country. That is, Mary's intercession was deemed necessary for the succession, welfare and prosperity of the King, Queen and their successors, and for maintenance of peace, unity and concord between James V and all Christian princes. This was necessary to ensure that the enemies of Catholicism were resisted, and that the people of Scotland and her King would remain constantly in the faith, following the law of God as it conformed to the dictates of holy church.²⁹

Not only was honouring Mary considered pivotal to the welfare of the individual Scot, it was seen as the key to the prosperity of the entire nation. Late medieval society saw itself as a community, where the actions of individuals could help or harm the entire community. If Mary were dishonoured by individual Scots, she might

turn her back on the entire nation, and refuse to intercede for anyone in the country. This attitude toward deities dates to earliest human history, and can be easily documented in Scottish chronicles, where individuals were held responsible for nationwide suffering. For example, the late fifteenth century writer of the Book of Pluscarden held King David II responsible for bringing plague to Scotland in 1362 because God became angry at his adultery, and as sexual sins were considered intensely damaging to one's standing with God, the sin of adultery was grave indeed.³⁰ Of course the sins of the "great men" of the country, especially its monarchs, were considered to put the country at greatest risk, so writers such as Robert Henryson, Sir David Lyndsay and the clerical author of the "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis"³¹ dwelt at greatest length upon the correct behaviour required of the nobility and monarchy, who were held responsible for ruining the country.³²

Scottish foundations dedicated to Mary implicitly accepted the importance of making the monarchy acceptable to Mary and God, often including reigning monarchs among souls for whom prayers were said.³³ For example, kings were named in foundations made by Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus (1484)³⁴ and Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffray (1507). Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffray received confirmation for his foundation of four altars in the parish church of Innerpeffray in 1507, a church he raised to collegiate status in 1509. In his 1507 foundation he asked for prayers for the souls of the king and queen, himself, his spouse Elisabeth Lindesay, and his late daughter Margaret.³⁵ This obit foundation is one of the few to name children, the apparent assumption being that one named family

members of similar or greater age in an obit foundation as they were closest to death and purgatory.³⁶

When Scots dishonoured images of Mary and counselled their compatriots to cease devotion to her, the understanding was that such people endangered the spiritual welfare of the whole country. However, to reformers who believed that devotion to Mary was wrong, such attacks were a means of convincing people to cease believing in the power of her intercession, and instead to concentrate on Jesus and His Passion. Such attacks on Marian images and statues included those of Walter Stewart, brother of Lord Ochiltree. In 1533, he was accused of damaging a statue of Mary in the church of the Observant Franciscans in Ayr.³⁷ Then in 1544, John Auchterlonie (*Ouchterlony*), brother of Alexander Auchterlonie of Kelly (*Kelle*), was accused of damaging the parish church of St. Vigean near Arbroath and Our Lady Chapel of Arbroath.³⁸ Other laypeople were accused of "dishonouring the Virgin Mary". Perth burgesses James Hunter, Robert Lamb and John Elder, and Perth maltman William Anderson all had their goods confiscated and were condemned to death for dishonouring Mary and for "disputation" of the Scriptures.³⁹

Records of such attacks on Marian images or foundations exist partly because the state authorities began to punish "heretical" activities severely, just as after the Reformation records of the Mass, devotion to Mary or other Catholic practices occur primarily when the authorities called the offenders to account. Thus it is difficult to judge the level of opposition to Marian devotion in the period 1480 to 1560; however, the record of Marian foundations, dedications and continued support for foundations dedicated to her seems to indicate strong lay reliance on Mary, despite the preaching and activities of reformers.

Accusations of corruption or negligence directed at specific clerical groups often occurred at the same time that others of the lay community were lavishly supporting these groups, this being particularly the case with eastern houses where many of the attacks occurred.⁴⁰ While the Earl of Glencairn in his "Epistle from the Holy Hermit of Loreto", Lyndsay in various works (egs. "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World" and "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis"), the writers of the c. 1540 "Querela Pauperum" and the c. 1559 "Beggars' Summons" castigated the mendicants,⁴¹ other laypeople supported these same religious groups. For example, Henry Sinclair of Hermiston (*Hermanstone*) (1528), William Murray of Malcolmstone (*Malkamstoune*) (1480), and John, sixth Earl of Crawford (1506), donated lands, and founded masses, obits, and altars in mendicant or regular establishments.⁴² Murray had been moved to donate land and pertinents to the Dominican monastery near Edinburgh on 9 October, 1480, "by the zeal of love and devotion" he bore toward God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Dominicans.⁴³ Sinclair's foundation of an altar dedicated to Mary in the church of the Dominicans of Haddington on 29 May, 1528, was intended to purchase daily mass for souls, and to honour God and "the most blessed Virgin Mary His Mother", as he considered himself a son of Holy Mother Church in the present as in the future. In this sense Sinclair was reflecting the same concern revealed in the Act of Parliament of 14 March, 1540/1, which insisted on the importance of following the statutes and doctrines of holy church as the law of God.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the will of Mary was believed to be the will of God, so any honouring of her honoured God, and dishonouring or disobedience to her dishonoured God and constituted disobedience to the divine will.⁴⁵

The sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Penitence drew a great deal of support from the laity of magnate, lairdly and burgess classes. For example, Joanetta Crichton, Countess of Morton, made a donation in 1492 to the sisters of Aberdour.⁴⁶ The Dundee sisters received a number of donations, James Graham of Fintry and Claverhouse erecting a house for them in 1494, Alexander Ogilvy of Pourie, Angus, donating chalders of wheat annually, John Auchterlonie of Kelly donating money on 18 October, 1498, and burgess John Ireland donating a place to use as a hospital on 28 November, 1498.⁴⁷

However, it was the sisters of the Sciennes, the sisters of the convent of St. Catherine of Siena near Edinburgh, who were most favoured by the laity in the sixteenth century. They received substantial donations: from Margaret Knox in her erection of a hospital in 1496; from burgess George Tenant's donation of annual rents in 1498; from Lord John Maitland of Thirlstane (*Thirlestoune*) in his financing of a monastery in 1504; from Alexander Preston of Craigmillar (1504) and James of Congalton (*Congaltoune*) (1508) who helped to finance a new church; and from Elizabeth Carkettle (*Carkettill*) and spouse Adam Stewart's donation of annual rents (10 merks) in 1525.⁴⁸

The wording of Congalton's charter in 1508 revealed the value Scots placed upon purity as a means of ensuring the efficacy of prayers. That is, Congalton's donation (£200) was made to God and "our Glorious Lady the Blessed Mary, Ever Virgin, St. Clare the Virgin and the pious (*religiosis*) sisters of the order of St. Francis", to be erected under the invocation of "St. Clare the Virgin", the donation being made on the "feast of the Assumption of Mary, Our Glorious Lady, genetrix of God". The date of Congalton's

gift, and his inclusion of Mary in the dedication, revealed his desire to honour Mary.⁴⁹ Further, his description of St. Clare and Mary as "virgin" emphasised the importance of purity to their influence with God. In 1532, James V reinforced the image of the sisters of the Sciennes as worthy followers of the "virgin" St. Clare and "Ever Virgin" Mary. The king requested of Pope Clement VII that he confirm the annexation of the hospital of St. Laurence the Martyr near Haddington to the convent of St. Catherine of Siena. He testified to the true devotion and zeal of the sisters, deeming their lives to be full of holiness, bound up in worship of God and prayers to the Virgin. To support his claim of great holiness, King James pointed out that the sisters were rigidly cloistered.⁵⁰ Sir David Lyndsay also praised the sisters of the Sciennes as models of the conventual life who were untouched by worldly lusts, especially the sexuality so scorned in women.⁵¹

In the period under study it was considered particularly important to protect the purity of holy women by separating them from the society of men, as part of the contemporary emphasis on female sexual purity, so visible in the characterisation of Mary as sexually chaste. Spiritual worthiness was to a great extent dependent upon sexual purity, particularly in regards to the spiritual worthiness of women. Therefore, to ensure that the prayers of these sisters were acceptable to God, and would benefit the souls prayed for, it was critical that the sexual purity of the praying nuns be safeguarded. Another indication of the rigid cloistering of these nuns, and thus of their spiritual efficacy, comes from a letter of indulgence granted in the early sixteenth century to a number of lay families and clerics of various classes in the dioceses of Aberdeen, St. Andrews and Brechin. A specific

request was made of the Pope that the women included in the indulgence be allowed to visit "nuns" four times each year, "even those of the order of St. Clare".⁵² The wording of this document supports King James' and Lyndsay's contention that such women led a strictly conventual life.

All of the preceding donations and praise provide some proof that the verbal and physical attacks on regular or mendicant houses (egs. Dominicans of Perth in 1543, Carmelites of Banff in 1559, and Aberdeen's St. Nicholas parish church, friaries, chapels, hospitals and King's College in 1560),⁵³ occurred in a period when others of the lay community were firm supporters of these orders.

Many of the monastic or mendicant groups supported by the laity were dedicated to Mary, or at least had Marian altars, chapels, and church rituals; laity could express their devotion to Mary by supporting these institutions and rituals. For example, in 1488 Lord James Ogilvy of Airlie founded a weekly mass named the "Mass of the Ogilvies of Airly" at the altar of "Our Lady the Blessed Ever Virgin Mary" in the church of the Dominicans of Cupar, who were popular with the laity in the 1480's and 1490's.⁵⁴ Thus these religious groups provided the laity with the opportunity to honour and glorify Mary and so gain her intercession on humanity's behalf. Lord Ogilvy felt this mass would benefit the souls of himself, his wife, and his living and dead ancestors, Mary's intercession being useful before and after death. In fact, he was so concerned that his "Mass of the Ogilvies of Airly" continue that he threatened any heirs or their assignees who dared to reduce the level of the donation with the malediction of God omnipotent for such an "enormous crime".⁵⁵

What the documentary evidence revealed about lay belief in the power of Mary's intercession, writers such as John Gau confirmed by their questioning of Mary's power. In his "Richt Way to the Kingdome of Hevine" (1533), Gau reported that, while many of the laity believed in the inherent spiritual worthiness of Mary, her only inherent worthiness lay in her love for God.⁵⁶ By his exhortation to the laity not to put its trust in Mary, but rather in Jesus Christ, "our lord and saluour and mediatur betuix wss and the fader", Gau emphasised the laity's deep trust in Mary's power. Laypeople believed that by prayers and service to Mary they could be saved.⁵⁷ The tendency of the laity to distinguish God the stern judge from Jesus the mediator and sacrifice for human sin led to a view that Jesus Himself mediated for humanity with God, rather than that He was God the Father and Jesus the Son in one person. Some people believed that Jesus alone could not save their souls and that Mary's aid was also essential. Such was the intimation in the letter to Cardinal Beaton which followed on the foundation charter of the collegiate church of Biggar, Lanarkshire. In the letter founder Malcolm, Lord Fleming, asked that "Jesus Christ with the help of the ever blessed Virgin Mary His Mother" keep Cardinal Beaton prosperous "for the performance of your devotions, for the happy guidance of the church, and for the honour of your pastoral office."⁵⁸

MARY'S METHODS OF INTERCESSION

Testimonies to the strength of Marian devotion amongst the laity can be defined more closely by looking primarily at literary sources which reflected and influenced lay ideas about the nature and efficacy of Mary's intercession. These sources reveal that the methods which Mary used to mediate for humanity were her own

prayers, the combining of her prayers with those of other saints, the application of her own merits and the sheer power and influence of her person.

Before interceding for humanity, it was necessary that Mary listen to and understand the worries and sins of individuals. Characterised as a perfect mother, Mary was a compassionate and attentive listener, willing to listen even when other saints disdained the prayer or its supplicant.

Ruby of reuth [compassion] riche lass and hevinnis gem
 Blenke wp with yi eyne of grace owt of ye est
 Supposs all sanctis our synfull prayere contempne
 Thyne eres ar ay opyn at our request.⁵⁹

Humility was one of the human characteristics which God was believed to value, and Mary was the great exemplar of this trait, described as humble in the literature,⁶⁰ depicted in the ubiquitous Annunciation scenes as humble maiden, eyes downcast and often kneeling in prayer.⁶¹ The humility of Mary in her mediation made her more favoured by God and therefore more efficacious on humanity's behalf. Dunbar combined the images of humility and mediation to make this point: "O madyn meike, most mediatrix for man, / O moder myld, full of humilite!"⁶² In his poem "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", Dunbar referred to her as a "humile oratrice" who acted as a go-between with God, keeping the misery of humanity in mind to inspire her efforts.⁶³ She was "oratrice, mediatrice, salvatrice, / To God gret suffragane!"⁶⁴

The orientation of most of Mary's prayer was to her son Jesus rather than God the Father, the assumption being that she would have the most influence over the son she had borne and nurtured. The laity and the clergy seemed to accept that Mary was the most reliable route to Jesus' favour, so oriented their prayers in this way, and tended to place statues or images on side altars dedicated

to her near or at the high altar, the site of Jesus' re-enacted Passion. For example, in Caerlaverock parish church, there was a chaplainry of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the high altar, under the patronage of the Maxwells, Robert, Lord Maxwell appointing Sir James Maxwell to the chaplainry in 1551.⁶⁵ Malcolm, Lord Fleming, assumed that Mary's assistance would be required by Jesus to make Cardinal Beaton prosper in his guidance of the church.⁶⁶ In like manner, Janet, prioress of the convent in Haddington, and Sir William Morton (*Myrtoun*), perpetual vicar of the parish church of Lathrisk, believed that the archbishop of St. Andrews would prosper in his government of the church through the intercession of Mary with Jesus.⁶⁷ A fragment of a Missal of Sarum Use, produced in Scotland, gives an example of the liturgical foundations for the laity's outlook. In the Missal Mary was referred to as "Our Lady Queen of Heaven" as well as ever "intact" mother of God who suckled Jesus, and as one who interceded with the adult Jesus for the welfare of humanity.⁶⁸ Similar perceptions of Mary as intercessor with Jesus survived in the Highland oral tradition to the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

Mary's position as mother of a loving son was not the only reason the laity emphasised Mary's and Jesus' relationship. Mary was increasingly characterised as the grieving mother of the crucified Jesus. Thus her emotions were played upon, prayers entreating her intercession with Jesus for the sake of her grief as a mother and her commitment to the work of the Cross. Jesus was also prayed to in the same manner, being exhorted to mediate for and forgive humanity for the sake of his mother's grief. Thus the entire rosary of prayers, "The Lang Rosair", in BM Arundel MS 285, prefaced its requests for Mary's prayers with a description of a stage of the life and Passion of Jesus, especially the latter.

After each verse was the *Ave Maria*, exhorted upon the laity by the Catechism of 1552 as essential to obtaining Mary's intercession.⁷⁰

One of the verses of "The Lang Rosair" emphasised the importance of Mary's aid in purifying the human soul of sexual sinfulness, so as to be acceptable to God through her mediation, and avoid hell.⁷¹

Mary's creditbility as intercessor depended upon her characterisation as both a beloved mother and a person completely without a sexual nature.

Deir moder of Iesu, quhome ye lowes did crucefy, him to ye
maist schamefull deith Pylote did condampne him: pray for me,
yat I may agane vice and concupiscence crucefy my flesche with
pane and obstinance: and help, gude Lady, throu ye
meditacioun [Read "yi mediacioun"], yat I ma eschape ye endles
deid of endles dampnacioun. Amen.
*Ave Maria.*⁷²

"The Lang Rosair" distinguished itself from similar rosaries of prose prayers of the period by including these personal petitions to Mary along with a recitation of scenes from Jesus' life and Passion. Each verse made real and present the significance of Jesus' life and Passion to the spiritual welfare of the person praying. The work also provided a focal point for lay meditation and a basis for pursuing personal holiness through living a *vita Christi*. In the preceding verse, just as Jesus was crucified, so did the supplicant pray that Mary would help him to "crucify" his sexual nature, and through her mediation help him to escape the punishment for sexual lust - hell.

The "Thre Rois Garlandis", a long series of prayers in BM Arundel MS 285, has no exact Latin or vernacular source, so offers a useful insight into the Scottish religious imagery of the period under study. The prayers linked Mary closely to Jesus' Passion as a means of ensuring her successful intercession with Jesus. Each of the three "garlands" was filled with images of the Passion, along

with prayers to apply to the suppliant's own spiritual life, each verse being followed by an *Ave Maria*. There were 150 prayers in total, the same number as there were *Aves* in the Rosary and psalms in the Psalter, and thus the work was referred to as the "golden psalter of our blissit Lady". The first garland was somewhat similar to "The Lang Rosair" in that it applied the sufferings of Jesus to the suppliant's own spiritual life. The second garland outlined the sufferings of Jesus and Mary, and the third the joys that Mary had of Jesus in her life (Annunciation, Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension and Assumption). The rubric stated that in order to be sinless, virtuous, victorious over enemies, enjoy a happy life spiritually and materially, and experience a "gracius end" followed by heaven, meditation on the Passion of Jesus was needed. Thus by using this golden psalter the suppliant would not only satisfy the requirement to meditate on the Passion, but also please Mary, if the prayers were said with a devout heart and a clean conscience.⁷³

The foundation of a hospital dedicated to St. Salvator and the Blessed Virgin Mary in Edinburgh showed the desire of Edinburgh burgh council to obtain spiritual and material care for the poor and weak, by linking Jesus' Passion and role as a saviour of humanity to Mary's role as his compassionate and influential mother. In 1438, an indulgence had been obtained from Pope Eugenius IV to facilitate the support of those who perished "from cold and the lack of hospitals". This was intended to convince laypeople to support the foundation in return for an indulgence, thus providing the inmates with a dwelling and a master, who often acted as chaplain as well as administrator.⁷⁴ The statutes of the 1549 provincial council of the Scottish Church confirmed that these hospitals were to be viewed as

good works, providing for the worship of God and the spiritual relief of the souls of the deceased donors.⁷⁵

The chaplainry foundation of William Cunningham (*Cunynghame*), burgess of Dumfries, in 1506, also linked the power of the Cross with the power of Mary. Cunningham had chosen to found an altar of the Holy Rood of Jesus Christ in the aisle of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Dumfries, and in November of 1506 he founded a chaplainry at this altar, ensuring the spiritual welfare of himself and his spouse Katherine of Birkmyre. Glasgow Cathedral combined the power of Jesus' Passion and Mary's role as active supporter and grieving mother by flanking the pulpitum in front of the choir with an altar of the Holy Cross and Archbishop Blackadder's altar of St. Mary of Pity.⁷⁶

Poets writing in the vernacular also attempted to appeal to Mary's compassion as grieving mother at the Crucifixion. William Dunbar entreated Mary:

O madyn meike most mediatrix for man
 O moder myld full of hvmilite
 Pray yi sone Ihesu with his woundis wan
 Quhilk denzeit him for oure trespass to de
 And as he bled his blude apon a tre
 Ws to defend fra lucifer oure fa
 In hevyne yat we may syng apon our kne
*O mater Ihesu salve maria.*⁷⁷

The refrain "*O mater Ihesu salve maria*" emphasised the filial relationship, making it clear that Mary's greatest intercessory power came through her relationship with Jesus. Walter Kennedy also reminded Mary of her commitment to humanity's salvation which had come when she contributed to the work of the Cross by empathically suffering with her son during the Crucifixion. Kennedy implored:

Now for ye speir yat longius set in rest
 And persit yi sonnis precious hart for ws
 Thow bring ws to ye Ioye yat neuer Is Cest
*Benedicta tu in Mulieribus.*⁷⁸

In case Jesus was not sufficiently aware of what he owed his mother, and might be inclined to ignore her, Kennedy advised her to emphasise his debt to her as life-giver, and his own commitment to humanity expressed through the Crucifixion.

Schawand yi son ye sweit palpis yat him fed
 Prayand him for ye preciouss blud he bled
 Ws to forgeif of our gret trespass
 Beseike yi sone yat for me gaf na pryce
 Of riche gold / bot ye reid blude of his hert
 To purge me of my gret trespass and wyce
 And clenge my saull fra lipper syne Inwert
 And grant yat of ye hevin I may haf part
 Throw yi request mary as wele yow can
 Sen hale suple to Kennedy yow art
 O mater dei memento mei yi man.⁷⁹

The Foulis Easter painting of the Crucifixion, painted c. 1480, was a visual reinforcement of this theme of Mary's involvement with the work of the Cross. She stood at the foot of the Cross, tearful, head averted, while the knight Longius thrust a spear into Jesus' side. The scene was full of horsed knights in medieval dress, the background that of a medieval city. The painting, by choosing the visual idiom of late medieval Scotland, made real and present the suffering of Jesus and his mother Mary to redeem human sin.⁸⁰ The BM Arundel MS 285 woodcuts portrayed a similar scene, depicting Mary as grieving mother at the foot of the Cross. Her suffering was graphically portrayed by showing swords stabbing into her. The woodcut appeared next to the "Stabat mater dolorosa", which exhorted the lay reader to suffer along with Mary in her grief, and so gain the burning love for Jesus of which Mary is so great an example, and thus be defended by Mary on the Day of Judgment.⁸¹

The painters of the Foulis Easter Crucifixion scene and the BM Arundel MS woodcuts, and the poets Kennedy and Dunbar, glorified and praised Mary in their work, and meditated on the Passion in this

way, thus gaining for themselves the favour of Mary.⁸² Laypeople who were not poets or artists glorified Mary by making foundations which emphasised her role as grieving mother at the foot of the Cross. For example, James IV founded three trentals of masses of St. Mary of the Cross and of requiem in Stirling in 1501.⁸³ In 1520, David Menzies of Aberdeen founded one mass of the Passion to be celebrated at the altar of St. Mary of Pity (*Piety*) in St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen. His motives were those of honouring God and the Virgin Mary, and ensuring the welfare of the souls of himself, his relatives and his benefactors.⁸⁴ Menzies' foundation, and to a lesser extent that of King James IV, expressed a common lay attitude regarding the best means of serving the interests of souls and ensuring their comfort in death, eventual release from purgatory and ascent to heaven. It was believed that one should emphasise and celebrate Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross, and the empathic suffering and sacrifice of his mother during and after His crucifixion.

Menzies also managed to celebrate Mary's role as mother of the baby Jesus by making his foundation on 24 December, the eve of the Nativity. In its final stanza, the "Thre Rois Garlandis" summarised some of the attitudes which Menzies' foundation represented.

For quhais lufe, sweit Lady, I ask at the yat you cum to me in
ye hour of my dede, and tak my saule in yi virgin handis and
offer it to yi sueit sone Iesus, that bocht me apoun ye croce
with his precius blud and dede.⁸⁵

Walter Kennedy emphasised the crucial role of Mary in helping the sinful laity to fully profit from Jesus' Passion, a good reason for Menzies founding his mass of the Passion at the altar of St. Mary of Pity, and King James IV his trental masses of Our Lady of the Cross and of requiem.

To ye Rosare and rute of our remeid
ffor ws fair lady / with ye devill yow fechtis

And standis full neire ws in ye hour of deid
 Saifand our sawlis frome ye playand leid
 Of hell quhar It seruit to be tane to
 Syne stowis ws saifly in to angellis steid
*Cum Ihesu xristo filio tuo.*⁸⁶

A primary task of the laity was to lead a life of spiritual purity. However, its growing sense of unworthiness made this an impossible task without divine assistance. Fasting was one means of focusing one's heart and mind on the Passion and other spiritual matters, and Mary could assist laypeople in this respect.⁸⁷

Extremely pious noble John Scott claimed the aid of the absolutely pure Mary in his search for spiritual purity through extreme poverty and asceticism. Scott cast off his family and possessions and dedicated himself to solitary pilgrimage (obtained "relics" in Jerusalem), public preaching (eg. at Edinburgh's market cross, naked, in 1532), and ascetic living. The latter involved mortifying his body (egs. only bread, water and milk, bare feet, insufficient clothing), and particularly, prolonged periods of fasting in Scotland, England and Italy. In a conversation with Peder Swave in 1535, Scott attributed his ability to fast successfully without dying to the aid of Mary. As an avowed "soldier of Heaven", he indicated to Swave that he would remain a hermit, caring little whether his wife remained in society or entered a convent. A canon regular confirmed that Scott was determined that his purity should encompass sexual chastity. The canon had failed to reconcile Scott with his wife, after she had asked the cleric to speak to Scott on her behalf.⁸⁸

Mary's influence with Jesus was also critical to the laity's successful pursuit of spiritual worthiness. In an anonymous poem in the sixteenth century Asloan Manuscript, Mary was entreated as

supreme intercessor with the merciful aspect of the godhead -
 Jesus - to solicit Jesus' aid in attaining spiritual purity.

O blissit lady fulfillit of all gudnes
 Sen all my hope & trast Is in your grace
 Beseike your sone for your hie gentilness
 To grant me laseire or I de & space
 All vicious lyf out of my saull to race
 And evir to lif in wertew & clenness
 Owt of ye fendis bandis & his brace
 Now gloryus lady helpe of your gudness.⁸⁹

In the same poem Mary was entreated to help the supplicant
 become more spiritually worthy, no mention of Jesus being made.

O hie empyriss and quene celestiale
 Princes eterne and flour Immaculat
 Our souerane helpe quhen we vnto ye call.⁹⁰

This is a typical example of the somewhat ambiguous attitude of the late medieval Scottish laity toward Mary's role in salvation. That is, sometimes her value was based upon her perceived influence with her son Jesus; at other times her own power and might was lauded to such an extent that the impression left with the reader was that Mary's own power was sufficient to ensure human salvation. One must look at a large representative sampling of Marian imagery in order to note the breadth of attitudes to her role, even as they existed within the same poet and the same poem, and then judge which images had the greatest currency and influence.

Combining Mary's prayers with the prayers of other powerful saints was believed to increase chances of salvation. In the fifteenth century Aberdeen Book of Hours of the Sarum Use, Mary and the saints were described as the fighters of enemies, invisible and visible, and great intercessors for humanity. Mary's eternal purity and her position as mother of God were carefully emphasised, these characteristics giving her great credibility as intercessor for humanity.⁹¹ In the period 1480 to 1560, the laity increasingly concentrated their efforts on Mary and Jesus,⁹² but also went to

some effort to solicit the favour of saints who were associated particularly with salvation and the Day of Judgment. For example, St. Mary of Pity and St. Nicholas were titular saints of an altar in the parish church of Dunfermline, the description of Mary defining her in terms of her relationship to the work of the Cross. In 1541, Rolland Blackadder, subdean of Glasgow,⁹³ founded a Mass of Our Lady at his altar of St. John and St. Nicholas in the nave of Glasgow Cathedral. The mass was to go into effect once Blackadder died; the founder was concerned with his fate at the Day of Judgment, not comfort in his earthly life.⁹⁴ Hugh Rose of Kilravock decided not to take any chances whatsoever in 1480, so he founded a chaplainry in the chapel of Estir Geddes, Nairn, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and all the saints.⁹⁵

The Archangel Michael was a powerful protector of human souls and fighter of the devil, as was Mary. The burgh seals of Dumfries and Linlithgow both commemorate the victory of Michael and his angels over the great red dragon Satan and his angels described in Revelation XII:3-4.⁹⁶ In William Dunbar's "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" ("Hale, sterne superne!"), Mary was referred to as a mighty fighter of the forces of darkness, and victor in battle over the fiends.⁹⁷ James IV founded a perpetual chaplainry at his own altar foundation dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel in the new Chapel in the Palatium near the monastery of the Holy Rood, Canongate, on 18 December, 1505.⁹⁸

St. John the Baptist was also an important saint in relation to the Day of Judgment. On a painted panel in a burial vault in the Guthrie family's burial aisle in Guthrie, Angus, Jesus sat on a rainbow, Mary and St. John on their knees before Him. They were interceding for the dead as they rose from the grave and passed

before Jesus to be judged and sent to heaven or hell.⁹⁹ St. John the Baptist commonly appeared on chalices and other altar appurtenances in conjunction with Mary, and most likely on embroidered vestments which were often described as having "images" on them. Even church bells, the provision of which constituted a "good work", had images of St. John the Baptist along with Mary and the baby Jesus, such as the bell of Eddleston, Peeblesshire, made in 1507.¹⁰⁰

Often the literature only referred to "St. John" without specifying whether the term referred to St. John the Baptist or St. John the Evangelist. Both had important intercessory roles and both were closely associated with Mary. St. John the Evangelist was referred to in BM Arundel MS 285 in the prayer "O Intemerata", being described as the "maist blissit and familiar freind" to Christ, and the one to whom the secrets of heaven were revealed. The supplicant was enjoined to pray to St. John the Evangelist and Mary together, as the "twa gemmes of ye hevin"¹⁰¹ who showed sinners their sins, and to whom Jesus spoke at the Crucifixion and joined as mother and son. It is entirely possible that "St. John" often referred to St. John the Evangelist, as was the case in visual representations such as the Foulis Easter Crucifixion painting, where Mary and St. John the Evangelist stood together at the foot of the Cross, or the "teistyr" of silver gilt in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, which had an image of the crucifix on it along with Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist, or the stained glass windows of St. Bride's church, Douglas, Lanarkshire, which included representations of Mary and the baby Jesus as well as St. John the Evangelist, holding a chalice from which a serpent flew.¹⁰²

The power of St. John was acknowledged by the masons and wrights of Haddington, who took him as their patron on 1 April, 1530, and who transferred their weekly penny to augment divine service at his altar on 30 June. It is worth noting that the wording of the document reveals the importance of the "image" in people's conceptions of supernatural beings, for the burgh court stated that the masons and wrights were to "have the image and offering of St. John the Evangelist to be their patron".¹⁰³ As one of the main purposes of a craft guild was to provide for prayers for the souls of its members, living and dead, this Haddington craft guild had decided to enlist the influential St. John the Evangelist as their special advocate with God. The Edinburgh masons and wrights also decided to confirm their association with St. John the Evangelist by having James V confirm their right to the aisle and chapel of Sts. John the Baptist and Evangelist in St. Giles church as their own religious centre, and the dedication of fees and fines to its support. This dual foundation gave them the intercessory efforts of both of these powerful saints on the Day of Judgment. The 1527/8 confirmation was of a charter dated 15 October, 1475; in the early sixteenth century there was a rush of crafts attempting to gain burgh council and/or royal confirmation of their rights and regulations.¹⁰⁴

St. John the Baptist was important as the baptiser of Jesus and herald of the Messiah, but the growing emphasis on the Crucifixion, Mary's role in it, and its meaning for the remission of human sins, meant that St. John the Evangelist played a more prominent role. The poem "O Intemerata" stated that Jesus' joining of Mary and St. John the Evangelist was proof of his love for them in their "maist cleyne virginite",¹⁰⁵ and therefore, gave proof of

their combined efficacy as intercessors for humanity. Thus supplicants were enjoined to commend their bodies and souls "in all hour and momentis inwartly and outwardly" to Mary and St. John, that they might be "ferme keiparis and meik intercessouris for me anent God suthly".¹⁰⁶ Further, the prayer stated categorically that their will was the will of God, and therefore that that which they rejected, God also rejected, and that which they willed, God would instantly grant them. Such a strong statement of intercessory power made prayer to them jointly extremely efficacious.¹⁰⁷

Heirfor, be your mighty vertu, power, and dignite, I pray yow yat ye will ask ye heill of my body and saule. I beseik yow yat ye will ask be your haly orisonis / yat ye Haly Spreit quhilk is the best gevar of grace yat ye me inhabit my hert, quhilkis may clenge me fra all filthis of synnis, and illuminat me with thy haly vertuis, and adorne and gar me stand in delectacioun of God and my nichtburis, and perfitlie perseweir thair-intill.¹⁰⁸

It was St. John the Evangelist who appeared in the arms of Roxburgh along with Mary, he being represented by an eagle, and she by a dove. They perched on a rose tree, representative of the Virgin Mary, possibly alluding to an image of Mary as the "tre of life" or basis for salvation through her bearing of Jesus.¹⁰⁹ The inclusion of the royal arms in the burgh arms reflected Roxburgh's status as one of the original *Curia Quattuor Burgorum* (Berwick, Edinburgh, Stirling and Roxburgh). However, it also served the function of reminding lay and divine observers of the identity of the family which had honoured Mary and St. John in this fashion.¹¹⁰

The Parisian master mason, John Morow, responsible for fourteenth century building work in Glasgow Cathedral, Paisley and Melrose Abbeys, among other places, left an inscription in Melrose Abbey, asking God, Mary and St. John to protect the church, earthly protection being one of their functions.¹¹¹

In keeping with the emphasis on Mary and Jesus, and their relationship, devotion to Mary's mother St. Anne grew in the period 1480 to 1560.¹¹² Thus in the foundation of the collegiate church of Cullen, Banffshire, in 1543 by a number of local lairds, the local lay community and the archdeacon of Glasgow, the titular saints were Mary and St. Anne, although the dedication honoured other saints important to salvation, notably St. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene, the latter the laity's best proof of the mercy of God toward repentant sinners.¹¹³ The intercessory skills of St. Anne and Mary were clearly being solicited in the chapel of Inchinnan, Renfrewshire, for a 1570 inventory noted images of Mary and Jesus as well as a "great" image of St. Anne.¹¹⁴

In general, Mary was given prominence as first among saints, primarily responsible for mediation and ultimately the most reliable intercessor. Her place amongst the apostles, who were critical to salvation, was fixed visually by placing her at the centre during the Pentecost. Such a representation occurs in the decoration of a capital in the Arbuthnott Missal (1491). Mary sat with a book open in front of her, at a table, surrounded by the apostles. Her hands were in a prayer position, eyes raised to heaven.¹¹⁵ The prominence given to Mary in this portrayal made clear her centrality amongst the company of saints, just as the many representations of her next to Jesus made clear her position close to the Judge himself. Occasionally Mary was represented as a dove in art, as in the burgh seal of Roxburgh.¹¹⁶

The dove also represented the Holy Spirit, the most common artistic representation being that of the dove in representations of the Annunciation. As Pentecost or Whitsunday was dedicated to honouring the Holy Spirit,¹¹⁷ Mary's close association with the

Pentecost and dove imagery bound her even closer to the animating life force that was the Holy Spirit, emanating from the divinity and, through Mary, bringing humanity closer to God. The fact that the pyx which held the Host for the mass of the Holy Ghost was often in the shape of a dove further linked Mary to the godhead and the saving power of Jesus.¹¹⁸ A chapel of the Holy Ghost was attached to Beaulieu Priory, being dedicated in 1417 by Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat. Its alternate dedication was that of the Holy Cross, indicating the degree to which the images and roles of Jesus and the Holy Spirit were mingled.¹¹⁹

There was a tendency amongst certain authors to credit Mary with great power to save souls through her own merits and power. In "The Lang Rosair", the suppliant was to entreat:

Pray for me, yat be yi meritis my saule may be ye sonar taikin
fra ye fire of purgatory, quhilk I haue deseruit / be mony
wayis in yis synfull lif and transatory. Amen.
*Ave maria.*¹²⁰

As a saint, Mary was most beloved of God, proved by her motherhood, and most spiritually worthy, proved by her assumption. Thus the transference of Mary's merits to sinners was the most efficacious means of speeding their release from purgatory.¹²¹ Mary was the person most filled with the "dew of grace celestiall", her purity and humble heart having greatly pleased God. She was best suited to be the "pilat and glory, ye maist speciall mediatrix" of all creatures, through whose merits and continual supplication a multitude of sinners would be brought to salvation.¹²² It was no wonder that the inscription on the bell of Heriot, Midlothian, cast in 1518, was "*Maria vocor*".¹²³

Apart from her purity and motherhood, Mary's nobility gave her the social status required to assume the role of principal mediator

with God. In late medieval Scottish society, power came with social status. A popular fifteenth-century hymn, *Salve Regina* presented an image of singular power and might.

Salve Regina, sub tuo regimine
militare cupientes, O Domina,
Tibi nos totos committimus, ut mente
corpore quoque regas nos totaliter.¹²⁴

The *Salve Regina* was one of the antiphons of the Virgin which Archbishop of Glasgow Robert Blackadder had requested be sung by the vicars of the choir when he founded his chaplainry of the "ever glorious Virgin Mary of Consolation" at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the nave of the metropolitan church in 1507.¹²⁵

Mary was represented as a crowned queen of heaven and a variety of Scottish sources, including an illustration in the *Arbuthnott Prayer Book*, written in 1482-3 for Sir Robert Arbuthnott (d. 1506), the burgh arms of Banff and of Cullen, the "The Thre Rois Garlandis" of BM Arundel MS 285, "The Annunciation" of Robert Henryson, and "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World", and "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay" of Sir David Lyndsay.¹²⁶ In his poem "Incipiunt Versus de Beata Virgine et de Domino Nostro Jhesu Xristo" in Book Two of *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, theologian John of Ireland celebrated Mary's nobility and power by comparing her to a crowned virgin queen of Olympus.¹²⁷ The image of Mary as powerful, crowned queen of heaven survived to the nineteenth century.¹²⁸

William Dunbar articulated the laity's expectation of compassion from the noble lady of heaven; just as earthly queens interceded with earthly kings, so too was Mary's role to intercede with the celestial king, providing the compassionate balance to perfect justice, and restoring the relationship between God and

humanity destroyed in the Garden of Eden. Compassion (*rewthe*) was the "frute of nobilnes, / Off womanheid the tresour and the rent."¹²⁹ As perfect woman and perfect noble, Mary could be counted upon to use her great power to mediate for human sinners in a compassionate manner. Thus music from a late fifteenth century missal, used by Robert Wedderburne in the late sixteenth century as scrap paper, contained the phrase "Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt", as one of the first verses for "Sabbato".¹³⁰

The anonymous author of a ballad to Mary in the Asloan Manuscript termed her celestial queen and high empress, a blessed lady full of goodness, in whose grace the poet placed all hope and trust, "Beseike your sone for your hie gentilness".¹³¹ Walter Kennedy concurred, believing that God's forgiveness of his sins was sure if he placed himself in the hands of the princess of heaven, hell and earth, the "ruby of reuth riche lass and hevinnis gem".¹³² He exhorted Mary to mediate with Jesus on his behalf, such that his inward sin would be purged and he would go to heaven.

Revar of grace yat sall ws all releif

 The beriale [clear] bosome yat our bliss In bred
Sched betuix synnaris and godis Iugement

 Throw yi request mary as wele yow can
Sen hale suple to kennedy yow art
O mater dei memento mei yi man.¹³³

The power of Mary over the spiritual fortunes of the laity was expressed in an inscription on the wall built by Abbot George Shaw in 1484 to enclose the abbey lands of Paisley. Along the wall were niches for statues of saints, at least one of them Mary. Abbot Shaw's inscription emphasised Mary's critical role in the workings of divine grace: "Go not this way unless you have said *Ave Maria* / Let him be always a wanderer who will not say *Ave* to thee."¹³⁴

The Catechism insisted that to say the *Ave Maria* was to honour God and be obedient to His will.¹³⁵ The dedication stone of the wall was on the north corner along with Shaw's coat of arms and those of James III and the Stewart family. It related that Abbot Shaw had been responsible for the "noble Foundation" and that prayers should be said for his salvation.¹³⁶ Abbot Shaw perceived of his wall as a good work, and the exhortation to pray to Mary inscribed upon it would also have been a good work. That is, the inscription devoutly glorified God and Mary and encouraged people to act, and thus would have further benefited the Abbot in his search for spiritual acceptability. The sacralisation of secular space occurred throughout Scottish society, another example being the carving of Mary and the baby Jesus on Banff's market cross.¹³⁷ Such entwining of the spiritual and the secular reinforced the validity of church teachings on values and morality and their expression in daily life, and made present and involved supernatural beings such as Mary, through which divine grace operated.

MARY'S EFFICACY AS INTERCESSOR

As a mediator with God, Mary was without parallel. Her primary role was to ensure success on the Day of Judgment. Her prayers, transference of her own merits, and sheer influence as pure and favoured mother of God and queen of heaven made her the best intercessor for which the laity could hope. She was their "secret defendour" and "protrectrix till all pepill penitent"¹³⁸ standing between them and God's stern judgment in the same way that she stood between them and the internal and external forces of evil which through life had threatened their spiritual acceptability.¹³⁹ The prayer *Ave Gloriosa* in BM Arundel MS 285 pleaded with Mary to pray for them before the judge on "dreidfull domesday",¹⁴⁰ the same high

judge whose fearful punishment was used as a threat by testators when giving orders to their executors on the disposition of their lands and goods.¹⁴¹ She was to be their "beild fra blame", and the means by which their relationship with God was restored.¹⁴²

Mary's role in the laity's search for spiritual acceptability had not ended with the restoration of God's faith in humanity through her absolute purity, humility and obedience, nor her willing bearing of the Saviour, Jesus Christ. She was expected to offer comfort and to intercede day and night, in life and in death,¹⁴³ and most of all to be a protector and defender on the Day of Judgment, as requested outright by Sir David Sinclair of Swynbrocht, knight, in his testament of 1506.¹⁴⁴ Thus when laypeople commended their souls to God in their testaments, the next name mentioned was always that of Mary.

With such an emphasis on Mary's role in salvation, it is unsurprising that some people came to equate her role with that of Jesus Christ. This was especially so with those who had separated the image of Jesus the Crucified Lord and Mediator from that of God the stern Judge. Visual representations encouraged this misunderstanding of the Trinity, showing Jesus primarily as a baby or as a young man with flowing hair and thin body, hanging on the Cross as a sacrifice for human sin, or lying across Mary's lap after the Deposition, or gazing serenely out at the world in church carvings on sacrament houses or walls (eg. Foulis Easter collegiate church sacrament house, and Roslin Chapel). By contrast God was portrayed as a middle-aged, grey-bearded king on a throne who had demanded His Son's sacrifice to assuage His wrath (eg. God and Jesus in a *Pieta* scene in the Arbuthnott Missal). This distinction was often reinforced by the language used in hymns, prayers, poetry,

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his or her wicked sins. She was reminded at this point that she was mother not only to Jesus, but to all creatures.¹⁴⁸ As most perfect mother, she possessed the supreme maternal virtue of endless forgiveness. Thus the laity could rest secure in the belief that its entreaties did not fall on deaf ears. In the prayer "O Clementissime", she was defined as a "well vntemabill of marcy and forgevinnes, moist bowsum herar".¹⁴⁹ By creating such an image in words, the author encouraged the lay reliance on the eternal compassion and forgiveness of Mary the mother.

Mary's value as a redeemer lay in her roles on earth and in heaven. It had begun on earth with her crucial decision to accept her role as mother of God with complete obedience, love and trust in God.¹⁵⁰ Before her own assumption into heaven, Mary had been "teacher of the apostles" as well as mother of the Jesus, according to an orison written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and found in BM Arundel MS 285.¹⁵¹ Because Mary had empathetically suffered along with Jesus at His Crucifixion, she had shared in the work of the Cross; the term "co-redemptrix" primarily referred to the Crucifixion and Mary's role in it. The fact that the term "co-redemptrix" dates from the fifteenth century¹⁵² is indicative of the increasing dependency of the laity on Mary's power and influence in this period. Laypeople believed that Mary's role continued after she had been assumed into heaven; once there she concentrated on mediating for humanity.

In psychological terms Mary was closely associated to Jesus the Redeemer, for she was the "Mother-Sister" of the "Son-God" with whom she was united via the Assumption.¹⁵³ The literary imagery which reflected this came from bridal or heavenly court imagery, where Mary was the bride of Jesus and/or queen of heaven, sitting

next to her king, Jesus. In the "Song of Songs" she was the sister-spouse of the bridegroom,¹⁵⁴ and in the Scots "Obsecro" of BM Arundel MS 285, "hevinnis quene and Goddis mothir".¹⁵⁵ In the woodcut of the heavenly firmament included in Thomas Davidson's printed version of the Acts of the Parliaments (1541), Mary sat as a crowned queen of heaven on the right hand of a resplendent God holding the orb of sovereignty, the spouse of God at the same time as she held the baby Jesus on her lap.¹⁵⁶

Psychologically Mary also provided balance and wholeness to the totally masculine Trinity. With her assumption into heaven she became part of the divine.¹⁵⁷ The assumption gave proof of her perfect goodness and sexual purity, important as women were closely associated with sinful human sexuality. Thus she preserved the image of the godhead as "Summum Bonum",¹⁵⁸ although she altered its wholly male nature. Jung insisted that adding Mary to the triad of Father, Son and Holy Spirit was psychologically satisfying; this helps to explain why the common people were firm supporters of the cult of Mary.¹⁵⁹

Despite the artistic representations of her as queen of heaven, which were still being produced in the period 1480 to 1560, the preferred method of associating Mary with the Redemption was by emphasising her motherhood, particularly as mother of the vulnerable baby Jesus or crucified Lord. In the traditional prayer "O Illustrissima et excellentissima", reproduced in Scots in BM Arundel MS 285, Mary was hailed as mother of Jesus and therefore mother and queen of all humanity. The final request of the prayer was for Mary to be the suppliant's "helper and saver in my letter dayis", guiding the suppliant in virtuous living.¹⁶⁰

The Tree of Jesse was an image which was popular as an artistic method of representing Mary's role as co-redeemer with Jesus. The mid-sixteenth century Beaton panels placed Mary and the baby Jesus together at the top of the tree of Jesse, the apostles below them on the branches, offering a visual instruction that it was through Jesus and Mary, and secondarily through the prayers of the apostles, that eternal life was to come.¹⁶¹ In the poem "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", attributed to Dunbar, Mary was described as "genetrix, of Jesse germynat".¹⁶² "The Lang Rosair" insisted on her crucial role in salvation by describing her as the tre of lif.¹⁶³ Tree of Jesse imagery also was found in the medieval stained glass windows of St. Bride's church, Douglas, Lanarkshire¹⁶⁴, and a 1506 Missal binding with images of the Tree of Jesse along with instruments of the Passion,¹⁶⁵ and another missal from St. Nicholas church, Aberdeen. The binding of this printed Missal was the Tree of Jesse, with an inscription invoking the aid of Mary: " Virgo / Sacrata / Da Michi i Virtutem / Dignare Me / Laudare Te."¹⁶⁶ The tree imagery continued into heraldic imagery, the medieval seal of Roxburgh containing a rose tree in bloom with a white dove perched on it, roses and doves both being Marian symbols.¹⁶⁷

The laity's perception of Mary as a powerful mediator or co-redeemer was reinforced by clerical attitudes derived from such influential voices as that of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. He had encouraged the virtual supplanting of Jesus by Mary by describing her as the way to heaven: "God has willed that we should have nothing that did not come to us through the hand of Mary."¹⁶⁸ This comment implied that not only was Mary responsible for human

salvation by bearing Jesus the Saviour, she also had an ongoing role as supreme mediator and dispenser of God's grace.

In the Catechism of 1552, compiled under the aegis of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, the emphasis was the more traditional one of Mary as great intercessor with Jesus on humanity's behalf, reserving the role of redeemer for Jesus, who through the bread and wine was the spiritual food of humanity, sustaining it in earthly tribulations.¹⁶⁹ However, the anonymous author of "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" in the Asloan Manuscript better reflected the strength of lay reliance on Mary when he referred to her benign grace as his "lyfis fude", that which would save him from every "maligne wicht".¹⁷⁰

Despite the Catechism's attempt to mute somewhat the societal emphasis on the spiritual power of Mary, in general the laity's tendency to view Mary as virtual co-redeemer with Jesus was encouraged by clerical writers. Writers of devotional works in particular emphasised her spiritual power, and the laity was beginning to have access to a greater variety of religious works, demand driving the boom in Scottish printing which began in the early sixteenth century, particularly with the printing of the Aberdeen Breviary in 1510. Thus ideas about Mary's power and influence could be circulated more easily as the sixteenth century progressed, and preachers could access such works more easily to help them with their work. The consumer demand for religious works, its broadly-based nature in spiritual terms, and the interest it generated amongst the lay community, can be deduced from the concern expressed by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities about the importation of heretical books, the discussing of heretical matters, the printing, reading and discussing of matters proper only to the

clerical elite (eg. the Bible), and the buying of liturgical and devotional books by the laity for private and church use (eg. Sir Robert of Arbuthnott's Missal, Psalter and Prayer Book).¹⁷¹

In the traditional Latin prayer, "O Clementissime", reproduced in BM Arundel MS 285, the suppliant pleaded with Mary to grant eternal life.¹⁷² Such prayers served to convince the majority of the laity of Mary's ability to bring salvation, and the clergy's emphasis on Mary's role in salvation was particularly important at a time when the greatest proportion of the population were illiterate, and people relied on preaching and visual imagery to create their images of the afterlife and the role of supernatural beings.

Preachers could be licensed by the clerical authorities, as in the case of John Watson of Aberdeen diocese, could be friars such as the Observant Franciscans, who James IV was particularly keen on, or be self-appointed Marian devotees such as the "hermit" John Scott.¹⁷³

Along with the message of the liturgy, art, architecture, pageants and processions, normal preaching gave the laity no reason to forsake Mary as the well of grace:¹⁷⁴ "O glorious Lady, I ask at the yat you be advocat for me in all my neidis and grant me grace in yis present life, and ye blis of hevin at my end day."¹⁷⁵

Mary was relied upon by the laity as a great source of comfort and protection, a veritable guarantor of human welfare in life and death. The Arundel Manuscript, a mid-sixteenth century devotional work intended for the use of the laity, explored this role of Mary as guarantor of human welfare, before and after death, referring to her as the "port of the kinrik of hevin, be quhom, efter God, all ye world levis".¹⁷⁶ This attitude was in keeping with the attitude of testators who commended their souls to Mary after God,¹⁷⁷ and to Duncan MacLachlan, student at Glasgow in 1555, and son of a laird,

who wrote in his copy of Titelmans Compendium of Natural Philosophy, "Jesus Maria amen per me duncane mclauchlane".¹⁷⁸ "The Lang Rosair" exhorted the laity to pray to Mary at their death, for comfort and for access to heavenly bliss.

Haill, maist deuoit mothir of our Saluour, . . . the well of grace, the conduit of marcy, the queyne of hevin, . . . the port of paradice, the sepulchre of saluacioun; . . . maist neir ye throne of ye blissit Trinite, . . . to be/hald thy presens is gret solace to synnaris in ye terrabill hour of ded; all ye feindis dreidis the and fleis at yi commandementis.¹⁷⁹

In Christian mythology, Mary was the link between sin and holiness, life and death, her human lineage traced back to Abraham and her divine lineage traced back to Sophia, the Divine Wisdom. She was bound to images of the Trinity in a variety of ways, such as her representation as a dove, also used to represent the Holy Spirit in myriad Scottish depictions of the Annunciation.¹⁸⁰

The power of Mary over evil provided reassurance to laypeople of her ability to defend and protect them from evil within and without, and this power received metaphorical treatment in Revelation XII. In this biblical story, St. Michael and his angels fought Satan and his angels, Satan attempting to devour the child of the woman, but being overpowered and cast out of heaven, while the child ascended to heaven and the woman escaped to safety in the wilderness.¹⁸¹ In John of Ireland's The Meroure of Wyssdome he alluded to this passage, but changed the emphasis by having God tell the "serpent" (the *red dragon*, *serpent* and *Satan* in Revelation) that the "discord and battale" would be between him and a "woman and virgin", and their successors. Further, the virtue and grace of that "moder of god" would ensure her constant victory and domination over Satan, the father of falsehood and vice.¹⁸² Thus, while in Revelation "the woman" escaped to the wilderness, far from the wrath

of the dragon,¹⁸³ in Ireland's version she was the one who engaged in battle. Mary was clearly "the woman" in Revelation, as she was described as being "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars", traditional imagery for Mary.¹⁸⁴ On Dumfries' burgh arms, St. Michael stood over the dragon, with a sun, moon and stars around him.¹⁸⁵ In Revelation, when the dragon confronted the woman prior to her giving birth, his tail was said to have cast down to the earth one third of the stars of heaven.¹⁸⁶

Whereas Urquhart attributed the presence of the moon and sun to a completion of the celestial firmament, the biblical imagery would indicate that they represented Mary, the woman clothed with the sun and with the moon under her feet. The stars may well have served a double image as the woman's crown of stars and the stars which Satan the dragon swept to the earth. The biblical imagery of Mary based upon the "Song of Songs" also mentioned her in reference to the sun, and moon, as well as her countenance that was "terrible as an army with banners".¹⁸⁷ In William Dunbar's "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", Mary caused the fiends to flee in battle.¹⁸⁸ Thus over time, Mary's might and control over the forces of evil, whether internal or external, came to be believed in by the laity, encouraged by theologians such as John of Ireland.

It was Mary whom the laity wished to see in heaven, and to live with eternally in bliss, to which it wished to become spiritually acceptable, as it wished to be acceptable to God, and to whose comfort most laypeople turned.¹⁸⁹ Mary was the "hale suple" of many laypeople, according to Kennedy in his poem "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss". Lay hopes were pinned almost entirely on her maternal compassion, loyalty and power to effect

change, her absolute purity and goodness, and on her bearing of Jesus, which had given her such spiritual power over impurity and evil, and the ability to ensure human salvation.¹⁹⁰ As a mediator, she was without compare, for God could deny her nothing.

. . . be yi merites and continuall supplecacioun
ye multitud of synners salbe broucht
to saluacioun.¹⁹¹

I trow fermly and grantis vndoubtabill yat
your will is ye will of God; and it yat ye
will nocht, God will nocht. Heirfor
quhat sum euer ye ask at him ye¹⁹²
will get it withoutin ony tary.

In his poem "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", Dunbar expressed the utter surety of salvation through the powers of this perfect woman:

"Oratrice, mediatrice, salvatrice, / To God gret suffragane!"¹⁹³

Thus the laity believed that love and devotion should be offered to Mary next only to God. In the closing phrases of "The Lang Rosair", she was urged to free the supplicant from "ye bandis of mortalite" upon entry to the celestial kingdom.¹⁹⁴ As it was God who gave eternal life, such a request was tantamount to according Mary the role of redeemer. Mary's role in "The Lang Rosair", as in other contemporary writing, fluctuated somewhat, from helper in the search for personal holiness, to great mediator with Jesus, to rescuer from purgatory through her merits, to outright guarantor of salvation.¹⁹⁵ But whichever role she played, laypeople could be in no doubt that their trust and devotion should be directed at Mary, and that she would bring them closer to heaven's bliss.

HOW THE LAITY SOUGHT MARY'S INTERCESSION

To obtain the grace and favour of such a powerful supernatural being as Mary, the laity pursued a variety of activities which it believed honoured Mary or were required by her,¹⁹⁶ hoping to "perseuer in joyfull service of him [God] and the [Mary]",¹⁹⁷ and so

obtain benefits in the earthly life but most especially in the afterlife. External expressions of love, devotion and honour to Mary could take the form of: mass, chaplainry, chapel, aisle, prebend, collegiate church or hospital foundations in her honour and/or with her as titular saint; pilgrimages to her shrines, chapels or holy wells; pageants and processions in her honour; diversion of fines or fees to her foundations; donation of ornaments, vestments, images, or liturgical books celebrating her; enriching foundations already dedicated to her. All of these expressions of devotion to Mary were intended to help the lay donor gain her favour and intercession. Many dedications to Mary existed in the Highlands, Shetland and Orkney, with attendant surviving folkloric traditions invoking her, such as "Mary's augury", a form of divination. However, few dates of foundations survive to confirm such foundations were dated from the period 1480 to 1560, so the emphasis of this chapter is on Lowland expressions of devotion to Mary.¹⁹⁸

Internal methods of expressing devotion to Mary were encouraged by the church, the rosary being the primary method of meditating on Mary and honouring her. In an age of low literacy rates, the reading of devotional works or even poetry was the province of a restricted segment of society, whereas the saying of the *Ave Maria*, and meditation on its significance, could be engaged in by all faithful Christians.

EXTERNAL EXPRESSIONS OF DEVOTION TO MARY

MASS, CHAPLAINRY AND CHURCH FOUNDATIONS

A few examples will serve to demonstrate the variety of mass foundations employed by the laity to honour Mary and gain her intercession. Daily masses dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, or

celebrated at her altar, ensured that Mary was honoured frequently. A mass was required by David Ogilvy of Inchmartin on 30 April, 1492, at the altar of Mary in the church of the Friars Minor of Dundee. He intended to benefit the souls of himself, his spouse and his parents.¹⁹⁹ A mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary and antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary were founded by James, first Earl of Morton, at the great altar at the eighth hour, when he erected his collegiate church of St. Nicholas in 1477.²⁰⁰

Once only trental foundations were also a means of honouring Mary. James IV was fond of this means of honouring Mary and benefiting his soul, founding trentals of masses of Our Lady in 1501 in Restalrig, in 1502 in Linlithgow, in 1511 in St. Mungo's chapel beside Culross, and in 1512 in Hamilton.²⁰¹ Often these trentals were founded alongside those honouring other powerful saints such as St. Michael (Linlithgow) or St. Nicholas (Hamilton), thereby obtaining greater intercession for the king. James also honoured the Holy Spirit (Culross and Hamilton) and St. Gabriel (Culross), clearly emphasising the power and influence of Mary in her role as mother of God.

Saturday was the day of the week dedicated to Marian devotion in religious institutions, and lay founders took care that their foundation charters ensured that these liturgical devotions took place. Such was the case with the collegiate church of Biggar, Lanarkshire, founded by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, in 1546.²⁰² The register of services outlined by John Steinson (*Steinstoune*), the first provost, mentioned that on Saturday between 7:30 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. the clerics were to celebrate a Mass in honour of the Sorrows of Our Lady in the two aisles. Of course, this particular church was dedicated to St. Mary of the Assumption, so a patronal feast of

the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary also was to be sung by the provost each 15 August to honour Mary.²⁰³ A weekly mass for travellers was to be celebrated at the altar of the "blessed Virgin", Mary of Gueldres' patron saint, in Holy Trinity Collegiate church, founded by Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II (1462 confirmation date).²⁰⁴

Obit masses were expressly intended to benefit souls by having specified souls prayed for on a yearly basis. If the obit or anniversary was founded at an altar dedicated to Mary, the founder could be sure that the assistance of the greatest intercessor for humanity was working to secure the salvation of named souls.²⁰⁵

A very popular Marian foundation was that of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary founded by Robert Begys, burgess, in St. Michael's parish church, Linlithgow.²⁰⁶ Begys' dedication of his altar to Mary meant that there were two altars dedicated to Mary in the church. There were also two altars honouring Jesus' Passion (Holy Blood and Holy Cross), which demonstrates that the country-wide emphasis on Mary and Jesus' Passion also existed in Linlithgow.²⁰⁷ Apart from noble or royal foundations, if a founder's name was mentioned in later foundations at that altar, it was usually because he had not been dead long enough for his memory to have faded.²⁰⁸ Thus it is probable that the Begys foundation dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, for on 20 June, 1522, burgess Lucas Lichtman referred to the altar as that founded by Begys. The occasion was Lichtman's own foundation of an obit at the altar, demonstrating his support for Begys' choice of Mary as main intercessor for his soul.²⁰⁹

Continued support for Begys' altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and for Mary as intercessor, came with foundations in 1534, 1541 and

1542. On 13 April, 1534, James Robeson (*Robisoun*), burgess, donated land to the altar in return for prayers for the souls of the founders.²¹⁰ Robeson's wife Agnes Livingston (*Levingstoun*) ratified the donation of 20s. in annual rent from the afore-mentioned land to the same altar to Katherine Hamilton (*Hammyltoun*) on 7 January, 1540/1. Hamilton then donated 10s. of this money to the altar in return for the celebration of an obit for herself and her first husband, and 10s. for another obit for herself and her present husband. However, Hamilton showed that, in common with other obit founders, it was for her own soul after death that she was most concerned, for she kept the 20s. in liferent, leaving her dead husband to wait for prayers until she herself died.²¹¹

Robert Wawane, on the other hand, founded an obit at Begys' altar which was to take effect immediately. On 7 February, 1541/2, he donated an annual rent of 6s.8d. in return for an obit for his late father William, burgess of Linlithgow, and his widow Elizabeth Louk, who may well have been related to Henry Louk, chaplain and curate of the parish church of Linlithgow. Wawane's foundation was an example of the increasing lay desire to control the execution of their foundations, by outlining the services and/or personnel and/or equipment required to fulfil the foundation properly. Wawane outlined that the chaplains celebrating the obit were to receive 8d., the parish clerk 6d., and the beadle 2d., and the chaplain at the "celebrant altar" (that of the Blessed Virgin Mary founded by Begys), 8d. for the celebration of Mass and the provision of lights.²¹²

The Lords of Gray lavishly supported their own church of Foulis Easter. However, in keeping with the practice of earlier centuries, Andrew, second Lord Gray of Foulis, Justiciar of Scotland

(d. by February 1513/4), founded an obit in the church of the Dominicans of Cupar in 1498 rather than his own parish or collegiate church. He made his foundation out of charitable devotion and for the augmentation of divine services. Not only was he doing a good work by donating money to the friars (£140), he also wished his foundation to be viewed as a means of honouring God and Our Glorious Lady the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin His Mother, and thus benefiting the souls of himself, his present wife Elizabeth Stewart (married before 1483),²¹³ late wife Janet (*Jonetta*) Keith, and all his ancestors and successors. Lord Gray closely linked Mary to God by describing her as His Mother, and his emphasis on her nobility (*Lady*) and purity (*Ever Virgin*) made it clear that he believed her intercession to be highly efficacious.

He stated that he made his foundation out of particular concern for the soul of his beloved first wife, presumably because she was already in purgatory, struggling to become acceptable to God, and so rise to heaven. Lord Gray insisted that the yearly obit be celebrated on the 28th day of October, most possibly the date of death of his first wife, the laity appearing to feel that greater spiritual efficacy derived from obits celebrated on the date of one's death.²¹⁴

Lord Gray was very concerned that his foundation achieve its end, exhorting his heirs to follow strictly the terms of the document. He reminded them that not to do so would be to incur the revilement (*maledictio*) of God and Lord Gray himself. Lord Gray also specified that the deacon and sub-deacon were to celebrate the sung Mass and that two priests were to celebrate private masses on the same day as the obit.²¹⁵ It was unusual for such an early foundation to outline in detail the requirements for services and

celebrants; it was not until later in the period that it became common to outline requirements and thereby control quality.

A number of chaplainries were founded in honour of Mary. Although craft guilds tended to have their own patron saints and merchant guilds favoured the Holy Blood as a devotional focus, the candlemakers and mariners were notable exceptions. Both took Mary as their particular patron, and expressed their devotion to her beyond merely founding a chaplainry. Chaplainry foundations were within the financial capability of corporate bodies such as craft guilds and private individuals such as wealthy burgesses, lairds and magnates; families often continued to augment and oversee foundations made by ancestors.

The 1480's to 1500's were popular years for founding chaplainries dedicated to Mary. Although the majority of founders were lairds, founders ranged from burgess Richard Hopper in Edinburgh,²¹⁶ to the bailies and community of Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire,²¹⁷ to James IV himself, who founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Lanark on 18 October, 1500, at which the intercessory prayers of the devoted were to be offered.²¹⁸ On 18 December, 1505, King James also founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel in the New Chapel in Holyroodhouse, Canongate, which had been founded by himself.²¹⁹

As the best record of chaplainry founders is the Great Seal, and this source best documents the laird and magnate classes of society, this may partially account for the apparent predominance of lairds as founders.²²⁰ However, it is also true that founding a chaplainry successfully could be quite costly, so the wealthier laird and magnate classes were in the best position to do so as

private individuals, often choosing their local parish churches as sites.

Sometimes lairds were forced to make such foundations as recompense for committing violent crimes, and as a means of satisfying the secular authorities as well as God. Choosing to found such chaplainries at the altar of Mary, the eternally forgiving mother of humanity, made it more likely that the souls named in the foundation would be successful at the Day of Judgment. Thus Squire Cuthbert Murray of Cockpool Dumfriesshire (d. c. 1493) gave £10 in annual rents to found a chaplainry at the great altar in the church of Caerlaverock, Dumfriesshire, for the health of the souls of James III, Master John Maxwell, son of the late Robert, Lord Maxwell,²²¹ thereby linking Mary's intercessory power with the power of Jesus' Passion, and reflecting society's view that the welfare of the head of the nation was important to the welfare of individual members of society.²²² Murray made this foundation as partial recompense for his part in the murder of John, third Lord Maxwell, in a feud.²²³

It was important that this chaplainry foundation continue to provide efficacious prayers and masses for the benefit of the named souls, and that Mary continue to be honoured to ensure her intercession. To ensure continued efficacy, John, Lord Maxwell, was made patron of the chaplainry.²²⁴ Apart from appointment of lay patrons, there were various methods of ensuring that future generations would continue to watch over religious foundations, the appointment of lay supervisors being one such mechanism, and the request to executors that well-qualified chaplains be appointed to foundations made by testators. (See Chapter 10)

Laypeople were not merely concerned with the qualifications and standards of behaviour of important clerics; even the parish clerk had a role to play in ensuring that rituals ran smoothly and supernatural beings such as Mary were honoured.²²⁵ The parish clerk had a number of duties in the parish church, and his role became more important as the laity came to emphasise religious institutions and rituals available to them in the locality, particularly in the parish church. (See Appendix A) Thus the quality of parish church appointees was important to the laity. The agreement of parishioners to parish clerk appointments may seem to historians to have been mostly formality, a formal validation of the local laird or magnate's choice. However, the elections were held on Sundays when most laypeople could be present, and occasionally the parish went to a great deal of effort to ensure that at least the form of community consent was maintained.²²⁶ In an age in which the spiritual welfare of the individual was linked to the spiritual welfare of the whole community, it is understandable that the community would wish to have a say, however minor, in the choice of personnel for the parish church. The parishioners of the church of St. Cuthbert in Edinburgh displayed the lengths to which some laypeople were prepared to go to ensure community consent to parish appointments. On 7 and 8 May, 1514, all of the parishioners of the church of St. Cuthbert were consulted about the appointment of Sir James Guild (*Guld*) as chaplain of Our Lady in their parish church. John Foular's notarial document indicated that each parishioner had been visited at his or her dwelling between 7 p.m. and 8 p.m. on 7 May or between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. on 8 May, to gain their consent.²²⁷

Some laypeople founded chaplainries dedicated to Mary in conjunction with other pious gestures, hoping that the combination

would increase their chances of obtaining her favour and intercession. This was the case with Sir Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk. On 30 May, 1505, he founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary near to the choir in the church of St. Tiernan, Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire, intending this foundation to benefit his soul and that of his spouse Mariote Scrimgeour (*Skrymgeour*),²²⁸ with whom he had entered into confraternity with the Franciscan order in 1487,²²⁹ as an attempt to attain the highest level of personal holiness possible. He had already commissioned a Psalter for use in his chapel foundation dedicated to Mary, the aisle being founded 1505,²³⁰ and the Prayer Book and Psalter were written by Sir James Sibbald, vicar of the church (d. 1507) in 1482/3 and 1482, respectively. The Prayer Book was the Office of the Blessed Virgin, honour being done to Mary by its production.²³¹ Its pages further honoured her by being beautifully produced, and by including Scottish illuminations of Mary in her main roles as pure and favoured young woman of the Annunciation, mother of the baby Jesus, grieving mother at the foot of the Cross, and powerful queen of heaven. Even the oak board which bound the Prayer Book contained Marian imagery. It was stamped with fleurs-de-lys and roses, as was the Missal written by Sir James in 1491 for use in the main part of the church.²³²

Altars and chaplainries were founded by laypeople as a means of honouring and praising Mary, and so guaranteeing her intercession, but the emphasis of the altar dedication varied, depending upon founders' perceptions of which Marian role best guaranteed their salvation. Early in the period under study, laypeople did not always define her position closely, other than to name her "Blessed Virgin Mary", as in the case of John Strachan

(*Strathauchin*), Lord of Thornton (*Thorntoun*), and his son David, who together founded an altar of the "Blessed Virgin Mary" in the aisle of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the parish church of Aberluthnet, Kincardineshire. On 7 October, 1490, they founded a chaplainry at this altar, assigning it 11 merks in annual rents.²³³ Then on 31 October, 1514, David Strachan of Thornton augmented the chaplainry by 43s. 4d. to help the souls of himself and his spouse Margaret Hay.²³⁴

Later in the period a greater percentage of laypeople defined Mary more closely. For example, Patrick Wallis, burgess of Perth, emphasised Mary's status as most favoured of God by augmenting the recently founded altar of Our Lady and St. Gabriel in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Perth, on 12 November, 1513.²³⁵ David Forres (*Fowrrss*), burgess of Haddington, emphasised Mary's position as mother of the Saviour when he founded an altar of the Three Kings and the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of St. Mary's of Haddington. He believed that the intercessory prayers done at the altar would benefit the late James IV and his predecessors, Forres and his children, spouses Agnes Lawson (*Lausoun*) and Isobelle Dickson (*Dikesoun*), his predecessors and successors. The importance of Mary's purity, along with her motherhood of Jesus, was emphasised by her description as the "pure" Virgin Mary.²³⁶

For private individuals who could not afford to found chaplainries, the burgh council or guild structures provided them with outlets for devotion to Mary in the parish church or in new centres of devotion. In 1483, the mariners of Leith, who claimed Mary as their patron, founded the church of Our Lady of Leith, offering various crafts in the burgh the opportunity to found

chapels and to be associated with a church whose titular saint arguably was the most powerful intercessor with God. The church held its festivities on the feast of the Assumption;²³⁷ the laity's preoccupation with Mary of the Assumption shows the importance placed upon her absolute purity and thus her efficacy as spiritually worthy intercessor for humanity. When Cullen had its parish church raised to collegiate status in 1543, it offered the lay and clerical founders the opportunity to express their great devotion to Mary with the dedications and adorning of altars associated with new prebendary foundations.²³⁸

The importance of the parish church and its services to the spiritual welfare of the laity was made clear by Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, when he asked Pope Alexander VI's permission to found the parish of New Aberdeen. Dunbar noted that a parish church would allow laypeople to hear masses and divine services for the weal of their souls, and generally benefit from an increased level of divine worship. He stated that the necessary accoutrements of such a church would include a bell-tower, bell, cemetery, repository for holy things (presumably a sacristy), and a baptismal font. The importance of the latter to the laity, with its promise of eternal life through ritual purification, can be estimated from the number of new late fifteenth century octagonal baptismal fonts which survive, distinguished from earlier fonts by the carvings of scenes from the life of Jesus which adorn them (egs. Seton collegiate church, Foulis Easter). It is significant that the new parish urged by Mr William Strathan, cleric of the diocese of Aberdeen, and backed by James IV and Gavin Dunbar, was dedicated to St. Mary of the Snows.²³⁹

CHAPEL, HOSPITAL AND COLLEGIATE FOUNDATIONS

More prosperous laypeople, and those very concerned to solicit Mary's aid in mediation with God and amendment of earthly sinfulness, founded chapels dedicated to Mary throughout the period 1480 to 1560, hospitals more rarely, and occasionally colleges. Sometimes chapels formed part of a collegiate or parish church, and sometimes they stood separate, near the parish church or the place of residence of the founder.

Particularly early in the period when Mary's purity, rather than her motherhood, was strongly emphasised, chapels, sometimes referred to as aisles if part of a church foundation, were usually dedicated only as chapels of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁴⁰ Thus in 1473 a chapel founded by Hugh Rose of Kilravock in Easter Geddes, Nairn, was dedicated simply to the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁴¹ The emphasis on Mary's virginity did not disappear in the sixteenth century, as her purity continued to be important to her acceptability as an intercessor with God. In fact, as her motherhood of Jesus and of humanity became the basis of lay trust in her influence, it became even more important to insist on her purity. That is, it was necessary to avoid tainting her with the stain of human sexuality, a main cause of human unworthiness, although at the same time emphasising her motherhood. Thus as late as 8 Mary, 1535, James Crichton (*Creichtoun*), knight, of Frendraught, Aberdeenshire, founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in his small chapel in the parish church of Forgue, Aberdeenshire.²⁴²

Mary's role as mother of God was emphasised in the foundations of Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, in 1506, and William Maxwell of Tealing (*Telling*), knight, in 1515. The Countess of Ross' Edinburgh

chapel foundation was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Nativity. Maxwell's Angus foundation was dedicated to the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁴³

The Lindsays of Byres were of the pious family of the Earls of Crawford, who pursued a variety of spiritual avenues to increase their chances of salvation. On 7 July, 1550, William Lindsay of Byres, knight, augmented his chaplainry and aisle of Mary in St. Andrews parish church in Peebles.²⁴⁴ The Earl of Crawford founded an obit on the day of St. Ninian the Confessor in the church of the Franciscans of Dundee for the soul of his brother Alexander, Lord Lindsay, with daily absolution at the cenotaph of the Earls of Crawford.²⁴⁵ In her testament of 1516, Elizabeth Hamilton, Countess of Crawford, in 1516, mentioned relics of St. Martin (Marint) and St. Ninian (their bones) as well as a silver stoup, a golden cruet and a cross.²⁴⁶ Clearly the Lindsays considered it useful to combine prayers to Mary with prayers to other saints such as Ninian. However, even in foundations dedicated to other saints, Mary appeared in the dedicatory preamble along with God. She was one of the supernatural beings whom laypeople most wished to honour and glorify by their foundations.

Motives for founding these chapels were mixed.²⁴⁷ Overall it could be expected that a costly chapel foundation would please Mary greatly, and would speed her intercessory efforts on behalf of the founder after death. However, many desired to have regular divine services celebrated close by, particularly the Eucharist (See Chapters 9 and 10), and occasionally gratitude for earthly intervention appears to have been the motive for a chapel foundation. On 8 February, 1486/7, Thomas Maule of Panmure and his spouse Catherine received papal permission to have Mass celebrated

in an unconsecrated chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary. By having Mass celebrated in a chapel dedicated to Mary, the Maules would have combined the intercessory power of Mary with the saving power of Jesus sacrifice as re-created in the Eucharist.²⁴⁸ James IV's foundation of the Ladykirk chapel near Coldstream was in gratitude for Mary having prevented his drowning in the Tweed River while it was in full flood.²⁴⁹

The expectation was that the chaplains celebrating in these foundations would remember the founder to Mary in their daily prayers. For example, daily prayers for the founder and his predecessors and successors were expected of the chaplain in Hugh Rose of Kilravock's Nairn chapel foundation.²⁵⁰ Thus the chaplain of the chaplainry in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Linlithgow, founded by Henry Livingston, of Myddilbennyng in 1496, along with an almshouse, was to carry out divine services for the souls of the founder, his successors and the faithful dead. This foundation received continued support and involvement from the founder's family. On 21 February, 1529/30, Sir Archibald Fawup was appointed chaplain; he was warned to execute his tasks properly, bearing in mind the final accounting at the Day of Judgment. The wording of this warning echoed that of warnings made to executors by numerous testators.²⁵¹ As Mary was the main intercessor at the Day of Judgment, and this foundation was dedicated to Mary, any insult to her through failure to perform properly would be bound to harm Sir Archibald's chances of salvation. Mary herself would not be disposed to offer her intercession, nor would God be pleased at a cleric who had failed to honour His chosen one.

Chapels or aisles dedicated to Mary continued to be founded and upgraded until late in the period under study. This indicated

that laypeople continued to believe that her mediation with God, and the power she possessed through her position as most pure mother of God, would benefit them in their search for spiritual acceptability. One example of a proposed chapel foundation was that made in the early sixteenth century by George Stirling of Cragbernard, heir to Sir John Stirling of Cragbernard. George planned that a chaplainry of the Virgin Mary, founded first by Sir John Stirling of Cragbernard, be placed either at an altar of the Virgin Mary in the parish church of Campsie, Stirlingshire, or in a cell or chapel of Cragbernard to be erected at the expense of the new chaplain, Sir George Mason.²⁵²

As late as 22 January, 1556/7, the burgh council of Edinburgh was planning the upgrading and extension of Our Lady altar, St. Giles' Church, into an aisle. The council invited parishioners to donate pillars or other ornaments to the new aisle, promising that it would place the donors' arms on them.²⁵³ Such donations would have been considered a good work, encouraging Mary to intercede on the donors' behalf, and reminding her of the names of the people who had honoured her. No doubt the burgh council was hoping that a certain element of competitiveness between neighbours would occur, and wealthy burgesses would make donations as a means of acquiring status and displaying their wealth and position in the community.

The healing received from the water of holy wells, and the favour Mary showed to those who visited her shrines and wells and prayed to her through the rosary, could also be obtained by founding or enriching hospital foundations dedicated to Mary. Further, founding hospitals or augmenting their finances brought donors general spiritual benefits as good works. Most hospital foundations in Scotland were made in the thirteenth century, five of the eleven

hospitals dedicated to Mary being founded by laypeople. From 1450 to 1560 only five new hospital foundations were made, one of these being by a layperson.²⁵⁴ However, augmentations of existing foundations continued, such as the foundation of an altarage of St. Mary of Consolation in the hospital of Perth, the designation recalling Mary's important role as a comforter of the disadvantaged.²⁵⁵

Hospitals could be designated for certain persons (eg. leper hospital and chapel of St. Ninian near Glasgow Bridge),²⁵⁶ or be for the old and infirm (eg. chapel and hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Edinburgh).²⁵⁷ One example of a hospital founded for poor men was that of the Masindew in Brechin, Angus, founded in 1267 along with a chapel of St. Mary, and still housing bedesmen in 1582. In 1517 the hospital was re-founded with the consent of the preceptor, and re-structured to ensure that a non-resident master would not be allowed to use the revenues for his own purposes. Rather, a priest-master was to be resident and in charge of a grammar school. Further, two chaplains were to be resident and spiritually effective, not being allowed to hold posts other than those of collector and steward. The inmates were to be unmarried poor men (four) over sixty years of age. The laity's concern with maintaining the standards of care, and thus honouring Mary, was still operating up to 1552. On 21 April of that year, Richard Chepman, citizen of Brechin, appointed Sir Richard Finlayson (*Finlasoun*), chaplain curate of the chaplainry of Our Lady of Masindew.²⁵⁸

In all cases the inmates of the hospital were expected to pray for the founder regularly, reminding Mary and God of the pious and deserving nature of their generous benefactor. Thus the founder could count on an improved balance in the book of good and bad

deeds, and the continued prayers of the living while in purgatory. Presumably this was the expectation of William Cheyne (*Chene*) and Alison Levington (*Levinton*), who augmented the Lady Chapel of the Cowgate in Dundee in 1486. They donated 26s. 8d. for a yearly obit with alms to the lepers and disadvantaged men and women of Dundee, who were to receive their alms at the obit once they had prayed for the souls named in the foundation.²⁵⁹

The expectation that prayers would be said by hospital inmates made hospitals somewhat similar to collegiate foundations. That is, collegiate foundations provided for daily prayers for founders' souls by chaplains, and often made provision for lay prayers as well by attaching an almshouse or hospital to the foundation (eg. done by Mary of Gueldres (d. 1463), or by attaching it to a collegiate church of the Trinity.²⁶⁰ Malcolm, Lord Fleming, included the maintenance of six paupers in his collegiate foundation of 1546/7.²⁶¹ Thus the founder was credited with a good work for having founded the hospital, and received constant prayers on his or her behalf from the grateful lay inmates.

If the foundation was dedicated to Mary, the founder could also count on her commitment to his or her spiritual welfare. Clearly only the wealthier members of Scottish society were able to make such a large financial commitment on their own, one example being John, first Lord Semple, whose collegiate church of St. Mary at Semple, founded 1504, comprised a provost, six chaplains, two singing boys and a sacrist.²⁶²

Monarchs were in a position to afford the cost of founding a collegiate church, James III doing so in 1487, when he founded the church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary in Restalrig, Midlothian.²⁶³ His mother Mary of Gueldres had also

expressed her piety in this manner, founding her church and hospital of the Trinity, which comprised a provost, eight prebendaries, two choristers and thirteen bedesmen. The queen intended the foundation to honour and praise not only the Holy Trinity, but also the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, St. Ninian the Confessor and all the saints of God. Mary's favour was rarely overlooked in a foundation, whoever was the titular saint.²⁶⁴

Communities cooperated to raise burgh churches to collegiate status (egs. Peebles in 1541 and Cullen in 1543),²⁶⁵ or erected prebendaries in colleges set up by another, such as the prebendary of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Campsie, established in 1531 by Janet (*Jonete*) Kennedy, Lord of Bothwell.²⁶⁶

Late medieval collegiate foundations were not necessarily dedicated to Mary as they often retained the titular saint attached to the original foundation. However, even if they were not dedicated to Mary, more often than not the prebends erected as part of the collegiate foundation included a significant number of dedications to Mary. This was the case with Peebles collegiate church, given collegiate status in 1541 at the behest of John Hay of Yester and the bailies and councillors of Peebles. Its patron saint was St. Andrew; however, the twelve prebends included three dedicated to Mary: St. Mary of Geddes, St. Mary Major, and St. Mary in Childbirth. The description and prominence of the latter prebend emphasised Mary's power which came through her motherhood of Jesus. Other prebends emphasised saints who were important to success on the Day of Judgment, such as St. Michael and Sts. Peter and Paul.²⁶⁷

Continued support for prebend foundations and/or whole colleges expressed the successors' devotion to Mary. Consequently,

much of the activity of the period 1480 to 1560, particularly later in the period, was probably the augmentation of existing foundations. Unfortunately those who augmented foundations were not as concerned to register them in the Great Seal as had been the original founders, unless the augmentation was particularly substantial, such as the addition of several prebends or the foundation of a school or hospital, so record evidence exists for very few of these augmentations.

AUGMENTATION OF EXISTING FOUNDATIONS

Laypeople could show their devotion to Mary and solicit her intercession by augmenting existing foundations, either by making gifts of money or equipment, or by increasing the general funding levels with land or annual rents.

Gifts could be as little as a small offering to the "Ladybred" at church, or as great as the purchase of costly ornaments, vestments, images of Mary, or a Prayer Book containing the Office of the Virgin. Corporate bodies such as craft guilds and burgh councils could also divert fines to help with the fabric or maintenance of Marian foundations. Thus no layperson needed to feel that Mary's intercession was unattainable, her position as mother of all humanity guaranteeing all devoted supplicants a hearing. Honour done to Mary led to her sure support in a speedy progress to heaven, just as she could speed events on earth. The bell of Foulis Easter church, cast in 1508, included the inscription: "Jesus, Mary, be your speed".²⁶⁸

A popular means of honouring Mary was by donating wax or "lightsilver" which kept the candles burning before an altar dedicated to the Virgin or her image. Laypeople could donate money for lights as a once only payment, direct annual rents to provide

money perpetually, or divert to "our lady light" any fines or fees owed to crafts or burgh councils. An example of a once only payment was that made by James IV on 31 October, 1511, when he donated 14s. to Our Lady light at St. Mary's church, Newhaven, Midlothian.²⁶⁹ Fines for disobedience to craft rules were levied by the walkers (1525) and the candlemakers of Edinburgh (1527), the fine being payment of wax to "Our Lady light". The walkers' craft foundation was dedicated to St. Mark, and the candlemakers did not yet have a craft altar in 1527, but both crafts deemed it wise to support the supreme intercessor with God in this fashion, demonstrating that devotion to and reliance on Mary was a general phenomenon which functioned alongside devotion to particular patron saints.²⁷⁰ In 1539, Selkirk burgh council established monetary fines for laypeople who neglected to collect the weekly money offerings for Our Lady light.²⁷¹ In each of those cases, it was believed that donations to Our Lady light would honour Mary, and so benefit the donor(s). King James' donation was of personal concern only, but the walker craft of Dundee and burgh council of Selkirk took responsibility for the religious welfare of the lay community which they represented.

An altar dedicated to Mary had the usual ornaments and vestments. The donation of these goods as part of a foundation or as a later augmentation brought the donor Mary's favour. The laity made the most lavish donations to altars which they felt were the most crucial to their salvation, and apart from the high altar, Mary's was often the most lavish.²⁷² A 1490 list of ornaments and vestments for the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of the Mains of Erless,²⁷³ Angus, near Dundee, offers some insight into the adornment of an altar of this period. The patron of the altar was Robert Graham, heir to the late Robert Graham of Fintry, a

family devoted to Mary. On 20 May, 1490, Robert Graham officially received the altar ornaments and vestments as heir to his father, and then formally turned them over to the chapel. The altar appurtenances included a Missal, Breviary and Psaltar, a silver chalice and a tin chalice with vials, a tabernacle of the Blessed Virgin Mary, various ornaments for feast days, and various vestments, silk ones being for special days. The arms of the Lovels (*Luvels*), Grahams (*Graemes*) and Ogilvies were on some of the ornaments and vestments, the donors wishing to remind Mary of the honour they had done her by donating these articles to her altar.²⁷⁴

Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott augmented the equipment of his chapel of the glorious virgin in the church of St. Tiernan, Arbuthnott by donating a Psalter. Sir James Sibbald, vicar of the church, had completed the book in 1482, and Sir Robert Arbuthnott formally presented it to the chapel, hoping that there it would remain to honour Mary, augment divine service, and benefit the soul of the founder, "until an ant shall drink all the waters of the ocean and a tortoise shall perambulate the globe".²⁷⁵

Lay patrons could take advantage of a change-over in clerical staff to demand new altar decorations. Thus on 21 February, 1529/30, when Archibald Livingston (*Lewyngstoun*) of Castlecary appointed Sir Archibald Fawup to the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in her chapel in Linlithgow, he demanded that Fawup add a canopy for the altar. If the work was not carried out by Pentecost, then Fawup agreed that Livingston would have the right to draw up to £3 from the revenues of the chapel in order to complete the work.²⁷⁶

Images of Mary were donated by laypeople to stand near an altar or in the nave of the church. That the image of Mary was closely associated with Mary herself was made clear by donations

made to her image rather than to Mary or even the altar of Mary. The church of St. Salvator in St. Andrews had an image of "Our Lady" along with a tabernacle above the altar of the vestry.²⁷⁷ The collegiate church of Craill had an image of Our Lady over which was hung a veil of red worsted cloth during Lent,²⁷⁸ a practice which would have reminded the laity of Mary's role as grieving mother of the crucified Jesus. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh proved their devotion to Mary, desire to venerate her image, and devotion to the cult of St. Mary of Loreto, by sending one of their number across to Flanders in 1526 to obtain an image of "Our Lady of Lorree".²⁷⁹

It is clear from the records that laypeople continued to support their burgh, craft, merchant, or family foundations by augmenting the finances of family foundations, diverting fees and fines (egs. craft and merchant guilds), or assigning money from general funds (eg. burgh councils), and continuing to appoint clerics of high ability and great devotion. When the living augmented existing foundations, or ensured that the foundation continued to function properly by ensuring that the original financing continued to be paid to the foundation, the souls of the living and the dead benefited. Enrichment of a foundation intended to provide perpetual prayers for souls might include gifts of altar appurtenances (egs. vestments and ornaments) or the funding of additional masses. Such enrichment would help souls named in the original foundation to leave purgatory sooner, and the spiritual standing of the living souls would rise with the accomplishment of this good work, enrichment of the foundation glorifying God and the patron saint.

Enrichment of an existing chapel occurred in Dumfries in 1543. On 24 June, Sir David and Sir William Wallace, chaplain, confirmed

the foundation of the chapel and service of St. Andrew in the parish church of Dumfries made by their late father Adam Wallace, burgess. At the same time, at their own expense, they gave tenements, lands, annual rents and profits for the support of the altar. Sir William Wallace, chaplain of the service, may have been feathering his own nest to a certain extent, but there is no denying that such a gift would have bestowed spiritual benefits upon Sir William and Sir David as well as Adam their father.²⁸⁰

The Guthrie family in Angus displayed a strong commitment to support of their family foundation. In 1479, a college dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Guthrie was founded by David Guthrie, knight. In 1505, David's son Alexander donated four dwelling houses and £10 in annual rents to the college. The dwelling houses had been promised by the founder along with the land he had donated; in this respect Alexander was fulfilling his father's wishes, a spiritually laudable act in itself. However, the further £10 was Alexander's own donation, intended to benefit the souls of both his father and mother, by having a canon celebrate in the college of Guthrie.²⁸¹ Implicit in this donation was the assumption that prayers would also be said for Alexander as founder, in the usual manner. Thus Alexander Guthrie's augmentation enhanced the financial stability of the college at the same time as he promoted the spiritual welfare of his family.

The Guthrie family continued to consider their family foundation an important expression of personal piety. Hence a gravestone of 1666, still resting in the Guthrie aisle, all that is left of the collegiate church, bears the inscription, *Memento Mori*, with a carving of scissors, representing the cutting of the threads of life.²⁸² Seventeenth century *Memento Mori* preoccupations harken

back to the desperate search for spiritual acceptability engaged in by laypeople of the pre-Reformation era, the search for consolation in the face of certain death finding its most poignant expression in art and literature. For example, a boss on the ceiling of Archbishop Blackadder's aisle dedicated to Mary had a skull with a worm on it, and Mary, Queen of Scots gave Mary Seton a silver watch in the of a skull, with images of the Fall on the back, a reminder to the wearer of the inevitability of death and the depths of human sinfulness.²⁸³ Skulls were a symbol commonly used in pre-Reformation Scotland. In Robert Henryson's "The Thre Deid Pollis", three skulls reminded humanity of the certainty of death. They urged humanity to avoid vice and pray to God, and thus receive God's grace at the Day of Judgment and be granted eternal life.²⁸⁴ Inscriptions, probably mid-sixteenth century, in the chapel of St. Anne in the church of St. Mary in Cullen, Banffshire, featured *Memento Mori* and *Disce Mori*, the inscriptions possibly being the work of Alexander Ogilvy of Deskford and Findlater, a founder of the collegiate church of Cullen.²⁸⁵

The Guthrie aisle was restored by Jane Guthrie (1809-1891) at the age of seventy-two, in keeping with the laity's tendency to delay thinking on death and the afterlife until they are ill or advanced in years.²⁸⁶ Although she died in Dundee, Guthrie had her remains buried in the Guthrie aisle at the exact spot where the Catholic altar would have stood.²⁸⁷ Burial as close as possible to the high altar was sought prior to the Reformation; the high altar was the place of greatest sanctity in the church. It was the place nearest to the celebration of the Eucharist, the source of the merits which had given humanity the chance for salvation.²⁸⁸

Another family which consistently augmented an existing collegiate foundation were the Homes of Dunglass. On 12 March, 1443, the collegiate church of St. Mary of Dunglass, Haddingtonshire, was founded by Sir Alexander Home of Home, who most likely had the tower and choir built by 1403, and then the nave after 1450. The foundation had a provost, three chaplains, and four boy choristers. By 1481, there were nine prebends, in 1503 Patrick Home of Polwarth, knight, founded a prebend with the lands of Vigorushauch, and by the Reformation there were about a dozen prebends, and a hospital was attached to the foundation.²⁸⁹

Apart from founding or augmenting the finances of altars dedicated to Mary, continuing to make appointments and pay regular stipends to chaplains were signs of loyalty to Mary, and belief in her continuing ability to intercede on humanity's behalf. It was also a sign that the living felt accountable for carrying out the wishes of dead founders. The royal Stewarts consistently supported their foundation of the altar of Our Lady in the church of Cambuskenneth. James IV was particularly supportive since he seems to have suffered considerable guilt over his role in the death of his father, and thus was concerned to make restitution to God by ensuring that masses for the soul of James III be celebrated there.²⁹⁰ In 1516, James V followed in the footsteps of his father, infesting Sir James Inglis with £26 14s. 4d. with the express *purpose of having soul masses celebrated for James III and Queen Margaret of Denmark.*²⁹¹ In 1552 the Crown appointed Sir Robert Paterson (*Patersoun*) with 20 merks per year for the same purpose, but he was murdered in 1553, so Mr Alexander Chalmers (*Chalmere*) was quickly appointed in his place, to ensure that the souls of James III and Queen Margaret continued to be aided by the prayers of the

living in their attempts to leave purgatory.²⁹² Sums were paid to the chaplains of the altar through to 1560, years that saw no payments, such as the latter part of the 1540s, being brought up to date with large lump sums.²⁹³ The Lords of Gray also continued to take an interest in their collegiate church of Foulis Easter. As late as the 1550's, Lord Gray were making appointments to prebendaries.²⁹⁴

Occasionally collegiate church founders considered Mary's intercession and favour to be so indispensable that they decided to make her the titular saint of the foundation rather than their patron saint or titular saint of the existing parish church. This was the case with the collegiate church of St. Mary and the Holy Rood founded by the Setons in 1493. The family's patron saint was St. Benedict, but the Setons wished to use their collegiate foundation to solicit the intercession of Mary and the benefits of the Passion of Jesus. A number of Setons through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries built on to the church, including Catherine Sinclair, widow of William, first Lord Seton. She built herself an aisle on the south side and founded a perpetual chaplainry for the benefit of her soul, and was buried there. George, third Lord Seton (d. after 15 July, 1478) built the choir, and George, the fourth Lord Seton, erected the revestire and founded the college with a provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys and a clerk. Lady Janet Hepburn (d. 1558) built the steeple of the church. The transepts of the church were used as mortuary chapels, and contained Passion imagery, relying heavily on humanity's link with Jesus to gain them entrance to heaven. However, a side altar dedicated to Mary was located near to the high altar in the choir, the site of greatest sanctity; the Setons wished to invoke the power of Mary as well as

the merits of the Crucifixion in their pursuit of spiritual acceptability.²⁹⁵

SHRINES, PILGRIMAGES, HOLY WELLS AND PROCESSIONS

Mary could be honoured by visiting shrines dedicated to her, and spiritual benefit could also be derived from wells dedicated to her. Processions were another means by which Mary was honoured and her merits and intercessory power invoked to aid in lay salvation. Shrines often were associated with chapel foundations and/or with holy wells. The shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto was a famous site. On 27 January, 1533/4, the bailies, burgesses and community of Musselburgh donated land to Thomas Douchtie or Duchty, hermit of the first Order of St. Paul, the "hermit of Mt. Sinai", to build a perpetual chapel, a cell and garden.²⁹⁶ Douchtie had brought a statue of Our Lady of Loreto back from Italy, and set it up in Musselburgh.²⁹⁷ The popularity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto also received expression from James V. In 1528, he donated lands, dwellings and wasteland to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto at Perth.²⁹⁸ The shrine and chapel soon became a popular pilgrimage site, Sir David Lyndsay testifying, with distaste, to the strength of lay devotion to Mary and belief in the efficacy of her intercession. He reported that men and women went "flynagand on thare feit, Under the forme of feynit sanctytude, / For tyll adore one image of Loreit". He insisted that they wished to commit "fowll fornicatioun" rather than engage in an act of piety.²⁹⁹ Lay motives probably lay at various points along a continuum between purely religious and purely social desires. In any case, the strength of the criticism was proof of the hold which the recently founded shrine had on the lay imagination. A document of 1547 attested to the laity's firm belief in the efficacy of the

religious sanction offered by a Marian foundation. Patrick Dunbar of Craichloch chose to have his testament drawn up in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto.³⁰⁰ Drawing up the testament in the church reinforced its essentially religious character, and meant that any deviation from the terms would bring down Mary's wrath upon the executors.

Foreign pilgrimage could be a dangerous and expensive process, requiring the abandonment of family, lands and goods for years at a time, whose welfare during the pilgrim's absence depended upon the goodwill of neighbours and the king, who could issue a licence and promise safe-keeping for goods and dependents. Therefore pilgrimage within the realm of Scotland would have been much more frequent, requiring a shorter absence and less financial commitment. Considering the recorded level of traffic to overseas pilgrimage destinations, particularly to Santiago de Compostella and St. John of Amiens, it is likely that local or national shrines entertained a significant number of annual pilgrims, although these were less likely to be recorded.

One of the reasons for bridge-building and bridge maintenance was a desire to assist pilgrims in reaching pilgrimage sites, thereby pleasing God. Documentary records attest to the interpretation of bridge work as a good work. In 1441, Princess Margaret, Countess of Douglas and Duchess of Touraine, sought an indulgence in order to help her build a stone bridge across the Blednoch, which was on the pilgrimage route to St. Ninian.³⁰¹

In order to reach foreign pilgrimage sites, and to carry on trading and fishing activities, the occupations of a number of Scots, it was necessary to risk the perils of the sea. Consequently, Mary came to be closely associated with the sea, and

the laity came to rely upon her for aid while at sea. Her protective role at sea was lauded in a Scottish version of the traditional Latin prayer "O Clementissime". In words peculiar to the Scots version, Mary was a "rever of saulis as pirat is in ye sey", so should be given due honour. As guider and comforter of souls she was beyond compare, the "sterne of the sey", "bowsum gidder of schip brokin", "the port of saluacioun, help and suppley" to human souls wracked with self-doubt, sinfulness and an urgent desire for spiritual acceptability, and this close association of Mary with the sea continued into modern times.³⁰² James V supported the cult of Mary of Loreto, and he believed in Mary's willingness and ability to protect him while at sea. In 1538 the king offered two crowns to Our Lady of Loreto while aboard ship.³⁰³

The mariners of Leith took Mary as their special patron, founding a church in her honour in 1483, and the burgh seal of Leith showed Mary and the baby Jesus in a galley at sea.³⁰⁴ Rutherglen's burgh seal also portrayed Mary and the baby Jesus, placing them above a boat full of mariners.³⁰⁵ The tomb of Alexander Macleod, son of William Macleod of Dunvegan, in St. Clement's church, Rodil, Harris, also related Marian and sea imagery. A carving of Mary and the baby Jesus was located near to one of a galley, symbol of the Macleods.³⁰⁶

Sea imagery provided a number of images for laypeople in their struggle to understand the nature of the afterlife and the supernatural beings who would help them attain eternal happiness. Dunbar occasionally used sea images to describe heaven, describing it as a safe haven in a lyrical manner in his poem "Of the Warldis Vanitie":

Walk furth, pilgrame, quhill thow hes dayis lycht,
Dres fra desert, draw to thy duelling place;

Speid home, for quhy anone cummis the nicht,³⁰⁷
Bend up thy sail and win thy port of grace;

Chapels and/or shrines often were associated with holy wells. More holy wells were dedicated to Mary than to any other saint.³⁰⁸ The water from these holy wells was believed to have healing powers, belief in her powers continuing through to the modern period.³⁰⁹ As supreme intercessor with God and a maternal figure of most perfect compassion, Mary was often honoured in her capacity as healer of illness. Holy wells could also be used to draw water for use in church services, as was the case with St. Mary's well half a mile from the graveyard of the collegiate church of Mary and St. Anne of Cullen, founded in 1543.³¹⁰

The shrine of Mary near Whitekirk church, East Lothian, was believed to owe part of its efficacy to its proximity to St. Mary's well. The shrine had been founded at Whitekirk by John Abernethy in 1309. By 1413, offerings worth 1422 merks had been received from over 15,000 pilgrims, and by 1430 James I had built a house there to house the many pilgrims, one of whom was Aeneas Sylvius, the future Pope Pius II, who visited the shrine in 1435.³¹¹

Processions were a means of honouring Mary, and obtaining her favour and mediation. Processions occurred inside churches, such as in Glasgow Cathedral, which had a number of stations for processions, and which had a Lady chapel in the lower chapel, where Mary's image was much venerated, as well as the Lady aisle built in the early sixteenth century by Archbishop Robert Blackadder.³¹²

Processions for the church which were part of some rituals, such as obits, might have involved the laity to a greater extent, especially when services took place around the founder's tomb.³¹³ However, most of these obit services took place in the choir, where the laity

could not go. Therefore the laity were most involved in general processions which took place outside the church.

The Candlemas plays referred to in the records were interpreted by Anna Jean Mill to mean processions rather than plays. A 1442 statute instructed crafts to make yearly offerings to Mary at Candlemas, and most likely the procession preceded an offering made to Mary in the local church, as part of a dramatic ceremony.³¹⁴ Candlemas was the feast of the Purification, taking place on 2 February. Thus an emphasis on honouring Mary on this particular day revealed an emphasis on the purity of Mary, and how that purity made her an efficacious intercessor for humanity.

When writers mention the attacks on the Marian cult in Scotland they usually pinpoint the period from the 1530's, when outbreaks of violence as well as dissenting opinions were most clear. However, the evidence from the Candlemas processions is that from the beginning of the period 1480 to 1560, craft guilds were running into trouble for not supporting processions sufficiently, and so dishonouring their craft as much as Mary.³¹⁵ Rather than construing these dissenting voices as the norm, one should look to the responses of the governing bodies, who were responsible for ensuring the spiritual welfare of the whole community and who therefore theoretically represented the majority opinion.

These governing bodies insisted that craft members fulfil their obligations to the craft by appearing for the processions with the symbols of their craft (tokens), and so honour Mary and the burgh. Evidently there were problems with non-appearance at processions, incorrect dress and procedure from the 1480's in Aberdeen, at the same time as many laypeople were honouring Mary in this and other ways. Evidence from Corpus Christi processions

corroborates these findings; while some laypeople were in trouble for not appearing at Corpus Christi processions,³¹⁶ there was a flowering of lay devotion toward the Passion.

GENERAL TRENDS IN THE HONOURING OF MARY

- THE WORLD OF SCOTTISH LAIRDS AND MAGNATES

The milieu of the laird and magnate classes of Scotland was a relatively violent one, occasioning great need for Mary's forgiveness and intercession with God. Writers such as Robert Henryson, or the translator of "The Porteus of Nobelnes", or the author of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis", made it clear that the noble classes had a great deal to answer for in terms of their treatment of each other and of the lower orders.³¹⁷ Crimes against humanity were also crimes against God, for which the offender had to make satisfaction in one way or another, in order to be allowed to enter heaven at the Day of Judgment. Such means included the paying of debts as ordered in testaments, various penances such as pilgrimages, the saying of prayers (eg. "O Clementissime" of BM Arundel MS 285 brought the supplicant 300 days of indulgence), and the accomplishing of various good works (eg. founding or augmenting religious institutions).³¹⁸ The intercession of saints, and Mary in particular, could gain God's forgiveness, but to gain saintly support, prayers, penances, foundations and good works were required.

The Drummonds of Stobhall and Cargill in Perthshire were a family whose history reveals the difficulties experienced by lairds and magnates who wished to attain spiritual acceptability, and thereby win God's favour at the Day of Judgment. The secular and clerical elites of late medieval Scotland tussled for economic, political and social power. For example, in November of 1500, John,

first Lord Drummond (d. 1519), was called up before the Lords of Council in Civil Causes over a dispute between himself and James, Abbot of Scone, over Drummond's alleged diversion of a burn belonging to the abbey of Scone.³¹⁹ This engagement was in the nature of a minor property dispute, but the church viewed even economic encroachments on its rights as a sin against God; the disturbing or violating of ecclesiastical liberties in "lands or waters or in woods or pastures or any properties whatever" was grounds for excommunication.³²⁰ Preventing people from attending church was of greater moment, as was threatening violence at a religious site. The laity needed to be able to participate in the rituals of the church to give it the maximum opportunity to achieve spiritual acceptability. Although depriving God's representatives of material benefits may have looked ill, the massacre of 120 Murrays, men, women and children, by David Drummond and 64 accomplices in the church of Monivaird near Crieff, Fife, at the turn of the sixteenth century was a particularly heinous sin against God, being murder as well as sacrilege.³²¹

Whether John, Lord Drummond, actually was involved in the attack on the Murrays is uncertain. However, if he were, his later actions would indicate that, in common with other men of the upper classes, he wished to make reparation for his misdeeds through religious foundations and other acts of piety, as well as to pursue personal holiness, and that his major target for supernatural aid was Mary, God's most favoured one.³²² On 3 February, 1506/7, Lord Drummond sought the favour of God and Mary by founding four chaplainries in honour of the Blessed Virgin in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Innerpeffray, Perthshire.³²³ He intended these foundations to spiritually benefit the souls of the king and

queen, himself and his spouse Elizabeth Lyndesay and his late daughter Margaret Drummond.³²⁴ Earlier, in 1496, he had proved his strong commitment to leading a life of personal holiness by becoming a member of the Third Order of St. Francis along with his spouse Elizabeth, possibly the Elizabeth Lindesay who was his second wife, according to the document of February, 1506/7.³²⁵ Then in 1508 he founded a college with four canons and a provost, which by 1542 was a full collegiate foundation. The canons were to celebrate requiem masses for him and his house, and the college was to be the burial place of the Drummonds for ever. The Drummonds were also responsible for the building of Stobhall church, and remained firm Catholics after the Reformation.³²⁶

Both the Maules of Panmure and the Grahams of Fintry attempted to pacify God and solicit Mary's intercession, yet were part of the violent reality of landed society.³²⁷ Thomas Maule of Panmure, knight (d. 1513), apparently was particularly non-violent, yet even he at one point burned the house of John Liddale (*Liddel*) of Panlathy (*Panlethyne*) "for ane indignatione", which he apparently regretted later.³²⁸ His son Robert Maule (d. 1560) was even more combative, being involved in a number of violent incidents from the 1530's, and described as a man given to the sin of lechery.³²⁹ Yet Thomas Maule attempted to make up for the general sinfulness of the lairdly lifestyle, and to enlist Mary's aid in this endeavour. He founded a chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary along with his wife on 8 February, 1486/7,³³⁰ and entered the Third Order of St. Francis along with his spouse and children on 20 April, 1504.³³¹ In 1509 donated an annual rent from the lands of Skethyn to the Friars Minor of Dundee for the benefit of the souls of his family and himself, including his current spouse Christian Graham (daughter of William,

second Lord Graham), with the consent of his son Robert Maule, and founded a requiem mass to be celebrated by the Friars Minor of Dundee on St. Nicholas Day in honour of God omnipotent, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Francis the Confessor and all the saints. The souls named in this foundation included those of himself, his current wife Christian Graham and his late wife Elizabeth Rollock (*Rollok*).³³²

The Grahams of Fintry in Stirlingshire, the other party in the Barry incident, actively practised their faith, valuing the ability of the powerful and pure mother of God to intercede for their souls. A retable, dating from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, showed St. Gabriel genuflecting,³³³ a large pot of lilies between him and Mary, who was standing. The retable was probably part of the decoration of a burial aisle in the churchyard of Mains near Dundee (church founded 1471).³³⁴ The arms of the Grahams of Fintry were placed immediately below the pot of lilies, a reminder to Mary of the family which had thus honoured her.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Grahams were active in honouring Mary by supporting foundations dedicated to her. They donated lands to the parish church of Earlis Strathdighty³³⁵ in 1488 and 1531, and confirmed the ornaments and vestments of the Graham chaplainry dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the same church in 1490, the list of ornaments including a tabernacle of the Blessed Virgin Mary. At this time Robert Graham of Fintry and Claverhouse also declared his intention of founding a chaplainry in honour of God, Mary and St. Joseph, and on 25 January, 1492/3, he founded an altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the same church of Strathdighty (*Strathdichty*). Graham generously donated to the chaplain a manse, lands, pasture, farm animals, annual rents, and

the assistance of one of his men to gather fuel, intending the foundation to benefit the souls of himself, his spouse Elizabeth Douglas, Janet Lovell, Robert Graham, Patrick Graham, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and David Graham.³³⁶

Clearly it was Mary who could be best relied upon to successfully intercede for Graham souls, a religious foundation of 28 October, 1494, reinforcing this interpretation. The wording of the dedication by James Graham of Fintry and Claverhouse described Mary as: "Our Glorious Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary His [God's] Mother", the foundation being made in honour of her, God, and the sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Penitence of Dundee. Graham erected a house for the sisters in Dundee, doing so for the sake of charity and the sustaining of divine service. By honouring Mary in this fashion, he elicited her best intercessory efforts on his behalf.³³⁷

The family of the Erskines of Dun, related by marriage to the Grahams, fluctuated between the roles of penitent sinner and feuding laird. On 1 October, 1493, a complaint was lodged by the burgh of Montrose against John Erskine of Dun, elder (d. 9 September, 1513 at Flodden), for theft, assault and other crimes against the community. Yet Erskine's desire to secure the intercession of Mary and divine mercy for his sins had led him to found a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of St. Andrew the Apostle, Dundee, Angus, on 10 March, 1490. Then on 14 February, 1501/2, John Erskine of Dun, younger, and a number of accomplices received a remission for forethought felony in the burgh of Montrose. The testament of John Erskine of Dun, younger, who died at Flodden (testament 15 August, 1513) indicated his understanding that satisfaction needed to be made for such sins. His will

commended his soul to God, Mary and the saints, and ordered his executors to dispose of his goods for the welfare of his soul, thereby making them responsible for making earthly satisfaction on his behalf.³³⁸

The evidence from the period 1480 to 1560 suggests that laypeople relied upon Mary's mediation, particularly on the Day of Judgment. They valued her purity and motherhood and were ready and willing to gain her intercession by honouring her through religious foundations, processions and visits to shrines. As can be seen in Chapter 6, by and large the laity of Ayrshire held orthodox beliefs and relied heavily on church rituals such as obits to obtain God's mercy. However, there were dissenting voices in this period of intense lay concern for personal holiness and salvation, such voices offering an alternative solution to the perils of hell and purgatory with which laypeople were faced. In Ayrshire there arose a small group known as the Lollards of Kyle, who insisted that people should only pray to God, not to Mary, and Ayrshire also produced preachers such as the ex-Franciscan John Willock; thus even in an area where most people remained faithful to orthodox beliefs, there were others who had reached conclusions which put them in direct confrontation with mainstream society.³³⁹

INTERNAL EXPRESSIONS OF DEVOTION TO MARY - THE ROSARY

External expressions of love for Mary were popular with the laity and encouraged by the church. However, it was expected that outward expressions of devotion would be accompanied by internal love and devotion; this was largely expressed through the rosary, people often attending church with a rosary and/or an Office of Our Lady.³⁴⁰ An Englishman's description of the general state of lay devotion in Scotland in 1548 included the comment that there was to

be heard the "knakkyng of beadstones in every pewe", along with wax images and the burning of candles for saints, all signs that the laity was surrounded by signs of Mary's presence and role in salvation, and was active in soliciting her aid.³⁴¹ In the woodcut illustration of the late medieval concept of religion in the Acts of the Parliaments published in 1541, a rosary encircled the scene in heaven, and the souls in purgatory and on earth were separated from heaven by this rosary. The implication was that human souls reached heaven through the rosary, an interpretation reinforced by the rosaries clasped in the hands of supplicants kneeling outwith the rosary.³⁴²

Perceptions of God as a stern Judge would have thrown laypeople even more into the arms of the loving, forgiving and powerful figure of Mary as they sought salvation. The efficacy of the rosary was certain; whatever the faults of the suppliant, Mary would listen favourably to those who approached her in this manner. In general, the sixteenth century makars reflected lay religious beliefs, one of their topics being the importance of the rosary, a devotion which had come to Scotland from the Low Countries,³⁴³ along with strong artistic and other religious influences. Walter Kennedy testified to the power and mercy of Mary in his poem "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", found in the Asloan Manuscript:

yocht we brek wowis prayeris pilgrimage & hechtis
 To ye Rosare and rute of our remeid
 ffor ws fair lady / with ye devill yow fechtis
 and standis full neire ws in ye hour of deid
 Saifand our sawlis from ye playand leid
 Of hell . . .
 Throw yi request mary as wele yow can
 Sen hale suple to kennedy yow art
 O mater dei memento mei yi man.³⁴⁴

The prayerful, penitent position of lay figures shown clasping the rosary while they made their supplications to Mary reveal the

laity's belief that Mary's intercession was crucial to salvation, and that the prayers of the rosary, or the *Ave Maria*, were the means to solicit them. Such a representation was on the tomb of the second Lord Seton (d. 1507) which rested near the high altar of Seton collegiate church; on his effigy Lord Seton was shown clasping the rosary.³⁴⁵ As the second Lord Seton had also erected the collegiate church of Seton in 1493, and dedicated it to Mary and the Holy Rood, he clearly believed that Mary was best honoured by combining personal prayer and the founding of a religious institution dedicated to prayers for the dead, so that not only would Mary be approached by Lord Seton while he was living, but also by clerics (and laity) on his behalf once he died. Another example of the importance of the rosary to assist souls in purgatory was a fifteenth century carving on a tombstone in Iona, which depicted a mourner saying a rosary for the deceased.³⁴⁶

The account of the death of George, Bishop of Dunkeld, in Alexander Myln's "Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld", described the clerics around the dying Bishop saying the rosary of the Blessed Virgin along with the psalms, Passion gospels, and prayers for the dying.³⁴⁷ Myln revealed that the rosary of the Virgin Mary was believed to be important to the welfare of souls after death, particularly if said in combination with accounts of Jesus' life and Passion. Combined Marian and Passion imagery also occurred in "The Lang Rosair" and "Thre Rois Garlandis" of BM Arundel MS 285, indicating a belief that Mary was most inclined to intercede on the supplicant's behalf if reminded of the life and Passion of her son.³⁴⁸

Myln's account, and the exhortations to lay prayer of BM Arundel MS 285, reveal that the rosary was considered important as

part of the faith life of every Christian person. James V made this clear in a letter to Clement VII in November of 1532, when he equated the personal holiness of the sisters of the convent of St. Catherine of the Sciennes (Siena) with devotion to worshipping God and praying to the Virgin.³⁴⁹ The Catechism of 1552 reflected and encouraged the focus of the laity on the rosary, deeming it the most efficacious method of approaching Mary and thus promoting one's cause with God, for God favoured those who said the rosary.³⁵⁰

In later centuries Catholic laity and clergy remained convinced of the efficacy of the rosary to solicit Mary's aid.³⁵¹ Through the two centuries after the Reformation laypeople continued to be in trouble with the authorities for trusting in the power of Mary and the rosary, particularly in the north east. In 1579, it was reported that rosaries were being sold at Turriff Fair in Banffshire, and the Menzies family of Pitfodels was in trouble in 1637 for supplying rosaries secretly to Aberdeen Catholics. In 1636, Thomas Moncur (*Moncurre*) and Patrick White (*Whyte*) were brought before the Kirk Session of Aberdeen for having transcribed and distributed Catholic books, "namelie one called the Rosarie". A room of Provost Skene's seventeenth century house in Aberdeen was painted with rosary symbolism, this room possibly being Skene's private Catholic chapel.³⁵² Whether private chapel or merely expression of lay faith, it revealed clearly the importance of Mary and Jesus to lay salvation. The ceiling depicted the instruments of the Passion, the monogram of Mary nearby closely associating her with the saving power of Jesus' Passion.³⁵³

CONCLUSION

Through external and internal expressions of love and devotion to Mary, the laity hoped to ensure the intercession of the most

powerful saint, whose complete purity, perfect maternal nature, and motherhood of Jesus ensured her the ear of the king in heaven. Laypeople investigated the nature of Mary's intercessory methods; they came to understand that these were primarily prayers to Jesus and the application of her own merits, power and influence to gain God's forgiveness, and to assist laypeople to live lives of greater spiritual worthiness. Mary's efficacy as intercessor was believed to be great; she was conceived of as virtual co-redeemer with Jesus and guarantor of human welfare before and after death. Stricken with a sense of spiritual inadequacy,³⁵⁴ late medieval lay Scots increasingly relied upon Mary's aid and devotion in their search for spiritual acceptability. They used the rosary to gain her support and intercession on their behalf, and sought her favour by celebrating and honouring her purity and motherhood in foundations, processions, and visits to shrines and wells. To obtain God's love and mercy, they followed the exhortation of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who, centuries earlier, had advocated complete reliance on Mary's comfort and intercession:

If troubled on account of the heinousness of thy sins, confounded at the filthy state of thy conscience, and terrified at the thought of the awful judgment to come, thou art beginning to sink into the bottomless gulf of sadness and to be absorbed in the abyss of despair, oh, then think of Mary! In dangers, in doubts, in difficulties, think of Mary, call upon Mary.³⁵⁵

NOTES

1. Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215 (London: Scolar Press, 1982), p. 162.
2. Richard Bauckham, "The Origins and Growth of Western Mariology", in Chosen by God: Mary in Evangelical Perspective, ed. David F. Wright (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989), p. 145.
3. The Carmelite houses in Scotland were those of Aberdeen, Banff, Berwick, Edinburgh (Greenside), Inverbervie, Irvine, Kingussie, Linlithgow, Luffness, Queensferry and Tullilum, those of Inverbervie, Linlithgow and Queensferry being fifteenth century foundations. The Cistercian nunneries in Scotland in the sixteenth century were those of South Berwick, North Berwick, Eccles, Coldstream, Haddington, St. Bothan's, Manuel and Elcho, and the Cistercian monasteries were those of Balmerino, Coupar Angus, Culross, Deer, Dundrennan, Glenluce, Kinloss, Melrose, Newbattle, Saddell and Sweetheart. Thus it can be seen that the Carmelite and Cistercian orders were in Scotland in force, and that they had a country-wide presence, providing a constant source of Marian imagery and devotion, in eds. Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 72, 135 and 144.
4. ed. Gordon Donaldson, Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1952), #88-9, p. 19.
5. eds. Alexander Macdonald and James Dennistoun, "Register of Vestments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., Belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the University of St. Andrews, circa A.D. MCCCCCL", in Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. III of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1843), pp. 202, 204 and 205.
6. "Register of Services" from John Steinson (*Steinstoune*), first provost of St. Mary's collegiate church, Biggar, Lanarkshire, in David S. Rutherford, Biggar: St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), p. 35.
7. James Richardson, "Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Mediaeval Date in Scotland", Proceedings (Edinburgh, 1928), LXII, p. 199.
8. Beaton Panels, National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, and Richardson, pp. 124-5. According to Caldwell, the panels may have been carved as late as 1538 (he became Cardinal in that year), in that the crozier carved on the panels could have represented Beaton either as a bishop (St. Andrews) or as an abbot (Arbroath). Caldwell's theory that the panels were kept in a secular lodging was based primarily on the prominence of the arms of Beaton's mother and father, such a family reference being unusual if the setting was to be an ecclesiastical one. Thus Caldwell rejected Warrack's theory (1920's) that the panels came from the choir stalls of Arbroath Abbey, Charles Carter's theory (1957) that they came from the abbot's lodging at Arbroath, and David McRoberts' that they came from Beaton's private oratory at Arbroath Abbey, or his private house in Edinburgh, in David H. Caldwell, "The Beaton Panels", presented at the conference Medieval Art and Architecture in the

Diocese of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 4 and 6-8, and citing J. Warrack, Domestic Life in Scotland 1488-1688, London, 1920, pp. 79-82, C. Carter, "The Arma Christi in Scotland", Proceedings, XC (1956-7), pp. 124-5.

9. Glasgow Cathedral, Lanarkshire.

10. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

11. Glasgow Cathedral, Lanarkshire.

12. Hector Boece, Vitae, p. 58, cited by David McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", IR (Glasgow, Spring, 1966), XVII, 1, p. 47.

13. One example of such a cleric was discussed by Alexander Myln. Myln reported that, in the time of Bishop George in the early sixteenth century, the Dean of Dunkeld founded a mass before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in Dunkeld Cathedral, in Alexander Myln, "Lives of the Bishops (Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldense)", in Rentale Dunkeldense, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1915), p. 320.

14. ed. Robert Renwick, Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow, Vol. II, William Hegait's Protocols, 1555-60, with appendix 1503-1610 (Glasgow: Carson and Nicol, 1896), #618, pp. 103 and 109-11.

15. ed. Alexander MacDonald Munro, Records of Old Aberdeen 1498-1903, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1909), XXXVI, pp. 280-3 and 289.

16. Hamilton, John, The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton Printed at St. Andrews - 1551 together with The Two-Penny Faith 1559, ed. Alex A. Mitchell (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), f. clxxxxii. Note that the Catechism references used in the thesis all derive from Mitchell's edition. The publication date mentioned here is 1551, but the normal date given for the publication is 1552. For confirmation of the publication date, see Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904).

17. Hamilton, Catechism, f. clxxxxii.

18. Ibid., ff. clxxxxi-clxxxxii.

19. Ibid., f. clxxxxii.

20. David F. Wright, "Mary in the Reformers", in Chosen by God: Mary in Evangelical Perspective, ed. David F. Wright (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989), p. 165.

21. Ibid., pp. 163 and 168.

22. John Knox, "The 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. 227, and Wright, "Mary in the Reformers", pp. 163, 164 and 168.

23. Note that the Earl was named first Duke of Montrose by James III in 1488. A Recissory Act was passed which took away this title, but then on 19 September, 1489, the Earl was granted the title for life, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1906), pp. 22-3.

24. ed. William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols., Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), pp. 127-8.

25. Ibid., II, pp. 135-7 and ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), pp. 294-8.

26. eds. Thomas Thomson, Alexander Macdonald and Cosmo Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1853), XCIVB, p. 232.

27. "Register of Services" of St. Mary's Biggar collegiate church, in Rutherford, pp. 34-5.

28. 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), #731, p. 110.

29. 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. 370.

30. ed. Felix J.H. Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, Vol. I of 2 vols., in The Historians of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877), VII, pp. 304-5. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the importance of sexual purity. References to the relationship of sexual purity, sinfulness and divine favour to each other occur throughout the thesis, eg. Chapter 3. Note that the Book of Pluscarden was written between 1478 and 1496, so reveals the attitudes toward sexuality and sinfulness of the late fifteenth century as much as they do the viewpoint of King David's contemporaries, in Ibid., p. x.

31. Possibly the author of The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis was John Reid or "Stobo", in ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis, New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), pp. xvii-xviii.

32. cf. Publication of "The Porteous of Noblenes" in 1508 by Chepman and Myllar indicates an expectation that Scottish nobles would be interested in a work offering advice on how to avoid a life of evil thoughts and deeds, achieve "worthiness", and receive forgiveness for sins. This is a Scottish translation of a French work by Alain Chartier, "Le breviaire des nobles", 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. 171-2. cf. Robert Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1979), pp. 113-24 and xi, a timely piece written from 1549-50 and published in 1550, and David McRoberts, "Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow:

Burns, 1962), pp. 416-7, citing Early English Text Society, Vol. II, p. 144. An example of the sins of a member of the upper classes is the attack on Marian images of Walter Stewart, brother of Lord Ochiltree (1533). The authorities may have considered it most necessary to punish noble offenders to minimise spiritual harm to the nation, in McRoberts, "Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation", pp. 417-8.

33. Another example of such obit foundations was that made by Philip Gibson on 3 November, 1543. He founded the obit in the church of the Franciscans of Haddington, and required that prayers be said for the souls of James V, Mary, Queen of Scots, Gibson himself and his spouse Katherine Lauder, Gibson's relatives, ancestors, successors, and all the faithful dead, in Bryce, II, pp. 41-2.

34. On 7 April, 1484, Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, augmented an altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of the Blessed Brigide of Douglas, intending the augmentation to benefit the souls of King James III and Queen Margaret, the Earl's spouse Elizabeth Boyd (d. before 1484), and William Purde, chaplain, among others, in ed. James Balfour Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1424-1513, Vol. II, Part 1, #1586, pp. 333-4, and ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. I of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), p. 183.

35. Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #3048, p. 651. cf. David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), p. 511.

36. Given that the child mortality rate was high in late medieval Scotland, it is interesting to note the almost complete absence of named children in obit foundations, for people must have had children who had died in infancy and whose souls rested in purgatory. Presumably the phrase including one's "predecessors and successors" in the obit was intended to include one's children; there can be no questions but that parental ties were important, for a number of people founded obits for the souls of parents.

37. McRoberts, "Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation", pp. 417-8.

38. Fleming and Beveridge, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, #636, p. 95.

39. Ibid., III, #611-3, pp. 92-3.

40. cf. McRoberts, "Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation", p. 419.

41. Brother Kenneth, "The Popular Literature of the Scottish Reformation", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), p. 179, and 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, Vols. I and II (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871) and Ane Satyre of the Thrie

Estaitis, ed. and intro. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd., 1989), passim.

42.SRO GD32/8/5, Bryce, II, pp. 135-7, and SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1234-6. Note that the foundation of David, sixth Earl of Crawford of a daily mass and twice-yearly exequies in the church of the Franciscans of Dundee on 15 April, 1506, was intended to profit the named souls, and particularly those of the Earls of Crawford, for daily absolution was required at the cenotaph of the Earls of Crawford, in Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, II, pp. 135-7.

43.SRO GD32/8/5. Note that this concept of acting out of love for Mary was echoed in a royal document. In 1498 James IV stated that he planned to confirm the grants to the Cistercian abbey of Saddell, Kintyre, dedicated to Mary, because of his "singular devotion" to Mary, in A.L. Brown, "The Cistercian Abbey of Saddell, Kintyre", IR (Glasgow, Autumn, 1969), XX, 2, p. 136.

44.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1234-6 and Thomson and Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, II, p. 370.

45.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Intemerata", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 208, p. 285.

46.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1517-8.

47.Ibid., pp. 1520, 1520-1, 1521-2 and 1522-4, respectively.

48.Ibid., pp. 1524-9, passim. Note that Maitland gave £1,000 for the erection of a this monastery, and that Congalton (£200) and Preston (£100) donated monies for the building of the new church for the sisters of the Sciennes. Note that Elizabeth Carkettle had a half share in these annual rents as heir to Thomas Carkettle. Apparently the other half owner of the land was Katherine Carkettle, who was a sister of the order of St. Augustine under the Dominicans in the convent of St. Catherine. *Thus this was in the nature of a "dowry" to Katherine's religious house, or at least an augmentation of it.*

49.Ibid., pp. 1528-9.

50.ed. Denys Hay, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), pp. 232-3.

51.McRoberts, "Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation", p. 419.

52.Note that the copy of this letter of indulgence was written between 1502 and 1513 while Gavin Douglas was provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles church, Edinburgh in William Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, Vol. II of 2 vols., Correspondence & Charters (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 244.

53.SRO GD185, Box 2, Bundle 13 (Vol. IV), and Allan White, "The Impact of the Reformation on a Burgh Community: The Case of Aberdeen", in The Early Modern Town in Scotland, ed. Michael Lynch (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 90-1.

54.egs. Such donations came from James Ogilvy of Airlie, Thomas Rattray of Craighall, Lord Andrew Gray of Foulis, in 1487, 1489 and 1498, respectively, in SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1237-41.

55.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1237-8.

56.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. 357.

57.Gau, pp. 357-8.

58.Foundation charter of Biggar collegiate church cited by Rutherford, p. 36.

59.Walter Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1925), XVI, ll. 43-4, p. 274. The same sentiments were recorded from the oral tradition in the nineteenth century in the prayer "Praise of Mary":

Thou art the well of compassion,
Thou art the root of consolation,
Thou art the living stream of the virgins
and of them who bear child

in ed. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, Vol. III of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), p. 129. This prayer was recited by crofter Mary Maclellan.

60.Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 36-40, p. 274; William Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 49-50, p. 176; Robert Henryson, "The Annunciation", Poems, ed. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), l. 8, p. 127; ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 61, p. 324.

61.egs. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, BM Arundel Manuscript 285, ff. 193v and 213v, and Beaton Panel, Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

62.William Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 49-50, p. 176.

63.William Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 47-8, p. 162.

64.Ibid., ll. 67-8, p. 162.

65.ed. R.C. Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers 1531-1561 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1956), #155, p. 51.

66.Rutherford, p. 36, citing a letter to Cardinal Beaton in the foundation charter of the collegiate church of Biggar, 1546.

67. Letter of June 1517, in ed. Charles Rogers, Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail (London: Grampian Club, 1877), pp. 55-9.

68. SRO RH12/28.

69. This is made clear from the Highland prayer "Praise of Mary". In the prayer Mary was entreated to intercede with Jesus to help the supplicant succeed on the Day of Judgment: "Plead with thy gracious Son / That he make my prayer avail / My soul, and thereafter / My body." in Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, III, p. 127.

70. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clxxxxi.

71. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 217-23, p. 329 and Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clxxxiii-clxxxv.

72. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 217-23, p. 329.

73. Bennett, "The Thre Rois Garlandis", ll. 1-14, pp. 299 and editor's note, p. xxii-xxiii.

74. Annie I. Dunlop, The Life and Times of James Kennedy Bishop of St. Andrews (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), p. 410.

75. ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), #217, p. 119.

76. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #3010, p. 641.

77. Attributed to William Dunbar, "Ros mary most of wertewe virginale", 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), ll. 33-40, p. 272.

78. Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 45-8, p. 274.

79. Ibid., ll. 12-4, p. 273 and ll. 65-72, p. 275.

80. Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

81. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Stabat mater dolorosa", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 233-249 and 249-50, p. 286.

82. Note that clerics who celebrated Mary's Saturday mass benefited because they were traditionally rewarded by a promise of sure salvation.

83. ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. II, A.D. 1500-1504 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1900), p. 75.

84. ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), VII, pp. 117-8.

85. Bennett, "Thre Rois Garlandis", ll. 608-11, p. 321.

86. Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 58-64, p. 275.

87. eg. Sir David Lyndsay described John the Commonweill's face as lean in "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", John having fasted for Lent, in 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. 37.

88. P. Hume Brown, "Diary of Peder Swave", in Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1891), p. 56; ed. Thomas Thomson, A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have Passed within the Country of Scotland since the Death of King James the Fourth till the year M.D.LXXV (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833), p. 15, 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), Book 1, p. 96, and editor Laing citing Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, in Ibid., p. 96.

89. Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 17-24, p. 246.

90. Ibid., II, ll. 1-3, p. 245.

91. NLS AdvMS 18/8/14, p. 439.

92. cf. A document of 22 February, 1505/6, mentioned that there were images of Mary and Jesus at the altar of St. Mungo in the cathedral church of Glasgow which was under the patronage of the lay community of Glasgow, despite the fact that this altar was not a major one, 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), #149, pp. 334-5.

93. Walter Macleod (transcribed and summarised), Protocol Book of John Foular 9th March 1500-1 to 18th September 1503 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), #144, p. 127 regarding the appointment in 1502 of a chaplain by the patron Henry Bothwell (*Boithwile*).

94. ed. Robert Renwick, Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow, II (Wm. Hegait) supplement to Vol. I, #618, pp. 103 and 109-11, and Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 179.

95. SRO GD125/1.

96. Revelation XII:3-4.

97. Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 25-31, p. 161.

98. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2903, p. 617.
99. Michael Apter, The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), p. 2.
100. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Peeblesshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Aberdeen/Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press/Her Majesty's Stationery Office Press, 1967), p. 197. cf. The 1432 inventory of ornaments of the Cathedral of Glasgow, in John Dowden, "The Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Relicks, Vestments Service Books, etc. Belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432, Illustrated from Various Sources, and more particularly from the Inventories of the Cathdral of Aberdeen", Proceedings, Vol. IX, Third series (Edinburgh, 1898-9), XXXIII, pp. 280-329.
101. Bennett, "O Intemerata", ll. 193-4, pp. 284-5.
102. F.C. Eeles, "Medieval Stained Glass Recently Recovered from the Ruins of Holyrood Abbey Church", Proceedings, Vol. I, Fifth series (Edinburgh, 1914-5), p. 87, and Charles Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland with the Register of the Chapel Royal of Stirling. Edinburgh: Grampian Club, 1882), p. xlix. Note that the friary of the Dominicans of Glasgow was dedicated to Mary and St. John the Evangelist, and the seal of Prior John Spens (1517-9) showed St. John the Evangelist holding the sword of God in one hand and the chalice in the other. Above the chalice were three nails, thereby combining imagery of the Last Supper and the Passion, in James Murray Mackinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural Dedications, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910), p. 290. Note that the popularity of the nails as a symbol of the Passion in Scotland is not echoed elsewhere in Europe.
103. SRO GD98/11/8. Then on 30 June, the masons and wrights demonstrated that they had every intention of properly supporting "God's service" at the altar, by officially assigning their weekly penny to support divine services at their new altar, in SRO GD98/11/10.
104. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #536, pp. 1119-20.
105. Bennett, "O Intemerata", l. 199, p. 285. cf. Ibid., l. 189, p. 284.
106. Ibid., ll. 205-7, p. 285.
107. Ibid., ll. 207-10, p. 285.
108. Ibid., ll. 210-17, p. 285.
109. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", l. 291, p. 332.
110. R.M. Urquhart, Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry (London: Heraldry Today, 1973), p. 238 and W. Ellwood Post, Saints Signs and Symbols, Second edition (London: SPCK, 1962), p. 11.

111. John Malden, The Abbey and Monastery of Paisley (Renfrew District Council, 1993), p. 13.

112. The clergy agreed with the laity's desire to combine the intercessory powers of Jesus' mother and grandmother. Mr James Houston, subdeacon of Glasgow, made a lavish collegiate foundation in 1549, dedicated to Mary, ever virgin, mother of God, and lord Jesus Christ and St. Anne, her mother, in NLS AdvMS 9A/1/12, p. 1.

113. Mackinlay, I, p. 87.

114. SRO GD220/2/1.

115. Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

116. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 291, p. 332.

117. Mackinlay, I, p. 66. cf. Jung's discussion of the "ka-mutef" or "procreative force" which unites Father and Son into one "soul" or "life" which is abstracted from nature, and which functions as the "breath of life" or "spiration of the Godhead", in C.J. "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity", in Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), pp. 53-7. Jung's conception of the Holy Spirit as related to the "ka-mutef" is useful in discussions of the close association of the dove (Holy Spirit) and Mary, for the most common artistic images of the dove in the period 1480 to 1560 were those associated with Annunciation, just prior to the impregnation of Mary.

118. Mackinlay, I, p. 64.

119. Ibid., I, p. 64.

120. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 316-9, p. 332.

121. cf. Malcolm, Lord Fleming, founded the collegiate church of Biggar in 1546 under the title and invocation of the Assumption of the Virgin, and in the belief that the mass could snatch souls from purgatory and take them to heaven, in Rutherford, p. 28.

122. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 235-41, p. 330.

123. Mackinlay, I, p. 93.

124. Garrido Boñano, "El Servicio a la Virgen en los Himnos Medievales", in La Consagración a María. Teología - Historia - Espiritualidad, Vol. LI of Estudios Marianos (Salamanca: Sociedad Mariologica Espanola, 1986), p. 74.

125. Norman F. Shead, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", IR (Glasgow, 1970), XXI, p. 15 and McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", p. 44.

126. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum, Mackinlay, I, p. 111, one depiction of her crowned in use at least from 1472, in Urquhart, p. 80, Bennett, "The Thre Rois Garlandis", ll. 588 and 590, p. 320, Henryson, "The Annunciation", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), l.

72, p. 201, 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, and "The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay", The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, I, p. 23, respectively.

127. John of Ireland, "Incipiunt Versus de Beata Virgine et de Domino Nostro Jhesu Xristo", in Book Two of The Meroure of Wyssdome, ed. C. MacPherson, Vol. I of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1926), l. 1, p. 174.

128. In the prayer "Praise of Mary", she was described as:

Thou Queen of the angels,
Thou Queen of the kingdom,
Thou Queen of the city
Of glory . . .

In the prayer "God of the Moon", Mary's role as powerful heavenly queen was matched by her role as powerful intervener in earthly affairs. The emphasis on Mary's intervention in daily life may have been partially a product of the Scots' life close to nature, both land and sea.

Thou art the star of morning,
Thou art the star of watching,
Thou art the star of the Son of the Father
Of glory.
Thou art the corn of the land,
Thou art the treasury of the sea,
The wished-for visitant in the homes
Of the world,

in Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, III, p. 127. It is worthwhile noting that the physical environment and social class of Scots had great bearing on their conceptions of Mary's nature and role. That is, while most Scots viewed her as guide and protector, the fishermen and farmers of the Highland communities of the nineteenth century placed Mary closely within the context of the natural world, seeing her as a "guiding star" in their daily lives. Much of this chapter deals with the daily environment and concerns of burgh-dwellers, lairds and magnates, most of whom were not directly responsible for producing food to sustain themselves. Thus their conceptions of Mary focussed more closely on her intercession with powerful supernatural beings at the Day of Judgment and on her role as guide to personal holiness, and less on her ability to guide and intervene in earthly life. If one is to attempt to understand the attitudes and preoccupations of the farmers and fishermen of the late medieval Scottish period, it is useful to look at the attitudes of their more modern counterparts, as attitudes and behaviour are not only dependent upon the time period, but also upon the daily activities and physical environment of the believers.

129. William Dunbar, "Quhone He List to Feyne", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 38-9, p. 100, and Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 37-8, p. 161 and ll. 51-2, p. 162.

- 130.A.H. Millar, "Notice of Ecclesiastical Music Found in a Burgh Charter Room of Dundee", Proceedings, Vol. II, Fourth series (Edinburgh, 1903-4), XXXVIII, p. 483.
131. Anonymous, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Asloan Manuscript, II, l. 1, p. 245 and ll. 17-9, p. 246.
132. Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, l. 41, p. 274.
133. Ibid., ll. 17 and 10-1, p. 273 and ll. 70-2, p. 275. Note that this reference to Mary's "beriale bosome" reminded the reader of Mary's purity, which allowed the Incarnation to take place, and the laity to have great hopes of Mary's ability to successfully intercede with God, for He had extremely high expectations of spiritual purity.
134. Malden, p. 21.
135. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clxxxxi-clxxxxii.
136. Malden, p. 21.
137. Ibid., p. 21 and Urquhart, p. 79, which states that the carving dates from the sixteenth century or earlier.
138. Bennett, "O Clementissime", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 88, p. 281, and Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, l. 9, p. 273. cf. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 266-8, p. 331.
139. ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Obsecro", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 75-110, pp. 292-3.
140. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", ll. 48-55, p. 296. cf. An antiphon was requested by Archbishop of Glasgow Robert Blackadder of the vicars of the choir in his foundation of 1507, in Shead, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow". p. 15 and McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", p. 44.
141. SRO CC9/7/1, SRO CC20/4/1 and SRO CC8/8/1A, passim.
142. Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", ll. 79-84, p. 297.
143. Bennett, "Obsecro", ll. 75-83, p. 292.
144. ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), XIXB, p. 107.
145. The laity relied on saints, particularly Mary, and on establishing a relationship with Jesus such that He would mediate with God the Judge on the Day of Judgment. This indicates that the laity felt that there was more to be done to become acceptable to God and reach heaven than simply believing in Jesus and the power of His Passion. Laypeople needed to be spiritually purified, in life and after death, and have the support of powerful supernatural

beings, in order to be considered acceptable to God. The pleas to Mary and Jesus for aid and intercession in such places as BM Arundel MS 285 support this interpretation of lay attitudes in late medieval Scotland.

146.Thomson, Macdonald and Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, II, p. 236.

147.Bennett, "Obsecro", l. 97, p. 292.

148.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Illustrissima et excellentissima", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 102-3, p. 282.

149.Bennett, "O Clementissime", ll. 96-7, p. 281.

150.cf. A capital in the Arbuthnott Missal portrayed the feet of Jesus as he ascended into heaven. Mary was the central figure of the illumination, surrounded as she was by the apostles. She was also central to a representation of the Pentecost in the same Missal, in Paisley Museum, Paisley.

151.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Orisouns", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 302-3, p. 288.

152.Bauckham, p. 157.

153.Jung, answers to questions from Rev. David Cox, in "Jung and Religious Belief", in Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), p. 294.

154.Solomon's Song V:1.

155.Bennett, "Obsecro", ll. 120 and 121, p. 293.

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

157.Jung, correspondence with H. L. Philp, in Jung and the Problem of Evil, in "Jung and Religious Belief", in Psychology and Western Religion, trans. R.F.C. Hull (Lodnon: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), p. 265.

158.Ibid., pp. 265 and 267.

159.Ibid., p. 267.

160.Bennett, "O Illustrissima et excellentissima", ll. 101-3, 120-1 and 113-5, p. 282.

161.National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

162.Attributed to Dunbar, "Ros Mary: Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 36, p. 175.

163.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", l. 291, p. 332.

164. Virgin Mary and child and King Hezekiah, according to Beles, probably from a window representing the Tree of Jesse, in Beles, "Medieval Stained Glass Recently Recovered from the Ruins of Holyrood Abbey Church", p. 87.

165. Charles Carter, "The Arma Christi in Scotland", Proceedings (Edinburgh, 1959), LXXXX, p. 126.

166. F.C. Beles, "Notes on a Missal Formerly used in St. Nicholas, Aberdeen", Proceedings, Vol. IX, Third series (Edinburgh, 1899), XXXIII, p. 441.

167. Urquhart, p. 238.

168. Bauckham, p. 156-7.

169. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxliiii and clxxxxi.

170. Anonymous, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 31-2, p. 246. cf. English miracles about Mary insisted that she could prevent criminals from being hanged, in Bauckham, p. 155.

171. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland of 1551 inveighed against the printing of books unreviewed by the authorities, those regarding the faith, ballads, songs and blasphemous rhymes against ecclesiastical and secular authorities, in Thomson and Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, II, pp. 488-9, Ibid., 17 July, 1525, to prevent strangers from spreading heretical opinions throughout Scotland, in Ibid., II, p. 295, with a 1535 re-issuing of the act, in Ibid., II, pp. 341-2, with a confusing message to the laity by Robert, Lord Maxwell suggesting that the laity be allowed to read the Bible in the vernacular, in Ibid., II, p. 415. Note the accounting of 1558, in ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. X. A.D. 1551-1559 (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1913, pp. 369-70, where Edinburgh citizens were ordered to appear in court to defend against accusations that they debated on erroneous opinions and the Bible, ate meat at Lent, and engaged in other activities contrary to the parliamentary acts.

172. Bennett, "O Clementissime", l. 98, p. 281. Note that this celebratory prayer was written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

173. eg. 1518 decret arbitral for Bishop Argyll to appoint a "man of knaulege to teach and preach in the diocese of Argyll so the people would learn to live righteously", in Robert Kerr Hannay, Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1932), p. 131. cf. Testimony from James IV in a letter to Pope Julius II that the Observant Franciscans faithfully proclaimed Christ's word, in 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. 54-5 and Thomson, A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, p. 15.

174. cf. 1549 decree of the provincial council of Scotland that bishops and ordinaries were to preach at least four times each year in person. Licensed preachers were to give sermons and theologians

were to advise the preachers, in Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559, #188, pp. 98-9.

175.Bennett, "Thre Rois Garlandis", ll. 594-6, p. 320.

176.Bennett, "O Intemerata", ll. 184-5, p. 284.

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

178.John Durkan and Anthony Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1961), p. 127.

179.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 149, 150-1, 153-8, p. 327.

180.Alan Watts, Myth and Ritual in Christianity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1954), pp. 102-4, who noted that without Mary there would have been no redemption through Jesus, and BM Arundel MS 285, ff. 193v and 213v, with a rayed dove in a corner of the Annunciation scene.

181.Revelation XII:1-9.

182.John of Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, ed. Charles MacPherson, Vol. I of 2 vols., New Series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1926), Chapter 8, l. 2-9, p. 98.

183.Revelation XII:6.

184.Revelation XII:1. cf. The "rubric" of the devotional work "Thre Rois Garlandis" in BM Arundel Manuscript 285 referred to the psalter as the "goldin croun of Mary", in Bennett, "Thre Rois Garlandis", p. 299.

185.Urquhart, pp. 223-4.

186.Revelation XII:4.

187.Solomon's Song VI:10.

188.Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 29-30, p. 161.

189.Bennett, "O Illustrissima et excellentissima", l. 107, p. 282, "Thre Rois Garlandis", ll. 581-3, p. 320, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 86-7, p. 325, ll. 213-5, p. 329, ll. 166-8, p. 328 and ll. 119-20, p. 326.

190.Kennedy, "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, l. 71, p. 275. cf. The term "mother of mycht" appeared in the "Ave Gloriosa", in Bennett, "Ave Gloriosa", l. 88, p. 297.

191.Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 239-41, p. 330.

192.Bennett, "O Intemerata", ll. 207-10, p. 285.

193. Dunbar, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 67-8, p. 162.
194. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 376-7, p. 334.
195. Ibid., ll. 138-41, p. 327, ll. 271-4, p. 331, ll. 277-80, p. 331, ll. 316-7, p. 332, ll. 220-2, p. 329.
196. cf. One definition of a cult is that it is a collectivity centred around a figure, whose followers believe that their lives are made better through activities honouring the saint or demanded by the saint, in Michael P. Carroll, The Cult of the Virgin Mary. Psychological Origins (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. xi. Carroll's definition is relevant to the cult of Mary in Scotland in the period 1480 to 1560.
197. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", ll. 5-6, p. 322.
198. Mackinlay, I, p. 125 regarding augury, and pp. 114-28, *passim*.
199. Bryce, II, pp. 133-4.
200. Thomson, Macdonald and Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, II, p. 232.
201. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum, II, pp. 74, 79, and 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), pp. 176 and 187.
202. Rutherford, p. 27.
203. Ibid., "Register of Services", pp. 34-5.
204. ed. James D. Marwick, Charters and Documents Relating to the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity, and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh. A.D. 1460-1661. Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871), pp. 25-6.
205. Thus John Adamson, elder, founded an obit at the chaplainry of St. Barnabas at the altar of the Virgin Mary in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh, on 23 March 1519/20. By honouring both saints in this fashion Adamson would benefit from their combined prayers, in Wood, Protocol Book of John Foular 1514-1528, #54, p. 49.
206. Note that Robert Begys also founded an altar to St. Bridget in the parish church of Linlithgow, for in 1534 James Robeson (*Robisoun*) donated land to pay for prayers for the souls of Begys. Further, Begys displayed the growing lay desire to emphasise the humanity of Jesus, and therefore humanity's right to God's mercy through Jesus' Passion, by emphasising Jesus' human family. That is, Begys also founded an altar of St. Anne in the parish church of St. Michael, Linlithgow, in eds. James Beveridge and James Russell, Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun, Vol. I (Protocol Books) (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1920), #75, p. 15 and #174, p. 34.

207. See Note #212.

208. Of course, the fact that there were two altars dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church may have made the use of Begys' name a matter of convenience, in that use of his name ensured that there would be no confusion as to which altar was meant in a later mass or obit foundation.

209. SRO GD76/50.

210. Beveridge and Russell, Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun, 1528-1578, I, #75, p. 15.

211. Ibid., I, #236 and #237, p. 47. Note that Marion Weir, the spouse of a James Robeson (*Robesoun*) in Linlithgow, founded an obit on 18 July, 1518, stipulating the involvement of thirteen chaplains and the parish clerk. Clearly she was making preparations for death, since Robesoun's wife Agnes Livingston was donating money to the Begys altar in 1534, in SRO GD76/49. Note also that it was Weir herself who was founding the obit, albeit with the consent of her husband, providing further evidence of the trend established in Ayr, where men did not make obit foundations as promptly for wives as wives did for their husbands. cf. Chapter 6.

212. Ibid., I, #353, p. 70. Note that, in keeping with the growing desire of the laity to control the execution of religious foundations, Wawane named the chaplains who were to take part in the obit celebrations. These were the chaplains of the altars of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Holy Cross, Holy Blood, St. John the Evangelist, St. Andrew, St. Ninian and the Blessed Virgin Mary founded by "Begis". Note that, apart from Sts. Andrew and Ninian, testimony to the laity's support for a few, select Scottish saints, all of the altars chosen by Wawane for celebration of his obit honoured saints associated with the Day of Judgment, and the two altars dedicated to Mary and the two honouring Jesus' Passion reflected the laity's growing emphasis on Jesus and Mary as guarantors of salvation.

213. ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. IV of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1907), p. 276.

214. In the Ayrshire case study in Chapter 6, most male obit founders placed the obit for themselves and their wives on their own date of death, so Lord Gray was unusual in this respect. However, although Lord Gray did not wait until the time of his own death to found the obit, nevertheless he did not found the obit until at least fifteen years after the death of Keith. Therefore Lord Gray cannot have been as worried about his late wife's soul as other founders were, who founded obits immediately after the death of their spouse. cf. Chapter 6 for a discussion of the gender differences in choice of obit celebration date.

215. SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1240-1.

216. Note Richard Hopper's foundation of 17 January, 1502/3, at the altar of the Visitation of the Virgin, St. Roche at St. Giles church, Edinburgh, in Bryce, II, p. 197, which included an obit

requirement very closely defined to ensure proper execution. Note that Hopper also founded an obit for himself at the altar of St. Roche in the Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, in 1505, in ed. Marguerite Wood, Protocol Book of John Foular 1503-1513, Vol. I. (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1941), #117, p. 21.

217. A chaplainry was founded at the altar of the Virgin Mary and confirmed on 28 April, 1486 by James III, along with a daily service of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and church bells were dedicated to her as well, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 1, #1650, p. 348 and R. Fraser, "The Story of Lochmaben Kirk", Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Third series (Dumfries, 1933-5), XIX, p. 298, and James Barbour, "The Greyfriars Convent of Dumfries", in Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (Dumfries, 1910-1), p. 100.

218. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2549, p. 541.

219. Ibid., II, Part 2, #2903, p. 617.

220. A representative survey of fifteen foundations revealed four foundations in the 1480's, five in the 1490's, four in the 1500's and two in the 1520's, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 1, #1586, pp. 333-4, Ibid., II, Part 2, #1987, p. 417, #2044, p. 430-1, #2131, p. 451, #2903, p. 617, #2867, p. 609, #2549, p. 541, 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), Part 1, #563, p. 125, SRO GD16, GD79, GD125/1, passim, William Fraser, The Douglas Book, Vol. II of 4 vols., Angus Memoirs (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 619, Bryce, II, p. 197, Beveridge and Russell, Protocol Books of Thomas Johnstoun, 1528-1578, I, #10, pp. 2-3. cf. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #2333, p. 496 and ed. John Durkan, Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528-34 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1985), X, #204, pp. 68-9.

221. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #2131, p. 451.

222. Ibid., II, Part 2, #2131, p. 451.

223. Note that Murray also was obliged to carry out a penitential act; he was ordered to come to the market cross of Edinburgh or Dumfries, in traditional linen garb, and there to plead forgiveness of the Maxwells, and also to send three men to Rome on pilgrimage. The new Lord Maxwell also had to take part in this penitential rite, and pay for a priest to sing for three of Murray's friends in Ruthwell Church, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, I, p. 220 and ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VI of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1909), p. 477. Note that in the period under study, this penitential ritual was a popular means of achieving reconciliation between warring parties. The ritual was based upon the penitential rituals of the church. In the post-Reformation period the rituals carried out as recompense for sins, particularly sexual sins, greatly resembled these pre-Reformation penitential rites.

224.cf. Appointing powerful laymen as patrons continued to be popular. When Alexander Rattray (*Retray*) in Pitcur, Angus, augmented an altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Caithness on 31 January 1532/3, he appointed George Haliburton (*Halyburtoun*) of Gask and his heirs as patrons after his death, as he needed someone to ensure the removal of any chaplain who feued mills or lands, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #1279, p. 279. Note that the Maxwells themselves were firm believers in the spiritual efficacy of prayers for dead souls. For example, Janet Maxwell, Lady of Tinwald, founded a high mass each Sunday, Wednesday and Friday for the souls of her first husband Edward Maxwell, herself, her parents, predecessors and successors in the parish church of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire, in 1549, in Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers 1531-61, #129, p. 44.

225.Parish clerks had a variety of duties, including accompanying the priest on calls to the sick in their homes, ringing the bell and carrying the light, and each week acting as exorcist in laypeople's homes by sprinkling them with holy water. Parish clerks could also act as notaries public. Parish clerks could also be expected to do military duty, despite canon law's prohibition against the carrying of arms. Parish clerks could hire substitutes to carry out their duties, if the parish clerks themselves wished to engage in trade and/or were not in minor orders so could not carry out spiritual duties, which made this office of the church open to abuse, in Denis McKay, "The Duties of the Medieval Parish Clerk", IR (Glasgow, Spring, 1968), XIX, 1, pp. 33, 36-8 and passim. However, certainly not all parish clerks were abusing their position, the laity making sure that parish clerks fulfilled their duties properly. For example, on 11 March, 1545/6, the Crown gave an exemption from military duty to George Johnson (*Johnsoun*), burgess of Perth and parish clerk of Fortingall (*Fortirgill*), Perthshire, so that he could concentrate on his duties as parish clerk. He was said to be sickly, feeble and weak; if forced to fulfil his military duties, he would be in danger of losing his position as parish clerk, in Fleming and Beveridge, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, #1583, p. 252.

226.For a discussion of parish clerk elections, see Denis McKay, "The Election of Parish Clerks in Medieval Scotland", IR (Spring, 1967), XVIII, 1, pp. 25-35 and "The Induction of the Parish Clerk in Medieval Scotland", IR (Spring, 1969), XX, 1, pp. 59-67. A study of parish clerk voting patterns reveals that the involvement of women was significant, the percentage of women voters sometimes as high as 16%. Election records often named every voter, voters being deemed the *major et sanior pars* of the community. Parish clerk elections could offer some insight into "political" life at the parish level, particularly the role of late medieval Scottish women of burgess class, whose history is largely unwritten. McKay's one paragraph discussion of the role of women in parish clerk elections emphasised the unusual nature of female involvement in "politics"; although they had "no voice in law", they could vote in parish clerk elections if they fulfilled the property qualification. McKay downplayed the role of women voters, stating that their "participation was not considered essential and many elections were carried out by men only". In fact, very few elections had no women voting, and 15% female involvement, which McKay admits was "not

unusual", is certainly worth considering, in McKay, "The Election of Parish Clerks in Medieval Scotland", pp. 30 and 33. In modern political terms, a block of even 10% can be extremely significant, given that it may have constituted the women most active locally. A random sample of eight parish clerk elections from 1500 to 1550 yielded the following results: 16% (women voters) in Daviot, Aberdeenshire (1500), 13% in Coylton, Ayrshire (1513), 7% in Mauchline parish, Ayrshire (1524), 7% in Auchinleck, Ayrshire (1527), 16% in Leochel (*Loquehell*), Aberdeenshire (1524), 6% in Cumnock, Ayrshire (1531) and 12% in Daviot, Aberdeenshire (1550). In this small sample, an average of 1 in 10 voters was a woman, and sometimes as many as 1 in 7 voters was a woman, delivering an average of 10% female voters, but demonstrating that the percentage could vary considerably, in ed. R.H. Lindsay, Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone 1518-1551 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), (Protocol Books), I, #420 and 443-4, pp. 99-100 and 104-5, eds. John Anderson and Francis J. Grant, Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, N.P. 1512-1532 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1908), (Protocol Books), I, #726-8, pp. 127-8, #777, p. 138, and #31, p. 7.

227.ed. Marguerite Wood, Protocol Book of John Foular 1514-1528, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1953), #3, pp. 1-2.

228.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2867, p. 609.

229.Bryce, II, pp. 263-4.

230.MacGibbon and Ross, III, p. 235. Note that on 30 May, 1505, Arbuthnott made a "chaplainry" foundation at the great altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary next to the choir of the parish church of St. Tiernan, this reference no doubt being to the chaplainry which was to function in this new aisle. The financing was generous, including 14 merks 6s. 8d. in annual rents as well as the usual land and house for the chaplain, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli, II, #2867, p. 609.

231.The following information is intended to give some idea of the structure of liturgical devotion to Mary, and the effect this had on the publication of devotional literature such as the Prayer Book commissioned by Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Marian devotion in church took a standard form by the late Middle Ages, and usually included the following elements (eg. as would appear in a fifteenth missal of the Sarum Use):

1. Six major feasts of Our Lady:

- a) Purification
- b) Annunciation
- c) Nativity
- d) Assumption (major feast)
- e) Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary
(approved by Rome in 1477)
- f) Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The feasts of the Assumption, Visitation and Conception also had octaves, which had special sequence hymns in plainsong which praised Mary. The *Gloria in excelsis* on festival days mentioned her (eg. as "Mother Mary").

2. Five seasonal votive masses of Our Lady.
3. A mass in remembrance of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
4. *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* in the Preparation (Order of the Mass).
5. A daily mass to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in cathedrals, preceded by the recitation of the *Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (popularised by the Cistercians), with the clergy genuflecting at each Ave.
6. Literate laity were encouraged to use the *Little Office of Our Lady* as the clergy did, which led to the appearance of manuscript prayer manuals known as Primers. The Primers had a full set of Hours of Our Lady, penitential psalms, the Litany of the saints, and offices of the dead.
7. Anthems *Salve Regina* and *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, anthems which were part of the breviary office and which were popular with laypeople as well.

in Horace Keast, Our Lady in England. A Panorama of Marian Culture and Devotion in England from Anglo-Saxon Times down to the Present (Helston: Society of Mary, 1984), pp. 21-2.

232.W.M. Metcalfe, The Arbuthnott MSS: A Description (Paisley: Alexander Gardner), pp. 6 and 8.

233.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #1987, p. 417.

234.Paul and Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #171, pp. 37-8.

235.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), p. 66. Note also that on 4 July, 1516, Wallis paid £2 13s. 4d. in annual rents to his newly founded altar, in Lawson, p. 74.

236.SRO RH1/2/339. A similar type of emphasis can be seen in the posthumous augmentation of the late John, Earl of Crawford. He had wished to emphasise Mary's role as mother of Jesus by donating £10 in annual rents to the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Three Kings in the parish church of Dundee, Angus, this occurring in 1517. This altar had been founded by the late George, Bishop of Dunkeld, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #157, p. 34.

237.Carter, p. 73.

238.Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 218. Note that the prebends founded at Cullen reveal the major concerns of the period. Apart from the prebendary dedicated to Mary herself, the humanity of Jesus was emphasised through the foundation dedicated to his grandmother, St. Anne, and the value of His Passion was emphasised through the foundation of the Holy Cross.

239.Munro, Records of Old Aberdeen 1498-1903, II, pp. 267-8.

240. Sir Robert Arbuthnott's foundation of an aisle or chapel in his parish church of St. Tiernan of Arbuthnott at the end of the fifteenth century was dedicated to the glorious Virgin, emphasising the power of Mary through her absolute purity, in Arbuthnott Psalter, page facing "kalendar", Paisley Museum.

241. Mackinlay, I, p. 111.

242. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part I, #1474, p. 326.

243. Ibid., III, Part 1, #41, p. 8 and Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2905, p. 617, respectively.

244. Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, II, p. 261.

245. Bryce, II, pp. 135-7.

246. SRO CC8/8/1A.

247. On 5 March, 1500/1, David Strachan (*Strathauchin*) of Carmyllie, Angus, founded a chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Carmyllie. He stated that he wished the foundation to benefit the souls of the kings of Scotland, William, Bishop of Brechin, and Strachan and his spouse Janet (*Jonete*) Drummond. Strachan appeared in the records of the Great Seal as a player in the feuding of the noble classes. On 21 March, 1497/8, Robert Liddale received remission for his crime of forethought felony against David Strachan of Carmyllie and Henry Crichton (*Creichtoune*). Liddale had also attacked the property of Thomas Maule, elder, of Panmure, knight, reflecting the level of inter-connectedness of the lives of lairdly families in this area, whether by marriage, feuding, witnessing each others deeds, or being involved in local and/or national politics, in SRO GD45/27/13 and Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #3684, p. 797.

248. SRO GD45/27/10. By 1490, Maule had a chapel in his house of Panmure, which may well have been this same chapel, but consecrated by this date, in Mackinlay, I, p. 101.

249. James IV planned this foundation in the late fifteenth century, and by the early sixteenth century the kirk of Steill, known as the Ladykirk, was being constructed in the parish of Upsettlington, in Norman Macdougall, James IV (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), p. 219.

250. Mackinlay, I, p. 111.

251. Beveridge and Russell, Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun, 1528-1578, I, #10, pp. 23. cf. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #2333, pp. 496 and Mackinlay, I, p. 93.

252. Bain and 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, I, #537, p. 511.

253. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1528-1557 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871), p. 261.

254. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, pp. 162-8.

255. SRO GD79/88.

256. eg. 1491 donation of 12d. annual rent, and 1521 (CHECK DATE) donation of 2s. annual rent by burgess Robert Adamson to the Leper Hospital and attached chapel of St. Ninian, citing his zeal of charity, devotion to God, the Virgin Mary and the angels, and a wish to spiritually assist the souls of himself, his family and his predecessors and successors, in ed. James D. Marwick, Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow 1649-1707, II, with appendix 1434-1648 (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1906), pp. 471-3 and 491-3.

257. eg. 1553 foundation of chapel and hospital (£50 foundation) by Issobelle Mauchan (*Mauchane*), for perpetual prayers for her soul by four bedesmen, and their material support, along with the prayers of a resident chaplain, in Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, IV, #950, p. 213.

258. SRO RH2/1/20, p. 1, f. 1a.

259. SRO GD76/151. Note that there was a leper house in Dundee, in Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 174.

260. Mackinlay, I, pp. 31-3.

261. ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. V of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1852), XXIV, p. 298.

262. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, p. 226.

263. Ibid., I, pp. 33-4.

264. Ibid., I, pp. 31-3.

265. Cowan and Easson, p. 226, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Peeblesshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, II, p. 209.

266. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #1029, p. 226. cf. Mr Martin Rede founded prebends in the college of Mary and St. Anne, Glasgow founded by Sir James Houston.

267. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, p. 226.

268. Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus. Note also that there was an image of Mary on the bell in Guthrie church, in Mackinlay, p. 84.

269. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IV, p. 177.

270. When it founded its chaplainry of St. Mark at St. Michael's altar in the parish church of St. Mary, Dundee, in 1525, the walker craft diverted fines for breaking craft rules to Our Lady light, these fines to be paid in wax, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, #435, p. 97. In 1517 the candlemaker craft of Edinburgh was still attempting to finance its own craft altar. However, in the interim the souls of the members had to be cared for, so they diverted all fines for disobeying the deacon to the altar of our Lady. The fine was to be one pound of wax to the altar, 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. 171.

271. eds. J. Imrae, T.I. Rae and W.D. Ritchie, The Burgh Court Book of Selkirk, 1503-45 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1960), XXXI, p. 213.

272. Another example of lavish accoutrements were the arrangements made for Crail collegiate church, founded in 1509 by Sir William Morton (*Myrtoun*), who was largely responsible for the lavishness of the altar appurtenances. In 1528 it was noted that the Lady aisle had a great chalice, silver double gilt, weighing 24 ounces, and a great chalice, single gilt, weighing 17 ounces. The other altars founded in the church revealed the desire of their founders to solicit the prayers of saints most likely to ensure salvation. Thus St. Nicholas, St. Michael (founded by Morton in 1512), and St. John the Evangelist were all represented, but the altar dedicated to Mary in the Lady aisle had the most costly chalices next to those of the great altar, even the Rude altar being less well-endowed, in NLS AdvMS 34/4/6, ff. 108r-109v. Morton founded this altar in 1514, then gave control of the altar to the bailies and community of Crail, in MacGibbon and Ross, III, p. 264.

273. See Note #335.

274. SRO GD15/16/01.

275. Arbuthnott Psalter, Paisley Museum.

276. Beveridge and Russell, Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun 1528-1578, #11, p. 3.

277. eds. Alexander Macdonald and James Dennistoun, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. III of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1843), p. 204.

278. NLS AdvMS 34/4/6, f. 108v.

279. SRO GD1/482/1, f. 7r. The guild meeting at which the arrival of the image was reported also included the election of Thomas Rynd as deacon of the goldsmith craft. It is possible that Rynd was a relative of Alexander Rynd, whose own father was Henry, a burgess. Alexander made an obit foundation in 1524, in Wood, Protocol Book of James Foular, 1514-28, Vols. II and III, #367, p. 125 and Wood, Protocol book of James Foular, #427, p. 77.

280. Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers 1531-1561, #96, p. 35.

281. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2910, p. 618. The "Guthrie Panel" painting of the Day of Judgment portrayed the living and the dead as they passed before God in judgment, portraying the laity's conception of the most critical moment in the afterlife - final judgment. Artists and writers emphasised this event to encourage the laity's pursuit of personal holiness and its participation in church rituals in order to achieve spiritual acceptability in preparation for the Day of Judgment, in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

282. Guthrie aisle, Guthrie, Angus.

283. Glasgow Cathedral, Lanarkshire, The Glasgow Herald, 23 July, 1957, p. 5, and the testament of Mary Seton (b. 1541), to whom Mary, Queen of Scots gave the watch. In this testament of 1602, Seton gave the watch to her executor Mr Anthony of Beauchesne, priest and subchanter in the church of Rheims, France, in George Seton, A History of the Family of Seton (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1896), II, pp. 962-3. Note also that a watch or clock was a symbol of mortality, reminding laypeople of the passage of time and the inevitability of death. cf. The similar imagery in a painting of James VI's first cousin, Lady Arabella Stuart (1575-1615), c. 1605, in which she holds a watch, in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

284. Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), ll. 9-16, p. 205 and ll. 52-6, p. 206.

285. MacGibbon and Ross, III, p. 399.

286. cf. Warnings of William Dunbar in "The Maner of Passing to Confessioun", in The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 167-9, Robert Henryson in "The Thre Deid Pollis", in Poems, ed. and intro. Charles Elliott, Second edition, Medieval and Tudor Series, gen. ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 134-5, 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), p. 3, and 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, regarding the laity's tendency to avoid thinking on death until late in life.

287. Guthrie aisle, Guthrie, Angus.

288. In a larger institution, such as Seton collegiate church, burial near the high altar also invariably brought one closer to the statue and/or image and/or side altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the next most powerful intercessor with God, in Seton collegiate church, East Lothian. It is not surprising that the tradition of centuries persisted despite changing denominational loyalties, and that 330 years after the Reformation, Jane Guthrie decided to restore her family's Catholic chapel, in which were lodged so many centuries of Guthrie prayers and hopes of salvation.

289.Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, p. 219, SRO GD1/640/2, and MacGibbon and Ross, III, pp. 180, 185 and 188. Note that it was Home and his spouse Helen Schaw who together donated 40s. of annual rents to the altar of St. Cuthbert from the lands of Vigorushauch on 16 September, 1503, in GD1/640/2/557.

290.egs. 1501 soul masses at Linlithgow and Cambuskenneth, in Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, II, pp. 73-4.

291.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), p. 82.

292.ed. James Beveridge, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. IV, A.D. 1548-1556 (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1952), #1592, p. 259 and Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, X, p. 216.

293.eg. There were no payments from 1542-9, but £53 6s. 8d. was paid in 1550, in Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IX, p. 449. cf. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, V, pp. 82, 199 and 438, IX, p. 449, X, pp. 133, 216 and 444, ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. VII, A.D. 1538-1541 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1907), pp. 335 and 479, and Beveridge, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, IV, #1592, p. 259.

294.Patrick, Lord Gray, concerned himself with appointments to his collegiate church of Foulis Easter throughout the 1550's. For example, he appointed Sir David Sym to the prebendary of Cuthilbank and Bowhouse, Angus, in 1550, James MacCartney (*Makeartnay*) to the prebendary of Ballumbie, Angus, in 1554, and Sir John Mortimer to the prebend of the teind sheaves of the town lands of Ester and Wester Keith, in Lundie, Angus, in 1558, in SRO RH2/1/20, f. 20b, pp. 17-8, SRO RH2/1/22, f. 3, p. 163 and SRO RH2/1/22, f. 15, pp. 179-80.

295.Seton, A History of the Family of Seton, II, pp. 774-7, and Seton collegiate church, East Lothian.

296.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #1403, pp. 309-10.

297.McRoberts, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", p. 44.

298.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #722, p. 157.

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, I, Book 2, p. 324.

Alexander Scott also made reference to the use made of the shrine of Loreto as a trysting ground for lovers, although not in the outraged moral tones of Lyndsay. In his poem "Of May", written prior to the Reformation, Scott discusse the many popular pleasures engaged in during the month of May:

In May goes maidens to Lareit,

And has their minions [lovers] on the street
 To horse [carry] them where the gait [road] is ruch [rough]:
 Some at Inchbuckling Brae they meet,
 Some in the midst of Mussilburch.

in Alexander Scott, "Of May", The Poems of Alexander Scott (c.1530 - c.1584), ed. Alexander Scott (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1952), ll 56-60, p. 35.

300.ed. R.C. Reid, Wigtownshire Charters, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1960), LI, p. 231-2.

301.Annie I. Dunlop, "Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland", RSCHS (Glasgow, 1966), XV, p. 163.

302.Bennett, "O Clementissime", ll. 83-4, 89 and 91, p. 281. The traditional Dawn Prayer of the Clanranald, sung at sea, referred to Mary as the fair maiden of the sea, and a nineteenth century Highland "Prayer to Mary Mother" celebrated her care and concern on land and sea:

Since thou art the star of ocean
 Pilot me at sea;
 Since thou art the star of earth
 Guide thou me on shore."

in ed. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, III, #255, p. 125.

303.Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, VII, p. 24.

304.Carter, p. 73 and Urquhart, p. 247.

305.Urquhart, p. 186.

306.MacGibbon and Ross, III, pp. 369-70.

307.William Dunbar, "Of the Warldis Vanitie", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 9-13, p. 151.

308.Russel Walker, "'Holy Wells' in Scotland", Proceedings (Edinburgh, 1883), XVII, p. 163.

309.The chapel and well of St. Mary of Grace, on the bank of the Spey River near Fochabers, Moray, was a popular pilgrimage centre, and belief in the utility of visiting the site lasted through to Reformation times. On 14 September, 1636, the Presbytery of Strathbogie called to account Peter Wat and Agnes Jack for visiting the chapel. Jack had taken a diseased woman there, obviously for curative purposes, but she denied using any kind of superstitious worship to that end. Jack was ordered to publicly repent, and abstain from repeating the offence, in Mackinlay, I, p. 113, citing Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, p. 8. Often in the post-Reformation period it was Catholic prayers and rites which were labelled superstitious or of the devil. cf. Late sixteenth century case cited by Edward Cowan regarding the use of the Ave Maria in the spells of Anny Sampson, 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 & Duncan Shaw

(Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), p. 128. Most likely it was the *Ave Maria*, deemed most efficacious by the pre-Reformation Catholic hierarchy (eg. *Catechism* of 1552), which was employed by people such as Agnes Jack to invite the aid and intercession of Mary. In the *Carmina Gadelica*, which recorded the religious oral history of the Highland region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, editor Alexander Carmichael noted that the Highlanders believed that the primary causes of disease most likely were offences committed against God by themselves or their ancestors. Note also that the Highlanders believed that there were twenty-four diseases of animals and human beings, and that they were caused by "microbes small, minute, miserable, full of spite, venom and hostility", in ed. Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations*, Vol. V of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1954), p. 189. Mary was credited with rescuing sinful laypeople from the consequences of sin, often through the rosary. For example, a charm for healing credited to the mother of Red Dougall, a lunatic "who had to be bound with the strongest ropes ... when his paroxysms were at their worst", invoked Mary's healing power:

The nine rosaries kindly
Through the Holy Three
To lift from thee each illness,
Each blindness, each affliction,

in Carmichael, "Repelling the Eye", *Ibid.*, V, p. 179.

Mary's relationship to Jesus could also be emphasised to improve the chance of healing. In a charm for breast cancer, Mary and Jesus each invited the other to cure a woman of the cancer, Jesus emphasising that Mary's role as mother of God gave her the right and the power to heal the woman, who sat dying in a bothy in the Egyptian desert through which Mary and Jesus were travelling.

Mary:	Behold, O Son, the pap, Filled full with swelling; Give Thou rest to the woman, Bring Thou the microbe from out her tumour.
Jesus:	Behold thou her, O Mary, -Since it is thou who bore the Son; Give thou rest unto the pap, Relieve thou this woman,

in Carmichael, "Charm for Rose", *Ibid.*, V, p. 185.

310. Mackinlay, I, p. 87.

311. *Ibid.*, I, p. 95.

312. Glasgow Cathedral, Glasgow. cf. In his foundation of a hospital in Old Aberdeen in 1532, Bishop Gavin Dunbar insisted that able bedesmen should "on all festal days, under the command and guidance of the director, go before general processions of our church, with oracles in their hands, praying, as directed above, for the foresaid souls", in Munro, *Records of Old Aberdeen 1498-1903*, II, p. 287.

313. For example, after the main part of the obit services for Thomas Nele and Agnes Wischart, the chaplains were to pass with their surplices and "mess graith" to the grave of Nele and Wischart and there say the "De Profundis" for their souls, the poor taking part in these activities, in ed. James Paterson, *The Obit Book of the*

Church of St. John the Baptist (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), pp. 36-7.

314. Anna Jean Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland, Vol. XXIV of St. Andrews University Publications (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1927), pp. 66-7.

315. There is evidence, for example, that in Aberdeen craftsmen were neglecting to attend the procession and/or dress properly for the occasion and/or take their proper place in the procession, in 1484, 1485, 1493, 1503, 1504, 1507, 1508, 1511, 1516 and 1524, in Ibid., pp. 117-23.

316. Ibid., pp. 121 and 127.

317. Robert Henryson, "The Wont of Wyse Men", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), pp. 189-91, "The Porteus of Noblenes", The Asloan Manuscript, I, p. 171-84, "The Thre Prestis of Peblis", 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), pp. 175-86. An example of violence in the upper echelons of society is the remission received from the king by Alexander Irvine of Drum and others in 1487 for the murder of Alexander and William Fraser and George Taylor (*Tailyour*). Irvine was also involved in the mutilation and dismemberment of Sir Edward MacDowell (*Makdowell*), chaplain, in National Register of Archives (Scotland), #1500, Bundle 15. On 23 August, 1496, Alexander Irvine of Drum paid 100 merks in compensation for the violence done to Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, knight, and his son and heir Alexander Fraser. The payment was described as satisfaction for the crime, indicating that making satisfaction to one's peers on earth was part of becoming acceptable to God in heaven, in Ibid., Bundle 20.

318. Bennett, Rubric to "O Clementissime", p. 279.

319. The Abbot was angry that Lord Drummond had diverted a burn that had run to the abbey's mill since time immemorial. On 13 November, 1500, the Lords of Council in Civil Causes told the Abbot that he had a right to the burn, until matters were decided to the contrary, in eds. George Neilson and Henry Paton, Acta Dominorum Concilii. Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, Vol. II, A.D. 1496-1501 (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), p. 431, and ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VII of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910), p. 40.

320. This general writ of excommunication cast the offender out of the "confines of the holy mother the church of God", in Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559, pp. 3-4.

321. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, The Cronicles of Scotland, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co, 1814), p. 249.

322. Note that "The Porteous of Noblenes", a Scots translation of Alain Chartier's "Le Breviaire des Nobles" which was published in Scotland in 1508, enumerated the various deeds and virtues required of lairds and magnates to achieve spiritual acceptability, that is,

to be "maid perfyte". It was pointed out that "werteu & gud deidis", along with a daily saying of hours and matins, was necessary to erase the effect of the "misdeidis and dampnable vycis" of the upper classes, in John Asloan (compiler), "The Porteous of Noblenes", The Asloan Manuscript, I, pp. 172 and passim, and Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904).

323.cf. 4 June, 1507, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #3048, p. 651.

324.Ibid., II, Part 2, #3048, p. 651.

325.Bryce, II, pp. 264-5.

326.MacGibbon and Ross, III, p. 511 and 513.

327.Another example of a member of the upper classes attempting to compensate for the violent world of late medieval Scotland was Malcolm, Lord Fleming. He insisted that the murderer of his father found a chaplainry to assist his father in his pursuit of heavenly bliss, this resolution being enunciated in a decreet arbitral. On 10 August, the Great Seal recorded that John Tweedie (*Twedy*) of Drumelzier (*Drumelzear*), father of James Tweedie who had murdered Lord Fleming's father John, Lord Fleming, had promised to pay £10 in annual rents from his own lands for the support of a chaplainry in the parish church of Biggar, until such time as he or his heirs enfeoffed a chaplain with a suitable replacement for the £10, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, Part 1, #1093, pp. 238-9. Malcolm, Lord Fleming was later to transform Biggar parish church into a collegiate church dedicated to St. Mary, rather than to St. Nicholas who was the titular saint of the parish church, in Rutherford, p. 27.

328.Maule's attack may have been a retaliatory one, for for on 21 March, 1497/8, Robert Liddale received remission for his destruction of the goods of Thomas Maule, as well as his attack on Henry Crichton (*Crechtoune*) and David Strachan (*Stradaquhyne*) of Carmyllie (*Carmile*) and general oppression, in SRO GD45/27/13.

329.While Thomas Maule may have had less need of Mary's intercession than many of his peers, his son Robert was a different matter. On 16 February, 1530/1, Robert Maule of Panmure (d. 1560) was acquitted of the wounding of William Graham of Fintry and his companions at Barry, along with various other charges of mutilation, murder, theft and oppression. Significantly, one of Maule's acts had been to oppress the servants of the laird of Carmyllie while at church, and carry one of them off to his place of Panmure, in SRO GD45/27/16. This final act was clearly sacrilegious, and therefore an affront to God and one likely to seriously endanger Maule's soul. Further, threatening the peace and safety of those attending church would have been particularly upsetting for laypeople, who relied upon being able to attend church and thereby make spiritual preparations for death. The general level of violence of lairdly society, and the Maules and Strachans in particular, can also be see in a document of 1547. On 3 April, 1547, Thomas Strachan (*Strachauchyn*) of Carmyllie was granted absolution, having been excommunicated at

the instance of William Dure of Grance, in SRO GD45/13/190. Note that the Grahams of Fintry, who moved into the Fintry area in the mid-fifteenth century, expressed their piety through strong devotion to Mary, and support for the rituals of the church. On 15 May, 1488, Robert Graham of Fintry donated lands to his parish church of Earlis Strathdighty in Stirlingshire, in SRO GD151/14/9. Robert Maule was in trouble again on 18 July, 1559, when the curate of Panbride was instructed to absolve him from ecclesiastical censures relating to theft, property damage, and the murder of the laird of Carmyllie and William Forrester (*Forester*), chaplain, in SRO GD45/13/192. According to a family historian, in contrast to his father, Robert Maule was a man of "suddane anger" who was also "gewin to leicharie", which would have made him a likely candidate for Mary's intercession. However, Robert Maule's feelings of personal inadequacy led him to join the reforming party rather than take the traditional Catholic routes of penitence, as his father had done, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, VII, p. 11.

330.SRO GD45/27/10.

331.Bryce, II, p. 265-6.

332.Bryce, II, pp. 138-40 and GD45/16/556 (cf. ed. John Stuart, Registrum de Panmure. Records of the Families of Maule, de Valoniis, Brechin, and Brechin-Barclay, United in the Line of the Barons and Earls of Panmure, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Fox Maule-Ramsay, 1874), pp. 276-9), and Paul, The Scots Peerage, VI, p. 223.

333.cf. Mary was believed to be set above the angels, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ave Cuius Concepcio", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), I. 278, p. 287.

334.Richardson, pp. 218-9.

335.c. 1460 Robert Graham exchanged his lands of Old Montrose, Charlton and Kinnaber with his nephew Patrick, first Lord Graham, for the lands of Fintry or Craigton in Stirlingshire. Thus Robert Graham was the first Graham of Fintry. c. 1460 he also received the lands of Earlis Strathdighty and the lands of Balargus, now the parish of Mains. In the late fifteenth century he began building the Castle of Mains, but it was not until the sixteenth century that the family regularly lived there, in Robert A. Ramsay, "The Parish of Mains and Strathmartine", in The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XXVI of 29 vols., The County of Angus, ed. William Allen Illsley (Arbroath: The Herald Press, 1977), p. 584. Clearly Graham began work founding religious institutions at the same time as he began work on the family residence. As the Grahams only began to build a presence in the Fintry area in the mid-fifteenth century, their choice of the Blessed Virgin Mary as patron is indicative not of adherence to tradition, but of their belief in her power to intercede and support them in life and death.

336.Note that at this time Graham was referred to as "heir to the late Robert Graham of Fintry", as he is receiving the accoutrements of the altar at this time, and is in turn re-dedicating them to the

altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of the Mains of Earlis Strathdighty, in SRO GD151/16/1, SRO GD151/14/9 and Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2130, p. 451. Note that Robert Graham of Fintry married Elizabeth Douglás, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Angus, about 1476, in Paul, The Scots Peerage, I, p. 178.

337.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1520-1.

338.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2044, pp. 430-1, National Register of Archives (Scotland), Montrose Burgh Records and SRO B51/15/4, a 21 December, 1493 instrument regarding royal letters in connection with acts committed by John Erskine of Dun and his servants and friends, and ed. John Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. IV of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1849), XX, pp. 12-6, ed. M. Livingstone, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. I, A.D. 1488-1529 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908), #771, p. 113, and Paul, The Scots Peerage, IV, p. 259. Note that it was a common decision to make a will prior to a major battle, this being part of the laity's task of making proper preparation for death. An example of a Graham and Erskine inter-marriage was that of the marriage of Margaret Graham, daughter of William, second Earl of Montrose, to Robert, Master of Erskine (contract of 17 February, 1534-5) (no offspring), in Paul, The Scots Peerage, VI, p. 230. Note that Bardgett referred to John Erskine of Dun as a definite "Protestant" by the middle 1540's, in Frank D. Bardgett, Scotland Reformed. The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1989), p. 34. Yet note that the Erskines of Dun had been strong supporters of Catholic rituals, as had many lairdly families in this part of Scotland. Thus lay spirituality could take different forms, whether that of strong devotion to Mary, or support for the new reforming party. However, in general the laity of Scotland seemed to have clung to the earlier forms of religious devotion, particularly to those connected to Mary, who was perceived as such a powerful intercessor with God.

339.Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", in The Works of John Knox, I, p. 10, and Margaret H.B. Sanderson, Mary Stewart's People. Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1987), p. 159.

340.Margaret Aston, Lollards and Reformers. Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 123.

341.This description was offered by William Patten of London to Sir William Paget, knight of the Garter, comptroller of Edward VI's household, privy councillor and patron of Patten, upon his return from Somerset's foray into Scotland in 1548. The invocation of the saints by the laity was made clear by Patten's reference to "Pardon Beades", "Rosaries", "gadding a pilgrimage", "worshiping of idoles", "oblacions and offerings of saints", "charmes for every diseas" and "suffrages for every sore", in NLS AdvMS 28/3/12, ff. 57v and 61r-v.

342.The New Acts and Constitutionis of parliament made be Iames the Fift kyng of Scottis, 1540.

343. 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. 25.

344. "Closter of crist riche Recent flour delyss", The Asloan Manuscript, II, ll. 57-62, pp. 274-5 and ll. 70-2, p. 275.

345. Seton collegiate church, East Lothian.

346. David McRoberts, "Scotland and the Rosary 400 Years Ago", The Scottish Catholic Herald, 26 October, 1956, p. 4.

347. Myln, "Lives of the Bishops (Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldense)", p. 320.

348. Bennett, "The Lang Rosair", pp. 322-34 and "Thre Rois Garlandis", pp. 299-321.

349. Hay, Letters of James V, pp. 232-3.

350. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clxxxxiii-clxxxxvi. Note that, as a Catholic devotion, the "rosary" normally consists of fifteen *Pater Nosters* ("Our Father, who art in heaven . . .") and *Glorias* and 150 *Ave Marias*, these *Aves* having been referred to by the Catechism as the *Salutatioun of the Angel Gabriel callit the Aue Maria*. A "rosary" can also describe the chaplet of beads used for counting prayers, which is divided into three parts, each of which has five "decades". A decade is made up of one *Pater Noster*, ten *Ave Marias* and a *Gloria*, as well as some form of meditation taken from the life of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin Mary. This final form of "rosary" no doubt inspired the structure for devotional poems "The Lang Rosair" and "Thre Rois Garlandis" in BM Arundel MS 285.

351. The rosary was named as Mary's weapon against the evils and ills of the world, such as forgetfulness of the future and failure to prepare for it, by the Canon Joseph Daniel at the annual Lourdes rally in the grounds of the convent of the Sacred Heart in Craiglockhart, Edinburgh, on 14 September, 1956, in The Scottish Catholic Herald, 14 Sept. 1956, p. 5. In this respect Daniel's views echoed those of the late Middle Ages in Scotland (cf. BM Arundel MS 285).

352. Note that Moncur and White operated in the more literate period of the seventeenth century, when printed books were more widely available and Catholic ideas could be secretly maintained by the circulation of printed materials. The strength of lay belief in Mary's influence with God and the power of the rosary may be gauged by an incident in February of 1615. John Ogilvy was being executed for heresy, and after he had thrown his rosary into the crowd there was a mad scramble for it. These references to post-Reformation devotion to the rosary are from McRoberts, "Scotland and the Rosary 400 Years Ago", p. 4.

353. Provost Skene's house, Aberdeen.

354. The overall impression given by this study of lay spirituality in Scotland in the period 1480 to 1560 is that laypeople felt an increasing sense of personal spiritual inadequacy. Combined with their conception of God as a powerful, stern judge, this sense of unworthiness culminated in a strong desire to seek the aid of supernatural beings, particularly Mary, to improve their spiritual standing with God through the pursuit of personal holiness and through the intercession of these beings and application of their saintly merits. Apart from His role as original sacrifice for human sin, Jesus was perceived as a powerful mediator rather than God Himself, and thus He, too, was pursued by the laity and urged to aid humanity to reach heaven. In this sense the laity did not feel that the work of the Cross had been sufficient to erase their deep sinfulness, and indeed, theological works such as the Catechism of 1552 were unwilling to allow the laity to trust wholly in the promise of the Crucifixion. The "dreggis of syn" were believed to remain, for which souls had to do time in purgatory and enlist the aid of saints and the living to pray and celebrate masses, thereby speeding the process of purification and ascension into heaven.

355. St. Bernard, "Second Sermon on the Glories of the Virgin Mother", in St. Bernard's Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary (Devon: Mount Melleray Abbey Trust, 1984), p. 38.

CHAPTER 9:
JESUS AS SACRIFICE IN THE EUCHARIST:
NATURE, FUNCTION AND LAY RESPONSE

INTRODUCTION

Jesus played an important role in the laity's search for spiritual worthiness and eventual acceptance into heaven. His nature as sacrificial lamb whose death pacified a vengeful God was expressed "externally" in the Eucharist or sacrament of the altar.¹ His nature as suffering human son of Mary was expressed "internally" through meditation on the Passion and through celebration of His humanity and suffering in literature and art. Both the Eucharist and meditation on the suffering humanity of Jesus in His Passion were deemed necessary for the laity to achieve spiritual acceptability. In this study of lay religious faith in late medieval Scotland, emphasis will be given to the external expression of Jesus' nature as it was found in the Eucharist, to facilitate study of a rite which was central to the laity's search for salvation. Due to time constraints, a specialised study of Jesus as suffering human will not be possible. However, some discussion of His humanity occurs in the chapters on Mary, and this chapter touches on His suffering by investigating His role as sacrifice in the Mass.²

Laypeople tended not to conceive of Jesus as God Himself. Theologians, clerics and certain laypeople may have believed in the tripartite nature of the Christian God, and understood the name "Jesus" to be the one used to refer only to certain aspects of the one God. However, most laypeople perceived Jesus, the suffering son

of Mary and sacrifice to God, as separate from God the Judge. Lay understanding of the Trinity, as far as it went, was that Jesus was an integral member of the Trinity, and thus had access to the omnipotent God whose power saved souls. Mary, too, was placed close to the seat of celestial power, lay Scots believing that the combined influence of Jesus the Son and Mary the mother and spouse would help them to be accepted into heaven.³

The laity understood that Adam and Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden had condemned humanity to eternal damnation after death and that only the death of God's Son on the Cross made it possible to be forgiven by God and to ascend to heaven.⁴ The Eucharist functioned as a ritual which celebrated Jesus' Passion, and in fact re-enacted it, such that the laity could profit from the fruits of the Passion with each celebration as well as give thanks to God for the original (historical) sacrifice.

In this chapter, a discussion of the sacrificial nature and function of the Eucharistic ritual and its historical development will be followed by a discussion of the theological, literary and artistic images of sacrifice which shaped the laity's understanding of the benefits of the rite to achieving salvation. Finally, there will be some discussion of the responses deemed appropriate by laypeople, given their understanding of Jesus' sacrificial role in the Eucharist. These responses included a commitment to processions honouring the Eucharist, donation of altar equipment, the foundation of masses, and a belief in the value of attendance at Mass, which led some laypeople to obtain portable altars and to found private chapels. Lay spiritual preparation for the Eucharist and proper clerical execution of the rite were also believed to be crucial to the rite's efficacy. The clergy actively encouraged lay preparation

for Communion, and the laity actively encouraged high clerical standards of execution of the Eucharist, and these mutually supporting aims, intended to maximise the rite's efficacy, are the subject of the following chapter. The present and following chapters should be viewed as a whole; this chapter discusses laypeople's understanding of Jesus' sacrifice in the Eucharist, and is thus the basis for understanding their emphasis on spiritual preparation and high standards of execution, the subjects of the following chapter.

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF RITUAL

Durkheim's general discussion of religious systems provides insight into the nature and function of the sacraments in pre-Reformation Scotland, and of the Eucharist in particular. Once the nature, function and form of the Eucharistic ritual have been explained, it will be easier to assess its relationship to lay views about Jesus and His role in lay salvation.

Durkheim believed that a "religion" existed when "sacred things" or ideas related to each other in a stable, definable manner such that they formed a unified religious system. The system or religion was comprised of a number of homogeneous groups of "sacred things", around each of which were a number of beliefs and rites. These homogeneous groups or "cults" could be arranged into a hierarchy such that certain cults took a place of lesser importance than other cults, or could be absorbed or slotted into a cult "higher up" in the hierarchy. Religious beliefs expressed the nature of the sacred things in the homogeneous group, and how these sacred things related to each other and to the profane world. Religious rites were rules of behaviour which outlined the manner in which believers were to act in the presence of sacred things.⁵

In terms of the laity, the Christian religion of late medieval Scotland could be conceived of as a religious system in which "homogeneous groups" such as the cult of Mary or the cult of the Passion operated in a semi-autonomous manner, in that there were certain beliefs and rites associated with each cult. However, these cults were integrated into a complete religious system in which each homogenous group had a place. Thus the cult of Mary comprised a series of beliefs about Mary's relationship to the godhead, power to intercede, level of divinity and position as mother of God, as well as rites which honoured and favoured her (eg. altar foundations), on the understanding that such rites would be helpful to human salvation. This cult appears to have taken a place lower in the hierarchy than the cult of the Passion of Jesus, as within the context of the entire religious system, the "sacred thing" which was Jesus had greater positive significance. For the laity, the crucial yardstick for judgment was the efficacy of each "cult" in ensuring salvation. To theologians, poets, artists and average laypeople, a combination of "cults" appeared to be the best choice. Cults exist in religions to account for the evils of the world, albeit religions strive for perfection. Thus Satan, a sacred being, was included in the Christian religious system, in an undeniably subordinated position due to his impurity and inferiority.⁶ Rites directed to him were "negative" ones (eg. exorcism) intended to move the practicer away from the profane and toward the sacred, rather than the positive ones directed at Jesus and Mary, done with confidence, enthusiasm and joy.⁶

The form of rites, which were often sacraments of the Christian church, was important to their efficacy. An incorrect form skewed the relationship between human and divine, and it was

the strength of that relationship which gave the laity confidence in reaching heaven. The Eucharist was a positive rite of the cult of Jesus. It was celebrated with the understanding that, by following the proper rules of conduct of the rite, the expected event would occur.⁷ That is, the bread and the wine would be transformed into the body and blood of Jesus, and participants would be joined in a mystical union with Jesus. This transformation or "transubstantiation" would occur at the elevation of the Host by the priest, at which point a bell would be rung, and prayers celebrated in honour of Jesus' body, reinforcing the significance of the moment.⁸

William Dunbar exhorted his readers to celebrate the birth of Jesus who had come to "by" the souls of human sinners with his blood,⁹ and to ensure that the clergy carried out the rites of the cult properly.

All clergy do to him inclyne
 And bow unto that barne benyng,
 And do your observance devyne
 To him that is of kingis King;
 Ensence his altar, reid and sing
 In haly kirk, with mynd degest,
 Him honouring attour all thing,
*Qui nobis Puer natus est.*¹⁰

Much of the action against "heresy" in the decades following the Reformation was concerned with the "Catholic" form of rites, which the new church authorities had replaced with other forms, believing these new forms to offer a better framework for human relations with the godhead. Prayers for the dead and burial rites particularly worried the Protestants.¹¹

The form of the Eucharistic rite was considered by clergy and laity to be crucial to its efficacy. Concern for form was made clear by strong lay support for the Catholic Eucharist after the

Reformation, and by the anger expressed by Protestant authorities at its celebration; the reasons offered by the Protestants' for their strong condemnation indicate that they believed that the form largely determined the lay relationship to the godhead.

Transubstantiation was considered the wrong way of relating to the godhead, Knox reporting that George Wishart had been accused of stating that the Host was only bread and that the Catholic form of the rite was a "superstitious rite aganis the commandiment of God".¹² Thus, in 1569, Laurence Dalglish (*Dalgles*) of St. Andrews was prevailed upon to "imbrace and resave the religioun offerit to us be the grite favour and mercy of God", which was deemed to be the Protestant form of the sacraments. He renounced "idolatrie superstitioun and Papistrie" which the Pope in his "Antechristis kingdome" had held to be the correct mode of relating to sacred things, particularly Jesus, upon whom the Protestants pinned even more of their hopes than did the Catholics.¹³ In 1608 the Marquis of Huntly was condemned to the final sentence of excommunication, having been obdurate in his refusal to forsake Catholic beliefs and rites, referred to in the document as "Idolatrie and Papisticall superstitioun".¹⁴

It appears that the term "idolatry" invariably related to the lay perception of the body and blood of Jesus in the Eucharist (transubstantiation), so the many accusations of "idolatry" in the acts of the General Assembly of the reformed church indicate that the Catholic form of the Eucharist had a strong hold on the lay imagination.¹⁵ Several decades earlier, in 1546, George Wishart reported on a conversation he had had with a Jewish person he had met on a ship. This person apparently believed that Christians worshipped a piece of bread as their God, which Wishart used as

proof that the Catholic Mass was a superstitious rite and idolatry.¹⁶

However, in the 1590 petition of the General Assembly to the Crown, excommunicants were just the extreme examples of those who had refused to take on the new "positive" rites of the Protestant church. Such people included those who profaned the sacraments, administered them as private laypeople and thus broke the clerical control over grace, "idolaters, pilgrimagers, papistical Magistrates", apostates (ie. recusants), celebrants and participants in the Mass, and those who administered or received sacraments according to the Catholic form.¹⁷ Since the Protestants had abolished five of the seven Catholic sacraments, it is likely that laypeople who believed in the efficacy of those rites would have sought out willing celebrants so as not to endanger their souls in *the afterlife*.

In 1587, the General Assembly attested to lay susceptibility to the blandishments of Catholic preachers.¹⁸ It also testified to the level of support for these preachers from people in country and burgh, who often supported private services in which the "holie sacraments [are] horriblie profained",¹⁹ such as in the north, where the laird of Leslie had Mass publicly celebrated in the chapel, and privately in the house.²⁰ A number of identified offenders were firm supporters of Catholic rites and practices in the period 1480 to 1560, their presence in the 1587 list of offenders testimony to their belief in the efficacy of Catholic ways. For example, in Angus, Patrick, Lord Gray, was in the process of being excommunicated, David Graham of Fintry had already been excommunicated,²¹ and James Graham, younger, was a "Papist".²² In Fife the abbacy of Dunfermline was given to the Earl of Huntly, who

proceeded to bring in a number of Catholics, including the laird of Fintry. Lady Minto (*Mynto*) went so far as to break up the Easter celebration of the Eucharist with her own hands.²³ In 1594, the General Assembly was angry over the open celebration of mass in the houses of the prominent people who easily influenced others, visibly the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Erroll, and lairds of Bonnyton (*Bonytounes*), in Birness (*Birnes*), and Mr. Walter Lindsay in Balgay, Angus.²⁴

As late as 1608 the General Assembly inveighed against "Papisty" and idolatry, which it believed to be on the increase. Its fear was that such a situation harmed the relationship of the whole community to the godhead, an idea which had its roots in pre-Reformation Scotland, when famine, war and disease were believed to be the work of a wrathful God against a sinful people, an idea which persisted in the post-Reformation period.²⁵ For example, on 27 December, 1560, the General Assembly outlined the people to be punished in various parts of the country, since their open support of the Mass endangered the whole society with the "wrath and judgement of the eternall God", including the plagues mentioned in the Bible.²⁶ The General Assembly believed that the espousing of wrongful religious beliefs and the celebration of their associated rites dishonoured God and threatened the "true religioun" of Scotland.²⁷ Certainly the view that the whole community needed to support and maintain the "correct" relationship with Jesus within His "cult" was strong before and after the Reformation. For example, the pilgrimages of laypeople to "Christ's well" near Stirling were still being reported in 1587, as were pilgrimages throughout Scotland,²⁸ pilgrimage having been a highly efficacious

form of giving satisfaction to God as part of the sacrament of penance.

Durkheim believed that the main purpose of positive rites was to remake groups and individuals morally. The Protestant authorities agreed with this estimation. In 1616, the General Assembly made a strong attempt to stop a number of women in northern Scotland from bringing in Catholic priests to catechise young and impressionable children; the Assembly stated that such teaching would make it difficult to disabuse the children of their Catholic notions later on in life.²⁹

In terms of the Eucharist, the Protestant church attempted to replace the mandatory Catholic Mass on Sunday, the "idolatrous messe", with mandatory prayers and preaching on Sunday (1565).³⁰ However, rites such as the Eucharist transformed the "self" through religious experiences; these experiences were then attributed to supra-normal powers, and expressed in society as a "collective ideal". A collective ideal with as much power as the Catholic Eucharist would have been difficult indeed to suppress in a society where the search for spiritual acceptability was intense, and the Eucharist had come to be accepted as the most efficacious means of achieving this spiritual acceptability.³¹

Despite the variety of views on the Eucharist held in Scotland in the period 1480 to 1560, by and large they remained within a limited range. Catholic rites and beliefs functioned to organise and regulate the relations between laypeople and Jesus, spiritually "nourishing" laypeople and reassuring them as to Jesus' regard and the efficacy of His Passion.³² The major form which this relationship took was the sacrifice of Jesus in the rite. When the pauper in Sir David Lyndsay's "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis"

spoke to Diligence, he complained about his exclusion from Communion at Easter. He had lost his parents and wife, the vicar had taken his three cows, and he had not the money to pay his teinds,³³ and if one's teinds were not paid up, one did not take part in the Eucharistic rite.³⁴ Lyndsay's pauper was the voice of the downtrodden laity, whose earthly misery made the promise of heaven that much sweeter, and to whom denial of the Eucharist was denial of the saving power of Jesus' Passion. In their determination to participate in the Eucharist according to the Catholic rite, the post-Reformation devout laity proved that they believed in the reality of Jesus' presence in the elements, and in the spiritual benefits brought by the re-enactment of the Passion during the rite.

The Eucharistic rite produced the consecrated bread which brought the promise of salvation to those attending high mass at church and to those lying on their deathbed at home.³⁵ For example, Master Walter Brown, prebendary of Forgandenny (*Forgundyny*) and official of Dunkeld, "reverently received the sacraments" of the Eucharist while he lay dying.³⁶ The Eucharist also served as a focal point for devotion and honour when carried in processions, such devotion to the Host resulting in cries of "Idolatry!" from those of a reforming disposition.³⁷ "Bad" behaviour, or that which deviated substantially from the collective ideal, could result in excommunication. The offender could not take part in the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, which entailed certain banishment to hell. Thus exclusion from the positive rite meant exclusion from society, both earthly and heavenly. A statement of deeds for which "general excommunication" was due was included in the Arbuthnott Missal drawn up by Sir James Sibbald of St. Tiernan's church, Arbuthnott. After a long list of offences for which

excommunication could be imposed (egs. those who had been admonished by the church or who had not amended their lives, or those who had aided such people), a general cursing of offenders followed. This list included: an exhortation that the offender be "cast out of the dwelling place of Cristin men, and from all aid from them"; "cast out of the book of life"; denied the sight of God; cast into the deepest pot of hell and forever condemned there to remain.³⁸ As this pronouncement of excommunication was in Scots, those listening would be in no doubt of the horrid fate awaiting those denied the rites of the church.

The sacraments were crucial to salvation, the author of "The Craft of Deyng" insisting that those who were well shriven and died in the faith and sacraments of holy church should not fear death but welcome it as a friend, trusting in the goodwill of God, who ordained death.³⁹

It is unsurprising that violence sometimes resulted when a sentence of excommunication was brought against laypeople. For example, in the early sixteenth century Archbishop Gavin Dunbar of Glasgow (1523-47) summoned certain unnamed noble persons and their accomplices who had committed violence against a layperson who bore letters of excommunication against them in the church of Durisdeer, Dumfriesshire, to prevent him from serving them with these letters. The Archbishop also pointed out that to do this in such a manner, that is, dragging the man from the high altar, was to dishonour the most holy sacrament. Such an action marred the proper celebration of the Eucharistic rite and the honour due it.⁴⁰

The Catechism of 1552 made it plain that, while God was the source of grace, the sacraments were sensible and visible signs of the grace of Jesus and His benefits, and were a means of receiving

grace when properly ministered and worthily received.⁴¹ For the compilers of the Catechism, Jesus' Passion was the "plaister" which affixed God's grace to wounded souls, and the church sacraments the bands which held the plaster in place.⁴²

The Eucharistic rite was entwined totally with imagery of Jesus' sacrifice of Himself at the Crucifixion, the longest part of the Eucharist being taken up with the events preceding and following the Passion.⁴³ As a symbol of Jesus' Passion, the primary sacrament and omen of glory to come, the Eucharist was of critical importance to lay spiritual success in the afterlife and to spiritual comfort on earth.⁴⁴ As the author of the "Vertewis of the Mess" pointed out, since Jesus was the most worthy and precious creature of God, then naturally the Eucharist was more worthy and precious than any other prayer and sacrifice that could be offered on earth.⁴⁵

IMAGES OF SACRIFICE IN THE EUCHARIST

The notion of sacrifice was presented forcibly to laypeople in theological, poetic and artistic terms. They were expected to accept the reality and value of Jesus' sacrifice in the Mass, and to emphasise Jesus' sacrifice in their personal meditation on the Passion as well as in their public involvement in the Eucharistic rite. The foundation of masses, particularly low masses, revealed the laity's acceptance of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, and the naming of masses increasingly emphasised the role of Jesus in the rite.

The biblical basis for the notion of sacrifice was firm, although the early Christians had emphasised the Eucharist more as a rite of thanksgiving, commemorating the Last Supper in which Jesus and His disciples had given thanks at their customary communal meal.⁴⁶ At the Last Supper Jesus had referred to Himself as a

sacrifice, saying that the bread was being broken just as His body would be broken, and the wine poured just as His blood would be poured out. His Jewish companions at the table would have understood the notion of atonement for sinfulness coming through the death of an innocent person,⁴⁷ as did Sir David Lyndsay, who emphasised that "holy Innocent Jesu" had purged humanity with His blood.⁴⁸ Biblical writers interpreted Jesus' remarks in this context as the formation of a New Covenant with God and a promise of salvation, as by sharing a meal the disciples would be sharing in the fruits of Jesus' sacrifice.⁴⁹ Scottish writers also emphasised the notion of an innocent sacrifice. For example, in William Dunbar's poem "Of the Passioun of Christ", he described the suffering of Jesus in great detail, emphasising His innocence. While describing the placing of the Crown of Thorns on Jesus' head, he wrote: "His saikles [innocent] blude agane thai sched, / Persing his heid with pykis grene."⁵⁰

With the Resurrection came the view that, whenever people gathered together in the name of Jesus, He would be among them.⁵¹ Thus the tradition of "ritual meals" began, but after a few centuries the celebration of the Eucharist as a meal, with emphasis on the thanksgiving, gave way to an emphasis on the Eucharistic prayer which accompanied the meal. During the prayer the bread and wine were consecrated, the people ratified the words by the saying of the "Amen", and Communion took place. It was believed that the rite celebrated the redemption of believers through Jesus' original sacrifice on the Cross and was an opportunity to give thanks for it.⁵²

In the early days of the Christian church the Eucharist was celebrated as a corporate ritual. The "body" was "the church" and

was comprised of clerics and laypeople. It joined with the head, Jesus, in a mystical union, offering to God the united body and head in the form of bread and wine, a re-enactment of Jesus' sacrifice.⁵³ However, the situation had changed by the late Middle Ages. The Latin words of the Eucharistic prayer, the central component of the rite, were spoken quickly and inaudibly, and were incomprehensible even to average laypersons, even those who might understand some Latin; clerical backs were turned to the laity during celebration, and altar boys or servers said the responses to the biblical readings on behalf of the laity.⁵⁴ The only significant part of the Eucharistic ritual to which laypeople were privy was the sight of the chalice and Host, which from the thirteenth century were elevated so that the congregation could look on the sacrament and prostrate itself as the bells were rung, the mystical union with Christ and His transformation into the bread and wine of the Eucharist taking place at the moment of elevation.⁵⁵

Thus it is unsurprising that laypeople came to view the Eucharist less as a participatory rite and means of uniting with the godhead which required special preparedness and invitation, and more as a ritual whereby the divine merits acquired through Jesus' Passion were made accessible to them. That is, in the rite Jesus would become materially present and they would benefit from his renewed sacrifice on their behalf. Laypeople persisted in this material conception of sacrifice and real presence despite official church attempts at a more spiritual conceptualisation, such a material conception leading to David Stirling (*Striveling*) of Estir Brekky's foundation of a chaplainry at the altar of "St. Salvator, Jesus Christ and His Precious Body and Blood" in the parish church of Montrose in 1532.⁵⁶

The laity's emphasis on the Eucharist as a means of acquiring Jesus' merits sometimes resulted in poor attendance at Mass, a source of great aggravation to the upper clergy and a situation interpreted by higher clergy and modern historians as lack of faith or belief in the value of the rite.⁵⁷ Yet, once penances and tithes were taken care of, yearly Communion was all that was required of laypeople in order for the church to dispense the "grace" needed for salvation.⁵⁸ Further, laypeople believed firmly in the value of the Eucharistic rite whether they were present at it or not. Evidence from the period 1480 to 1560 indicates that the laity put increasing value on masses to achieve salvation, resulting in a somewhat reduced emphasis on other forms of religious expression, which indicates that the theologians' emphasis on the rite's efficacy as a route to salvation had been accepted by laypeople of all classes.⁵⁹

Thus, although the function of the Eucharist as a unifying participatory ritual may have been lost to a large degree by the late Middle Ages, laypeople remained firm believers in the real presence of Jesus in the elements and the rite's ability to transmit the fruits of Jesus' Passion.⁶⁰ Consequently, the trend of the late Middle Ages was for the multiplication of low, private masses rather than for more high, public masses. The naming of these low masses reveals the laity's understanding of the sacrificial element of the Eucharist.

Freud contributed to an understanding of the meaning of the "body" in rituals, his work having bearing on the laity's understanding of the real presence of Jesus in the Eucharist. Freud maintained that by eating someone's body, the eater incorporated the qualities of the eaten.⁶¹ The pre-Reformation church perceived Jesus as the head of the body of the church. In the Eucharist Jesus

was ritually consumed to impart his virtues and merits to sinful humanity, as well as to make satisfaction to God.⁶²

The emphasis on the sacrament⁶³ and on consumption of Jesus' very body occurred across late medieval Europe in the fifteenth century. An English translation of "The Mirror of the Life of Christ" described the Eucharist as the "worthiest sacrament of cristis blessed body".⁶⁴ The Scottish reforming council of 1558/9 summed up the connection between the Eucharist and the body of Jesus. It stated that in the Eucharist it was the true body and blood of the crucified Jesus which was adored, and which was on view for the laity during the elevation of the Host and in processions. No doubt this statement was a defence against Protestant accusations of idolatry, or worship of bread and wine, rather than Jesus. The Catholic higher clergy chose to defend transubstantiation as a means of defending worship of the elements.⁶⁵ The Catechism of 1552, intended to serve as a guide to the clergy in their instruction of the laity, stated that Jesus truly was in the Eucharist in the form of body and blood, soul and "godheid"; the laity were to understand that by drinking Jesus' blood and eating His body, they would have eternal life.⁶⁶ As a promise of salvation there was none better, and only the standards of clerical execution, and level of spiritual worthiness of the laity, were barriers to perfect happiness after death. (See Chapter 10)

As regards the conflict over communion in both kinds, the reforming council of 1558/9 as well as Hamilton's Catechism of 1552 assured laypeople that Jesus was wholly present in both the bread and the wine,⁶⁷ so they would receive all the spiritual benefits to be obtained from the rite. However, laypeople were desperate for spiritual acceptability. The prospect that they might be receiving

less than the entire weight of Jesus' body, blood, soul and godhead, and therefore less than what was required to satisfy God and earn them a place in heaven, may have resulted in more weight being given to clerically-led low masses (clergy received both bread and wine), which were performed by clerics alone and could be financed at lower cost and thus allow greater frequency of celebration.

Low masses usually had only one priest and one clerk celebrating; the laity appeared to consider them as effective as high masses in obtaining the merits of the Passion on behalf of the laity, although low masses did not honour God as greatly as the lavish high masses which involved a choir and assistant ministers to read the Epistle and Gospel.⁶⁸ Since low or private masses involved fewer staff, different books were required. Thus Missals became popular, as they combined the sacramentary (prayers), Gospel book, Epistle book and Grail (*graduale*) with the music.⁶⁹ Lay chapel and altar foundations included the supply of a Missal,⁷⁰ and they were excellent gifts to prove one's piety, James V supplying a "mass book" or Missal to his "chapel" in 1538-9.⁷¹ In that sense they were votive masses, procuring spiritual benefits for the faithful and producing consecrated Hosts for the tabernacle.⁷² Low masses were celebrated at altars other than the high altar. The major services in an obit were celebrated by all chaplains in the choir, and would then be followed by a number of private masses at numerous lesser altars.⁷³

Low masses could be founded in honour of various saints who were expected to add their intercessory prayers on the founder's behalf. For example, when Walter Bertram, provost of Edinburgh, founded an altar dedicated to St. Clement in the friary of the Franciscans of Haddington in 1495, he expected low masses to be

celebrated there for his soul. A secular chaplain was to celebrate one mass daily, as well as celebrating yearly services for the souls named in the foundation. Further, the chaplain was to supervise the celebration of divine services on the Vigil of St. Francis for the afore-mentioned souls, including a sung mass of requiem, with sung *Placebo* and *Dirige* on the night preceding the mass, with the bells ringing through the village throughout the proceedings.⁷⁴ Such foundations of yearly masses for the dead were common in the years between 1480 and 1560, the laity's concern for removing souls from purgatory leading them to make such foundations. The Blessed Virgin Mary was a popular figure to honour with a mass foundation, as her intercessory prayers were deemed powerful. Thus Alexander Myln, Canon of Dunkeld and abbot of Cambuskenneth (1474-1548), reported in the early sixteenth century that the dean of Dunkeld had founded a mass to be celebrated at the eleventh hour before the altar of the Blessed Virgin by vicars of the choir.⁷⁵

Low masses could also be founded in honour of the name of Jesus. The dedication could emphasise those aspects of Jesus most clearly related to lay salvation, or be merely named a mass of the "Name of Jesus", emphasising the saving power of Jesus' Passion and the power of invoking His name and presence.⁷⁶ Thus on 25 January, 1496/7, the obit foundation of Robert James, citizen of Brechin, included a mass of the Name of Jesus, and another such mass was founded by James IV at the cathedral in 1508, on a weekly basis.⁷⁷ Masses of "St. Salvator" were also common. For example, a mass celebrated in Dunkeld Cathedral by the sixteenth century was entitled the mass of "St. Salvatore",⁷⁸ emphasising the saving nature of the Passion. The Arbuthnott Missal (c. 1491) also included a mass for this new feast of St. Salvator, which

commemorated a crucifix said to have bled after being pierced by Jews.⁷⁹

An emphasis on the human suffering of Jesus was expressed in foundations of masses of the Passion or the "Five Wounds" of Jesus, referring to the wounds inflicted on Jesus at His Crucifixion.⁸⁰ On 24 December, 1520, David Menzies founded a mass of the Passion to be celebrated at the altar of St. Mary of Pity in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. As Menzies wished this mass to benefit the souls of himself, his family and his benefactors, it was logical for him to found the mass at the altar of the supreme intercessor - Mary - in her role as grieving mother at the foot and the Cross, and to emphasise his right to solicit God's forgiveness by invoking the Passion which Jesus had suffered as satisfaction for human sin.⁸¹

On 8 September, 1519, burgess of Aberdeen Alexander Malison (*Malysone*) and his son Gilbert founded a mass of the Five Wounds on Fridays (traditionally reserved for commemorative masses of the Passion)⁸² at the altar of St. John the Evangelist by the curate and chaplains of the choir at the church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen.⁸³ It is notable that the mass was to be celebrated at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, so closely associated with intercession for humanity at the Day of Judgment. The symbolism associated with St. John also reinforced his connection with the Eucharist, for he was traditionally portrayed holding a poisoned chalice from which the poison emerged in the form of a serpent,⁸⁴ a representation which existed in a panel painting in Foulis Easter church.⁸⁵ And according to Luke XII:8, Peter and John were the two apostles sent to prepare the Last Supper.⁸⁶

Spiritual worthiness was considered achievable through sexual purity not only by the Virgin Mary but also by St. John. Certain

gnostic writings (eg. Acts of John) stressed his virginity even to the point of claiming his assumption into heaven. Thus the interpretation of John as a pure, powerful intercessor for humanity, cousin and good friend to Jesus, made his altar a perfect site for the re-enactment of the Passion of Jesus - the Eucharist.⁸⁷

James IV reflected the general lay desire to emphasise the aspects of Jesus which gave them hope for salvation. On 8 April, 1501, the king donated 20s. to Sir John Ason in Stirling for the celebration of a trental of masses "of the Cross".⁸⁸

Named masses such as those of the "body of Christ" and the "Holy Blood" were sacrificial in nature. They emphasised the real presence of Jesus in the Mass, His "body" or "blood". A "solemn mass of the body of Christ" was celebrated each Thursday at the Holy Blood chaplainry in the Rude loft of Dumfries parish church. On 11 February, 1550, Patron Herbert Cunningham (*Cunyngname*) ensured the celebration of this mass by appointing James Gladstone (*Gladstanis*) as celebrant, sharing his services with Matthew Gladstone of Gladstones, who had James Gladstone as chaplain at his chaplainry of St. Gregory, founded on 11 February, 1550/1.⁸⁹ Malcolm, Lord Fleming's foundation of the collegiate church of Biggar included a mass of the "body of Christ" on Thursdays, and a mass of the "Five Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ" on Fridays. The identification of Jesus' body with the Host, and therefore of the sacrificial element of the Eucharist, was made clear in various ways. Lord Fleming's foundation document refers to the point at which the "body of Christ" was "consecrated and elevated",⁹⁰ and in 1579 Mr. Ninian Dalziel (*Dalyell*), schoolmaster of Dumfries, was accused by the General Assembly of preaching to the youth the "reality of the sacrament".⁹¹ That he was accused of affirming a number of such

Catholic "heresies" was unsurprising given continued recusancy in Dumfriesshire.⁹² The author of the "Vertewis of the Mess" cited various doctors of the church on the subject of the Mass. He reported that St. Augustine had stated that when a person saw "godis body" and prayed devoutly to Him, he would not suffer the loss of his sight that day.⁹³

The cult of the Holy Blood, of immense popularity in Scotland prior to the Reformation, celebrated the role Jesus' blood played in human salvation. Part of the cult's popularity arose through the Flemish connection; Scots participated in a yearly Holy Blood procession in Bruges. Since Bruges was a stopping point for Scottish clerics on the way to Rome, and site for Scottish-Flemish trade, the influence of the cult in Scotland naturally came through its merchants and clerics. Bishop Kennedy, founder of St. *Salvator's college in St. Andrews*, took part in one of the Holy Blood processions in Bruges.

By the Reformation, Holy Blood altars in Scottish burgh churches tended to belong to merchant guilds, as did the altar in Edinburgh. Edinburgh also held its own Holy Blood procession.⁹⁴ An example of the close association between the Passion and blood of Jesus is the foundation in 1533 of a mass of the Holy Blood at the Holy Blood altar on Rood day by burgess of Ayr Thomas Neil (*Nele*) and his spouse Agnes Wishart (*Vischart*).⁹⁵ The flyleaf of the Arbuthnott Missal of St. Tiernan's church, Kincardineshire, revealed the introduction of masses of the Holy Blood into the services there, along with other "new" devotions. Thus the laity and clergy worked in tandem in this new emphasis on the saving power of Jesus, really present in the Eucharist.⁹⁶

Sometimes the low mass was named after a specific person, to remind God and the celebrants of the honour done God by the foundation.⁹⁷ Thus the foundation of a low mass in 1489 by David, Earl of Crawford and first Duke of Montrose, was intended to be announced as the "Duke's Mess of Montrose" and to be a weekly requiem mass on Fridays, its purpose being to spiritually benefit a number of souls including his own and various family members. Further, there was to be a mass said daily at the high altar to benefit these same souls, but the "named" mass was that of the requiem mass, so the main concern was for intercession for dead souls rather than a general participation achieved through the daily high mass. Just to be sure of the maximum benefit to souls, the Earl paid for the singing of the Marian anthem *Alma Redemptoris* on behalf of the soul of James III, for whose souls the Earl pleaded (*wham [James] God assoilzie*). Twice yearly the Franciscans were ordered to celebrate the mass with the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, in sung form, and then to celebrate "privy" masses for the soul of the Earl's father, and after the decease of the Earl, for his own soul and another for the soul of his spouse Marjory, on the date of her death. It was important that the afore-mentioned souls be "nemyt" as well as "prayit for" on these days, it being important to point out to God that the spiritual reward for the celebration of these masses was to go to the persons named in the foundation. Also on this day the Earl and his spouse were received into the confraternity of St. Francis, agreeing to abide by its strictures and thus increase their chance of salvation.⁹⁸ It is clear from this complex foundation that David, Earl of Crawford, believed in the power of the Eucharist to benefit souls, but particularly in the power of certain low masses.

The laity accepted the notion of the Eucharist as a sacrifice of Jesus to God to ensure human salvation, or as satisfaction for human sin, to use the penitential language of the period. This notion of sacrifice necessitated a belief in the real presence of Jesus in the consecrated bread and wine, for it was via the elements of bread and wine that the individual participant partook of the divine nature. The concept of "real presence" was asserted and articulated by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The Council referred to the concept of real presence as "transubstantiation", or the changing of the substance of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus. The Council of Constance (1415) and the Council of Trent (1551) reaffirmed this doctrine.⁹⁹ The latter council asserted the sacrificial notion of the Eucharist by defending an extension of the Mass to include an expiatory function. That is, *the Eucharist was deemed to offer satisfaction for the sins of the dead as well as the living*, a notion of great moment to laypeople, who were desperate to compensate for their (perceived) spiritual unworthiness. Thus masses said on earth benefitted those "not yet cleansed" and awaiting purification in purgatory.¹⁰⁰ This declaration of the Council of Trent made orthodox the concept that the fruits of the original sacrifice of Jesus were equal to those obtained through the Eucharistic ritual, so encouraged the laity to set great store by the Eucharist. The General Statutes of the Scottish Church in 1558/9 declared that "the sacrifice of the mass, being instituted in commemoration of Christ's passion, benefits both the living and the dead by the efficacy of his passion."¹⁰¹ This efficacy involved earthly benefits for the living as well as aid to those in purgatory. Jesus was able to grant many graces and miracles on earth, often through the prayers and intercession of

saints,¹⁰² which encouraged laypeople to found their masses at the altars of saints whose devotion to human welfare and influence with Jesus was best known.

The Scottish reforming councils of the mid-sixteenth century of the Catechism of 1552 were careful to outline the manner in which Jesus appeared in the Eucharistic bread and wine as a sacrifice to pacify God, and the laity reflected these theological views in their art and poetry.

The reforming council of 1558/9 maintained that Jesus' body and blood were present in the bread and wine,¹⁰³ but it was in the Catechism of 1552 compiled under the aegis of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews that the greatest effort was made to outline to the laity the true meaning of the Eucharist. The Catechism pointed out that the different names given to the Eucharist, those of "Eucharist", "Communion", "sacrifice of the altar", "daily breid", and "supper of our lord" all revealed different aspects of the ritual. However, in the Catechism the phrase, "sacrifice of the altar" was most commonly used, this terminology providing a constant reminder that Jesus' sacrifice was a "trew sacrifice" offered to God to achieve human salvation. The term "Communion" referred to the joining of Christians together through the sacrament to become spiritual members of one body, with Christ as head. "Eucharist" referred to the real presence of Jesus in the elements, and as such He was the well and giver of grace and sanctification.¹⁰⁴

The concept of transubstantiation, along with real presence, was necessary to support not only a belief in the powerful expiatory function of the Eucharistic sacrifice, but also to justify the adoration of the Host and private, low masses. Unless Jesus was present in the Mass, maintaining that the Mass had any expiatory

power for the participants diminished His historical sacrifice on the Cross. Unless Jesus was present in the Mass, adoration of the Host was worship of an idol and thus in direct contravention of the Second Commandment (a reforming argument). Unless Jesus was present in the Mass, private masses not attended by the laity were useless to bring surcease to named souls. The laity had to believe in the theology of real presence for lay behaviour to make any sense. Not only did Jesus sit at God's side, reassuringly close to the dispenser of grace, He also entered His whole body into the elements of every Eucharistic rite, ensuring that even the most functional low mass at the lowliest parish or portable altar would bring the spiritual benefits of His presence to the founder and the named souls.¹⁰⁵

The explanation for the participant receiving the entire body, blood and soul of Jesus through the Eucharist was that, by conquering death, Jesus was able to offer a "living body" in the sacrament. At the point at which the words of consecration were spoken, the substance of the bread was turned into the substance of the body of Jesus, with only the "accidents" left (appearance, taste).¹⁰⁶ Hamilton's 1559 "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun" reminded the laity that the bread held the true and real Saviour Jesus in his "manhede" (body and blood) and "godhede" (soul), that the bread was thus the food of their souls to inspire them to love God and neighbour while on earth, and that in eating the Host they entered into a mystical union with Jesus.¹⁰⁷

The prosecution of Mr Thomas Methven (*Meffen*) in 1561, who was accused of believing in Catholic concepts such as transubstantiation, revealed the importance placed by the new Protestant church on eradicating belief in real presence. Methven's

answer to his accusers was to insist that "he was nether ane Papist nor ane Calvynist, nor of Paul nor of Apollo, bot Jesus Cristis man",¹⁰⁸ indicating the level of devotion to Jesus present in this period, whether it took a Protestant or Catholic form, or was expressed by an avowedly independent thinker such as Methven. To be "Jesus Christ's man" was to believe in the power of the Passion of Jesus to save human souls, whether the elements had within them the body and blood of Christ or no.

The reforming work The Gude and Godlie Ballatis emphasised the Eucharist as a remembrance of the Passion which reconciled humanity to God and as a sign of deliverance from hell and the devil, as did Hamilton's Catechism.¹⁰⁹ It also described the process of transformation as one in which Jesus gave humanity His body to eat in the form of bread, and His blood to drink in the form of wine. Both Archbishop Hamilton and Wedderburn's ballads emphasised spiritual preparedness of the participants in the ritual.¹¹⁰ Critics accused the laity of "idolatry", and focused on the theory of transubstantiation as the root of the laity's misunderstanding. Critics believed that the laity's devotion to Jesus in the sacrament was instead a worship of the elements. Yet the laity understood Jesus to be truly present in the sacrament, so adoration of the Host was not idolatry. The laity also understood the need for the participant's spiritual worthiness and devotion, and did not view the Eucharistic rite as a "magical" rite.¹¹¹

Artistic representations of the Eucharist or Eucharistic symbols emphasised the relationship between the human body of Jesus and the rite, thereby supporting the theory that the laity shared the general outlook of the theologians in terms of real presence sacrifice, and the re-enactment of the Crucifixion through the

Eucharist. An illustration in the late fifteenth century Prayer Book produced for Sir Robert Arbuthnott (d. 1506) made real presence a visual reality. In the illustration three people, two of them clerics, knelt before the altar, upon which stood the Eucharistic chalice. Rippling down into the chalice was the blood of the crucified Jesus, whose body from the hips upward was lodged on a smaller table just above the altar. The young, bearded Jesus was covered in blood, His crown of thorns causing blood to drip down His face, the nail holes in his hands bleeding as well. He pressed the gash where Longinus' spear had pierced him, causing the blood from his side to fall directly into the chalice on the altar.¹¹² Jesus' role as voluntary sacrifice to save humanity could not have been more clearly expressed. Such a sense of the overwhelming love for humanity expressed by this act can be found throughout the devotional works and poetry of the period 1480 to 1560. For example, William Dunbar's poem "Of the Passioun of Christ" reminded the laity of the torture which Jesus endured so that they might be saved.

Na kynd of torment he ganestude,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

Thus Jesus with his woundis wyde
As martir sufferit for to de,
And tholit [suffered] to be crucifyid,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.¹¹³

The refrain, traditionally the place where the author's main message was placed, reminded humanity of the great debt owed to Jesus, for which honour and thanks were due. It also reassured laypeople of Jesus' commitment to their salvation, such that in every celebration of the Mass, Jesus again offered up his body and soul to suffer on their behalf.

A carving in Roslin Chapel showed a young, bearded Jesus proffering a chalice, the implicit message being the promise of salvation through participation in the Eucharistic rite, whereby Jesus' blood was offered in the form of wine.¹¹⁴ Gavin Douglas defined Jesus as "grund of all gude, our Saluyour Ihesus", in his prologue to the first book of the Aeneid, his literate lay audience being invited to put all their trust in Jesus and Mary. Jesus was the "Criste", recalling His role as crucified offering to God, and Mary as "hevynns queyn", powerful intercessor for sinful humanity.¹¹⁵

Chalices in churches were often ornamented with scenes from the Crucifixion, such as the one donated to Aberdeen Cathedral by Bishop Gavin Dunbar (1518-32). On the foot of the jewelled gold chalice was imprinted the image of the crucified Jesus.¹¹⁶ Such a scene on the chalice would have resulted in an instant association of the Eucharist with the Passion. The seal of John Spens (1517-9), prior of the Dominican monastery of Glasgow, which was dedicated to Mary and St. John the Evangelist, contained an image of a chalice with three nails above it, symbolising the Last Supper and the Passion. It was St. John who held the chalice in the representation, reinforcing the connection of the saint with lay salvation.¹¹⁷ Opposite the devotional prayer "O Illustrissima et excellentissima" in BM Arundel MS 285 was an illustration of a priest holding a chalice. In the prayer Mary was entreated to help preserve the suppliant from the "myst and myrknes of eternall deid" through the help of her son, Jesus. Thus the lay reader was to associate the helpful son of Mary, "oure saluioure Iesu Christ", with the Eucharistic wine in the chalice.¹¹⁸

Reminders of the connection between Jesus and the Eucharistic rite surrounded the laity in church. The aumbry or sacrament house which protected the consecrated Host, the "body" of Jesus, commonly had a carving of the young Jesus above the locked doors. For example, the sacrament house at Foulis Easter collegiate church put Jesus' head centre-stage, holding a globe with a cross on it to represent His sovereignty and power to save, with an angel holding the Cross on one side of Him, and an angel holding the pillar of the scourging on the other.¹¹⁹ Other images of Jesus were in churches, such as the "image of Our Saviour Jesus Christ" on a silver-plated gospel book in Aberdeen Cathedral, Dunbar's inscribed arms being a reminder to Jesus of the honour Dunbar had done him with this gift.¹²⁰ A twelfth century bell shrine which belonged to a Lord of the Isles in the fifteenth century had an elaborate bas-relief of Jesus on the Cross, emaciated and vulnerable, surmounted by a powerful bearded God on a throne. On either side of the crucified Christ were bishops, just as the Arbuthnott Prayer Book illustration of Jesus at the Eucharistic table placed a bishop next to the altar.¹²¹ Both representations conveyed the message that the fruits of Jesus' Passion would come through the church and its clerical elite.

The laity were further encouraged to take up the opportunity offered by the Eucharist and other sacraments by having paintings and carvings which reminded them of the demons of hell and the certainty of death. Thus next to the suffering Jesus on the Cross on the Crucifixion panel painting above the rood screen in Foulis Easter church was an unrepentant sinner's soul being clutched by a winged devil, in contrast to the angel gently carrying aloft the baby-like soul of the repentant sinner.¹²² People representing the

seven deadly sins were carved above an arch in late fifteenth century Roslin Chapel, the devil raking them into hell. A bishop stood on the opposite end from the devil, representing the church and its power to save souls through the sacraments, and warning those committing the seven deadly sins. Death's lurking menace marched up and down an arch in Roslin Chapel, each member of society paired with his or her skeleton, reminding the laity that all people would die, regardless of status or wealth.¹²³ On the ceiling of the Lady aisle of Bishop Robert Blackadder of Glasgow, constructed in the early sixteenth century, a skull gleamed, a worm crawling through it,¹²⁴ a chill reminder of certain death and an early artistic symbol which seventeenth century Scots were to repeat and elaborate upon in their churches and on their tombstones. The officiating clergy of Aberdeen Cathedral wore mass vestments ornamented with death's heads as they administered the sacrament of the altar, reminding laypeople of the seriousness of their plight and their need for the benefits of the Passion.¹²⁵ In literature, warning voices such as Robert Henryson's in the "The Thre Deid Pollis" conjured up the barrenness of death and the certainty of its coming, advising the laity to look to Jesus and his Passion for salvation "that throwch his [Jesus'] blude we may ay leif and ring".¹²⁶

BENEFITS OF JESUS' SACRIFICE IN THE EUCHARIST

Once laypeople had been convinced by the words of the clerics, art and literature of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist and the real presence of Jesus within it, they could be convinced of the efficacy of the sacrifice of Jesus in the Eucharistic rite. In general terms the Eucharist was believed to benefit the laity through remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and the chance

of eternal happiness in the afterlife. It also was of benefit in one's earthly life, as the spiritual food which sustained humanity, and allowed it to live in peace and harmony. All of this was only possible through the sacrifice of Jesus. One of the The Gude and Godlie Ballatis insisted that the "Supper" of Jesus would not have been prepared for humanity had it been able to redeem itself.¹²⁷

The laity changed its emphasis from making direct supplication to "omnipotent God", to appealing for mercy in the name of Jesus. This shift in attitude was revealed in the changing salutation of augmentations of the hospital of St. Marthe of Aberdour, founded in 1474 by James Douglas, first Earl of Morton. The salutation of the augmentation of the hospital in 1479 included the phrase *salute in dno sempiterna*, whereas only seven years later the salutation of another augmentation was *salutem in oim saluatore*.¹²⁸

Through the Eucharist, laypeople could receive remission for their sins, according to the "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun" of Archbishop Hamilton in 1559.¹²⁹ Hamilton's devotion to the Eucharist and belief in its efficacy were unquestionable, for he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in 1563 for celebrating the Mass.¹³⁰ Hamilton understood that remission of sins occurred primarily because belief in the Eucharist required a leap of faith. That is, it was a matter pertaining to Jesus which could not be seen or explained according to natural reason, and God rewarded humanity for faith in Jesus.¹³¹ By accepting the validity of Jesus' sacrifice, believers accepted that Jesus died for them, and confessed their sins, and in so doing they obtained remission of sins and the promise of eternal life.¹³² Franciscan writer William of Touris insisted in "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris" that Jesus' Passion brought remission of human sins.¹³³

The Eucharistic rite was effective because it consisted of a re-enactment of His Passion. The numerous obit and other mass foundations across Scotland in the late fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries testified to the laity's belief that the celebration of the Eucharist brought remission of sins and a greater chance of salvation. Often it was expressed only as a belief that such celebrations would be to the "weil of [the] saulis" named in the foundation.¹³⁴

Other documents revealed more of the laity's view that the Eucharistic rite brought remission of sins. For example, the chronicler Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie attributed James IV's daily hearing of Mass and evensong in the Chapel Royal in Stirling in 1488 to his feeling of guilt over the death of his father James III. Lindesay reported that James IV had sought out the dean of the Chapel Royal to discover how best to appease his conscience, and that the dean had told him of the forgiveness of God through Jesus Christ, a clear reference to Jesus' original and ritual sacrifice of Himself for human sin. However, the daily attendance at Mass apparently was insufficient to satisfy James IV's sense of spiritual unworthiness and sinfulness, such that as an act of penitence he wore a belt of iron around his middle, increasing its weight each year.¹³⁵ The king was also known for his frequent pilgrimages, and his numerous Mass offerings and foundations.¹³⁶ Whether Pitscottie was correct in his estimation of the attitude of James IV is of less importance than the attitudes of society which his comments reflect, that it was through the sacrifice of Jesus that God's forgiveness was to be obtained, remission for sins granted, and the bliss of heaven reached.

The founder of the collegiate Church of Biggar, Malcolm Lord Fleming, left a foundation charter which is more informative of the motives behind foundations than the average charter. In it he stated that his collegiate foundation, devoted to masses for the dead, was founded upon the premise that: ". . . the power of the Catholic faith is such, that the mass can snatch the souls of the faithful departed from the pains of purgatory, and bring them to the full enjoyment of blessed glory".¹³⁷ Thus in 1546 Lord Fleming expressed the basic assumption of lay devotees of the Eucharist. It was a rite involving the operation of private faith as well as public ritual, it had efficacy for souls in purgatory, and the intended destination of the believer in the afterlife was the state of being which was heaven. *The medium for this process was the sacrifice of "our lord Jesus Christ saviour".*¹³⁸

*Other foundations make it clear that most of the Scottish laity disagreed with John Knox's view that the singing of Mass, Placebo, Dirige and other prayers for the dead were superfluous, vain and idolatrous, and done without faith,*¹³⁹ or even the milder view of the earlier "Lollards of Kyle", who maintained that the Mass did not help souls in purgatory.¹⁴⁰ Prayers for the dead had long been part of the Eucharistic Prayer, and areas such as Ayrshire had a long history of founding obits (See Chapter 6), which included the celebration of the Eucharist and requiem masses and private masses plus the singing of the *Placebo* and *Dirige*. The request for private masses celebrated by individual chaplains at their own altars the day after the "death day" of the founder made it clear that laypeople believed in the saving presence of Jesus in these lesser masses. Such private masses were requested to be part of obit celebrations by laity of every class. John Park, burgess of Ayr (d.

1456) requested them, as did Adam Wishart (*Wischart*), late guild member and burgess of Ayr (d. 1521) and his spouse Mariote Fletcher (*Flegar*), in 1506.¹⁴¹ James IV and early sixteenth century Scottish society agreed on the validity of masses and prayers for the dead, founding *Diriges* and soulmasses in mourning for Queen Magdalene's death in 1537.¹⁴² The king also founded obits on 14 September, 1502, in the cathedral church of Aberdeen, for himself and for William, Bishop of Aberdeen, requesting annual private masses as part of his own obit.¹⁴³

Even a good work was believed to benefit souls in purgatory, for it was assumed that the founder's soul would be named in Eucharistic celebrations. This was the attitude of Margaret Knox in 1496. On 28 March, she fulfilled the wishes of her late husband Cuthbert Purvis (*Purveis*), burgess of Edinburgh, by founding a hospital in the place of St. Catherine of the Sciennes. She intended the hospital foundation to include an oratory with a chapel to benefit the soul and eternal rest of her late "beloved husband", her own soul, and those of her ancestors and successors.¹⁴⁴ Jesus' responsibility for the salvation of souls in purgatory through His Passion also was expressed in "The Jesus Psalter" of the devotional work BM Arundel MS 285. The psalter was a series of prose prayers, each prayer being followed by the *Pater Noster*. The refrain for each prayer asked for Jesus' mercy on the souls in purgatory, for the sake of His Passion.¹⁴⁵ The sentiment being repeated in each prayer, like a litany, would fix in the mind of the lay reader the centrality of the Passion to lay salvation. Reforming writers echoed this sentiment, crediting Jesus' sacrifice of Himself with the lay ability to pass "from paine to hevinlie joy".¹⁴⁶

The main function of the penitential system of the pre-Reformation church was the reconciliation of God with humanity. Confession, contrition and satisfaction were the three stages of the sacrament of penance, and the themes of forgiveness and reconciliation ran through all of Scottish society, from religious rites to secular ones, such as the formal rituals of penitence and forgiveness which offenders against the burgh community were forced to undergo in places such as Dundee and Aberdeen.¹⁴⁷ These themes continued into the post-Reformation church, in the form of public penitential rituals for sexual crimes in particular.¹⁴⁸

It is unsurprising that the Eucharist, as the major sacrament of the pre-Reformation church, would be seen as the best means of reconciling God with humanity, bringing the power of the sacrifice of God's only son to bear on the knotty problem of human sinfulness. As the Catechism of 1552 expressed the matter, by dying on the Cross, Jesus had reconciled humanity with the "father eternal", washing human sin away with his blood. Purification rituals in other societies used blood and/or water as purifying agents, and the Catechism referred to Jesus as a "well" from which humanity drew the "wattir of grace" and virtue to its soul. The wells of Jesus were to be the seven sacraments, wherein faithful men and women came to draw the special grace of God.¹⁴⁹ The water for the "well" came from the Incarnation, holy "conversatioun" and "painful" Passion of Jesus. Thus it was a great sin to come unreconciled to the Eucharist, whether unreconciled with God or with one's neighbour. For example, in 1599 Isobel Henryson (*Henresone*), spouse to Stirling baxter Alexander Robertson (*Robertsonsone*), was forced to do public penitence. She had verbally maligned John Millar's spouse prior to

Communion, and then had taken Communion without having first
 "reconciled" with her.¹⁵⁰

Part of this reconciliation with God involved God's expressed love for humanity, expressed in the Eucharist by the re-sacrificing of "Goddis deir sone" for humanity.¹⁵¹ Further, humanity's love for God was increased, such that people came to the Eucharistic rite with love and devotion in their hearts. This was made more possible by the association of Jesus with reconciliation, for it was the person of Jesus that carried the loving, self-sacrificing and merciful traits of the godhead.

Behald, O man, all this I did for the,
 Meik lik ane lambe offerit in sacrafice.
 ...
 Behald my lufe, and gif me yin agane,
 ...
 Twrne hame agane, yi synnis do forsaik,
 Behald and se gif oucht be levit behind,
 How I to marcy art reddy the to tak.
 Giff me thy hert and be no moir vnkind,
 Yi lufe & myn, togider do yaim bind,
 And let yaim neuer depart in no wis.
 Quhen yow is lowsit, agane yi saule to fynde,
 My blud for ye I offerit in sacrifice.¹⁵²

In the period under question, "God" was viewed more as a stern judge, although he was credited with sending Jesus to be crucified in order to effect a reconciliation, as in the poem "Of the Nativitie of Christ" by William Dunbar.

Synnaris be glaid, and pennance do,
 And thank your Makar hairtfully;
 For he that ye mycht nocht cum to,
 To yow is cumin full humly,
 Your saulis with this blud to by,
 And lous yow of the feindis arrest,
 And only of his awin mercy;
*Pro nobis Puer natus est.*¹⁵³

The Eucharist promised believers earthly happiness as well as eternal happiness in heaven, surcease or early release from purgatory, and avoidance of the devil and eternal damnation.¹⁵⁴

Hope, that most precious gift of faith, was engendered in the laity through the Eucharistic rite, such that the spiritual food of the body and blood of Jesus sustained laypeople while on earth.¹⁵⁵ In the words of a ballad contained in The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, Jesus' "body" would relieve all those who were in "hevines" who had repented of their sinfulness and through repentance and faith were made worthy of the great gift of the Eucharist.¹⁵⁶

Thus the laity wished to have masses celebrated for its benefit while living. For example, on 22 August, 1527, Andrew Cunningham (*Cunnygham*), elder, of Drumquasill, resigned his liferent of a number of lands to his grandson in return for the support of a chaplain to celebrate mass for him throughout his lifetime. He also required his grandson, Andrew Cunningham (*Cunnygham*), younger, to provide him with food and clothing for the rest of his life. Clearly Andrew Cunningham, elder, felt that it was time to pass on *his responsibilities* to a younger man, and through this grant was ensuring his own material and spiritual welfare, with the emphasis being on the provision of masses as "spiritual food" while he yet lived.¹⁵⁷

On 30 May, 1523, Sir Simon de Preston, knight, gave a large sum of money to augment the finances of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr in Craigmillar Castle, Midlothian. He wanted masses to be celebrated perpetually after his death for the souls of himself, his predecessors and successors, but also for masses during his lifetime.¹⁵⁸ Mass formed part of the celebrations for the arrival of Mary of Guise, along with songs and playing on the organs, indicating that honouring God in this fashion and partaking of the fruits of Jesus' Passion would benefit living souls.¹⁵⁹

The aumbry (sacrament house) of Cullen church had an inscription on it which dated from 1554, although the aumbry itself dated from 1551. The builders of the sacrament house were Elizabeth Gordon and her spouse Alexander Ogilvy of that ilk, in honour and love of God in Deskford church, Banffshire. The carving of the aumbry showed two angels raising the Host, mirroring the elevation of the bread by which Jesus was made really present. Below the aumbry was an inscription testifying to the laity's belief in the efficacy of the bread and the wine (body and blood) as spiritual food and source of salvation.¹⁶⁰

Laypeople could believe that Jesus, as God and man, would treat humanity as generously in the afterlife as He had done on earth by dying for their sins,¹⁶¹ and that He would be the source of peace and concord in the world through the faithful who received His sacrament together.¹⁶² That is, the mystical union of Jesus and the believer *experienced in the Eucharist also involved the drawing together of the believers, which was to result in greater unity amongst them.*

Along these lines the Kers of Cessford and Scotts of Braxxholm made an agreement in 1530 to reconcile their differences through the medium of the Mass. In the indenture between Walter Ker of Cessford, Andrew Ker of Ferniehurst and other Kers, and Walter Scott of Braxholm, knight and other Scotts, it was agreed that Walter Scott would go, or "cause [a substitute] to go", to the four head pilgrimages of Scotland (Scone, Dundee, Paisley and Melrose). There he would arrange for the celebration of a mass for the soul of the late Andrew Ker of Cessford and those killed with him on the field of Melrose. Scott also agreed to fund a priest to say a daily mass for their souls for five years.¹⁶³ Thus not only were the souls of

the departed to be benefited in their struggle to leave purgatory, masses and pilgrimage being important ways to give satisfaction to God for offences (and murder was an offence against God as well as one's neighbour), but this religious solution was intended to bring the two parties together in peace and concord, and provide a form of spiritual purification to laypeople stained with the sin of anger.

Some form of reconciliation was in order for the laird and magnate classes, certainly, for in 1552 Walter Ker of Cessford was again involved in a violent dispute. The laird of Buccleuch had been killed, and blame fell on Walter Ker of Cessford, the laird of Ferniehurst and their co-conspirators. The vendetta against the offenders had risen to such a pitch that they and their friends and families went in fear of their lives. They were afraid to go the market cross or to the church, the latter point indicating that attendance at church was considered a normal right and duty. Even their friends were afraid to go to the Privy Council to plead their cause. The offenders sought mercy and pity from the Privy Council, and would make whatever amends required of them by the Queen and her government.¹⁶⁴

The theme of lay reconciliation lay in the decretal of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes on 18 October, 1490. John [the] Bruce (*Bruse*) of Airth had been murdered by William [of] Menteith of the Kerse, knight, and Archibald Menteith his brother, and the Lords wished to bring about "kynbute" and friendship between the parties. Obviously the attempt on 7 July, 1489, to encourage "amite luf and tendernes" between the two parties had failed. As a punishment, a chaplain was to be funded to celebrate divine service on behalf of the late John Bruce in the church of Airth, Stirlingshire. The 1490 records signified the failure of the Menteiths to fulfil this

condition for the past year, for which they were fined 200 merks on 18 October, payable to Bruce's heir Robert Bruce. At the same time John Hamilton (*Hammyltoune*) of Bardowie (*Bardowy*) and Robert Drummond of Crannoch, both implicated in the murder, were called to account for their failure to pay £120 to purchase 12 merks in annual rent to sustain a perpetual priest to pray for the soul of the late John Bruce. As they had not done so, they were fined 55 merks, and Robert Bruce was authorised to seize their lands and goods until the debt was paid.

The religious significance of the act of murder required a religious form of reconciliation. Thus the Lords ordered the guilty parties to appear on 20 October, 1490, at the market cross of Edinburgh, in penitential garb. That is, they were to wear linen clothing, carry their swords in hand, and ask forgiveness of Robert and his friends for the death of John Bruce, as custom warranted. There they were to cease to hold rancour in their hearts, to travel to the four head pilgrimages of Scotland to take part in mass for the soul of the late John. The concern of the Lords not only for reconciliation, but also for soul masses, was made clear by the careful arrangements they made for perpetual prayers for Bruce. That is, Robert Bruce was to ensure that within twenty days he hired a priest to sing for the soul of his late father in the church of Airth for two years, with Robert paying half the fee and Archibald Menteith the other half. After two years, Robert was to find a priest to continue to pray for Bruce's soul.¹⁶⁵

LAY RESPONSES TO BELIEF IN THE BENEFITS OF JESUS' SACRIFICE IN THE EUCHARIST

Laypeople gave "external" expression to their belief in the sacrificial nature and great efficacy of Jesus' sacrifice in the

Eucharist. They employed a variety of methods of honouring Jesus and encouraging His continued self-sacrifice in the Mass, such that the merits of His Passion would be transferred to themselves. Honouring the consecrated Host in processions or donating receptacles for its reservation was one method, as was donating valuable chalices in which the wine became the blood of Jesus. By honouring the bread and wine one honoured God and thus brought His favour upon oneself not only for participating in the rite of the Eucharist, but also for showing regard for the sacrament and for God's sacrifice of His only Son Jesus. The foundation of low and high masses, chaplainries, prebendaries and churches with cure of souls also passed on to the founder the benefits of the Eucharist. Further, by making the benefits of the Eucharist available to other souls one had done a good deed for which one received further spiritual reward.

Ownership of a portable altar ensured that one had constant access to the benefits of the Eucharist, an important consideration for lairds or magnates who might move between estates frequently. Simple offerings at the Eucharistic celebration were also a sign of piety, so even the poorest layperson could contribute in some manner to the maintenance of a rite which brought such great spiritual rewards to observers and participants. Even when laypeople such as lepers were unable to stand close to the site of the Eucharistic miracle, and were unable to take Communion along with their fellow Christians, arrangements were made to allow them to benefit from the Eucharistic celebration. Churches such as Fowlis Wester parish church in Perthshire were built with "leper squints" so that those not allowed to enter the church could at least view the rite from afar.¹⁶⁶

PROCESSIONS HONOURING THE HOST

Processions were religious events in which God and the Host were honoured. Further, the unity of the sacred and the profane in society was affirmed by sanctifying the secular space and by involving laypeople in the processions.¹⁶⁷ The popularity of these processions was made clear by the difficulty which the Protestants had in suppressing them; in 1587, the General Assembly accused the deacons of crafts in Dumfriesshire of holding "superstitious dayes" in contravention of church law.¹⁶⁸ The two main processions of the year were those of Corpus Christi and Candlemas.¹⁶⁹ The imagery used in processions influenced the laity's perceptions of Jesus and His role in salvation. For example, St. Salvator's college in St. Andrews had a cross of silver and beryl which had images of Mary and John on it, reminding the laity of the combined influence of Jesus' Passion and of Mary's and John's intercession in achieving salvation.¹⁷⁰ In Perth as late as 1577, burgh-dwellers were being disciplined for celebrating Corpus Christi.¹⁷¹ In both processions the consecrated bread or Host was the focal point, the crafts of the burgh preceding the "blessed sacrament" in Aberdeen, for example.¹⁷²

Because the most prestigious position in the procession was the place closest to the sacrament, some jockeying for position occurred amongst the craft guilds, each of which played out one part of the biblical narrative.¹⁷³ Traditionally the hammermen and smiths took pride of place next to the Host.¹⁷⁴ The squabbling over precedence of Haddington's baxters and its masons and wrights was finally resolved in 1532 by enquiring of Edinburgh its own policy, and then imposing the same order in Haddington. In Edinburgh the procession was led by the wealthy and powerful hammermen carrying two banners, along with the masons, wrights, glasswrights and

painters, also with two banners. The "sacrament" was the next in the procession.¹⁷⁵ These banners could reinforce the message of the Passion, and the nature of Jesus as sacrifice. For example, the Fetternear banner of the Holy Blood guild, traditionally supported by the merchants, contained images of the instruments of the Passion, a reminder to all viewers that it was through Jesus' suffering that they would reach heaven.¹⁷⁶ Following the sacrament in the Edinburgh procession were the baxters, websters and walkers, tailors, cordiners, skimmers and furriers, barbers, fleshers and candlemakers. Haddington accorded the masons and wrights the position of honour next to the sacrament, as Edinburgh had done, and the Haddington baxters were forced to back down.¹⁷⁷

The bailies of the burgh decided on the order of crafts in the procession, but the deacons or masters of the individual craft guilds took charge of the actors and furnishings for their part in pageants or processions.¹⁷⁸ To put on a colourful, well-run procession was to honour God and the blessed sacrament, and so increase one's chances of salvation. Thus 8d. was paid in 1536-7 in Ayr for preparing the streets for the Corpus Christi procession, "for honour[ing] of the sacrament".¹⁷⁹ Because such processions were essentially an aspect of corporate piety, reflecting a "collective ideal", individuals who neglected to do their part were believed to be harming the spiritual opportunities of the entire craft and/or burgh community, so were brought into line with warnings and fines. For example, Aberdeen burgh council threatened to fine crafts for not fulfilling their duties properly in 1530, 1534, 1538 and 1551, and in 1532 the baxters were fined for not producing their "pagane". Each pageant would show an aspect of the

life and Passion of Jesus, the hammermen and smiths having the tale of the Magi as their subject, for example.¹⁸⁰

The Corpus Christi procession, with its re-enactment of the life and Passion of Jesus, along with its presentation of the Host for the adoration of the people, brought home to the laity most clearly that it was the sacrifice of Jesus which had made possible the remission of human sins and reconciliation with God, and that the consumption of the Host in the Eucharistic rite confirmed their right to salvation. The Cross was a strong symbol of the saving power of Jesus' death, and it had a prominent place in the procession, preparations for the 1507 procession in Lanark involving the mending of the Cross.¹⁸¹ The church of St. Salvator in St. Andrews had a silver cross bearing images of Mary and St. John. It was borne in processions, a strong reminder to the laity that it was through the Passion of Jesus on the Cross and the intercession of Mary and St. John that human salvation would be attained.¹⁸² Even those of a reforming bent, and therefore cautious of "images", believed in the value of the Cross as an image. Sir David Lyndsay believed that the Cross was a useful means of reminding people of the blood shed by Jesus for their salvation. That is, it reminded the illiterate of Jesus' nature as sacrifice, and thus fortified their faith.¹⁸³

In 1549 the provincial council of the Scottish church encouraged those with cure of souls to explain the Epistle and Gospel in order to excite the laity to a veneration of the "sacrament of the altar", and to explain the Eucharist and how it must be used properly to be efficacious. This order was in keeping with the upper clergy's general belief that the laity's salvation was in jeopardy through insufficient preaching of the "holy gospel

of Jesus Christ", which left laypeople in ignorance about which vices to avoid and which virtues to embrace, and what actions were necessary to salvation,¹⁸⁴ first among which was participation in the Eucharistic rite.

Increasing the laity's understanding of the nature and meaning of the Eucharistic rite would probably have helped to limit the lay tendency to attribute "magical" properties to the consecrated Host (eg. healing power of consecrated bread); it might also have reduced the lay tendency to assume that it was the number of masses and the presence of the clergy which were most crucial to the efficacy of the Mass rather than lay involvement or level of spiritual preparation.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, there is certainly evidence of popular devotion to the Host, encouraged by processions such as those at Corpus Christi, and those carried out by the parish priest to the homes of the ill and the dying, attended by the parish clerk ringing a bell.¹⁸⁶ Proof of the value placed on the Eucharistic rite by the laity also comes from evidence of lay donations and maintenance of equipment associated with the Eucharistic rite.

EQUIPMENT ASSOCIATED WITH CELEBRATION OF THE EUCHARIST

The laity could honour the "blessed sacrament" by donating receptacles for its reservation to be used either in the church itself, in processions, or in visits to the dying. Ordinary chapels or parish churches might have quite a limited array of such receptacles, perhaps only an ordinary wooden pyx. Prestigious foundations would have a greater variety of receptacles in varying degrees of costliness and ornamentation. The more elaborate the receptacle, the more impressive it was to the laity during the rite, and thus the more the Host within would be valued, and God honoured. The pyx, "Eucharistia" and sacrament house were some of the

receptacles used for the reservation of the consecrated bread in the period 1480 to 1560. A foundation such as the monastery of Holyrood was extremely rich in such receptacles, this monastery having a great silver Eucharist weighing 660 ounces, gilt (*deauratum*).¹⁸⁷

The inventory of the church of St. Salvator's college in St. Andrews in 1450 also revealed the wealth which could be accumulated in ecclesiastical institutions. The church owned an enamelled pax-board (*pakis bred*) with an image of the "Salvator" on the front, reminding the laity that it was the body of Jesus the Saviour which they were consuming during the rite. It also had a pax-board which had a mother-of-pearl crucifix along with it, reminding the laity of the human suffering which had occurred in order for the sacrifice to be efficacious in its remission of human sin. The church had three "Eucharists" for the reservation of the "holy Sacrament", one silver, one over-gilt with silver, and one of silver and enamel. In fact, most of the ornaments in the church were related to the Passion of Jesus, either as receptacles for the Host, crucifixes, relics of the cross, as decorations on pillars of Passion imagery, or straightforward images of Jesus himself.¹⁸⁸

The inventory of Glasgow Cathedral showed a markedly higher standard of receptacle, understandable given its wealth. It had a round pyx to keep the unconsecrated bread at the high altar, unusual since the bread in a pyx was normally consecrated. Glasgow emphasised the importance of impressing the laity outwith the cathedral as well as in the cathedral itself, and inspiring them to adoration of the Host,¹⁸⁹ by having a silver gilt case for the Host in processions and a silver gilt Eucharistia for the reserved Host in the form of a tower, also for use in processions. For visiting the sick, the cathedral had a great silver gilt monstrance for the

Host in the shape of a chalice.¹⁹⁰ Aberdeen's monstrance for visiting the sick, mentioned in its inventory of 1549, also was silver gilt in the shape of the chalice, having a cross on its top to remind the laity that the saving power of the Host derived from Jesus' Passion.¹⁹¹

Individuals might donate these receptacles as a sign of piety. An anonymous chronicler stated that James IV was a giver of many ornaments and chalices to churches, and this comment is borne out by the evidence. In 1501, the king donated a new Eucharist and chalices to the Chapel Royal in Stirling, paying a goldsmith £10 17s. to gild them. A temporary measure five days later, on 3 April, was to spend 7s.4d. to purchase two tin chalices for use in the church while the expensive chalices were being gilded.¹⁹² A few weeks later on 22 April the king gave the friars of Kirkcudbright £5 7s. to purchase a Eucharist.¹⁹³ In this case the king would not have benefited as much from the gift spiritually as he did from supplying his own chapel with "ornaments". However, helping the friars to purchase their own costly Eucharist would have been viewed by God as a good deed and an honouring of the Host and thus Jesus Himself.¹⁹⁴

Individuals such as lairds and burgesses also donated receptacles for the sacrament. On 20 January, 1527/8, John Craig (*Crag*) of Aberdeen offered to give one pound of "grit" silver to aid in the purchase of a tabernacle for the altar of St. James in St. Nicholas parish church,¹⁹⁵ and the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of Strathdighty (now Mains of Fintry) of the diocese of St. Andrews, founded by Robert Graham of Fintry in 1493, had a "tabernacle of the Blessed Virgin Mary" for the consecrated Host.¹⁹⁶

Keeping the Host safely locked in sacrament houses was a good idea. Laypeople believed in the power of the Host to such a degree

that in Europe theft of the Host was common, often to be used for healing purposes.¹⁹⁷ Construction of a beautiful sacrament house honoured the sacrament and thus God. In Scotland a number of sacrament houses appeared in the sixteenth century, becoming increasingly elaborate. In the north-east, Alexander of Galloway, rector of Kinkell, was responsible for the building and decoration of King's College Chapel as well as several sacrament houses nearby.¹⁹⁸

Sacrament house decoration might be quite plain and thus honour God only in that it reflected the donor's concern for the safety of the Host, as was the case with the sacrament house in Contin church, Ross-shire, built in the late fifteenth century. Decorated sacrament houses revealed more about the associations given to the Host, such as the sacrament houses at Auchindoir and Kintore in Aberdeenshire which combined monograms of Mary and Jesus, a reminder that it was through Mary's act of free will that Jesus was born to save humanity.¹⁹⁹ This same theme was visible in the elaborate sacrament house at Foulis Easter, Angus, on which an Annunciation scene was carved, along with Jesus holding an orb to symbolise His power and two angels holding the pillar and Cross as symbols of His Passion.²⁰⁰ The sacrament house at Cullen, Banffshire erected by Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater and his spouse Elizabeth Gordon intermingled the concepts of Jesus, the Host and salvation. The carving of the sacrament house showed two angels raising the Host and other ornaments. As usually angels bore away "good" souls to heaven,²⁰¹ this replacement of the soul with the Host reminded the laity that it was through the Passion of Jesus that their soul could achieve acceptability and be borne away to heaven.²⁰²

The clergy was concerned to encourage the adoration of the Host by the faithful at times other than masses or processions. To address this, monstrances could be used to display the Host whilst keeping it safe, donations of such monstrances being a sign of gratitude to Jesus for His suffering and to God who sent His Son to save humanity, as well as an encouragement to one's fellow Christians, whose own behaviour was important to God's attitude toward society as a whole. Bishop Gavin Dunbar donated such a monstrance of silver gilt in the early sixteenth century.²⁰³ Aberdeen Cathedral also received from the bishop a violet velvet canopy for the sacrament with images, scenes and inscriptions in cloth of gold, another way to glorify the consecrated Host and encourage the adoration of it by the laity.²⁰⁴

The chalice was the receptacle for the wine which became the *blood of Jesus during the Eucharistic rite*, the relationship of wine to blood being made clear in Roslin Chapel by a carving showing Jesus proffering the chalice.²⁰⁵ As the laity was not allowed to drink from the chalice, its role was purely symbolic. In many societies, blood plays a role as a purifying substance.²⁰⁶ This was the message of the prayer to Jesus in BM Arundel MS 285 entitled "Ane Dewoit Exercicioun for the Honour of the Crown of Thorne", found only in this Scottish devotional anthology of the mid-sixteenth century. The suppliant was to thank Jesus for His Passion suffered to redeem humanity, and to ask that the blood from His wounds fall on the suppliant and those on whose behalf he prayed, especially souls in purgatory, to redeem them from their sins.²⁰⁷

The blood of Jesus was singled out by orthodox and reforming writers alike as being of tremendous importance to the purification

of humanity prior to salvation. Sir David Lyndsay stated in his "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and Ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World" that God sent Jesus to cleanse us with His "precious blood" and so save humanity from sin and death. However, humanity had a role to play in ensuring that Jesus' Passion was efficacious. That is, laypeople had to believe firmly in the power of Jesus' blood to bring them to heaven.²⁰⁸ Thus Lyndsay affirmed human free will as a factor in salvation, his comments supporting a theory that laypeople believed that their own personal worthiness of thought and deed was crucial to advancement to heaven.

The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, the compilation of reforming poems credited to John Wedderburn, took a stance emphasising the total efficacy of Jesus' Passion. The poem "For our Gude-man in hevin dois ring", based upon a Lutheran work, insisted that Jesus' Passion was the source of God's mercy, and that the blood which flowed from Jesus' wounded side purified humanity.

This is the blude did us refresche;
 This is the blude that mon us wesche:
 The blude that from his hart furth ran,
 Maid us fre airis till our Gude-man.²⁰⁹

The purifying blood of Jesus, as represented in the Eucharistic wine, would be a means of entering heaven, a concept expressed in a carving over a monument dedicated to Margaret Stewart (d. c. 1440), sister of Robert III and spouse of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas (d. 1424) in Lincluden College, Kirkcudbrightshire. The unusual carving over the main arch above the sarcophagus contains three chalices within a triangular stone border, probably symbolising the role of the Eucharistic wine/blood of Jesus.²¹⁰ Chalices may refer to the Trinity, of which Jesus was one aspect, and thus brought the power of God's grace to save humanity when he died on the Cross. This interpretation is supported by the inscriptions on the back of

the monument, which noted that it was the burial place of the Countess of Douglas, and added "A l'aide de Dieu".²¹¹

Chalices were a popular lay gift, the quality of the chalice depending upon the donor's means and the importance accorded the altar to which the chalice was to belong.²¹² Altars or chaplainries dedicated to Jesus, such as the high altar or altars of the Rood or Holy Blood, and those dedicated to Mary, tended to be most lavishly endowed because they were believed to be most efficacious in ensuring lay salvation. Apart from Mary and Jesus, saints most closely related to the Day of Judgment, and believed to be most influential with God, were recipients of costly chalices.

On 9 June, 1545, the burgh court of Haddington its placement of a number of valuable altar ornaments from St. Mary's parish church with responsible men of the town, and from this entry we have a useful description of ornaments in a relatively wealthy parish church. The Rood altar's chalice was silver and had a crucifix in the foot. It was inscribed with the words "Johne de Crummye et sponsa sua me fieri faecerunt", and in the paten with the word "Jesus". Thus the main themes of the Eucharist were made clear: salvation was through Jesus, who had died at the Cross for human sin, and individual laypeople proved their gratitude and devotion to Jesus through honouring His sacrament with the donation of the receptacle which held His blood during the rite. Mary's importance as a guarantor of human salvation was evident in the costly chalice at her altar, one gilded over with silver, with the inscription on the foot "calix Sancte Marie de Hadingtoun".²¹³

Burgesses donated chalices to saints' altars throughout the period 1480 to 1560.²¹⁴ Burgess Thomas Prat founded an altar of Sts. George and Thomas the Apostle in St. Nicholas church in

Aberdeen on 18 April, 1491, to honour God, the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas, Sts. Thomas and George and all the saints, and for the salvation of his soul and those of his parents, benefactors and the faithful dead. His foundation included the usual altar accoutrements of altar cloths, pall, cruets, candlesticks and vestments, one Missal and a silver gilt chalice.²¹⁵

A number of chalices were donated to St. Mary's church, Haddington, to adorn altars dedicated to powerful saints, including one at St. James' altar. At the foot of this chalice was the mark of William Kemp and his spouse, along with the inscription "orate pro Willelmo Kemp et ejus sponsa", the donor honouring the rite with the gift, and also honouring the saint and obtaining his prayers. At St. Catherine's altar was a silver chalice with the words "*Richard Crommye*" with a cross, a reminder to God of the identity of the donor, and the means by which Jesus had ensured remission of *human sins* through His death on the Cross. St. Catherine was a popular saint because she was a virgin martyr and thus had accrued significant merit through complete sexual purity. At the altar of St. Catherine in the abbey of Holyrood there was a tabernacle of ivory and a silver reliquary with her bones as well as a chalice.²¹⁶

Support for St. Francis of Assisi partly derived from his popularity amongst the laity who had joined the Confraternity of the Third Order of St. Francis. This order gave laypeople the opportunity to actively seek spiritual worthiness. Apart from being promised the eternal prayers of the friars, members of the Third Order fulfilled a number of conditions which ultimately improved their level of spiritual acceptability and thus increased their chance of salvation.²¹⁷ Other laypeople were inspired to support the Franciscans to a more limited extent, as was the case with

Elizabeth Barla, lady of Elphinstone and of Forbes. She donated a chalice worth £20 to the altar of the blessed Francis in Aberdeen's Franciscan friary.²¹⁸

Wealthier lairds, magnates or kings might own several chalices themselves, as well as those they donated to churches. Thus Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath mentioned a number of chalices in his testament of 15 November, 1456, including one in a kist in Tain and two others owed to him by Theman of Aberdeen. He wanted one of these two chalices to be given to the church of Roslin, the seat of his son-in-law, and one to be given to St. Mawnis altar in Kirkwall, after having been gilded. Sutherland's expressions of faith in the Eucharistic rite, and desire to benefit from it, included a warning to his son-in-law William, Earl of Orkney, to ensure that the foundation of a perpetual chaplainry in the collegiate church of Roslin went ahead. Sutherland also reminded his executors that he wanted mass be celebrated at his burial, an obit founded for himself and his spouse in the canonry (*Chanonre*) of Ross, two priests to sing for his soul for two years, the daily celebration of a sung requiem mass in the monastery of Fearn, and two trentals of masses.²¹⁹

Altar retables, which were placed behind altars, often carried scenes of the Passion, reminding the laity that it was the Passion of Jesus which brought them salvation, and that the re-enactment of the Passion was the main substance of the Eucharistic rite.

Honouring the high altar, where high mass was said, directed one's devotion completely to Jesus. Often it was burgh councils or people of laird, magnate or royal status who were in a position to donate and maintain a number of different accoutrements used at the high altar. For example, Lady Janet Hepburn, a wealthy benefactor

of the collegiate church of Seton, donated a Eucharist and silver chalice to the church as well as a silver cross.²²⁰ The monastery of Holyrood had a chalice of pure gold weighing 46 ounces, far beyond the means of all but the richest individual or institution. It also had two crosses of silver, one weighing 180 ounces, and a crystal cross, visible reminders of the saving power of the Cross. For the high altar were two bells inlaid with precious stones next to the great silver Eucharist, the bells to be rung at the elevation of the Host when Jesus became present in the bread and wine. Two silver chalices (*cuppa*) for the sacrament and two silver gilt phials also belonged to the high altar.²²¹ However, small gifts such as linen cloths, vestments or small ornaments were within the reach of many people who did not want to concentrate all their energies on craft altars or other altars dedicated to favourite saints.²²²

Burgh councils were concerned about maintaining standards of equipment at the high altar. For example, the 1536-7 accounting for Ayr burgh council recorded a payment of 12d. for linen for the high altar, and 4d. to James Wod for sewing the linen.²²³ In 1527, the burgh council of Aberdeen gave David Bruce the task of making a new chalice out of a sixteen ounce chalice of St. John the Evangelist and fifteen ounces of broken silver. On 22 March, 1532, Bruce was given a further three ounces of silver to complete the chalice.²²⁴ Demonstrating its concern that the Reformation not endanger the ability of the parish clergy to carry out masses effectively, on 16 June, 1559, the council ordered laypeople to inventory costly church movables such as chalices, and then take them into safe-keeping until such time as the "uproir and tumult" had been suppressed.²²⁵

Scottish kings were keen to adorn high altars of their private chapels, James IV paying 14s. of "drinksilver" to the masons

constructing the high altar in his chapel at Holyroodhouse in February of 1508.²²⁶ Work also took place in the period under study in Stirling, Banff and Edinburgh.²²⁷ James V spent lavishly to adorn the chapel in Holyroodhouse, paying John Mosman £20 6s. 1½d. to make a silver chalice for the chapel, and £7 13s. to John Young for red damask for a hanging cloth for the altar plus 40s. for silken fringe for the hanging cloths and embroidery. The king also paid £7 for embroidering three images of Jesus with His crown of thorns, along with three "names" of James V, the king's arms with a crown above it, and two unicorns, a symbol popularised by James III.²²⁸ The king honoured the altar in this fashion in order to remind God of his identity and to clearly remind Him that it was the human suffering and sacrifice of Jesus which promised salvation through the Eucharistic rite. Earlier in 1536 he had paid £24 in labour and materials for work on the chapel ceiling, including the placement of the king's arms and gilding of the chapel's old silver work, and for upgrading of the decoration at the high altar.²²⁹

The choir was the scene of many important masses to benefit souls, particularly obits. The data regarding money spent for religious purposes reveals that the choir received the most. For example, Aberdeen worked on its choir in St. Nicholas church from the 1490's to 1510's, expending large sums.

MASS FOUNDATIONS AND OFFERINGS

Celebration of the Eucharistic rite benefited both the living and the dead. Lay founders of religious institutions or services exhibited their concern for their own souls, those of their family and friends, their benefactors, those to whom they owed satisfaction, and the faithful in general, by founding masses, and those who attended masses and made money offerings showed their

support of this central rite of the church. God looked favourably upon those who had the Eucharist celebrated for the benefit of others, so usually some provision was made in religious foundations to include prayers for one's Christian neighbours. There was a clear expectation that the Eucharist would benefit only believers rather than all souls, the usual term being the "faithful dead". This could be achieved by founding perpetual obits or masses at existing foundations, or by founding chaplainries, chapels or collegiate churches and naming various souls as benefactors of these masses. Prebendaries could also be founded which had cure of souls, but usually more effort was made by laypeople to assist dead souls than living ones.

However, some lay patrons were concerned and wealthy enough to make provision for both living and dead souls, a necessity if the collegiate foundation had originally been a parish church. George, Lord Seton, founded a collegiate church of St. Mary of the Holy Rood of Seton in 1493, for the spiritual benefit of himself, James IV and his successors, and all "faythfull ded personis". He made the first prebendar the vicar of the church, with *cure of souls*, insisting that he make continual residence there, say Matins, high mass, evensong and Compline, and only depart to visit people who were ill. Further, for Seton's own particular benefit the provost was to join with the rest of the clerical staff in celebrating a *Dirige* with solemn mass, sung continually and with all necessary octaves.²³⁰

Malcolm, Lord Fleming's foundation of the collegiate church of St. Mary of Biggar in 1546 revealed a greater concern for cure of souls, naming the eighth prebendar as largely responsible, and assigning fines for absenteeism or bad behaviour.²³¹ He was also concerned that his transference of the fruits of the church of

Lenzie {*Lengze*} not prejudice cure of souls among the parishioners (ie. a substitute curate was being found).²³² However, the main concern of his foundation, in common with other collegiate foundations, was to bring most benefit to the souls named in the foundation, namely himself, his spouse Joan Stewart, his parents, benefactors, friends, relatives, predecessors, successors, all the faithful dead, and especially those whom he had harmed in some fashion and to whom restitution, either by prayers or payment, had not yet been made.²³³ He made it clear that the celebration of the Eucharist was of primary importance by insisting that the provost discipline clerics who behaved badly during services or absented themselves, that clerical staff be well qualified, and that the primary duty of the prebendaries be to celebrate divine services, especially the Mass. Fleming felt strongly that lax execution of services (eg. improper singing) meant that God was not honoured sufficiently and the "edification" of those attending services was lost.²³⁴

In Dumfriesshire, Janet Maxwell, lady of Tinwald, made the fruits of the mass more accessible to other living souls by founding a high mass every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. The high mass was intended to benefit the souls of herself, the late Edward Maxwell, laird of Tinwald, his father William Maxwell, her parents, predecessors and successors. As a more lavish Eucharistic celebration, it also did greater honour to Maxwell than a low mass would have done.²³⁵

Most laypeople were concerned with foundations to benefit souls after death. For example, wealthy laypeople might found a number of masses in various institutions, doing so as circumstances arose in which the saving power of Jesus' Passion was particularly

needed. Thus in 1539, after Queen Magdalene had died, James V made arrangements for an elaborate funeral and perpetual masses. On 7 July, he paid for chaplains to sing a *Dirige* and soulmass for the late queen, and in the Treasurer's Accounts various payments were disbursed for the "suffrage of Quene Magdelane, quham God assoilze",²³⁶ a phrase similar to that used in the soulmass foundations for James III and Queen Margaret.²³⁷ The phrase being used and the foundation of the *Dirige* and soulmass for Queen Magdalene are proof of James V's belief in the existence of purgatory, where the Queen would be awaiting God's mercy, and in the efficacy of the Eucharistic rite to effect an early release by applying the merits of the Passion.

Founders in less prosperous circumstances confined themselves to founding masses for their own souls in existing foundations, being particularly concerned for masses for the dead. For example, burgess of Dumfries John Corsby founded an annual *Placebo*, *Dirige* and requiem mass for himself and his spouse Isabel Patonson (*Pawtonstone*) in the parish church of Dumfries.²³⁸ A similar foundation was that of Marjory Dobbie (*Doby*) in Edinburgh in 1505. She donated 38s. in annual rents to found an obit for herself and her late husband Thomas Home, tanner and burgess, in St. Giles' church. Then on 28 September, 1507, she endowed a chaplainry at the altar of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian for the celebration of masses for herself and Home. On 22 October, when the clerical holder of the chaplainry changed, it was stated that the foundation was in honour of the Blessed Virgin and all the saints, and the salvation of souls of the king, queen, Marjory and her late spouse. She reserved a liferent to herself at this time, emphasising that her

main intention was to ensure the welfare of souls after death, particularly her own soul.²³⁹

When the layperson wished to emphasise Jesus' role in salvation he or she could found masses at altars emphasising His role. Thus on 7 March, 1526/7, John Murray founded an obit and a daily mass at St. Salvator's altar in St. Nicholas church, Aberdeen. The obit was to benefit the souls of him and his; two years later on 3 June, 1529, a trental of masses was founded for Murray's soul to further assist him in purgatory, this being accomplished by Patrick Gordon (*Gordoun*) of Methlick, Aberdeenshire, as executor of Murray's will.²⁴⁰ Clearly Murray made his will close to the date of his death, as was common in the period, but had wanted to ensure the safety of his soul by making most of his own arrangements and not leaving it all up to his executor. The scarcity of obit and other religious foundations in Scottish wills may at first seem to indicate a lack of concern for the afterlife, but by the time most people made their will they had already made such arrangements.

The inveighing of reformers against the efficacy of masses for the dead operated in the face of strong lay support for such masses. In 1494, the "Lollards of Kyle" had insisted that the Mass would not help souls in purgatory, but notably did not deny purgatory altogether.²⁴¹ By the end of the period under study John Knox and John Rough (*Rowght*) were being accused by a clerical court of believing that praying for the dead was useless and idolatrous.²⁴² Yet clerical council, burgh council, craft guild, king and parliament, and individual lay opinion held that the Eucharistic celebration was efficacious in relieving souls in purgatory, craft guild members in Dunfermline, for example, being required to attend craft guild brothers' burials, and masses for the dead being

obligatory.²⁴³ As late as 30 August, 1550, George, Earl of Huntly, was planning to found a "college of Huntly" with twelve prebends for the express purpose of performing divine service for the dead, and Queen Mary's government was donating lands to help him in his project.²⁴⁴ This revealed support for the belief that, without the sacrifice of Jesus, the promise of salvation at the Day of Judgment would never have come, an idea which was expressed in the Epistle read during a mass for the dead. One's hope for salvation lay with the historical Passion and ritual re-enactment of it.²⁴⁵

Thus the laity's mass foundations ran the gamut from once only trentals and yearly obits, through to daily or weekly low masses in honour of Jesus, as well as a number of chaplainry, altar and collegiate foundations. Many of these foundations emphasised the provision of masses for dead souls who waited in purgatory, relying on the rituals of the living to bring them the merits of Jesus' Passion to help raise them to heaven.

Laypeople were not only expected to attend high mass to benefit from the re-enactment of Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross, or to come to Communion to take part in the ritual on an infrequent basis. They were also expected to attend masses on feast and festival days, and to attend obit and other commemorative services, and there offer their prayers for the deceased. Proof of their presence, and of their belief in the value of low and high masses, were the offerings they made when they attended. James IV made a number of offerings in his time as king, often at high mass (eg. a number in 1511) or at special masses relating to Jesus' Passion.²⁴⁶ The latter type of offering included an offering "to the Rud" on 12 September, 1511, at the "Rud of Greinsid", Midlothian.²⁴⁷ A few days later the king made a 14s. offering (the normal amount) to the

"Exaltatioune of the Halie Croce", a new feast which gained popularity in the sixteenth century, and which was celebrated in Aberdeen Cathedral as a minor feast on 14 September.²⁴⁸

Lay offerings tended to concentrate around Easter, the central event in the Christian calendar which commemorated the Passion and its promise of salvation. It was also the time when people were expected to take communion, so it is not surprising that in the records of St. Giles' church in Edinburgh from 1552-3, "pece silver" offerings at Easter were much higher than in the rest of the year, with Christmas offerings coming in a distant second.²⁴⁹ Individual offerings are only visible through the Treasurer's Accounts for kings. Accounts for the reign of James IV reveal that offerings were not confined to special times of the year, but that at Easter the king did give most generously.²⁵⁰

ATTENDANCE AT MASS

In the pre-Reformation period, clergy and laity were concerned that all people receive the benefits of the Eucharistic rite. For example, in a letter from William, Bishop of Aberdeen, creating a new parish of St. Mary of the Snows (*St. Mary ad Nives*) (1498), it was stated that a new parish church was needed to respond to the growing number of inhabitants living in that area, who needed to "hear masses and other divine services . . . for the weal of the souls of the inhabitants there".²⁵¹ The Bishop insisted that it was the pressure particularly from "Catholic nobles", backed by James IV and priest William Strachan, that had convinced him to solicit Pope Alexander VI's agreement to a new parish and parish church. He mentioned a petition from the inhabitants of the area, indicating a general desire to benefit from the spiritual services of a parish church.²⁵²

In terms of the attendance of the laity at Mass, it was generally agreed that "gud Cristine men" should attend. It is unsurprising that people prevented from attending Mass would be very angry at this limitation on their right to pursue spiritual worthiness through attendance at the rite of the church most central to salvation. For example, David, laird of Wemyss, Lundy of Balgonie and Sir John Melville of Raith had been attacked by the Moutrays of Seafield on their way to church in Kinghorn, Fife, in 1527, and the victims expressed outrage that this should have occurred while they were fulfilling their Christian duty.²⁵³

In 1517, in the nave of the abbey church of Kelso, the great religious devotion of the people during the Eucharistic rite was described:

In medio ecclesie super illo pariete qui distinguit monachos a parrochianis est solum quoddam lignum ubi est Venerabilis ara Crucis super qua diligentissime aspervatur et colitur Corpus Christi et ibi est magna religio et devotio parrochianorum.²⁵⁴

James IV, king during several decades of the period under study, was a great supporter of the Mass, founding trentals of masses, and making offerings at a variety of special masses (egs. to commemorate saints' days, at priests' "first masses") as well as high masses throughout Scotland.²⁵⁵ A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents described the king as a devout hearer of mass and divine service,²⁵⁶ the Easter offering of the king in 1513 being given by Master Ischar on behalf of the king while the king "tuke his sacrament".²⁵⁷ In 1535, Peder Swave, envoy of Christian II, Duke of Holstein, met the king's son, James V, in the church of the monastery of Jedburgh, Roxburghshire, while the king was standing near the high altar after mass,²⁵⁸ close to the saving power of the consecrated bread and wine.

The advantages of attending Mass included benefits for people while they lived. For example, in 1530, David Duly, tailor in Edinburgh, appears to have attended Mass in the hope that it would benefit his spouse who lay ill with the plague. The normal policy for Edinburgh was to send suspected plague victims to the burgh muir,²⁵⁹ and being sent to the buir muir was a sentence of certain death. Thus it could be that Duly neglected to tell the burgh officers of his spouse's illness in order to let her die in her own home (death from plague often occurring after five days of illness),²⁶⁰ and attended Mass to allay suspicion about his spouse's illness. However, her absence from Mass would have been sufficient to arouse suspicion, so this seems an unlikely explanation. Rather, it is probable that Duly attended mass primarily in the hope that his prayers and the rite itself would help his spouse to recover from the disease.²⁶¹

The influence of plague on the laity's fear of dying and their support for church rituals which assuaged that fear, cannot be over-emphasised. Chroniclers such as John of Fordun stressed the fear it brought; its increasing virulence and frequency through the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries made it a constant enemy, even more unpredictable than death on the battlefield or other illnesses whose causes and cures were better understood. In testaments, death was as certain as the hour was uncertain, particularly true in times of plague. In the early sixteenth century, Archbishop Blackadder dedicated an aisle to Mary in Glasgow Cathedral. Above a pillar at the entrance was a carving of a dead person being taken away in a cart.²⁶² It was a scene familiar to those living in time of plague, and a stark reminder of the necessity of making spiritual preparations immediately, in case one

was taken before one was ready. As the rich man exclaimed to God's officer, Death, when he came to take him to judgement in the third tale of "The Thre Prestis of Peblis how thai tald thar talis":

Allace, how now, this is ane haisty fair!
 And I cum thair my tail it wil be taggit,
 [I will be imprisoned]
 For I am red, that my count be our raggit.
 [faulty]²⁶³

Attendance at Mass, and the foundation of masses to be celebrated on behalf of souls, were important means for laypeople to reduce their anxiety about death and the afterlife and to increase the likelihood of eventual acceptance into heaven.

Clerical and lay concern that all people receive the benefits of the Eucharist was challenged by community desire that infectious persons not be allowed into church for fear of contaminating others. The wife of Edinburgh tailor David Duly would not have been allowed into Edinburgh's parish church at all, as plague victims were known to be contagious. Had her husband admitted to her illness, she would have been sent to the burgh muir and had her soul ministered to there in the chapel of St. Roche, the plague saint. However, the community was less fearful of contamination by "lepers". In 1530, Edinburgh burgh council threatened branding on the cheek and banishment to any leper who came into contact with "cleine personis" in the church or markets,²⁶⁴ but some provision was made to minister to their souls in the burgh, whilst keeping them physically separated from the general parish population.²⁶⁵ The term leper was used to describe people with a variety of similar diseases, where modern medicine would make distinctions.

"Leper squints", or open church windows, allowed infected people to watch the Eucharistic rite, particularly the consecration and elevation of the Host, by which Jesus became present in the

bread. At Fowlis Wester church, Angus, such a leper squint was cut into the wall near the high altar.²⁶⁶ It was important actually to see the elevation of the Host, as to see it offered greater spiritual benefits to laypeople and intensified their religious experience. When Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen founded a hospital on 23 February, 1531/2, he insisted that bedesmen who were too ill to attend Mass were to be placed near a window in a room overlooking the oratory, so that they could both see and hear the Eucharist being celebrated.²⁶⁷ In his dedication of the hospital foundation the new bishop referred to Jesus as "our Redeemer", and asserted that the souls of the ill and diseased needed the merits of the Passion as much as healthy Christians.²⁶⁸ "Leper squints" were a means of protecting the physical health of the general lay community whilst ensuring spiritual health for all laypeople.

Magnates and wealthier lairds seem to have moved around to a fair extent, for some of them were worried about regular attendance at Mass, requesting papal consent to having a "portable altar". Requests for portable altars were made by noble laypeople from Kincardineshire, Aberdeenshire, Midlothian, Dumfriesshire, Ayrshire, Stirlingshire, Perthshire and Angus. Monarchs seem to have been able and happy to transport their "chapel gear" in its entirety. For example, on Corpus Christi Day in 1513, James IV paid 13s. to Alexander Ramsay, carter, to transport the chapel gear back from Stirling to Edinburgh.²⁶⁹

A papal indulgence which exists in the form of an early sixteenth century notarial transumpt indicates what a request for a portable altar would entail. Such indulgences were restricted to priests, graduates or nobles, so the laity lower down the social strata were expected to attend their parish church. Thus, while the

1502 papal indulgence was solicited by a number of laypeople and clerics in the dioceses of Aberdeen, St. Andrews and Brechin, only "nobles" or clerics such as William Fraser (*Fresale*) of Philorth (*Felortht*), knight, Thomas Meldrum (*Meldrom*) of Eden, or James Watson (*Watsoun*), parson of Ellon, Aberdeenshire, would have been eligible to have their own portable altar, whereas burgesses John Watson of Dundee or James Porter (*Portar*) of Edinburgh would not have been eligible. The portable altars were to be used in suitable times or places, or during times of interdict, for the celebration of Mass and other divine offices in the presence of families and others.²⁷⁰

In 1483, Sixtus IV granted William, third Lord Erroll, Constable of Scotland (d. 14 January, 1506/7) and his spouse Elizabeth Leslie (d. before 1511), the right to a portable altar for priestly functions, masses and other divine offices, to be celebrated in their own and their family's domestic quarters. The motive behind their request was their own sincere and fervent devotion.²⁷¹

In the late 1480's and 1490's, a number of lairds from across Scotland requested the right to have portable altars, including: Sir Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire, and his spouse,²⁷² William Meldrum, laird of Fyvie, Aberdeenshire, and his spouse Elizabeth, John Graham (*Grame*) of Freuchie (*Fruche*), Perthshire, and his spouse, Robert Maduland, laird of Queensberry, Dumfriesshire, and his spouse Elizabeth Douglas, John Wallace, laird of Craigie (*Cragi*) and his spouse, nobleman (*nobilis*) James Hamilton (*Hamylton*) and his spouse (Glasgow diocese), and John Jardin, Lord of Applegarth (*Apilgartht*), Dumfriesshire.²⁷³

A request for a portable altar did not mean that the requester had no intention of attending regular services, or was not interested in the benefits of perpetual prayers, particularly after death. Thus, in 1490, William Meldrum of Fyvie founded a perpetual chaplainry dedicated to St. Ninian in St. Nicholas parish church, Aberdeen, in order to increase divine service and honour God, the Virgin Mary, St. Ninian and the saints, and thereby benefit the souls of him and his.²⁷⁴ However, to ensure that he could obtain the benefits of the Eucharist as often as he wished, or wherever he might be, in 1499 he and his spouse Elizabeth acquired the right to have a portable altar.²⁷⁵

In 1500, the right to have portable altars was granted to three Glasgow diocese "nobles" or noble couples: Nicholas (*Nicolaus*) Stewart (*Steuart*), nobleman (*nobilis*); John Kennedy of Twynen, knight, and his spouse Margareta Campbell (*Cempbel*); and John Murray, laird of Cockpool (*Colepoull*), Dumfriesshire.²⁷⁶ Murray may have been the son of the Cuthbert Murray of Cockpool who founded a chaplainry at the great altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Caerlaverock, Dumfriesshire, in September of 1487 for the health of a number of souls, including James III and Mr John Maxwell, son of the late Robert, Lord Maxwell.²⁷⁷ The right to a portable altar was also granted to William Graham (*Graym*) of Kincardine, Archibald Edmonston of Duntreath (*Duntrauht*), Stirlingshire, and Patrick Home of Polwarth, Berwickshire, in 1502. The notarial transumpt of this indulgence was very informative about the purposes to which the portable altar was to be put. The lairds wished to:

. . . have a portable altar on which, in suitable places, even though under interdict and before daylight but about daybreak a fit priest may celebrate the divine offices in presence of

the petitioners and their household servants and on which they may receive the Eucharist and other sacraments especially at Easter. . . .²⁷⁸

Other lairds did not request portable altars, but indicated their concern that the Eucharist be celebrated. Thus on 8 February, 1486/7, Julian, Bishop of Ostia, granted Thomas Maule (*Mawel*) of Panmure, knight, and his spouse Catherine Cramond, daughter of the laird of Aldbar, Angus, the right to have the Eucharist celebrated in the unconsecrated chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in their house in Panmure, Angus.²⁷⁹ By 1490 they had received a papal bull for the chapel's erection,²⁸⁰ so presumably the earlier petition was a temporary measure.

The Homes in Berwickshire were also concerned that the Eucharist be regularly celebrated. Thus a penitentiary document of 1502 recorded that Patrick Home (*Howme*), laird of Fast Castle, Berwickshire, and Alison Fow his spouse, requested the right to have the Eucharistic and other divine offices celebrated in their newly built chapel of St. Ninian the Confessor. Their chapel had been destroyed and they had built a new, superior chapel in its place.²⁸¹ In 1587, "my lord Home" was cited by the General Assembly as encouraging Catholicism by maintaining a priest and allowing his own parish church to decay. Thus the Homes from this part of the country appear to have maintained their support for the sacraments of the Catholic church after the Reformation, as did others, such as the lairds of Leslie and Fintry.²⁸²

Post-Reformation attacks on obdurate priests and credulous laypeople testified to the perceived efficacy of the Catholic Eucharistic rite, and the willingness of laypeople to risk prosecution by attending the rite. In October, 1564, apostate Sir John Morrison (*Moreson*), reader in Methil (*Mithyll*), was said to

have administered the Eucharist in private houses, church yards and "about the kirk-yard dykis", each participant giving him one penny. The Easter of the previous year he had reportedly celebrated the Eucharist with one hundred people attending. At the same trial in front of the kirk session of St. Andrews, Sir John Stephen (*Stephyn*) was charged with administering the sacraments on a daily basis in the chapel of St. "Gormoo", and Sir Patrick Fergie (*Fergy*) with preaching and administering the sacraments without permission, and luring the people from the parish church to the chapel of Tullibardine (*Tulebarne*).²⁸³

The willingness of a number of laypeople to defy the authorities and attend the Catholic Eucharist and/or to actively maintain and encourage priests in their activities²⁸⁴ helps to support the theory that the laity knew and understood theological distinctions between Catholic and Protestant forms, not just that they preferred a more colourful and familiar rite. The Protestant authorities fluctuated between branding a large segment of the population as enthusiastic, malicious "papists", and insisting that the laird, magnate and clerical classes were the only ones aware of their actions, deeming the common folk simple and credulous. Thus in 1587 the Bishop of Dunblane's foreign guest was accused of having "encouraged all suspected papists, and brought the simple in great doubts, for by his authority he draweth all with him in the old dance."²⁸⁵

CONCLUSION

Laypeople believed that Jesus was of crucial importance to their happiness in the afterlife. He was favoured as a helpful guide and mediator, but it was His historical sacrifice of Himself in recompense for human sin that had secured for Him laypeople's

intense gratitude and devotion. Further, the laity's understanding of the Eucharistic rite as a re-creation of Jesus' original sacrifice led it to rely heavily on the rite as a means of compensating for humanity's sinful nature and behaviour. That is, Jesus' original sacrifice had offered laypeople the chance for salvation, but the re-sacrificing of Jesus in the Eucharist helped them while on earth as they sought spiritual purification, and once in purgatory, the celebration of the Eucharist by the living on behalf of the dead transferred the merits of Jesus' Passion to the suffering souls and helped shorten their time in purgatory.

Imagery of the Eucharist as a true sacrifice of Jesus, whereby He became really present in the elements, was offered to the laity in art, literature and theology. Evidence that this imagery influenced lay conceptions of the Eucharist can be found in the imagery used by them in foundation charters; in these charters they revealed that they understood and valued Jesus' sacrifice of Himself in the Mass, and believed that this sacrifice made possible the remission of sins, reconciliation of humanity with God, peace and harmony on earth, and the attainment of eternal happiness in heaven.

The laity responded in a variety of ways to its image of Jesus' nature and function in the Eucharist. It honoured the product of the Eucharistic rite, the Host, through processions such as the yearly Corpus Christi pageant. Donations of equipment associated with celebration of the Eucharist demonstrated belief in the centrality of the rite to lay spiritual welfare, and the likelihood of divine rewards for encouraging its celebration. Late medieval religious foundations emphasised the value of the Eucharist to lay salvation. Obit, chaplainry and collegiate churches emphasised the Eucharist as a means of relieving souls in purgatory;

the foundation of masses invoking the memory of Jesus' Passion (egs. Holy Blood, Name of Jesus) revealed that the laity believed that it was Jesus' sacrifice in the Mass which gave the Eucharist its power to save.

Although laypeople tended to emphasise the celebration of the Eucharist as a means of benefitting dead souls, they also wished to express their devotion to Jesus by being present during the rite in which the bread and wine was transformed into the body and blood of Jesus. Further, the clergy taught that there were spiritual advantages for the living who attended Mass, so laypeople were encouraged to attend themselves rather than leaving it up to the clergy to celebrate low masses at which laypeople were not present. Thus chapels and portable altars were obtained by men and women of means to allow them to regularly attend Mass.

Laypeople and clergy understood the importance of the Eucharistic rite to lay spiritual welfare. This led the clergy to encourage laypeople to achieve the highest standard possible of spiritual preparation for the Eucharist, such that they would derive the maximum benefit from their involvement in Communion.²⁸⁶ This same understanding led the laity to encourage the clergy to achieve the highest standard possible of execution of the Eucharist, on the grounds that the efficacy of the rite largely depended upon the level of devotion and competence of the officiating clergy. Further, the laity's deepening sense of personal spiritual unworthiness led to an increased reliance upon the rites of the church, particularly the Eucharist, to bring spiritual acceptability. The clergy's role was even more crucial given that laypeople expected to spend a protracted period in purgatory, their sins being too great for immediate ascent into heaven; after death

it would be the clergy on earth who would be responsible for improving the spiritual standing of suffering souls, so laypeople needed to be sure that the clergy would be devout and reliable. The following chapter will discuss how the laity's understanding of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist and its crucial role in salvation led it to emphasise lay spiritual preparedness and high standards of clerical execution.

NOTES

1. The Catechism of 1552 related the site of the historical Passion (Calvary) to the site of the re-enacted Passion (Eucharist) by describing the "Cross" as the first altar. That is, Jesus sacrificed his "awin precious bodie apon the altar of the Crosse, as an plesand sacrifice to the father of hevin, for our redemptioun and eternal salvatioun", 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. xcxiv.

2. A specialised study of the suffering humanity of Jesus would enrich understanding of His role as sufficient sacrifice for human sin and close friend to humanity, the latter relationship increasingly apparent in the period 1480 to 1560. It was through the human nature and physical and emotional suffering of Jesus that humanity's sin was able to be eradicated through His crucifixion, and humanity thus made spiritually acceptable to God. There is a great deal of evidence for the growing importance placed by the laity on the suffering humanity of Jesus in the period 1480 to 1560. Due to the space constraints of this discussion of late medieval Scottish lay faith, it was impossible to discuss this topic beyond that which is mentioned tangentially in other chapters, such as Chapter 7 and this chapter.

For further reading, note such devotional works as BM Arundel MS 285 in Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, in which the subject of Jesus' suffering humanity was treated extensively (*passim*).

Instructive fictional works, such as Sir David Lyndsay's "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, also dealt with the topic of Jesus' suffering. In this work Sir David insisted that the reader needed to visualise the glory and might of Jesus on Judgment Day, and that a central act of this day would be when Jesus had the symbols of His Passion brought before him (Cross, crown of thorns, pillar, nails, whip). In the prologue to the work, where he outlined his purpose in writing it, Sir David told the reader that Jesus' role was to utterly defeat evil and the devil by suffering the Passion "upon the Croce, for our salvatioun", 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 (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1871), II, Book 4, p. 78 and *passim*.

In Scotland there were myriad artistic representations of the instruments of the Passion (nails, crown of thorns, whip, ladder, spear, pillar, flaming heart, hands and feet of Jesus), which reminded laypeople of the significance to their salvation of Jesus' suffering. These representations occurred in churches such as St. Mary's church, Haddington, where the Passion symbols were carved on a shield above the central pillar in the west doorway, St. Giles church, Edinburgh, where Passion symbols decorated a tomb recess in the aisle of the Holy Blood, Seton collegiate church, where a fifteenth century octagonal baptismal font was carved with scenes from the Passion and the Passion symbols were carved on corbels of buttresses on the south and north exterior walls, and Glasgow Cathedral, where bosses in Archbishop Blackadder's Lady aisle displayed the wounded heart of Jesus, crown of thorns, nails and

hands and feet on bosses. Note that the strength of the "cult of the Passion" in Scotland was such that the nails associated with the Crucifixion became part of Passion symbolism, a phenomenon unique to Scotland, in Charles Carter, "The Arma Christi in Scotland", Proceedings (Edinburgh, 1959), LXXXX, p. 122.

Passion symbolism decorated ostensibly secular buildings such as Falkland Palace, providing a daily reminder of Jesus' suffering. All along the exterior wall of the chapel wing were Passion symbols carved on buttresses (time of James V), and Wemyss Castle had corbels carved with Passion emblems.

Representations of the Passion continued into the post-Reformation period, particularly in the north-east. Symbols of the Passion appeared on the seventeenth century ceiling of Provost Skene's house in Aberdeen. The "Wine Tower" in Fraserburgh was built in the sixteenth century by the Frasers of Philorth, who also put symbols of the Passion on an exterior wall of a tower of Castle Fraser in 1576, in Ian B.D. Bryce, "The Wine Tower, Fraserburgh", The Double Tressure. Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland (1989), XI, pp. 7-9.

The humanity of Jesus was expressed through representations of His body parts as they appeared in the "Passion symbols" (heart, hands, feet). Jesus' humanity was reinforced in various artistic and literary works by portraying him as a vulnerable, bloody, sad young man. Such a portrayal reminded the laity of Jesus' great gift of love in sacrificing Himself. Further, representations of Mary as an anguished mother standing at the foot of the Cross, or holding him across her knees prior to the Entombment, reminded the laity of Jesus' human family. The devotion shown by His family and friends, especially near the time of the Crucifixion, reminded the laity of the loving relationships which Jesus had formed during His time on earth, the difficult separation that was death, and the great love Jesus had shown for humanity by sacrificing Himself. The kinship of Jesus to humanity, and His willingness to suffer greatly for His human family, was expressed in the devotional work BM Arundel MS 285 in the poem "Ane Deuoit Remembrance of ye Passioun of Crist":

Behald, man, lift vp thy ene & see
 Quhat mortall panis I sufferit for thy trespass.
 With pietuous woce I cry and say to the:
 Behald my woundis, behald my paile face,
 Behald the rebuttis yat dois me so manace,
 Behald my enemes yat dois me so dissagis,
 And how yat I, zow to reformit to grace,
 Wes lik ane lambe offerit in sacrafice.

Behald my mothir swonyng for grevance,
 Apoun ye croce quhen scho sawe me dey;

. . .
 Off hell zettis se how I brak ye key;
 And gaif my blud in sacrafice.

. . .
 Tary no langer fro yin heritage,
 Haist in ye way, and be richt gude off scheir. [cheer]
 Go ilk day on-ward to yi pilgramage;
 Think hou schort a quhile yow sall abyd heir.
 Thy place is beld about ye sternis cleir;
 None erdly place [is] wrocht in sic a wise.
 Cum on, my friend, my broyir moist enteir.
 For ye I offerit my blud in sacrifice."

in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ane Deuoit Remembrance of ye Passioun of Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 1-8, p. 270, 91-1 and 95-6, p. 272, and ll. 137-44, pp. 273-4.

3.cf. In the Prologue to the first book of Gavin Douglas' translation of the Aeneid, Douglas defined the Trinity as three persons in one substance. In the same breath he called on "Mary Virgyn myld", and soon afterward insisted that all his trust was in "Criste" and "hevynnys queyn". Thus he used the term "Christ" to define the forgiving aspect of God, and revealed that, as far as human salvation was concerned, the "Trinity" was not nearly as significant as Mary and her son Jesus:

For the sweit liquor of thy pappis quhite
 Fosterit that prynce, that hevynly Orpheus,,
 Grond of all gude, our Saluyour Ihesus.

in Gavin Douglas, 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), ll. 16-7, 20-1 and 26-8, p. 18.

4.cf. ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #4, p. 18, and Archbishop of St. Andrews John Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), LIV, p. 189.

5.Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. A Study in Religious Sociology, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1915), p. 41.

6.Ibid., pp. 420-1.

6.Ibid., pp. 326 and 389.

7.Ibid., p. 389.

8.John Dowden, "The Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Relicks, Vestments, Service Books, etc. Belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432, Illustrated from Various Sources, and more Particularly from the Inventories of the Cathedral of Aberdeen", Proceedings, Vol. IX, Third series (Edinburgh, 1898-9), p. 305, and SRO RH12/37, leaves from a late fifteenth century, possibly Flemish devotional compilation, probably a Book of Hours, which is similar to Scottish works in its emphasis on the cults of Mary and Jesus, unsurprising considering the close religious and commercial ties between Flanders and Scotland in the period.

9.William Dunbar, "Of the Nativitie of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. William Mackay Mackenzie (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), l. 21, p. 154.

10.Ibid., ll. 25-32, p. 155.

11.In 1574 the Edinburgh Kirk Session refused to accept "messenger" Walter Thomson's theory that prayer for the dead was biblically sound and necessary. Rather, the Kirk Session affirmed that the "spreit of God" as enshrined in the canon of the Hebrews was the

only true basis for religious beliefs, not the wisdom of the apocryphal Book of the Maccabees, in ed. David Hay Fleming, "Extracts from the Buik of the General Kirk of Edinburgh", Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. I (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1834), p. 112. and that prayers for the dead were not the correct means of relating to the godhead. Regarding complaints against Scots for supporting Catholic baptism and burial rituals, see 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), pp. 159 and 431. Burial rites led to concerns about the correct means of relating to the godhead, the Earl of Atholl being condemned for having been buried according to Catholic rites in 1579. The accoutrements of burial were part of its efficacy, which in the pre-Reformation period had led laypeople to write very specific directions for clerics to execute, so as to avoid angering God and nullifying the effect of the rite. Thus the men sent to report on the burial service of the Earl of Athol found a white cross in a "mort claith", long gowns with "stroupes", and "torches"; the cross and stroupes were deemed "superstitious". The church agreed and ordered that the stroupes be removed and the mort claiths be covered with black velvet, in General Assembly Session #5, 7 July, 1579, 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. 431.

12. 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. 158.

13. ed. David Hay Fleming, Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1889), IV, p. 318. cf. The laird of Fintry and the Master of Angus were singled out by the General Assembly of the reformed Church of Scotland in 1590 as excommunicants. The Grahams of Fintry being pious supporters of Catholic rituals throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth century to the Reformation, it is unsurprising that they were part of the great number of excommunicants against which the Assembly wanted the state to act, in Session of 4 August, 1590, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, II, p. 784. cf. Graham of Fintry's excommunication in 1587, in Ibid., II, pp. 718-9. An example of the Grahams' pre-Reformation devotion to Catholic practices and the Blessed Virgin Mary is the 1493 foundation of an altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Strathdighty, in ed. James Balfour Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1424-1513, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1883), Part 2, #2130, p. 451. In 1608, excommunication was for "Papists", so no doubt that was the cause of the excommunication of the men in 1590, 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. III of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1845), p. 1047.

14. Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, III, p. 1048.

- 15.eg. The laird of Tarbett insisted in 1568 that "it is long since I thought the messe idolatry", in the session of 1 July, 1568, in Ibid., I, p. 123.
- 16.Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, p. 159.
- 17.Session of 4 August 1590, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, II, p. 784.
- 18.Ibid., II, pp. 715 and 721.
- 19.Ibid., II, p. 715.
- 20.Ibid., II, p. 717.
- 21.The laird of Fintrie in 1587 was accused of holding full Catholic Christmas services in Dumbarton, and of having "stollen away the hearts of the commons" by so doing, in Ibid., II, p. 722.
- 22.Patrick Lindesay, brother to the laird of Vaine, was "a reasoner against the trueth in every place"; Lord Home (*Hoome*) was a fugitive who attacked the new church and was avowedly Catholic. As well, violence erupted *against Protestant ministers, as when Mr. George Hetlie*, minister at Abernyte (*Abirnyt*), was "cruellie invaidit be Thomas Boyd and in reding of them ane man slaine" [ie. in the resultant "clearing away" of the invader], in Ibid., II, p. 719.
- 23.Ibid., II, pp. 716-23.
- 24.Ibid., III, p. 829.
- 25.Lindesay of Pittscottie assigned blame for the 1439 famine and plague to the "tumult and cummeris [difficulties, ie. military skirmishes] in the cuntreis". He insisted that the Scots were suffering for their wicked ways, citing a refusal of some men to "amend thair lyffis". According to Pittscottie, the general tenor of the times was such that many people said despairingly that they wished they had never come to live "in sick wicked and dangerous tymes", in Robert Lindesay of Pittscottie, 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 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899), p. 30.
- 26.Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, I, p. 6.
- 27.Ibid., III, p. 1047.
- 28.The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century General Assembly records refer to laypeople going on pilgrimage, in Ibid., II, pp. 462, 535, 720-1 and 1120. Note the 1587 mention of pilgrimages to "Chrysts well" in Stirling on p. 721.
- 29.These women were accused of pretending to teach children reading, sewing, and other school subjects, whilst inviting Jesuits, Papists and seminary priests to "catechise and pervert the zouth" at a vulnerable and impressionable age, in Ibid., III, p. 1120. cf.

Allan White, "The Impact of the Reformation on a Burgh Community: The Case of Aberdeen", in The Early Modern Town in Scotland, ed. Michael Lynch (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 94. White stated that after the Reformation the Catholic church "went underground" and the Mass and other sacraments were available in privy kirks.

30. Session of 26 June, 1565, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, I, p. 59.

31. Note that, although each person could modify this ideal slightly to meet his or her individual personality and needs, too much deviation harmed the balance maintained within a homogeneous group or cult. Thus deviation from or modification of the collective outlook on the Eucharist, whether in Protestant or Catholic times, could be attributed to the increasing value put on the individual, in Durkheim, pp. 370 and 421-2.

32. cf. Durkheim, pp. 326 and 341, and H. Flanders Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consumation in the Divine Comedy (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), p. 400.

33. Sir David Lindsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, ed. and intro. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd., 1989), pp. 71-2.

34. Note that, according to Aberdeen diocese synodal statutes of the thirteenth century, it was illegal to demand that offerings and/or tithes be first paid to the priest before allowing laypeople to take Communion at Easter, "as if they were to say: 'What will ye give me and I will deliver him [Jesus] to you?' This we strictly forbid to be done hereafter, under the threat of God's judgment [on it]", in Patrick, #62, p. 36. However, certainly it was expected that laypeople would pay their teinds at Easter, and often the secular authorities supported the church in their demands, considering a refusal to pay the required amount a refusal to be part of the burgh community and to follow community rules. For example, on 24 May, 1546, the bailies of Aberdeen warned Aberdonians to pay their "dwety" to the vicar within 48 hours, even if they did not plan to attend the Easter service. If they did not pay the fee, the burgh council would support the vicar in any legal action he might take against them in an ecclesiastical court, 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. 235. However, note that there is no indication that the burgh council would have supported the vicar's denial of Communion to parishioners, but rather that it would support him taking offenders to court. This document also confirms the commitment of the majority of the population of Aberdeen, as reflected in the actions of the burgh council, to support the workings of the church. People were free to miss services if they so desired, but they were not free to endanger lay spiritual welfare by declining to financially support the agent of spiritual well-being - the parish church.

35. Dowden mentioned a silver gilt case for carrying the Eucharist in processions and the order of a thirteenth century Scottish council that the priest carry the Eucharist to the sick with bells ringing to excite the devotion of the faithful, in Dowden, pp. 305-6.

36. Alexander Myln, "Lives of the Bishops" Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517) with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops' (A.D. 1483-1517) (*Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldense*), in Rentale Dunkeldense, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1915), p. 327.

37. 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.

38. Arbuthnott Missal, Paisley Museum.

39. 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), pp. 1-2.

40. Gordon Donaldson, St. Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1944), pp. 21-2 and ix. According to the editor this document is from the 1530's.

41. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxxi and xxi.

42. Ibid., f. cxii.

43. Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought, p. 401.

Note that the division of the Eucharist into four parts occurred as follows:

1. Introit to the Offertory - preparation of the world for the Incarnation, the Annunciation and the Birth of Jesus.
2. Offertory to the Agnus Dei - ministry and Passion of Jesus.
3. Agnus Dei to the Kiss of Peace - Resurrection.
4. Communion to the end of the rite - days of waiting and the coming of the Holy Spirit.

There were also moral lessons (tropes) and ultimate truths (anagogues) associated with these four parts. In terms of a "main mass" (eg. Maundy Thursday), the "offertory" involved the presentation of the wine and bread at the altar. In the "consecration" the priest assumed Jesus' part and acted out the Last Supper. The consecration was completed when the Host was broken, symbolising the mystery of the Eucharist, because Jesus' body was believed to remain entire within each fragment. In "communion" the clergy and laity joined at the altar to consume the bread and the wine, in Alan Watts, Myth and Ritual in Christianity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1954), pp. 150-1.

44. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxiii. Note that the Council of Trent named the Eucharist as the pre-eminent sacrament in which Jesus was present even before the sacrament was used, in Richard McBrien, Catholicism (Oak Grove, MN: Winston, 1979), p. 757, citing Decree on the Most Holy Eucharist, Chapter III, Session XIII, 1551. Note that Scotland incorporated the changes made at the Council of Trent faster than most other European nations, in Thomas Winning, "Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), p. 357.

- 45.ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "The Vertewis of the Mess", Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse, (London: Early English text Society, 1870), p. 113.
- 46.Luke XXII:19, Mark XIV:23, Matthew XXVI:27, 1 Corinthians XI:24.
- 47.Isaiah LIII:12.
- 48.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, II, Book 4, p. 100.
- 49.McBrien, p. 758.
- 50.William Dunbar, "Of the Passioun of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 43-4, p. 157.
- 51.McBrien, p. 759.
- 52.Max Thurian, The Eucharistic Liturgy of Taize, trans. John Arnold (London: The Faith Press, 1962), and Edward J. Kilmartin, The Eucharist in the Primitive Church (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).
- 53.Francis Oakley, The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), p. 82.
- 54.McBrien, p. 762.
- 55.William D. Maxwell, A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 19-20.
- 56.Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice. Evangelical and Catholic, trans. A.G. Hebert (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), pp. 70 and 84, and 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), #1146, pp. 249-50. Note that Stirling was provost of the burgh of Montrose, offering some indication of the type of example being set by the leading figures in burghs. Although the altar had been founded by Sir John Gilbert, Brekky's support for this altar indicated his belief in the efficacy of masses and prayers said at an altar celebrating Jesus' Passion. Another example of the laity's material conception of the Eucharist is the mass foundation by Malcolm, Lord Fleming. He founded a mass of the "Body of Christ" in his collegiate church of Biggar in 1546, in David S. Rutherford, Biggar: St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), p. 34.
- 57.Note that those who joined the Third Order of St. Francis of Penitence were expected to attend Mass at a Franciscan church on the first Sunday of each month, so such laypeople would have stood out from the rest of society, in ed. William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols., Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), p. 463 (thirteenth century rules for brothers and sisters of penitence).

58. Maxwell, p. 40.

59. Marie-Therese Lorcin studied the rural Lyonnais region to the north, south and west of Lyon through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Her study revealed that, through the later Middle Ages, all levels of lay society were changing their patterns of religious expression from pious donations and alms to those of masses, whether celebrated on a daily, weekly or annual basis. Lorcin thus concluded that: "C'est la preuve que le role croissant attribue par les theologiens a l'Eucharistie est, au moins superficiellement, connu et accepte des simples fideles des campagnes." in Marie-Therese Lorcin, Les Campagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles (Lyon: BOSC Freres, 1974), pp. 455-6. Lorcin's findings are of great value to a study of Scottish religious attitudes and practices. Evidence for Scottish burgh-dwellers, lairds and monarchs is more extensive than sources for rural laypeople lower down the social scale. Where Scottish sources are more extensive, parallels have been found with Lorcin's work, making her conclusions about rural society of particular interest in offering the historian of Scotland possible lines of enquiry and interpretations of lay behaviour.

60. cf. A Scot a few generations removed, Sir John Seton, Lord of Cariston and Coulommiers, made this point clear when he stated that it was "through the merits of the precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ" that he hoped to have God take his soul to "Paradise", in George Seton, A History of the Family of Seton, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1896), p. 985.

61. Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo and other Works, Vol. XIII (1913-1914) of The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, trans. and ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1955), p. 82.

62. cf. Mary Douglas, who stated that the "body" symbolised society, in much the same way that the "body" symbolised the Christian community, in Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Danger (London: Ark, 1984, first published 1966), pp. 114-5.

63. Galbraith, p. 20.

64. NLS AdvMS 18/1/7, f. 7v.

65. General Provincial Council of 1 March, 1558/9 - 10 April, 1559, in Patrick, p. 174.

66. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxxxix.

67. Patrick, p. 174, and Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxlvii-viii.

68. ed. Bruce McEwen, Epistolare in usum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Aberdonensis, intro. F.C. Eeles. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1924), p. x, and Maxwell, p. 39.

69. "Breviaries" also became popular, combining the Psalter, Lectionary, Hymnal, and Antiphoner, or anthem book, in McEwen, Epistolare, p. x.

70. For example, the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of Strathdighty, Angus, was founded by Robert Graham of Fintry in 1493, and was supplied with a Missal, Breviary and Psalter, in ed. James Balfour Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2130, p. 451 and SRO GD151/16/1.

71. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. VII, A.D. 1538-1541 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House), p. 135.

72. McBrien, p. 763.

73. James Paterson, The Obit Book of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Ayr (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), *passim*.

74. Bryce, II, pp. 16-7 and 19.

75. Myln, "Lives of the Bishops", p. 320.

76. 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. 25.

77. eds. Cosmo Innes and Patrick Chalmers, Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, Vol. II of 2 vols., Registrum (Aberdeen: Bannatyne Club, 1856), pp. 139 and 159-61. Note that on 28 February, 1518-9, John Tyrie, provost of the collegiate church of Methven and Dean of the Confraternity of the Name of Jesus in Perth's parish church, *along with the other brothers of the confraternity*, founded an altar and chaplainry in St. John's church in honour of the name of Jesus, or *Nomine Jesu Altar*, and on 30 March, 1519, Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews approved this foundation, as well as the foundation of the confraternity. This is an example of the various ways in which belief in the centrality of Jesus' Passion led to an emphasis on the Eucharist, and a focussing on the real presence of Jesus in the Eucharist - the "holy blood". Further, it is an example of the shared aims of clergy and laity - both believed in the supreme value of the Passion and, in Perth, wished to express their devotion by forming a confraternity. An altar dedicated to the Name of Jesus was also founded in St. Nicholas parish church in Aberdeen in 1520, in ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1888), p. lvi.

78. Myln, "Lives of the Bishops", p. 327.

79. Galbraith, p. 21.

80. A clerical example of devotion to the Five Wounds is the chaplainry foundation made by Rolland Blackadder (*Blacadyr*), subdean of Glasgow, founded at the altar of Sts. Nicholas and John in Glasgow cathedral. This foundation included a Friday mass of the Five Wounds of Christ. The editor believes that the foundation was made near the end of Blackadder's life, which may have been in 1541, in ed. Robert Renwick, Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow, Vol. II. First Protocol Book of William Hegait, 1555-60 (Glasgow: Carson and Nicol, 1896), pp. 111 and 103.

81.ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, Vol. II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), VII, pp. 117-8.

82.cf. Malcolm, Lord Fleming's 1546 foundation of the collegiate church of Biggar reserved Thursday for the Mass of the "Body of Christ" and Friday for the Mass of the "Five Wounds of our Lord", in provost John Steinson's Register of Services, in Rutherford, p. 34.

83.Cooper, II, p. 135.

84.The New Catholic Encyclopaedia (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), Vol. X, p. 1006.

85.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

86.The New Catholic Encyclopaedia, X, p. 1006.

87.Ibid., X, pp. 1005-6.

88.ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. II, A.D. 1500-1504 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1900), p. 71.

89.Ian B. Cowan, "The Reformation in Dumfriesshire", Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Third series, (Dumfries, 1981), LVI, p. 83, and ed. R.C. Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers 1531-1561 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1956), LXXXVI, #151, p. 50.

90.ed. John Stuart, Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. V of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1852), p. 303.

91.Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, II, p. 431.

92.Cowan, "The Reformation in Dumfriesshire", p. 85.

93.Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", p. 114.

94.cf. Gordon Donaldson, The Faith of the Scots (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1990), pp. 54-5.

95.Paterson, pp. 36 and 38.

96.Galbraith, p. 21.

97.Another example of a private mass named after the founder was that founded by Lord James Ogilvy of Airly. On 26 February, 1487/8, he founded a weekly mass at the altar of Our Lady the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin in the church of the Dominicans of Cupar. The mass was to benefit the souls of himself, his spouse Elizabeth Douglas, and the souls of his ancestors and successors, living and dead. He also founded anniversary masses for the souls of himself and his spouse after their death. Lord Ogilvy expressed his anxiety that these masses be carried out properly by threatening his heirs or their assignees with the "malediction of god omnipotent" if they withdrew financing, reminding them that they would be answerable to the angels and God sitting in judgement, in SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1237-8.

98. Bryce, II, pp. 127-8.

99. McBrien, p. 764.

100. Decree on the Mass, Chapter II, cited by McBrien, p. 763.

101. Patrick, p. 175.

102. General Statutes of 1558/9, in Ibid., p. 174.

103. Ibid., p. 174.

104. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxl and cxxxix.

105. Ibid., f. cxlvii.

106. Ibid., ff. cxlvii-cxlviii.

107. Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun" in Patrick, pp. 188-9. cf. The concept of Jesus as the "special fude and refection" which holds us in a "lyfe of grace" and leads us to a "lyfe of glore", in Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxliv.

108. Fleming, Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, 1559-82, I, pp. xvi-xvii.

109. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #4, p. 17, and Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlviii.

110. Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #4, p. 17, Hamilton, Catechism, ff. clxv-clxix, and Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in Patrick, pp. 189-90.

111. cf. The "Lollards of Kyle", who stated in 1494 to James IV that *worship of the "sacrament" of the church was idolatry*. Note also that *there were those such as Adam Wallace who maintained that the "sacrament of the altar" was a remembrance of the Last Supper*, whereas in the 1552 Catechism this was only one of the five qualities attributed to the Eucharist. In 1550, Wallace was tried for denying transubstantiation and other points of faith, and for preaching against them. However, he appears to have been unrepresentative of the general lay perspective on the Eucharist, even as late as 1550, which is when reformers were increasing in number by comparison with earlier in the period under study, in Knox, "History of the Reformation", I, pp. 8-9 and Appendix XII, citing John Foxe's Actes and Monuments, p. 545, and Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxl.

112. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

113. Dunbar, "Of the Passioun of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 63-4, p. 157 and ll. 93-6, p. 158.

114. Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

115. Douglas, "Prologue to the first book of the Aeneid", The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse by Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, l. 20, p. 18.

116.Dowden, p. 289.

117.James Murray Mackinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural Dedications, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910), p. 290.

118.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Illustrissima et excellentissima", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 116 and 121-6, p. 282 and p. xxxiv.

119.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

120."Inventory of Gavin Dunbar's Gifts to the Cathedral", citing Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, pp. 179-99, completed by Alexander Galloway for the cathedral chapter of Aberdeen in 1549, in McEwen, Epistolare, pp. 99-100.

121.Museum of Religious Life and Art, Glasgow, and Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum. The inscription indicated that a Lord of the Isles had owned the bell shrine.

122.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.

123.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.

124.Glasgow Cathedral, Lanarkshire.

125.Dowden, p. 317.

126.Robert Henryson, "The Thre Deid Pollis", The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), ll. 61-2, p. 207.

127.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #4, p. 18.

128.eds. Thomas Thomson, Alexander Macdonald and Cosmo Innes, Registrum Honoris de Morton, Vol. II of 2 vols., Ancient Charters (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1853), pp. 240 and 241. Note that this foundation was not completed, the lands eventually being transferred to four sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis in 1486, in Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses Scotland, Second edition (London: Longman, 1976), p. 195.

129.Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in Patrick, p. 189.

130.John Malden, The Abbey and Monastery of Paisley (Paisley: Renfrew District Council, 1993), p. 25.

131.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlv.

132.Ibid., f. cxlvi.

133.William of Touris, "The Contemplacioun of Synnaris", The Asloan Manuscript, compiler John Asloan, ed. W.A. Craigie, Vol. II of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1925), XVI, p. 219.

134.cf. Foundation on 30 July, 1454, of a perpetual Wednesday mass by Robert of Nigaldiston, burgess of Haddington, in James Miller, The Lamp of Lothian: or, the History of Haddington, in connection with the Public Affairs of East Lothian and of Scotland, from the Earliest Records to the Present Period (Haddington: James Allan, 1844), pp. 387-8.

135.Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, The Cronicles of Scotland, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co, 1814), pp. 229-30. Note that Don Pedro de Ayala also testified to James IV's partiality for the Mass in 1488. Don Pedro stated that the king heard two masses each day before transacting any business, and that he had a cantata sung after mass, during which he sometimes dealt with business matters, in P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1891, reprint 1978), p. 40. Note that James IV was formally absolved in Paisley Abbey of any sin in relation to his involvement in the death of James III, in Malden, p. 23.

136.cf. ed. Thomas Dickson, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vols. I-IV (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877-1902), passim.

137.Rutherford, p. 28.

138.ed. John Stuart, "Foundation Charter of the Collegiate Church of Biggar", The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol. V of 5 vols. (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1852), XXIV, pp. 297. cf. William Dunbar, who referred to Jesus as "blissit Jesu, our Salvatour" in Dunbar, "Of the Passioun of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 10, p. 156.

139.John Knox, "Book of Discipline" (1560), The Works of John Knox, Vol. II of 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848), p. 250, and Knox, "The Reasoning Betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox Concerning the Mass, 1562", VI, p. 192.

140.Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland" I, p. 9.

141.Paterson, pp. 50 and 51.

142.Pitscottie, The Cronicles of Scotland, II, pp. 373-4.

143.ed. James Balfour Paul, 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, #2671, p. 567.

144.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1524-5.

145.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Jesus Psalter", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), pp. 194-204 and passim.

146.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #5, p. 20.

147.SRO RH2/8/46 and RH2/8/47, *passim*, and ed. John Stuart, Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570, Vol. I (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844), *passim*. One Aberdeen example was that of Thomas Davidson (*Thom Daidisone*), who was ordered to do penance in the parish church for scolding his mother-in-law, in Stuart, p. 154.

148.cf. The case of William Hunter (*Huntar*), who was ordered by the St. Andrews Kirk Session to undergo a public penitential rite in 1563 for the offence of adultery. cf. A penitential rite for the offence of slander was demanded of Begis Calvert (*Calwart*) in 1561, she being required to appear publicly in church on a certain Sunday to make "public satisfaccione" to the offended party, Janet Bowman. Calvert had accused Bowman of sexual misconduct. Both of these examples are from Fleming, Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, I, pp. 190-1 and 105.

149.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxxi-cxxii.

150.ed. David Hay Fleming, "Register of the Kirk Session of Stirling", in Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. I of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1834), p. 132.

151.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlvi. At this point in the Catechism the Eucharist was referred to as the "sacrament of love".

152.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ane Deuoit Remembrance of ye Passioun of Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 103-20, pp. 272-3. Note that these verses are part of Lydgate's "Testament". (p. xvii)

153.Dunbar, "Of the Nativitie of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar, ll. 17-24, p. 154.

154.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlviii and "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in Patrick, p. 189.

155.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxlix and cxliv.

156.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #4, p. 17.

157.SRO GD86/90.

158.SRO GD122. Note also that on 8 June, 1518, Preston, who had died by 12 April 1520 (SRO GD122/2/359), gave, "to the praise of the Blessed and glorious Virgin Mary" and the health of James III and IV and Alexander Stratone, principal chaplain of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary, "founded by me at the end of the Bridge of Craigmiller", an annual rent of 1 6s.8d, along with a chamber and orchard, in SRO GD122/2/358. When Lord James Ogilvy of Airly founded his weekly "holy mass of the Ogilvies of Airly" at the Church of the Dominicans of Perth in 1487, he expected it to benefit both living and dead souls, including himself, his spouse, his predecessors and successors, in SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1237-8.

159.Pitscottie, The Cronicles of Scotland, II, p. 376-7.

160. The words were: "Caro mea vere est cib et sanguis me vere e pot q manvat mea carne t bibit mev sanguine vive i eternvm", in David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), pp. 402, 404 and 406.

161. Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlv.

162. Ibid., f. cxlvi.

163. cf. ed. James Beveridge, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. IV, A.D., 1548-1556 (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1952), #2353, p. 393 (in which Sir John of Ferniehurst's sons Andrew and William Ker were given back the goods which had been escheat to the Crown as a result of Sir John being denounced rebel and put to the horn for non-finding of surety for the murder of the late Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme, knight). cf. Robert Pitcairn, Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833), pp. 390-1.

164. ed. John Hill Burton, The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Vol. I, A.D. 1545-1569 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877), pp. 132-3.

165. eds. George Neilson and Henry Paton, Acta Dominorum Concilii. Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, Vol. II, A.D. 1496-1501 (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), pp. 8-9, and ed. T. Thomson, Acta Dominorum Concilii. Acts of the lords of Council in Civil Causes, Vol. I, A.D. 1478-1495 (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1839), pp. 101, 121, 153, 195, 300.

166. Fowlis Wester church, Perthshire.

167. cf. Ceremony at St. Andrews. St. Regulus the missionary was said to have consecrated lands donated to the priory by pacing seven times around the land, followed by the king and his nobles. In this manner they "consecrated the place to God and fortified it with the protection of the king's peace", in T. Crouther Gordon, The History of Clackmannan (Glasgow: Civic Press, 1936), p. 71.

168. Session #14, 6 February, 1587, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, II, p. 716.

169. Ian B. Cowan, "Church and Society", in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Jennifer M. Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p. 118.

170. Note that the imagery of Jesus in processions was reinforced by imagery of Jesus throughout the church, including a great silver image set with precious stones and a pax (with a crucifix), kist and sepulchre, all with images of the "Salvator", in eds. Alexander Macdonald and James Dennistoun, "Register of Vestments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., Belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the University of St. Andrews, circa A.D. MCCCCL", in Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. III of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1843), pp. 202 and 204.

- 171.W. McMillan, "Festivals and Saint Days in Scotland after the Reformation", Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1929), III, p. 6.
- 172.Cowan, "Church and Society", p. 118.
- 173.cf. Michael Lynch, "Introduction: Scottish Towns 1500-1700", in The Early Modern Town in Scotland, ed. Michael Lynch (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 14.
- 174.Anna Jean Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1927), p. 65.
- 175.J.G. Wallace-James, Deeds Relating to East Lothian (Haddington: J. Hutchison, 1899), pp. 18-9.
- 176.National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.
- 177.Wallace-James, pp. 19-20 and 44.
- 178.Mill, p. 64.
- 179.ed. George S. Pryde, Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1937), XXVIII, p. 20.
- 180.Mill, pp. 64-5.
- 181.Ibid. Note that the procession was the occasion to point out the stark contrast between Jesus, the loving saviour on the Cross, and Satan, the tempter of humanity. At the same time that the burgh council paid for the Cross to be mended, it paid for the making of a "dragone", the dragon being a common representation of the devil in this period. (eg. carving of a dragon on the exterior wall of Archbishop Blackadder's Lady aisle in Glasgow Cathedral, as well as on the bosses on the ceiling of the aisle). cf. Chapter 3.
- 182.Macdonald and Dennistoun, "Register of Vestments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., Belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the University of St. Andrews, circa A.D. MCCCCL", p. 202.
- 183.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, I, Book 2, pp. 312-3.
- 184.Patrick, #190, p. 100 and #192-3, pp. 101-3.
- 185.However, it is worth noting that Scotland does not seem to have reached the excesses of Europe in terms of the foundation of multiple masses, although religious developments in Scotland did tend to mirror those of Europe. Lorcin noted that the French laity after 1350 tended not only to reduce the variety of religious donations and foundations, concentrating its efforts on commemorative rites such as annual obits, but that it also tended to favour fewer perpetual prayers and masses rather than multiple prayers and masses which would only continue for a few years. This behaviour indicates that the laity well understood that, once in purgatory, it would be heavily reliant on the intercession of the living; thus it was safer to found perpetual prayers and masses

offering endless intercession, rather than multiple masses over a few years which might prove not to be sufficient, 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, pp. 318 and 322.

186. Patrick, #61, pp. 35-6 and Denis McKay, "The Duties of the Medieval Parish Clerk", IR (Glasgow, Spring, 1968), XIX, 1, p. 33.

187. Inventory of the great altar and vestibule of Holyrood Abbey, on 12 October, 1493, in ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1836), p. 25.

188. Macdonald and Dennistoun, "Register of Vestments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., Belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the University of St. Andrews, circa A.D. MCCCCL", III, pp. 199, 200, 202 and 203.

189. "Bishop Dunbar's Gifts to the Cathedral", in Epistolare in usum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Aberdonensis, ed. Bruce McEwen (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1924), p. 100.

190. Dowden, pp. 307-8.

191. "Bishop Dunbar's Gifts to the Cathedral", in McEwen, Epistolare, p. 100.

192. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, II, p. 62.

193. Ibid., II, p. 72.

194. ed. Thomas Thomson, A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have Passed within the Country of Scotland since the Death of King James the Fourth till the Year MDLXXV (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833) pp. 3-4.

195. Cooper, II, p. 360.

196. SRO GD151/16/1 and Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2130, p. 451. The parish of Strathdighty came to be known as the parish of Mains of Fintry, in Charles Peebles, "Parish of Mains of Fintry" in The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799, Vol. XIII of 20 vols., Angus, ed. John Sinclair, in The Statistical Account of Scotland, gen. eds. Donald J. Withrington and Ian R. Grant (East Ardsley, Wakefield: EP Publishing Limited, 1976), p. 481.

197. Note that while Galbraith states that it was the adoration of the Host which was the purpose of sacrament houses of Scotland in the late medieval period, rather than protection against theft, the lack of evidence does not prove that security was not a factor in the decision to place the consecrated Host in sacrament houses. In the nineteenth century religious "amulets" were still being used for various cures, and it is entirely possible that the laity of late medieval times believed that the power of Jesus inherent in the Host was effective in a variety of tasks, and worth uplifting from the church if the opportunity presented itself, in Galbraith, p. 20.

- 198.Carter, p. 128.
- 199.Ibid., p. 128.
- 200.Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.
- 201.egs. The Arbuthnott Prayer Book's illustration of the death of a laywoman and the Crucifixion painting at Foulis Easter collegiate church both contained angels carrying souls to heaven, in Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum and Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus.
- 202.MacGibbon and Ross, III, pp. 404-5.
- 203."Bishop Dunbar's Gifts to the Cathedral", in McEwen, Epistolare, p. 100.
- 204.Ibid., p. 102.
- 205.Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.
- 206.Douglas, Purity and Danger, p. 120.
- 207.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Ane Dewoit Exercicioun for the Honour of the Crown of Thorne", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), p. 193.
- 208.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. 244-5.
- 209.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #28, p. 60.
- 210.David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century, Vol. II of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), pp. 389 and 391.
- 211.Ibid., II, pp. 391-2.
- 212.Note that in the thirteenth century synodal statutes of the diocese of Aberdeen it was required that all churches have at least one silver chalice, presumably for the high altar, in Patrick, #63, p. 37.
- 213.The increasing prominence of Trinitarian imagery in the sixteenth century was evidenced by the Trinity chalice which was of silver double over-gilt with "ye trinitie" in the foot, possibly an illustration of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and below this the words "Maister Robert Walterstoun" along with his arms. The association of the power to save souls lay primarily with the person and nature of Jesus, and was expressed by the inscription "Jesus" on the paten (*patene*), a paten being a shallow dish for the Eucharist which was frequently used as a cover for the chalice, in SRO GD1/413/1, pp. 105-6. By the middle of the fifteenth century the altars in St. Mary's church of Haddington included those of Our Lady, the Holy Blood, St. Blaise, St. John, The Three Kings of Cologne, St.

Salvator, St. Katherine, St. Michael, St. Towbart, Sts. Crispin and Crispinian and the Trinity, in MacGibbon and Ross, II, p. 504. Note that Our Lady, St. Katherine and St. Michael were all important to lay salvation, and the altars of the Holy Blood and St. Salvator emphasised the saving power of Jesus' Passion. Note that the idea that the burgh council would be concerned for the safety of these ornaments is made clear from the wording of the document, and in general, the council took responsibility for seeing to high standards in relation to church matters, a document of 5 December, 1531, insisting that only "honestmen" were to pass with the "kirk bred" on Sundays, or rather, take the collection.

214. Andrew Moubray (*Mowbra*), burgess of Edinburgh, founded a chaplainry for two chaplains at the altar of St. Ninian in the collegiate church of St. Giles in Edinburgh on 19 December, 1492. His foundation was oriented to the salvation of souls, as these chaplains and their successors were to say prayers perpetually as well as celebrate an obit on a yearly basis. His provision of ornaments, vestments and books ensured that the Eucharist would be properly executed; his donation included a Missal and Breviary as well as a silver gilt chalice (19 ounces), in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2120, p. 448.

215. Cooper, II, p. 31.

216. Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, II, p. 24.

217. eg. Robert Arbuthnott and his spouse Marion Scrimgeour agreed to submit themselves to the will of the Franciscans and to participate insofar as possible in all meritorious works such as masses, orations, divine offices, devotions, vigils and suffrages, in Bryce, II, pp. 263-4.

218. "Aberdeen Obituary Calendar", in Bryce, II, p. 325.

219. Note that Sutherland also demanded that his son go on pilgrimage on his behalf, and he donated to his daughter Marjory a cross of gold, in ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. III (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), pp. 96-100.

220. John Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", IR (Glasgow, Spring, 1962), XIII, 1, pp. 72-3.

221. Inventory of the great altar and vestibule in Holyrood Abbey, on 12 October, 1493, in The Bannatyne Miscellany, II, pp. 22-6.

222. More lavish "small gifts" could be donated to honour Jesus in His role in the Eucharistic rite. For example, on 2 July, 1500, provost of Aberdeen Alexander Menzies donated £3 in annual rents for the sustaining of an oil lamp before the sacrament at the high altar in St. Nicholas church, to be cared for by the chaplain of the altar of St. Sebastian. Menzies stated that he understood that good works were rewarded by God, and that he wished to augment divine service and to benefit the souls of James III, IV and their predecessors and successors on the throne of Scotland, in Cooper, II, pp. 67-70. Menzies' choice of an oil lamp before the sacrament at the high altar indicates his desire to honour the Host, the product of Jesus'

sacrifice in the Mass and the key to lay salvation. His stated motives also indicate that Menzies understood God to be honoured through an honouring of the Eucharistic rite. Menzies' donation offered an unusually explicit statement of motivation, combining his awareness of death's certainty, a powerful motivator for many laypeople in this period. It also revealed his image of God as Judge, and his understanding that the justice administered on the Day of Judgment would be perfect, impartial justice. He also made it clear that good deeds were important to increasing one's spiritual standing on the Day of Judgment.

Whereas to mortal men nothing is more certain than death, and merits alone can call us to the seats of the blest above, and bearing in mind that in that day of strict judgment good works are rewarded by the Righteous Judge, therefore [. . . goes on to make his donation]

in Ibid., p. 68.

223.Pryde, p. 21.

224.Cooper, II, p. 359.

225.Ibid., II, pp. 371-2.

226.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. 100.

227.Cooper, II, pp. 336 and 338, Stuart, Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570, I, pp. 68 and 77-8, ed. Robert Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling A.D. 1519-1666 (Glasgow: Glasgow Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society, 1887), p. 18 (regarding work on the choir in 1523), William Cramond, The Annals of Banff, Vol. I (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1891), VIII, p. 31, ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1528-57 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871), pp. 174, 336 and 329, and James Colston, The Guildry of Edinburgh: Is it an Incorporation? (Edinburgh: Colston & Co., 1887), pp. 119-20.

228.Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, VII, p. 434.

229.ed. Henry M. Paton, Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles, Vol. I: 1529-1615 (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957), pp. 190-1.

230.Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", pp. 73-5. This article includes a copy of the collegiate church foundation charter which was granted by Pope Alexander VI in 1492 and executed in 1493.

231.Stuart, The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, V, pp. 304-5.

232.Ibid., V, p. 301. Note that the parish of Lenzie was the parish of Kirkintilloch, in Ian B. Cowan, The Parishes of Medieval Scotland (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1967), Vol. LXCIII, p. 121.

233.Rutherford, p. 27.

234. Ibid., pp. 29-33. cf. The foundation of the collegiate church of Lochwinnoch (*Lochkynyeoch*) on 18 December, 1506, by John, Lord Semple, of a further three chaplains to celebrate in the church, with special financing of 5 merks per year for bread, wine and wax for the celebration of masses, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #3020, p. 644.

235. Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers 1531-1561, #129, p. 44.

236. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, VII, p. 181.

237. eg. 1550 accounting of a payment to Sir James Inglis to sing a soulmass for James III and Queen Margaret, "quhome God assolze", in 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.

238. Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers 1531-1561, #60, pp. 26-7.

239. ed. Gordon Donaldson, Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1949 and 1950), #1452 and 1765, pp. 327 and 389.

240. Cooper, II, pp. 136 and 143.

241. This information came from the testimony of the trial of the "Lollards of Kyle" which Knox obtained from the "Register of Glasgow", in Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 8-9.

242. Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, pp. 193-4.

243. Note that of the 140 burgesses in Dunfermline, 50 were guild members in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, making membership in the guild reasonably broad. Thus support for masses for the dead in places such as Dunfermline reflected the attitudes of a broad segment of the community, in Elizabeth P.D. Torrie, "The Guild in Fifteenth Century Dunfermline", in The Scottish Medieval Town, eds. Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), p. 256. cf. "In Missis Pro Defunctis", in McEwen, Epistolare, p. 91.

244. SRO GD44/15/3/1. Huntly was involved in a number of violent conflicts during this period of turmoil in Scotland. Thus it is not surprising that he emphasised the prayers and masses of the living on behalf of dead souls; he probably believed that he would be unable to make sufficient satisfaction for his sins before he died, so would be sent purgatory where he would need to rely on the prayers of the living to improve his spiritual standing.

245. "In Missis Pro Defunctis", in McEwen, Epistolare, p. 91.

246. Offerings at high mass were made by James IV in 1511 in St. Ninian's Chapel, church of the Holyrood, Our Lady Kirk of Leith, Kirk o'Field, St. Nicholas Chapel, Leith, Our Lady of Restalrig, and in 1512 in Linlithgow, Trinity College, Edinburgh and Restalrig, in

Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IV, pp. 175, 178-80, 186 and 188-9.

247. Ibid., IV, p. 174.

248. McEwen, Epistolare, p. xl.

249. The pece silver offerings for Easter 1553, part of the total for April 1553, amounted to £15. The December amount was £11. The average monthly donation was about £8. The lowest level of giving was in January 1552/3, the total being just over £5. This data was compiled from records of pece silver collections in St. Giles collegiate church, Edinburgh, from October 1552 to September 1553, contained in the dean of guild's accounts for 1552-3, in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1528-1557 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871), pp. 328-31.

250. eg. James IV donated 14s. daily as an offering in Linlithgow during Easter week of 1512, and the same amount on Corpus Christi Day, 10 June, 1512, in Trinity College, Edinburgh, in Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IV, pp. 186 and 188.

251. From a letter by William, Bishop of Aberdeen, outlining the new boundaries of a town within the bounds of the parochial church of St. Machar outside Aberdeen, in ed. Alexander MacDonald Munro, Records of Old Aberdeen 1498-1903, Vol. II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1909), XXXVI, pp. 266-8.

252. Ibid., p. 267.

253. William Fraser, Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss, Vol. I of 3 vols., Memoirs (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 116, citing pleadings by Sir John Melville vs. Moutray of Seafield, 1533-4.

254. David McRoberts, "The Glorious House of St. Andrews", IR (Glasgow, 1974), XXV, p. 106, citing Theiner, Monumenta, p. 527.

255. Dickson, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, I, and Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, II-IV, passim.

256. Thomson, A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, pp. 3-4.

257. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IV, p. 438.

258. Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, p. 57.

259. William Moir Bryce, The Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, Vol. X of The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (Edinburgh: Old Edinburgh Club, 1918), p. 167.

260. Christopher Morris, "Plague in Britain", The Plague Reconsidered. A New Look at its Origins and Effects in 16th and 17th Century England (Stafford: Local Population Studies, 1977), p. 38.

261. In any event, while Duly's action did not save his wife's life and resulted in his own sentence of death, he may have felt that God had aided him somewhat. After being sentenced to death, he was hung before his own door, but the rope snapped. The burgh council decided that it was God's will that it had done so and that he deserved pity as he was a poor man with small children. Thus he was banished from Edinburgh under pain of death rather than being hung, in Macdonald and Dennistoun, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, II, pp. 107-8.

262. Glasgow Cathedral, Lanarkshire.

263. ed. T.D. Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis, in The Asloan Manuscript, Vol. II of 2 vols., New series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1920), ll. 1042-4, p. 45.

264. Macdonald and Dennistoun, Miscellany of the Maitland Club, II, p. 99.

265. The thirteenth century synodal statutes of Aberdeen diocese included the comment that lepers were "separated from the society of men" "by general usage", in Patrick, #73, p. 41.

266. Fowlis Wester church, Perthshire.

267. Munro, Records of Old Aberdeen 1498-1903, p. 287.

268. Ibid., p. 283. Note that the first fruits applied to the hospital were to pay for obits, so clearly in Dunbar's mind remission of human sins and salvation of souls came through applying the merits of Jesus' Passion in the Eucharistic rite.

269. Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, IV, p. 412.

270. This is the notarial transumpt of the indulgence, the copy dating from 1502 to 1513. Along with the request for a portable altar was a long list of roles which the applicants wished a "fit confessor" to fulfil. These included the right of the confessor to grant absolution from ecclesiastical censures for such matters as avoiding fasts, canonical hours, and violence, "for which they were contrite in heart, and had confessed orally", laypeople thus accepting that their own spiritual preparation was necessary in order for the Mass to be effective. The confessor was to be authorised to offer plenary remission and absolution of all sins once in life and "in the article of death". These requests revealed the extent of the laity's sense of personal unworthiness, despite concern for personal virtue and the execution of good works. The absolution of the church was needed to erase fears of being sent to hell after death, in William Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, Vol. II of 2 vols., Correspondence and Charters (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 244. cf. The portable altar on display in the National Museum of Antiquities, from Coldingham Priory, Berwickshire, 12-14th century, consisting of a flat piece of red sandstone, about a foot square, with the usual five crosses etched in its surface. Such altars could be free-standing where required as the possessor moved around the countryside (and did not have

access to a fixed altar), or could be set into a recess cut into an altar top, in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

271.SRO RH2/7/5, pp. 1443-4. The papal bull was drawn up in the twelfth year of Sixtus IV's papacy, which corresponds to 1483, in ed. C.R. Cheney, Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), p. 38. That the Lords of Erroll believed in the efficacy of the Eucharistic rite is borne out by the records of the General Assembly of the Scottish church. In 1592 the Assembly accused the Earl of Erroll of having the "idolatrie of the Mess" celebrated in his house of Logiealmond (*Logieamount*), Perthshire, and Slains (*Slaines*), Aberdeenshire, and generally of subverting the "true religioun", in Session of 5 January, 1592, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, II, pp. 829-30. The marriage contract between Erroll and Leslie is dated 14 October, 1485, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1906), pp. 565-6.

272.In 1490 Sir Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott and his spouse were granted the right to a portable altar by Julian, Bishop of Ostia. This included the right to have Mass and other divine offices celebrated by a suitable priest in a fitting place. Arbuthnott and his spouse requested the right because of their sincere devotion to the Roman church and their fervent devotion to God, in SRO RH1/2/294. There is no doubt that Sir Robert Arbuthnott was a devout Christian, as he built and dedicated an aisle to St. Mary in St. Tiernan's church, Arbuthnott, funded the production of a Missal and Psalter for the church and a prayer book (Office of the Blessed Virgin) for himself, and joined the confraternity of the Third Order of the Franciscans in 1487 along with his spouse Marion Scrimgeour (*Scrimgor*), in Bryce, II, pp. 263-4. Note that an "Alexander Arbuthnott" was listed in an indulgence granted between 1502 and 1513 to clerics and laity of varying status in the dioceses of Aberdeen, St. Andrews and Brechin. Possibly this "Alexander" was related to Sir Robert Arbuthnott. The requests made in the indulgence revealed the laity's perception of what was necessary to become spiritually acceptable to God, in Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, II, Correspondence and Charters, p. 244.

273.Acta Sancti Paenitentiarum Apostolicae (ASPA) (Reg. Matri. et Diversi), XLVIII, Alexander VI, anno 8 (1499), f. 981; XLII, Alexander VI, anno 1 (1492), f. 326r; XXXIX, Innocent VIII, anno 6 (1489), f. 440; XXXIX, Innocent VIII, anno 8 (1492), f. 428v; XLII, Alexander VI, anno 1 (1492), f. 322v; XLII, Alexander VI, anno 1 (1492), f. 321r, respectively.

274.Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, II, pp. 32-3.

275.ASPA (Reg. Matri et Div), XLVIII, Alexander VI, anno 8 (1499), f. 981.

276.Ibid., XLIX, Alexander VI, anno 9 (1500), f. 767v, f. 817r and 760r.

277.Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, Part 2, #2131, p. 451.

278.SRO GD103/2/46. Patrick Home's determination to use clerical prayers and ceremonies to benefit his soul was further displayed in a foundation of 1503. On 16 September he donated lands and annual rents to the altar of St. Cuthbert in the south aisle of the collegiate church of Dunglass, East Lothian, which he referred to as "his" collegiate church in the document. As donor he would be named during Eucharistic celebrations, in SRO GD1/640/2.

279.SRO GD45/27/10. Note that Maule's grandson and heir, Thomas, was also a very pious man, joining the confraternity of the Third Order of St. Francis, founding an obit and making a number of donations to religious houses, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910), VII, pp. 9-10.

280.Mackinlay, I, p. 101.

281.ASPA (Reg Matri et Diversi), L, Alexander VI, 1502, ff. 19r-v. Note also that a Patrick Home of Polwarth, Berwickshire, along with William Graham of Kincardine and Archibald Edmonston of Duntreath, were granted a papal indulgence on 7 June, 1502, allowing them to appoint a confessor and to have a portable altar for the celebration of divine services, especially at Easter (for these men as well as their household servants). They also requested that they receive the same spiritual benefits as visiting churches in Rome by visiting two or three churches or altars in their place of residence, daily during Lent, in SRO GD103/2/46. cf. On 16 September, 1503, Patrick Home of Polwarth, knight, with the consent of his spouse Helen Schaw, donated lands and annual rents to a chaplain at the altar of St. Cuthbert in the south aisle of his collegiate church of Dunglass, East Lothian, in SRO GD1/640/2.

282.Session #14, 6 February, 1587, in Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, II, p. 720. cf. "Old lady Hoome" of Thornton, East Lothian, was named a papist in 1560 by the General Assembly, in the session of 27 December, 1560, in Ibid., I, p. 6. As late as 1587 the laird of Leslie was being chastised by the General Assembly for holding public mass at his chapel, not to mention hearing "house mess", where he was joined by a number of people. In fact, Buchan, Garioch, Mar and Aberdeen were all believed to be rife with Catholic preachers who "corrupt and seduce the people" and "pollute this land with idolatrie", and more commonly than not did so primarily by celebrating mass at the invitation of various laypeople, in Session #14, 6 February, 1587, in Ibid., II, pp. 715-6. In Dumbarton, masses were so commonly held, maintained and encouraged by such as the laird of Fintry and the Lady Mar, that the General Assembly blamed them for the "contempt of the Word and Ministers" expressed by so many laypeople, in Session #14, 6 February, 1587, in Ibid., II, p. 722.

283.Fleming, Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, I, pp. xiv-xv.

284.cf. Thomson, The Booke of the Universall Kirk, II, pp. 715-25 and 784 and III, pp. 829-30.

285.Session #14, 6 February, 1587, in Ibid., II, p. 721. cf. Ibid., I, p. 6, II, pp. 431, 715-25 and 784, and III, pp. 829-30.

286. Note that confession, an important part of spiritual preparation for Communion, was part of the final rituals before death, and if people wanted to have the full benefit of Jesus' Passion with them when they faced God at the particular judgment, they needed to be particularly concerned about spiritual preparedness at this final stage of life. cf. Patrick, #72, p. 41 and #61, pp. 35-6.

CHAPTER 10:
JESUS AS SACRIFICE IN THE EUCHARIST:
LAY PREPARATION AND CLERICAL EXECUTION

INTRODUCTION

Most people in pre-Reformation Scotland appear to have believed in the "old dance" that was the Catholic Eucharist.¹ Thus it was important for them to ensure that they were spiritually prepared to benefit from the rite as hearers of the Mass and also as participants when they took Communion, and that the clergy executed the Eucharist sufficiently well to please God and obtain for them the merits of Jesus' Passion. In order for laypeople to be spiritually prepared for the Eucharist, particularly at Easter when they normally took Communion, they needed to pursue personal holiness, take part in the sacraments of the church, and do the "seven deeds of mercy", as demanded by Jesus.² However, it was accepted that Original Sin, plus humanity's natural tendency to sin, made the sacrament of penance the key to spiritual preparation for the Eucharist, particularly Communion. That is, asking forgiveness of God for one's sins and making recompense was necessary in order to join spiritually with Jesus in this mystical union and so become God's temple full of divine wisdom, power, and knowledge.³

The penitential stages required by the church to achieve God's forgiveness were contrition, confession and satisfaction. If these stages were not completed and absolution received from the priest, the layperson was not to communicate. The penalty for falsely coming to the "buid of Christ" or "buid of God"⁴ was punishment by the church, and ultimately by God. Apart from penance, to obtain the full benefits of the Eucharistic rite, it was necessary to have

great faith in God and a burning love and faith in Jesus and the merits of His Passion, to maintain a prayerful lifestyle, particularly as preparation for the Eucharist, and to be in charity and unity with one's neighbours.

Proper preparation for the Eucharist brought societal and personal benefits. Reconciliation between God and humanity was believed to be achievable, as was the application of the merits of the Passion to one's personal spiritual welfare. Spiritual preparation for the Eucharist brought the individual an escape from hell, an opportunity for salvation, a great cleansing of sin for the living and the dead, and some relief from the spiritual consequences of sudden death.

METHODS OF PREPARING SPIRITUALLY FOR THE EUCHARIST

The sacrament of penance was essential to spiritual preparation for the Eucharist, although it was also important to engage in prayer, develop an intense love for Jesus through meditation on His Passion, and be in a state of charity with one's neighbour. Themes of purity and devotion to God formed the basis of the church's understanding of the nature and efficacy of the sacrament of penance (ie. confession, contrition and satisfaction), so they need to be discussed prior to any discussion of the function of penance.

Encompassed within the theme of purity were notions of the importance of a "clean" mind and heart, and of freedom from sin as adjudged by the church or as experienced by the individual layperson. Confession, contrition and satisfaction were all methods of achieving this purity. "Thow schrive ye clene & mak confessioun", urged William Dunbar in his poem "The maner of passyng to confessioun", found in BM Arundel MS 285.⁵ Confession was

necessary to be purified of sin; for in the rules set down for the "Brothers and Sisters of Penitence", confession was to occur once each month, "for in holy confession all is pardoned and the greater grace of God is bestowed".⁶ Further, the sacrifice of Jesus Himself was a purification of humanity, the symbols of blood, water and the enflamed heart of Passion symbolism reinforcing the role of purification in achieving spiritual acceptability. Jesus Himself had needed to be spiritually worthy or "pure" in order for God to consider His death on the Cross to be acceptable satisfaction for human sin.⁷

The theme of purity, which manifested itself in exhortations to be "clean of heart" and absolved of sin, can be understood from the perspective of ideas of pollution and purity in different societies. "Primitive" societies tend to associate pollution and purity almost exclusively with physical conditions.⁸ The trend in more "advanced" societies is for pollution to be considered a spiritual state of unworthiness, as was the case with clergy and laity in pre-Reformation Scotland in relation to participation in the Eucharist. People of reforming mind emphasised that one had to be pure, or free from the spiritual pollution of sin, in order for the Eucharist to be efficacious.

Quha will ressave this Sacrament,
Suld have trew faith, and sin repent;
Quha usis it unworthelie,⁹
Ressavis deid eternallie.

Devotional literature of the period took up the theme of purity. In BM Arundel MS 285 was a long poem entitled "Remembrance of the Passion", which contained daily meditations on the Passion as a means of bringing its fruits to the suppliant. Each event of the Passion was described and then followed by a prayer to be said by the suppliant. Thursday's meditation was followed by a prayer

acknowledging that receiving the sacrament with an impure mind
barred one from the joys of heaven.

O Lord Iesu, yat tholit ye Iowis to file thy face with
spitting and spewing on it: Grant me yat I file neuer
thy face with spitting: resavand thy sacrament be
uncleyne mynd, knawand my self a vile synnar; the quhilk
gif I do is dampnacioun to my saule and body for euer
mair.¹⁰

In BM Arundel MS 285 one of the orisons was entitled "Off ye
birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resaue our
saluiour Iesu Crist", a work for which the editor J.A.W. Bennett
could find no Latin or English original. It was a plea to God to
help the supplicant prepare properly for receiving the sacrament,
and it asked God, "my creatour, redemer" to help the supplicant to
receive Him with "effectioun, reverence, prising, honour, and
worthynes and lufe, in faith, hope, and purite", comparing the
desired state of mind with that of Mary at the Annunciation.¹¹ The
theme of purity to achieve spiritual worthiness was prominent in
Marian imagery, so it is unsurprising that she served as a model for
the laity in BM Arundel MS 285, where she and the crucified Jesus
occupied centre stage.

In the Eucharistic rite, the wine was changed into the blood
of Jesus, so it is useful to understand that blood could function as
a polluting or a purifying substance, depending on the context. In
Scotland in the pre-Reformation period, there was a good deal of
emphasis on the cleansing and life-giving properties of Jesus'
blood, possibly influenced by the Hebrew notion of blood as the
source of life.¹² A poem based upon a popular secular ballad, part
of The Gude and Godlie Ballatis compilation, explained that Jesus'
blood was the substance which had purified humanity and brought it
salvation.

This is the blude did us refresche;
 This is the blude that mon us wesche:
 The blude that from his hart furth ran,
 Maid us fre airis till our Gude-man.¹³

Water was also a purifying substance, and it was water and blood which were believed to have flowed from Jesus' side at the Crucifixion.¹⁴ The Catechism of 1552 stated that the wine of the Eucharist signified redemption through the blood of Jesus, and water the people's spiritual cleansing by baptism. The mixing of water and wine in the chalice, or the water and blood said to have flowed from Jesus' side, represented the union of Jesus (wine) with the people (water) which occurred during the Eucharist, which would slake humanity's thirst forever.¹⁵ A graphic portrayal of this event was contained in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book's illustration of the Eucharistic rite; in the illustration, blood and water from Jesus' side flowed directly into a chalice on the altar, promising the cleansing of human sin and entry into heaven.¹⁶ Thus reassurance of salvation came with the celebration of the Eucharist wherein the laity was united with Jesus, the most perfect and pure Son of God who was a worthy sacrifice for human sin. Chalices were a popular donation in the period under study, perhaps revealing the laity's understanding that transubstantiation, which took place in the chalice during the Eucharistic rite, was crucial to salvation.

The bread which became the body of Jesus in the Eucharistic rite also was associated with purity. In Dunbar's "The Passioun of Christ" in BM Arundel MS 285, Jesus' body was referred to as the "flesche virginall" which had been sacrificed on the Cross to purge human sin.¹⁷ It was this "flesh" or heavenly bread which was consumed by the laity in the Eucharist to make it clean of sin and incorruptible, or rather, immortal.¹⁸

Devotional and documentary evidence from the period 1480 to 1560 clearly shows lay awareness of personal sin and of the necessity for personal "purification" prior to attendance at the rite, particularly when taking Communion. Partaking of the sacrament "unworthily" was considered a grave matter, as unworthy receiving of it could send one to hell, whereas worthy receiving of the sacrament gave the promise of eternal life, making one "divine, godly, holy and Christis servant", united via the Host with the mystical body of Jesus Christ.¹⁹ Although laypeople were expected to attend high mass each Sunday in the parish church, they were not required to take the sacrament more than once a year.²⁰ The offence of unworthily communicating was made more grave because laypeople believed in the real presence of Jesus in the rite. Taking the sacrament unworthily angered God and also dishonoured the body and blood of Jesus Himself, throwing Jesus' loving sacrifice back in His face.²¹ Further, unworthy communication endangered the efficacy of the sacrament to provide "holy satisfacioun" for the guilt and sin of the living and the dead; as the Eucharist was the guarantor of human salvation, it was crucial that laypeople not endanger the efficacy of the rite by presenting themselves for Communion in an unworthy state.²²

The Scottish translation of the "Vertewis of the Mess" set forth the merits of the Eucharist for those laypeople who had a "clen hart and gud dewocioun" when they partook of the sacrament.²³ This "clen hart" could be achieved partly through confession, after the individual had gone through the process of contrition and had made an attempt to recall and confess every sin. William Dunbar indicated that the correct state of mind in which to come to confession was one of "humyll and sad contrycioun", but even at that

point the layperson carried the bulk of the responsibility for ensuring that all sins were confessed, for "Quha kennes yi synnes better na yi sell?"²⁴ Dunbar warned that confessing only once each year at Easter made it more likely that a person would forget to confess some sins, thus remaining in a state of sin with an "unclean" conscience.²⁵

Many laypeople exhibited their concern for the attainment of spiritual preparedness through confession. For example, James V and Ambassador Pedro de Ayala lauded James IV for the strong duty to God which had led him to make the Franciscans his confessors.²⁶

Requests for papal indulgences generally involved a request for a confessor with full powers to "cleanse" the laity of sin. For example, in 1502 William Graham (*Graym*) of Kincardine, Archibald Edmonston of Duntreath and Patrick Home of Polwarth requested the right to choose a suitable confessor,²⁷ and between 1502 and 1513 a number of laypeople from Brechin, St. Andrews and Aberdeen dioceses did likewise. The text of the latter indulgence made it clear to what extent clerical confessors had power to cleanse lay sin and ensure suitability for heaven. Once the laypeople had exhibited that they were "contrite in heart, and had confessed orally", the confessor was given the right to enjoin penances for sins, commute vows of pilgrimage to other "works of piety", and give plenary remission and absolution for all sins and ecclesiastical censures such as excommunication (except those reserved in *bullae cene Domini*) once in life and once at the point of death.²⁸ Thus a confessor with such powers would be in a position to absolve a person who was in a state of "deidly syn" or under sentence of "cursing" such that they could participate in the sacrament of the altar. The provincial council of 1559 supported the dictates of Archbishop

Hamilton's "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun" (*The Twapenny Faith*) (1559) which stated adamantly that those who were "cursed" were cut off from the rest of the Christian body and that those in a state of deadly sin were unworthy to receive the blessed sacrament. People in these states or who had not confessed to a priest were to refrain from communicating, for to receive unworthily the sacrament of "our Salviour" was to do him dishonour.²⁹

Another means of preparing for the Eucharist was to have complete faith in God's power through the Eucharist and to express it as a burning love and faith in Jesus and His Passion. The Scottish provincial council of 1559 emphasised that faith in God implied receiving the Host with "perfyte faith"; this faith required a firm belief in the reality of Jesus' suffering and death on the Cross for the sins of humanity, and a remembrance of the religious truth at time of communication.³⁰ Further, by meditating on Jesus' Passion and developing a "burning love" for Him, laypeople could express their love and devotion to Jesus, a love which cleansed the sinner for Communion and which honoured Jesus by its intensity. Thus the prayer "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resaue our saluiour Iesu Crist" of BM Arundel MS 258 insisted that the correct state in which to receive the body of Jesus was one of "birnyng lufe and all fervent effectioun of hert", such that the suppliant received the Host in as worthy a manner as any of God's servants had ever done.³¹ Like Mary, the suppliant wished to be "inflammit with gret and holy desire" so that Jesus would be worthily praised and perpetually glorified, and would receive with kindness the suppliant's prayers, so that those who received the "hie and haly sacrament" in faith, reverence and devotion would find His grace and mercy, and His remembrance at

death.³² George Wishart echoed this thought by emphasising that the "inward moving of the harte" was paramount in the Eucharist, without which the ritual was like "the playing of ane ape, and nott the trew serving of God".³³

The artistic symbol of the flaming heart to represent the Passion echoed the Arundel Manuscript's image of a heart burning with love for Jesus and the idea of fire as a form of purification. Later in the post-Reformation period the burning Cross came to symbolise the Covenanters' burning love for Jesus,³⁴ although the symbol had appeared in the pre-Reformation period on the capital of a pillar in the chapter house of Elgin Cathedral, the chapter house having been dedicated to the Passion by Bishop Andrew Stewart (1482-1501).³⁵ Jesus' heart had burned with such love for humanity that He willingly had suffered great physical anguish so that humanity might be washed of its sin and made acceptable to enter the gates of heaven. The sixteenth century was a time in which devotion to Jesus' Passion began to manifest itself, commonly by artistic and literary means, concentrating devotion on Jesus as Saviour and Mary as His grieving mother, at the expense of those saints not believed to have direct influence on the outcome of the Day of Judgment.

The pre-Reformation Fetternear banner of the confraternity of the Holy Blood, possibly of St. Giles church, Edinburgh, offered laypeople a visual representation of how they should regard Jesus and His Passion. The bottom portion of the banner depicted a crucified Jesus dripping with blood, standing in front of the Cross. Above this scene representing the scene of Jesus' self-sacrifice was a scene which explained to laypeople the close personal relationship with Jesus which had resulted from this sacrifice. A thoughtful, expectant layman, looked up at the face of a serious Jesus, who

looked down at the layman as if to reassure Him that He was the key to success in the afterlife. Surrounding these scenes was a rosary, a series of red roses linked by white beads, intimating that the method of accessing the merits of Jesus' Passion and His care and concern was devotion to Mary and the rosary.³⁶

Prayer was important in connection with receiving the sacrament, for in the Eucharist the laity received its spiritual food, for which God should be thanked. This "spiritual food" was the body, blood, godhead and soul of Jesus, which nourished, sustained and comforted believers and made them "blyth" in their souls.³⁷ In order to become worthy to receive the "precious gift" that was the "Salviour" in the sacrament, the 1559 provincial council of the Scottish church endorsed Archbishop Hamilton's short work "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", which urged laypeople to:

... raise your hertis to God, and als with grete dolour
praye him in Jesus Christis name and for the merit of
his Blyssit Passioun, to mak yow worthy be his grace
thairto. For and ye ressaue the samyn vnworthelie, it
wyl be to your damnatioun.³⁸

The "real presence" of Jesus in the sacrament meant that laypeople were as much connected to Him "internally" when receiving the sacrament as when praying for His aid in daily life, or saying daily meditative prayers on the Passion, as mentioned in the "Contemplacioun of Synnaris" of William of Touris in BM Arundel MS 285.³⁹ In fact, the real presence of Jesus was deemed to continue beyond the actual celebration of the rite,⁴⁰ which meant that to continue to have a good relationship with Jesus, laypeople had to be full participants in the rite. Prayer was an intrinsic element of this relationship. In the devotional prayer "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resae our saluour Iesu Crist" the suppliant was to entreat God to receive

the "prayeris and desiris of thy infinit benedictionis and praysingis" prior to receiving the sacrament.⁴¹

Devoted followers of Jesus, engrossed in prayer, were represented visually to encourage laypeople to develop their own prayerful relationship with the godhead. In the illustration of the Eucharist in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book, one of the clerics knelt before the altar in prayer-like manner. The Crucifixion painting of Foulis Easter showed the three Marys and St. John at the foot of the Cross, along with another haloed woman, standing with head bowed and hands folded in prayer, in much the same position as Mary in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book's illustration of the Annunciation. As the Eucharist was a re-enactment of the Passion of Jesus, the clear message to the laity of such Crucifixion paintings was that prayer was an appropriate sign of devotion and reverence.⁴²

The Eucharistic rite, when engaged in by laypeople well-prepared for it, was believed to help unify the faithful by binding them closely to Jesus, and laypeople were not supposed to take part in the rite unless they were in amity with their neighbour. The concept of community was well-developed in the late medieval period, part of the fabric of social, political and economic life. The well-being of the community was promoted, to the point that "sins" against it, whether of a secular or spiritual nature, were met with hostility and the individuals punished.⁴³ The communal celebration of the Eucharist was believed to bring a spirit of unity and reconciliation into the hearts of the participants. Laypeople were denied the spiritual benefits of the Eucharist if they could not bring themselves to forgive each other and reconcile their differences prior to partaking of the sacrament; the sacrament

brought divine forgiveness of sins, but only if it was accompanied by a similar forgiveness of sins amongst the lay communicants.

. . . and because this sacrament is the sacrament of lufe and concorde, se that nane of yow with despyte [contempt] in your herte presume to cum to this blyssit sacrament, bot as ye walde be forgeuin of your synnis and ressaute in vnitie with God, swa aucht ye to forgeue vther.⁴⁴

The expectation of devotion and reverence to Jesus and unity with one's neighbour was not always fulfilled by the laity, who sometimes polluted the church by committing violent acts against lay or clerical enemies, or simply acted badly during rituals. The provincial council of 1559 exhorted clerics to require lay participants to listen quietly to the exhortation which preceded the sacrament. They were to sit still in devotion, with devout heart and mind, until they could be served the sacrament in an orderly fashion.⁴⁵ To improve the environment for meditation and peaceful union with God and neighbour, the provincial council of 1552 prohibited the use of the church for commercial transactions, particularly during divine services on Sundays, holy days and during mass, and planned to punish those who missed Mass or who heard Mass "irreverently and impiously, or who jest[ed] or behave[d] scurrilously in church at time of sermon, or who presume at such times to make mockery."⁴⁶

Thomas Winning noted in his essay "Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland" that, while the provincial councils appeared to have done "too little too late" in terms of reform, they did authorise exhortations prior to Mass and other sacraments four years before the Council of Trent did so, and introduced a catechism eleven years prior to Trent's similar initiative.⁴⁷ The Scottish hierarchy did so in a bid to properly prepare the laity spiritually for the sacraments, so that it could derive maximum benefit from

them. However, it is debatable whether an earlier set of exhortations to the clergy to enforce decorum at Mass would have been effective with troublemakers. The Presbyterian church, noted for its machinery for social control and its determination to use it, also reported difficulties controlling behaviour. In 1597, Stirling's Kirk Session stated that:

The present assemblie findis thair hes bein great misordur amangis the pepill of this congregatioun at the last ministratioun of the Lordis Supper, in rash and suddan cuming to the tabill, in spilling of the wyne, and in thrusting and shouting in thair passage out at the kirk dur aftir the ministratioun; and thairfoir thinkis meit that this misordur be rememberit befor the nixt ministratioun of that sacrament, and that the pepill be admonishit to use thame selfis mair reverentlie.⁴⁸

John Knox himself came in for verbal abuse from a variety of Scots after the Reformation, who objected to being forced to conform to the new church's view of proper behaviour. The St. Andrews Kirk Session records for 1560 indicate the turmoil of the times. In May of 1560, Elene Thomson (*Thomsone*), the spouse of John Dryburgh, was accused of absenting herself from preaching and prayers, speaking ill of the ministers, particularly John Knox, and blaspheming the sacraments. The Eucharist was the central requirement of Protestant worship as it was for Catholic worship. Thus the means by which the laity could protest the new church and its practices was to insult its central rite. In May John Law was reported to have stated: "The Divell knok owt Johne Knox harnes, for, quhen he wald se him hanget, he wald gett his sacrament." In April the Kirk Session accused Margaret Murdow of speaking against the "sacrament of the body and blude of Christ" when she declared in the fish market: "Ye gif your supper quhome to ye pleass: I traist to God ye salbe fayne

to steale fra that supper and dennar", and William Petillok rejected the whole business of church attendance:

The Divell ane kirk will I gang to! . . . The Divell burn up the kirk or I come into it! . . . It wer gude that Knox war kend the gayt quhare fra he come! . . . The Divell cayre [rake up] the kyrk!⁴⁹

It cannot be denied that certain laypeople showed indifference to, or contempt for, certain rituals of the church, both before and after the Reformation.⁵⁰ However, it is likely that certain segments of a population at one time or another will not conform to society's expectations of "proper" beliefs and behaviour. By and large the pre-Reformation Scottish laity, whilst it may not have fulfilled the authorities' desire for sober conduct, seems to have understood the ideals toward which it should strive so as to be correctly prepared for the Eucharist, and to participate properly in the rite. Even private masses were viewed by some as having a salutary effect on the level of devotion of the faithful. When Sir John Stewart of Darnley, constable of the Scottish army in France, prepared for death in 1421, he requested burial in the chapel of the Blessed Mary in the Cathedral of Orleans, and a daily and perpetual mass for the souls of himself, his spouse Dame Elizabeth and his relations and benefactors. Sir John believed that this foundation would please God by increasing the "devotion of the faithful", securing the "salvation of souls", and enhancing divine worship.⁵¹

BENEFITS OF SPIRITUAL PREPARATION FOR THE EUCHARIST

If the layperson was spiritually prepared for receiving the sacrament, the benefits were great. Most of these benefits were applicable to living souls because private masses without the attendance of the laity were almost as efficacious for those already in purgatory. The "Vertewis of the Mess" outlined in detail the

benefits of taking the sacrament, citing a number of the Fathers of the Church to lend weight to its arguments.

The major benefits of taking the sacrament were that it brought the merits of Jesus' Passion, cleansed the living and dead of sin, and mitigated the consequences of sudden death. The merits of Jesus' Passion included escape from hell, which had been humanity's sure destination after expulsion from the Garden of Eden and which it could now avoid if it pursued personal holiness, avoided deadly sin, and employed the rites and practices of the church to make recompense for sins committed during life on earth. Jesus' Passion also had brought the opportunity for eternal life after death.⁵² Moreover, participation in the sacrament of the altar offered the laity a taste of heaven and thus gave it inspiration; when Mass was in process, heaven opened up and an angel descended and bore company to the holy sacrament.⁵³ This idea mirrored closely the view that, during the Mass, Jesus and the participants were joined with and made living members of the "mistical bodie of our Saluiour Jesus Christe".⁵⁴ In that sense, the sacrament of the altar was the closest the laity would be to heaven while still on earth.

The laity's attendance at Mass aided souls both living and dead. According to St. Gregory, for each mass said devoutly, many souls were released from purgatory, and St. Jerome had indicated that when a living person heard the Mass on behalf of a soul in purgatory, that soul felt no pain for the duration of the Mass. Of course, to be effective this hearing of Mass had to be done with special worthiness, a "clen hart and gud dewocioune".⁵⁵

For the living, participation in the Eucharistic rite brought benefits on earth and after death. As the central rite which

defined the relationship between humanity and the godhead, the power of the Eucharistic rite was believed to be as great as the power of God Himself. As a rite of supplication, the Mass brought the person who prayed at Mass whatever he or she asked, as long as the suppliant was spiritually worthy, of clean heart and good devotion. Further, St. Gregory insisted that by hearing the Mass one assisted other living souls to cease living sinfully and to turn to good living.⁵⁶

Countering the growing popularity of private masses, where "quantity" won out over "quality", the author of the "Vertewis of the Mess" insisted that to take the sacrament oneself was more efficacious in cleansing sin than having one thousand masses said after death. Further, according to St. Bede, hearing the Mass helped people to cease living sinfully. However, given the lay sense of personal spiritual unworthiness, it was unlikely that laypeople would believe that hearing the Mass would take away their sinful nature. Nevertheless, their anxiety about sinfulness was relieved somewhat by participation in the rite, for according to St. Matthew, venial sins were forgiven through the virtue of the Mass, and no deadly sins would be committed while the person was hearing Mass.⁵⁷

In terms of external evil forces controlling lay behaviour, St. Augustine indicated that an evil spirit inhabiting a sinful person would flee from the sinner's soul for the duration of the Mass, from the point at which the person saw the holy sacrament.⁵⁸ Thus seeing the Host meant seeing Jesus' flesh, a concept which easily led to a view that the consecrated bread had almost magical powers (hence thefts of the Host and locked sacrament houses).⁵⁹ The power of Jesus to fight evil was believed to repose in the Host

because Jesus was believed to be really present in the bread at the point of its consecration and elevation.

One of the laity's greatest fears was of sudden or unexpected death; Mary was asked to intercede to avert sudden death,⁶⁰ God and Jesus were entreated not to use it as a punishment, and the laity learned that it could help itself to avoid sudden death by hearing the Mass. All wills of the period mentioned the uncertainty of the hour of death. Scottish wills tended to be written near to time of death, and usually included few religious foundations. An explanation for this may have been the testators' desire to make mass foundations and do good works well in advance of death, in case death came to claim them unexpectedly.⁶¹ The Mass was believed to prevent the possibility of sudden death on the day that Mass was actually heard, as long as it was heard with clean heart and devoutly; if one died on the same day that Mass was heard, the Mass afforded the same level of spiritual protection as all of the church sacraments.⁶² Thus the Eucharist was the most powerful vehicle of lay sanctification available through the church.

HIGH STANDARDS OF CLERICAL EXECUTION OF THE EUCHARIST

Apart from lay spiritual preparation, the factor most crucial to ensuring the efficacy of the Eucharistic rite was the standard of clerical execution. The "Vertewis of the Mess" insisted bluntly that, when done properly, the Mass was as efficacious as the historical Passion and death of Jesus.⁶³ Further, because the trend was toward low masses, unattended by the laity, the onus fell even more heavily upon the clergy celebrating the rite. By proclaiming the Eucharistic rite an "ever-renewed sacrificial act" the church had made it the most efficacious rite for the salvation of the dead

and the living, and given the church and its clerics great power over the laity.⁶⁴ At the same time, the church's claim led laypeople to hold clerics largely responsible for the efficacy of the rite. Lay anxieties about spiritual unworthiness were transferred to the clerics responsible for relieving that anxiety, and increasing pressure was put on clerics to perform more lavish and carefully executed rites, particularly the Eucharistic rite, and to be themselves of great moral and intellectual worthiness. Laypeople were concerned with regular celebration of the Eucharist and high standards of execution; they created mechanisms to ensure that Eucharistic celebrations effectively transferred the merits of Jesus' Passion to them as they sought God's acceptance and entry into heaven.

There can be no question that laypeople believed in the superior efficacy of clerical prayer and ritual to bring divine forgiveness. Laypeople would not have been so concerned to ensure high standards of execution had this not been the case, nor would they have demanded an increasing number of clerical rituals, particularly celebrations of the Eucharistic rite. The increasing sense of lay unworthiness may have intensified this trend to rely heavily upon clerical rituals, laypeople believing their own prayers and participation in rites to be insufficient to compensate for their deep sinfulness. Further, through the Middle Ages the clergy separated itself from the people, progressively becoming more inaudible and unintelligible, its ceremonies more complex and impenetrable, and its celebration of many rituals taking place out of sight and reach behind a choir screen.⁶⁵ Increasingly the clergy was a separate and superior segment of society, the mark of God's

favour symbolised by its right to take Communion in both kinds, the laity being barred from the chalice.⁶⁶

RELIANCE ON CLERICAL RITUAL AND CONCERNS ABOUT

REGULAR CELEBRATION AND HIGH STANDARDS OF EXECUTION

It was small wonder that the laity relied upon the clergy to smooth its way to heaven, and became frustrated and fearful if it felt that its foundations would not be properly honoured. Fear of lax standards may have been one reason that wealthier laypeople made donations and founded masses and chaplainries in a variety of different institutions,⁶⁷ in case some ceased to be honoured, or were badly executed and so brought God's disfavour. It was also a reason for joining the confraternity of the Third Order of St. Francis, for even if collegiate, chapel, or chaplainry foundations failed, the friars could be relied upon to pray perpetually for those who had joined the lay wing of their order.⁶⁸

Although the official opinion of the clerical authorities was that the efficacy of the sacraments was unaffected by the moral state of the celebrant,⁶⁹ neither the laity nor the clergy were prepared to accept this on a practical level. Consequently there were calls for reform of clerical morals as well as attempts to ensure high standards of clerical execution of services.⁷⁰ Poets, lay founders, state authorities and clerical authorities called for a raising of standards, each group enacting change as they saw fit.⁷¹ As the celebration of the Eucharist was the cornerstone of lay hopes for salvation, it was with regards to the Eucharist that the greatest effort was made to ensure high standards. Although generations of historians have interpreted calls for reform as a sign of drastically falling clerical standards, it is well to remember that laypeople felt increasingly anxious about their own

spiritual acceptability, which made the worthiness of the clergy's offerings to God of even greater importance than in earlier centuries. Thus a perceived declining standard of service from the officiating clergy may be at least partially explained by rising lay anxieties and expectations.

In his "History of the Reformation in Scotland", John Knox reported upon a letter to the Franciscan order by the popular "hermit of Loreto", Thomas Douchtie, in 1540. Douchtie allegedly accused the Franciscans of believing that their position as friars, their "cord and lowsie cort and sark", would bring salvation irrespective of the merits of Jesus' Passion, and Douchtie warned the Franciscans of the attack that was mounting from the Lutheran camp.⁷² As founder of the Marian shrine at Musselburgh, Douchtie preferred an alternative route - the intercession of Mary with her son Jesus. While John Knox may have had little faith in the laity's discernment, laypeople were under no illusions that the mere celebration of ritual by clerics would bring them salvation. Celebration of the Eucharistic rite was only one method of obtaining God's favour and the fruits of the Passion, if an important one. Without proper spiritual preparation and execution, it could even harm the lay relationship with the godhead. Thus lay concern about standards of execution was based upon the theory that inferior execution could lead to God's disinterest or even his disapprobation and punishment. In the laity's desperate search for spiritual acceptability, it could not afford to make foundations whose effect was nullified by poor clerical performance. Before the fruits of Jesus' Passion could be transferred to the laity to aid in its salvation, God had to be honoured to an acceptable degree.

All clergy do to him inclyne,
And bow unto that barne benyng,

And do your observance devyne
 To him that is of kingis King;
 Ensence his altar, reid and sing
 In haly kirk, with mynd degest, [calm, considered]
 Him honouring attour all thing,
*Qui nobis Puer natus est.*⁷³

Lay concerns about clerical execution of the Eucharist can be defined in terms of two broad categories. First, the laity was concerned that the Eucharist be regularly celebrated, and this concern expressed itself in requirements of personal and continual residence, attendance of clerics at all services outlined in foundation charters, particularly attendance at masses, and regular celebration of services, sometimes loosely defined as "divine services" in foundation charters. Second, the laity was concerned that the standard of execution be high. This required the proper attire and equipment as well as the correct following of procedure. Clerics were expected to show devotion to the task at hand, and thus carry out their duties with the proper dignity and solemnity. In order for the Eucharist to be executed to a high standard, clerics had to have proper qualifications and be of high moral character.

Alexander Myln's "Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld" provides an early sixteenth century clerical view of superior clerical behaviour. It emphasised continual residence, attendance at divine services and celebration of rites, particularly the Eucharist. Conscientious attendance at divine service was one of Myln's criteria for an effective cleric, a virtue he attributed to Sir Alexander Richardson of the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld, whom he also lauded for his devoutness. Myln also enthused about the dean of Dunkeld, who remained in continual residence at Dunkeld, appearing devoutly at high Mass each day that he was resident. Master William Brown, chaplain at the altar of St. Mary *libera nos a*

penis inferni, "often rose in the middle of the night to perform the office of lauds, celebrated Mass daily when morning began, and after hearing high Mass later, devoted the rest of the day to judicial work, study, and reading in the law and theology".⁷⁴ The lay souls for whom Brown prayed would have benefited from his regular celebration of the Mass at the altar. Further, the chaplain's commitment to learning indicates that the standard of celebration probably was high, making the rite even more efficacious.

Foundation charters for masses (eg. obits), chaplainries and collegiate churches indicate what lay founders considered necessary for the proper execution of divine services, and the Eucharist in particular, as it was the service of greatest importance to lay salvation. Collegiate church, altar, chaplainry and obit foundation charters demanded personal and continual residence, and attendance at masses. As a general rule the foundations of the 1480's and 1490's were less exact in their requirements, with demands growing in the decades leading up to the Reformation. However, it was in the area of attendance that the first demands were made,⁷⁵ for if the cleric failed to attend divine services at a foundation, then without doubt the founder's soul was at risk.

The altar foundation of Walter Bertrem, provost of Edinburgh, is an early example of the increasing desire of laypeople to ensure regular celebration of the Eucharist. In 1495 Bertrem exhaustively outlined the sanctions to be brought against clerics who neglected to be continually resident and regularly celebrating at his altar of St. Clement in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh.⁷⁶

In the sixteenth century, founders became increasingly concerned about regular celebration of the Eucharist.⁷⁷ In 1504, burgess of Perth Robert Clark founded an altar dedicated to St. Serf

(*Severus*) the Confessor in the parish church of Perth, hoping to benefit from the patron saint's intercession as well as that of Jesus. Clark set forth reasonably complex requirements for clerical execution of divine services at the altar. He required that the chaplain be resident in the burgh of Perth, and have good reasons for his absences or he would be dismissed. The chaplain was to minister at the altar for the benefit of named souls, attend masses and carry out spiritual services such as orisons and suffrages; Clark indicated particular concern about attendance at major or special double feasts, high masses and participation in services in the choir. The level of fines for absenteeism tended to reflect the spiritual priorities of founders, absence from masses and special feasts being considered especially insulting to God and detrimental to the spiritual welfare of the founder, and therefore meriting the greatest fines.⁷⁸

When Elizabeth Gray, Countess of Douglas, donated land to the Dominicans of Perth in 1525 in return for prayers and obsequies (eg. daily "mass of repose" for named souls), she revealed that she had chosen these friars because of their commitment to following the rules of their order, and thus the likelihood of the foundation continuing to be celebrated, and the friars being a good example for the people to follow. Further, she indicated that if they ceased to celebrate these divine services properly, allowing them "to pass into neglect and oblivion", the Carthusian supervisors of the foundation were to insist on conformity to statutes.⁷⁹

Through the period 1480 to 1560, founders of masses, chaplainries, altars, prebends and collegiate churches became increasingly careful to outline proper procedure, attire and equipment, hoping to ensure higher standards of execution and

greater efficacy of the Eucharistic rite.⁸⁰ Even James V, who drained church resources through tinkering with appointments and taxation of the church, was concerned that clerics execute their duties properly, insisting that they needed to ensure that divine service was no longer neglected in order to help rebuild confidence among the laity. To aid in their efforts, the king supported royal foundations as his father had done, such as by supplying a Mass book to the chapel in Holyroodhouse in July of 1541.⁸¹

James V also made it clear that the general public were concerned about issues of proper attire and execution. In a letter to Pope Clement VII on 20 February 1531/2, he asked that the new Bishop of the Isles be allowed to wear the linen vestment known as a "rochet" without paying any fee. The king insisted that, in order to impress the laity and meet their high expectations of the clergy, Farquhard, the new bishop, needed to wear the traditional garment:

[The laity there are] tenacious of old custom, traditional manners and rites: they cannot tolerate the introduction of anything which menaces ancestral practice, and if any man, above all a religious, fails in a matter of accepted custom, they consider it an imperfection or it fills them with aversion and contempt.⁸²

A number of laypeople of burgess, laird and magnate class made foundations which carefully outlined expectations in terms of attire, equipment, procedure, and the moral and academic qualifications required of clerical appointees, so it is possible to gain an understanding of lay expectations in these areas.

While many founders made reference to regular attendance at services, others included some mention of attire at services and equipment for Mass. Alan Stewart of Craighall founded a chaplainry of St. Anne in the parish church of Paisley during the 1530's; he did so out of love, pious devotion and great faith, intending the

foundation to augment divine service in the church as well as to benefit the souls of Stewart, his spouse, and all the faithful dead, particularly through celebration of the Eucharist. His concern for high standards of execution led him to demand continuous residence and proper execution of services, as well as the proper care and use of the ornaments and jewels donated to the chaplainry. Stewart wanted a yearly accounting of these ornaments and jewels to be made by the chaplain to the patron of the chaplainry and the prior and convent of Paisley, and described these objects to be sure that the chaplain did not forget to use them or conveniently "lost" them. They included a silver chalice, a silver phial, a silver "flaket" and two little silver chests for relics of the saints.⁸³

The foundation charter of the collegiate church of Seton provides a good example of late fifteenth century expectations in terms of equipment and attire necessary for effective celebration of the Eucharist. The founder, George, fourth Lord Seton, assigned monies for the "ornaments" of the collegiate church of St. Mary and the Holy Rood, and a sacristan to take care of these ornaments and jewels. He was more forthcoming in terms of attire, specifying a wool surplice and a furred scarlet hood for the provost for solemn festivals, and normal cloth surplices with furred red or brown hoods for the other prebendaries.⁸⁴

By the time Malcolm, third Lord Fleming (c. 1494 - 1555), founded his collegiate church of Biggar in the mid-1540's, foundation charters were more explicit, not necessarily in outlining the nature of altar equipment, but certainly in the care of it. Thus Fleming's description of the duties of each prebendary was much more extensive than Seton's. The sacristan was to take care of bells, candles, vestments, ornaments, cups, bread and wine. He was

to ring the bells, light the tapers and candles at the high altar and the altars of the two aisles, and that of the Crucifix. He had to prepare these altars' vestments and ornaments, and wash and repair them. He also had to supply the bread and wine for the daily celebration of mass. Each of these tasks had a separate payment for labour and materials, no doubt another means of controlling the sacristan's behaviour. That is, if he did not accomplish one of these tasks, then at the yearly reckoning to the patron, provost and prebendaries, monies could be withheld from the appropriate account.⁸⁵

Lord Fleming took further care for ornaments and books by using fines for absenteeism toward the provision and repair of books and ornaments. Proper attire was described by Lord Fleming as blue gowns for the four singing boys, white woollen cloaks with hoods for the six bedesmen, and white surplices and red hoods for the prebendaries. All staff were expected to keep their attire clean and repaired, and in the case of the bedesmen, 20s. per year was assigned to each man to repair his gown, bed and dwelling.⁸⁶

Proper attire and equipment was important to effective celebration of the Eucharist, but proper procedure and devotion to the rite was also required of celebrants. In Lord Seton's collegiate foundation (1493) he outlined the major service requirements for the provost, canons, boys and clerk, demanding attendance at Matins, high mass, evensong and compline, but did not explain what these entailed, assuming that proper procedure was understood. He thought it sufficient to assign fines for absenteeism, assuming that the proper procedure would be followed if the clergy were present. However, when it came to his yearly obit, he was more specific about procedure, because improper execution

would have dire consequences for his soul in purgatory when he would be completely reliant upon clerical ritual. Thus he insisted that on the day of his decease the clergy was to sing solemnly a *Dirige* with mass in the morning, and that it include all the octaves.⁸⁷

Whereas Lord Seton's foundation had outlined only in general terms the procedure for divine services, Lord Fleming's charter for Biggar collegiate church (1546) went into great detail, making a particular point of emphasising high standards rather than simply attendance. Thus the provost was to celebrate the principal feast of the college, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, preside in chapter and choir, and exercise discipline to ensure that services were properly conducted, and if they were not, to suspend prebendaries. The first prebendary was to run the song school, attended by boys who lived in as well as by others, and he was to play the organ as well. The eighth prebendary was to be vicar pensioner of the parish church, so was not only to sit in the choir, but also to administer the sacraments to the parishioners.⁸⁸

All prebendaries were exhorted to follow proper procedure for services. That is, they were to assemble in the church prior to masses and complines, then with due gravity, and in unison, begin to sing. They were to sing the psalms slowly, beginning, continuing and ending together, and those who failed to do so were to be punished severely. The charter stated that punishment was necessary because improper execution dishonoured God, frustrated the founder's intention, and was of no benefit to those attending Mass.⁸⁹

In order that the services be carried out in the college, and in the correct order, Lord Fleming demanded that a register of services be posted in the college. This demand was duly met, and the register of services indicated where each prebendary should be

on an hour by hour basis. The most lengthy explanation of a service was that for the daily high mass, which one might have assumed would not be necessary. However, clearly Lord Fleming's major concern was that high mass be celebrated to the best standard possible, so it came with the following description:

*High Mass, with Gregorian chant,
descant, and organ (At the High Altar)*

After the Consecration and Elevation of the Body of Christ, the celebrant, wearing his stole and alb, will sing the Psalm *de Profundis*, and the Collects and Prayers for the soul of the founder and all faithful departed. (At the Tomb of Founder and in the two Aisles)⁹⁰

This description emphasised the importance of both singing qualifications and attire to proper execution of the Mass, and the term "Body of Christ" to describe the Host indicates Fleming's understanding that the bread consumed in the Mass contained the real presence of Jesus at the point at which it was consecrated and elevated.

The qualifications of the clergy celebrating the Eucharist were of fundamental importance in its effective execution. Although Scottish lay patrons showed a great interest in using appointments to help sustain clerical relatives, a growing emphasis on good quality staff was perceptible. In cases where the burgh council was given control over appointments, the emphasis on good qualifications was even more marked than in the foundations of lairds and magnates. Qualifications could be both moral and practical. That is, while musical ability and training in "literature" were crucial, the laity also was very concerned that appointees be honest and morally sound.

Good singing ability was a major requirement for clerical appointees and for boy singers in the choir, the form of the mass most favourable to God being a mass "with note". Thus George, Lord

Seton's foundation charter for Seton collegiate church in 1493 emphasised skill in music, particularly prick song (*preccat sang*), although he also wished all members of his college to "be of sufficient litterature". This was important because his obit required a sung *Dirige* with solemn mass, and high mass also required singing of a high standard. The reward to the boys and clerk for skill in music and literature was admission to the college as adults.⁹¹

In his Biggar foundation of 1546, Lord Fleming made an even greater effort to ensure that celebrants were skilled in singing, appointing the first and second prebendaries as teachers of the song school and grammar school. Their role was to ensure that the four boys of the college, and any others who might attend, were trained in plain song, prick song and descant, and in grammar. The prebendaries were to be trained and skilled in these areas as well, the song school prebendary also being skilled in playing the organ. When the boys' voices broke they were to be dismissed, for at that point their singing would not be of the highest standard. All prebendaries were expected to be well-trained and experienced in plain song, invocation, descant and letters, and to have attained the status of priest or at least deacon by the time of their appointment.⁹²

By the mid-sixteenth century a "moral" element invariably appeared as part of the qualifications for appointment. Moral "qualifications" might require that clerical appointees be honest, sexually pure and generally devout in their attitude to their role as spiritual supplicants on behalf of the laity. Lord Seton's 1493 foundation of the collegiate church of Seton was unusually explicit for an early foundation, considering dismissal on moral grounds to

be appropriate for a cleric who kept a concubine, caused strife in the college, or was a "fechter" or "brigand" (ie. fighter, thief, prone to violence).⁹³ In 1546, when the altar of Sts. Peter and Paul was founded in St. Andrews collegiate church of Peebles, the charter insisted that a successful candidate had to be "worthy". This meant that he had to be of good reputation as well as skilled in letters and singing. The chaplain was to do daily mass and divine service for the souls of Queen Mary and her predecessors and successors, Lord John Hay of Yester (co-founder with Mr. John Colquhoun) and his parents and successors, Sir James Stanhouse (*Stanhou*), first chaplain of the altar, Mr. John Colquhoun, and all Christian souls. Thus the appointee had to be morally worthy as well as skilled to honour God properly through the Eucharist.

Burgesses and burgh councils tended to be even more concerned about clerical moral attitudes and standards than did lairds and magnates, providing quick sanctions against clerics who proved to be morally deficient.⁹⁴ Thus as early as 1495, Walter Bertram, provost of Edinburgh, stated that a chaplain at his altar of St. Clement would need to be sufficient and suitable, such that if he was known to have a concubine, he would be immediately dismissed.⁹⁵

MECHANISMS TO ENSURE HIGH STANDARDS OF EXECUTION OF THE EUCHARIST

The laity considered regular, well-executed masses by properly attired, equipped and qualified clergy to be important; it was particularly important that the Eucharist be properly executed once the founder was dead, as at that point the founder was heavily reliant upon the masses and prayers of the living and no longer in a position to supervise the foundation. The laity believed that clerical execution of the Eucharist could be controlled by carefully listing requirements, closely monitoring clerical activities,

providing sanctions to encourage fulfilment of the requirements, and arranging for quick replacement of incompetent or absent clergy. Thus the period 1480 to 1560 was marked by increasingly explicit foundation charters and a growing list of sanctions against clerics who failed to meet expectations. This was achieved by outlining fines for misdemeanours and grounds for dismissal, naming those competent to act on matters of discipline, and emphasising qualifications rather than social connections or lineage when making appointments.

MONITORING OF CLERICAL BEHAVIOUR

High standards of clerical execution of the Eucharist could be maintained by monitoring clerical activities. The laity achieved this largely through increasingly complex foundation charters and through the careful choice of patrons and supervisors who ensured that the clergy adhered to foundation requirements.

Robert Clark, burgess of Perth, founded an altar of St. Serf (Severus) in the parish church of St. John of Perth in 1504. The chaplainry's foundation charter demonstrates the increasing complexity found in such charters in the decades leading up to the Reformation. The chaplain was to provide daily services in the parish church and at the altar of St. Serf in order to benefit the souls of James IV and his successors and predecessors, his late wife Jonete, present wife Elena, father and mother, relatives and benefactors, predecessors and successors, and those to whom he had not yet rendered satisfaction, knowingly or unknowingly, as well as all the faithful dead. Thus Clark believed in the efficacy of masses to bring special acceptability to the founder after death. His faith in clerical activity on behalf of the laity, coupled with his desire to ensure that all the needful spiritual activities took

place, led him to outline in his foundation charter a number of services which the chaplain was expected to execute (at the altar), such as masses and other divine orisons and suffrages daily. He also demanded continual residence, and that the chaplain presented be a sufficiently educated, good and honest man, and stated that he could be dismissed if absent without reasonable cause. Thus the deacon of the weaver guild had a good deal to keep an eye on if Clark's foundation was to be carried out to his exact specifications.⁹⁶

The increasing complexity of foundation charters was occurring in a general sense throughout Scottish society, but also within individual families in a relatively short period of time; often the increased complexity of such foundations arose because younger family members wished to better safeguard souls of dead family members through close monitoring of clerical rituals. For example, the Paterson family of Edinburgh illustrate this pattern. Both Paterson foundations were concerned with providing masses for souls, but daughter Janet's foundation requirements were far more explicit and demanding than those of her father John. On 2 September, 1494, John Paterson (*Patersoun*), burgess of Edinburgh, donated a number of annual rents to Sir Andrew White (*Qwhite*), chaplain at the altar of St. Sebastian in the collegiate church of St. Giles Edinburgh. Sir Andrew was to celebrate divine service at the altar to ensure the health of the souls of Paterson and his spouse Mariote Winton (*Wintoun*). The position was for Sir Andrew's lifetime, after which a secular chaplain would assume the position.

Janet Paterson (*Jonete Patersoun*) typified a growing lay tendency to create mechanisms to ensure that foundations were adhered to, and thus Janet asked James V to confirm the confirmation

granted earlier by James IV. Janet's own donation of 10 June, 1523, was for 20 merks in annual rents to enrich a perpetual secular chaplainry at the altar of St. Gabriel the Archangel in the collegiate church of St. Giles, founded by Janet and her late husband Alexander Lauder (*Lawdir*) of Blyth, knight.

The priorities set by Janet differed slightly from those discussed in Chapter 6 with regards to Ayrshire. That is, she put her own personal spiritual welfare first rather than her husband's, unusual for women donors. However, in common with many Ayrshire founders/donors, she made provision for the souls of both of her spouses. That is, on 1 June, 1523, she made a substantial donation for the salvation of the souls of her two husbands and her parents, the late John Paterson and Mariote Winton.

Apart from extending her concern for souls to her parents, which her father John had not done in 1494, Janet Paterson ensured continued careful monitoring of the foundation by making careful provision for patrons to the chaplainry. On 10 June she designated her first husband's relations as future patrons (*Carkettles*). If that line failed, the patrons were to be her own closest relatives. The patrons of a foundation held much the same position as an executor of a will, in that they were expected, on pain of divine punishment, to carry out the wishes of the founder. Therefore by naming the patrons to follow her, Janet could choose a family she trusted. Further, this family had a stake in the chaplainry, for one of the named souls in the foundation was John Carkettle (*Carkettill*), her first husband.

The foundation of 1 June carried with it a number of requirements, associating specific tasks with specific money payments, which made it easier for patrons to penalise celebrants or

lay attendees for not fulfilling their functions adequately. Thus 1 merk was to be paid to the chaplain for the choir's celebration of the obit and prayers for Janet's parents. 40s. was to be distributed to the poor in the church. In common with other laypeople of this period, Janet was concerned that the money be paid only to respectable (*honesti*) men or those made paupers through circumstance. These "obit doles" counted as a "good work" with God, as well as being a means of purchasing lay prayers for souls, and the more needy the recipient, the more worthy the gift. Of the 40s. distributed, thirty-two paupers were to receive 12d. each, and the friars and "junioribus" were to receive the remaining 8s. By distributing 32s. among thirty-two paupers, Janet maximised the number of prayers for souls.

Janet's belief in the power of the Eucharist led her to assign 15s. in annual rents for a trental of masses. The costs associated with the celebration of the obit itself included 7s. for four candles to illuminate the tomb of her parents, 32d. for the sacristan to ring the great bells, 2s. for bread and wine during the masses, and 3s. for the patrons of the chaplainry for their labours. Clearly this final 3s. amounted to an administrative fee to recompense her successor patrons for supervising the yearly obit, an incentive for honourable people who had no personal recollection of Paterson's parents, and therefore less interest in the obit than Paterson herself. By separating out the payments for each part of the mass foundation, Janet minimised the opportunity for lax execution of the rituals, and increased the ability of patrons to supervise the rituals and reward good service and punish laxity with precision.⁹⁷

By and large founders relied on executors or heirs to ensure that their foundation requirements were adhered to, but founders of altars or chaplainries in burgh churches often made the burgh council responsible for insisting on personal and continual residence and regular celebration of services.⁹⁸ Lay founders might make the burgh councils outright patrons, or they might give them the right to interfere if the patrons were lax in their supervision or failed to appoint promptly to vacant positions. Burgh councils which were particularly active in the maintenance of standards were those of Aberdeen,⁹⁹ Edinburgh,¹⁰⁰ Ayr¹⁰¹ and Peebles, councils acting to protect lay foundations throughout the period 1480 to 1560. As burgh councils took their responsibilities seriously, and as they often augmented endowments of chaplainries out of general funds, they were in a good position to bring pressure to bear on chaplains celebrating in burgh churches. That is, as the councils came to control the appointment of more and more chaplains in parish churches, they were more able to enforce high standards of execution and qualification.¹⁰² In particular, the laity was concerned for the proper celebration of obits, and as these usually took place in the choir, the burgh councils' financial support of the choristers gave them the right to demand good service.¹⁰³

Peebles provides a good example of the reliance placed upon the burgh council by laypeople, and the council's actions to ensure that the Eucharistic rite was properly and regularly celebrated and the welfare of lay souls protected. In 1517 Peebles burgess William Alan gave patronage of his altar of St. Christopher to the burgh council of Peebles after his death. He appointed the first chaplain, made a £200 endowment of the altar for lands to support annual rents, and stated that the burgh council was to ensure that

future chaplains were suitable and that all divine services were carried out.¹⁰⁴

The burgh council of Peebles responded favourably to the trust placed in them by burgh-dwellers such as Alan, sharing their neighbours' belief in the value of regular and properly administered Eucharistic celebrations. The council was insistent that residence standards be upheld to ensure adherence to foundation charters. In February of 1555 the bailies, council and community made an undertaking to gain the consent of the patrons and provost Gilbert Wightman (*Wichtman*) to draw up an edict directed at chaplains in St. Andrews parish church who were non-resident or had otherwise failed to fulfil the requirements set forth in their foundation charters, giving the chaplains forty-one days to bring their behaviour into line with the requirements set down in the foundation charters by making residence at their altars. If they refused to agree to these demands they were to present their rentals within eight days and to return their vestments, ornaments and other pertinents of their chaplainries to the common chest within twenty-five days, as new, qualified chaplains would be elected to take their place.

Peebles burgh council continued to have difficulties disciplining chaplains who undertook diverse duties and were not always willing or able to make continual residence. On 13 January, 1557, the bailies and a majority of the council decided to complain to the Bishop of Glasgow about non-residence at chaplainries and prebendaries. Pluralism endangered spiritual welfare of lay souls, certain divine services (eg. obits) in St. Andrews remaining understaffed or uncelebrated, and therefore in breach of foundation charters. The council planned to sequester the funds from offending

chaplains until they made continual and daily residence at their altars, conforming to the tenor of the foundation charters. On 16 March, 1558, the burgh council demanded that the bailies "provide ane preist to serf the parrochin", indicating that the laity was concerned about cure of souls.¹⁰⁵

Peebles was also concerned about the content of clerical services and other activities. Thus on 3 March, 1559, the burgh council ordered bailies John Dickson (*Dickeson*), younger, of Winkston (*Winkestoune*) and Rolland Scott (*Scot*), to tell John Wallace to stop using including new religious doctrines (*novationes*) in his common prayers and preaching. The council equated its desire to defend orthodox Catholic theology with its desire to remain "vnder the faith and obedience of thair Prince", and defended the right of the burgh council to interfere with public preaching by saying that Wallace had not been elected by the bailies and the parishioners to hold any such position.¹⁰⁶

All classes of society showed some support for regular and mendicant orders, but by the middle of the sixteenth century the burgess class seemed to be founding most of its obits and other mass foundations in burgh churches, and to be appointing primarily lay supervisors for foundations. However, the laird and magnate classes carried on founding masses in a greater variety of institutions, using clerics as supervisors for their foundations. For example, the 1525 foundation of Elizabeth Gray, Countess Dowager of Huntly, demonstrated the growing lay desire to control activities through complicated foundation charters, but she made clerics responsible for ensuring that her complex requirements were fulfilled. She gave half of the lands of Littleton and their pertinents to the Dominicans of Perth, plus 300 merks for the repair of the dormitory

of the convent. In return, the friars were to say prayers (*De Profundis* and *Inclina*) each night at the tomb of her husband, the late Alexander, Earl of Huntly, who had died in 1523-4 and was buried in the choir of the Dominicans' church. As these prayers were said the friars were to recite their names, "Alexander and Elizabeth", no doubt as a means of calling God's attention to those who had honoured Him in this fashion, and whose souls should thus be rewarded. In the same spirit the friars were to commend the souls of the couple in their prayers in the weekly chapter meeting, and each year make mention of their "state". Here was an intriguing indication that the laity understood the afterlife as a "state of being", which could change as a result of activities on earth, namely prayers.

The celebration of the Eucharistic rite was central to the Countess' plan for spiritual care in the afterlife. She wanted a mass to be celebrated between seven and nine daily, excluding festivals and solemn days. On such days a mass was to be celebrated "out" of the festival, with a collect and memorial for their souls. Furthermore, an obit was to be celebrated for Alexander on 16 January, with nine lessons. Other obit foundations were more specific in their details, but the Countess clearly meant this obit to be the standard one comprising *Placebo*, *Dirige* and nine lessons on the death day, and a requiem mass in chant (ie. sung) the next day.¹⁰⁷

The Countess made a generous foundation at the place of the Dominicans, but she believed her choice of celebrants to be a wise one. She defined the friars as "poor, promoters of Religion, conforming", revealing that laypeople believed that the form of the rite which linked them to the godhead was essential to the correct

functioning of the "heterogeneous grouping" or cult, as was the clergy's devotion to its task. (See Chapter 9) Clearly the reforming zeal of the provincial of the Dominican order, John Adamson, had borne fruit in an improved level of trust between Dominicans and laypeople. However, just in case her trust was misplaced, or as a deterrent to future laxity, the Countess set up a system of combined lay-clerical supervision. She stated that the Lord Superior would have the right to take away the lands if the Dominicans did not fulfil their duties properly. Thus she trusted the clergy's willingness and ability to monitor its own performance. However, to ensure that the clergy did not manage to improve its own standing at the expense of lay souls, she made John Crichton of Strathurd, knight, and his heirs, responsible for deciding upon the religious house to whom the lands were to be transferred. Alternatively, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Bishop of Dunkeld were to choose an "honest" church, but only with the consent of the Countess herself, or the heirs of the late Earl or the said John Crichton.¹⁰⁸

SANCTIONS, REPLACEMENT OF INCOMPETENT CLERICS,
AND FILLING OF VACANCIES

As the decades progressed from 1480, laypeople's determination to ensure proper clerical execution of the Eucharistic rite led them to create complex arrangements for fining or dismissing incompetent clerics and for ensuring that souls were not put at risk through long clerical vacancies. The assumption had been that executors of testaments or patrons of foundations would monitor clerical performance and make speedy appointments to clerical vacancies,¹⁰⁹ most laypeople continuing to trust supervisors and celebrants. However, in the period under study there was a growing tendency for

founders to explain the required standard of execution in the foundation charter, and also to include a detailed fining system for clerics who failed to meet the required standard. In this manner, lay founders made it clear that low standards of execution meant an ineffective Eucharistic rite, which in turn endangered the welfare of the founder's soul in the afterlife.

Modern understanding of a "sanction" often involves the threatened withdrawal of economic support, and this was the understanding of late medieval founders of masses, chaplainries and churches dedicated primarily to the celebration of the Eucharistic rite. However, the ultimate sanction for a non-cooperative cleric was the threat of God's punishment on the Day of Judgment, when divine censure would land heavily on clerics who had endangered lay souls through badly executed rites or absence from services. Thus certain foundation charters echoed the wording of testaments when they reminded future chaplains of God's stern justice on the Day of Judgment. One such charter was that of Archibald Livingston (*Levyngstoun*) of Castlecary, who, with the consent of his mother Marion Hepburn, appointed Sir Archibald Fawy as chaplain in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Linlithgow parish church on 21 February, 1529/80.¹¹⁰ Archibald Livingston personally invested Sir Archibald with the keys, chalice, book and other appurtenances of the altar, and insisted that, in return for this lifetime appointment, Sir Archibald was to carry out his work properly, keeping in mind that he would have to give an account of himself at the Day of Judgment.¹¹¹

Lairds and magnates tended to be the most explicit about fines, rewards and conditions for dismissal, expecting their heirs to follow the dictates of the foundation charter rather than to make

their own decisions about acceptable behaviour. For example, George, fourth Lord Seton had a series of fines in varying amounts to discourage absenteeism.¹¹² By 1546, clerics in the collegiate foundation of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming's Biggar foundation were required to take an oath to uphold the statutes and rules of the college, could be fined severely for non-attendance and non-residence, and ran the risk of quick dismissal for incompetence.¹¹³

Many burgess foundations were less forthcoming, relying on burgh councils and guild deacons to supervise the execution of obits and other rituals involving the celebration of the Eucharist.¹¹⁴ For example, when Master Andrew Gray was appointed as chaplain in the choir by Aberdeen burgh council on 16 November, 1556, he was described as "cunning and qualefeit", and it was also stated that the council was enforcing the founder's will when it demanded good attendance and personal residence as conditions of the position.¹¹⁵

The greatest anxiety expressed by laypeople was in regards to regular celebration of the Eucharist. Thus absenteeism, non-residence and, to a lesser extent, pluralism, were the most frequently cited reasons for fining or removing clerics, patrons being advised to find replacements quickly. Consequently, while a number of foundations said little about standards of execution, concerns about non-performance revealed the founders' faith in the spiritual efficacy of the Eucharistic rite.

In his collegiate foundation of 1493, George, fourth Lord Seton, allowed only fifteen days continual absence from the church by provost, prebendaries, singing boys or clerk before the patron could replace the offender.¹¹⁶ Alan Stewart of Craighall in the early sixteenth century was careful to allow for continual absences beyond fifteen days because of illness or other good cause.

However, without good cause the offender could be replaced at his chaplainry of St. Anne of the parish church of Paisley after the same fifteen day period. Stewart also insisted that pluralism constituted grounds for dismissal.¹¹⁷

John Eviot, laird of Balhousie, founded a mass to the Virgin Mary each Sunday at the high altar of the church of the Dominicans of Perth in 1505. He made clear in his foundation charter that lax clerical standards and lay greed would be punished. If the mass was not celebrated by the friars for four weeks in a row, the donation of 33s.4d. in annual rents was to be revoked. Further, if his lay heirs revoked the donation they had to pay £40 to the friars, presumably so that the friars would be able to fund the continued celebration of the mass.¹¹⁸ Isabella Foulis of Edinburgh gave the clergy no chance for laxity. On 20 March, 1500/1, she founded an obit for the souls of herself and her husband Adam Strachan (*Strathauchin*), in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh. If the staff of St. Giles failed to celebrate the obit as directed, the heirs of Foulis and Strachan simply were to transfer the responsibility and annual rent to other chaplains.¹¹⁹

Normally forty days was the maximum time which was allowed to elapse before an appointment was made to a clerical post, but in the period 1480 to 1560 laypeople were shortening this period to fifteen to twenty days to minimise disruption to services. For example, on 4 February, 1494/5, Walter Bertram, provost of Edinburgh, founded an altar and chaplainry of St. Clement in the parish church of Haddington, with certain services to be done by the Franciscans of Haddington. His heirs were to appoint to the chaplainry, but if they did not do so within twenty days, Haddington burgh council was to make the appointment. Further, if the Franciscans appeared to be

negligent in any respect, the burgh council was to uplift 10s. from the chaplainry's funds, and ensure that the secular chaplains celebrated the obit.¹²⁰

The types of fines and rewards assessed revealed the importance founders placed on the various divine services. In general the level of fine increased in proportion to the damage to souls done by the celebrant's absence. Consequently absence or improper conduct at the Eucharist was fined most heavily, and the more important the mass, the heavier the fine. In Lord Seton's foundation charter of the collegiate church of Seton (1493), offices such as Matins drew a 2d. fine for the provost or prebendars. However, if they missed high mass the fine was 4d. and if they missed mass on a festival day the fine was doubled. As the provost and prebendaries were immensely important to the celebration of the Eucharist, and to the honour done God by the college, their level of fines was double those of the singing boys or clerks.

The orientation of a collegiate church to the salvation of souls and the crucial role of services for souls was made clear by the level of fines for *Diriges* and masses for the patron's soul. If the provost, prebendaries, singing boys or clerks missed one of these services the fines were 6d. for every *Dirige* and soul mass, and the same for all octaves.

To encourage good service, the money collected in fines was to be distributed amongst those who kept divine service most often and most effectively. Thus Lord Seton was not prepared to accept mere attendance at services. He also wanted the best level of execution possible. Further, he believed that the efficacy of clerical activities was dependent not only upon a high standard of execution, but also on the moral state of the cleric. In common with his

contemporaries, he emphasised sexual morality. Thus having a concubine constituted grounds for dismissal just as did being a "fechtterr[is]" or "brigand", or openly causing contention in the college.¹²¹

Fifty years later in 1546, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, made arrangements for the continued efficacy of his collegiate foundation of Biggar by dismissing persistent offenders, assigning fines for absenteeism at services, and posting a register of services in the college as a guideline for clerical staff. Unlike Lord Seton, Lord Fleming believed in severe punishment rather than rewards for good behaviour as a means of ensuring high clerical standards. If absent for fifteen days without leave from the provost, or the cause of strife in the college, a cleric was to be dismissed instantly. Further, any hindering of divine service would lead to examination by the provost and instant dismissal. Bad behaviour from prebendaries or absence continuously for fifteen days without leave from the provost was to result in instant dismissal. Normally the time period for an extended absence was forty days, this having been the case with earlier Fleming family donations, so Lord Fleming clearly believed that even a short interruption of divine services, particularly the Eucharist, could have terrible consequences for souls in purgatory.¹²²

Lord Fleming's concern about the quality of clerical service was based upon a belief that an inferior standard of service was an offence against God which frustrated the intentions of the founder. That is, high standards of execution were vital to the success of the Mass, for if celebrated properly, the Mass could "snatch the souls of the faithful departed from the pains of purgatory, and bring them to the full enjoyment of blessed glory".¹²³

At the beginning of a cleric's tenure he was required to take an oath to observe the statutes and rules of the college; this encouraged him to honour God and thereby benefit the founder's soul through careful adherence to the foundation charter. As an oath was a binding religious sanction, new clerical staff were made aware of Lord Fleming's priorities, and given due warning of consequences for breaking college regulations. The foundation charter stated explicitly that prebendaries and singing boys were expected to behave in an orderly fashion during services, not talking, whispering, laughing, or ignoring the proceedings. Services were to be carried out with quiet dignity, with particular attention to singing standards, and those who failed to measure up were to be *severely punished for harming the spiritual welfare of living and dead souls*. Rather than rewarding hard-working clerics with the fines collected, the money was to be used to repair and purchase books and ornaments.

If a position became vacant by the decease or dismissal of a prebendary, a fit and qualified person was to be appointed, his suitability determined by a careful examination by provost and prebendaries. There was no mention of relatives as appointees in Fleming's foundation, rather much emphasis on excellent training and devout and capable execution of tasks, in keeping with the general trend from 1480 to 1560. Lord Fleming may well have intended to favour his own relations, for he reserved presentation of the boys to himself and his heirs. However, the provost was to examine and admit fit candidates, and could dismiss them if they no longer suited.

The greatest fines levied in the college of Biggar were for services missed on important feast days. Absence from offices cost

each prebendary 2d., 3d. for services on Sundays and high feasts, and 4d. for services on greater and principal feasts. These fines were payable for each hour missed. There were numerous services each day, so even one day's absence could result in a hefty financial drain on the offender. By the time a cleric had missed fifteen days work without leave, the point at which the provost could dismiss him, he would be in severe financial straits. The yearly stipend of £10 owed to the curate of Thankerton by the provost of the college (an amount slightly less than the net income of the college's sacristan), would have been consumed in fines after *two weeks*.¹²⁴ *Lord Fleming's draconian measures made it absolutely clear to clerics that they were expected to be extremely conscientious. Any laxity was unacceptable due to its detrimental effect on the salvation of souls, and the offending clergy would be let go or beggared in short order.*

Walter Bertram, founder of an altar and chaplainry of St. Clement in the parish church of Haddington in February of 1495, gave only fifteen to twenty days grace for a chaplain who was absent, or who missed celebrating daily mass, or who held other benefices. The basis for dismissal could also be failure to carry out proper procedure, and failure to encourage the laity to do their part to spiritually benefit the souls named in masses. That is, the chaplain at his altar risked dismissal if he did not celebrate Bertram's obit according to the explicit instructions contained in the foundation charter, or if he failed to exhort the laity at high mass to say a *Pater Noster* and the angelical salutation for named souls, or otherwise failed in his duties.¹²⁵ Bertrem was in line with contemporary theological writings in terms of his perception of the laity's role at Mass. The author of the "Vertewis of the Mess"

encouraged people to hear Mass devoutly and to say their *Pater Noster* when they caught sight of the sacrament.¹²⁶

Walter Bertram was a person who believed strongly in the power of the mass to save souls, and also in the wisdom of founding masses in different places in order to ensure that, if one foundation was allowed to lapse, his soul would be taken care of elsewhere. Thus two and a half years prior to the lavish foundation with the Franciscans of Haddington, Bertram had donated 40 merks to the Dominicans of Edinburgh to celebrate masses and obsequies at an altar and chapel recently founded by him.¹²⁷

When burgh councils made appointments to clerical positions in the burgh church, they tended to make clear that these positions required "good and continual service", or words to that effect. However, as the period progressed the burgh councils, in common with a number of lay founders, began to threaten specific fines for poor standards of service as well as absenteeism, removing poor clerical appointees with greater alacrity.

The first sign of Aberdeen's unwillingness to employ poor performers came on 13 January, 1484/5, although at this early date the main concern was for regular celebration of the Eucharist. The council agreed to Lord Erroll's request to compensate Walter Young for having lost his bid for the chaplainry of the altar of St. Michael to Andrew Gray. The council decided to supplement by 4 merks the 6 merks Andrew Gray had already decided to pay Young, and the council agreed to appoint Young to its first available chaplainry valued at a minimum of 10 merks. However, Young was informed that he would lose the money from both sources if he failed to perform divine service three times daily, unless he could offer an acceptable explanation for his absence.¹²⁸

In 1520, the burgh council demonstrated that it did not make empty threats about dismissal of poor performers. On 20 November, the council dismissed Sir John Fyf from his post at the Magdalen altar for failing to make continual residence at the altar, and for sowing discord in the church and the town. Sir John had only been hired four years previously, at which time the president and chapter had questioned the burgh council's right to make the appointment. By firing Sir John, the council admitted that it had chosen unwisely, and gave priority to the spiritual welfare of souls being cared for at the Magdalen altar.¹²⁹

By 1529, Aberdeen burgh council had decided to ensure high clerical standards of service by monitoring performance on a regular basis. On 15 January, 1528/9, Thomas Menzies of Petfoddellis, bailie David Anderson, William Rolland, and Master Andrew Tulideff, were appointed to collect the monies owed to the burgh's singers, and to appoint two "excellent" choir chaplains to keep a fault book to record absenteeism amongst the singers. Each quarter the book was to be read aloud, and fines levied against the singers' quarterly stipends. In common with laird and magnate foundations, absenteeism drew a heavier fine on days of greatest spiritual relevance to the salvation of souls. Thus absenteeism on a week day was to be fined 2d., on a holy day 4d., and on a principal feast day 8d. The council addressed the issue of standards of service as well as attendance, for the same fines were to be assessed against those chattering during a service, or leaving before the end of the service.¹³⁰ The council had had trouble with its singers; on 17 November, 1522, they were given a stern admonishment to sing a *Gloriosa* after Matins and a psalm after evensong.¹³¹

Within four years the council had lost patience with its singers, and dismissed all except Sir Andrew Cooper (*Coupar*), an old and valued employee. The council deemed the faults (*demeritis*) of the rest of the singers to be an attack on God and the burgh.¹³² Clearly the council believed that standards of execution were extremely important to their efficacy, and that the danger to souls of services held without singing was outweighed by the dishonour done to God by poor service. The council probably felt that a major shock was needed to pull the singers out of their apathy, and that loss of one's livelihood would be a great spur. Aberdeen's desire to prevent lax standards of service in St. Nicholas church also extended to rewarding those clerics who did good work for lay souls. Thus on 4 October, 1555, Sir Robert Binnie (*Bynne*) was confirmed in his annual stipend of 8 marks for the rest of his lifetime. Although he had become blind and was unable to accomplish his duties to the full, he was being rewarded for his "gude and continuell service in tymis bigan".¹³³

At the collegiate church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, the burgh council moved even more quickly than in Aberdeen to tighten up standards of execution. This may have been because standards had fallen more drastically in Edinburgh than in Aberdeen, but more likely it was due to rising lay expectations. Mass foundations by laypeople went on apace in St. Giles in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and there may well have been lobbying by individuals to use the power of the burgh council to maintain and improve standards. In any case, on 20 November, 1501, George Tours, provost of Edinburgh, threatened disciplinary action against prebendaries who did not celebrate divine service according to the terms of the foundation and erection of the collegiate church of St. Giles.¹³⁴

In 1504, it became easier to punish clerics for specific offences, for in April the burgh council listed crimes punishable by fining. No wages were to be paid to prebendaries who failed in their duties or were absent from *Diriges* (*dirges*) or soulmasses, unless absent through illness or for other reasonable causes. The decision was said to have been taken with the consent of the prebendaries.¹³⁵ The burgh council's decision to take such a firm stand reveals the importance placed by the laity on standards of execution. Further, it emphasises that it was masses and prayers for the dead which were of primary concern to laypeople, these services being singled out in the burgh statute. There is no indication that the decree was initiated by the clergy, and the emphasis on masses for souls supports the contention that this was a lay-driven decree, for it was the laity which placed the greatest emphasis on such multiple celebrations of the Eucharist for the benefit of dead souls.

By 1511, Edinburgh burgh council had taken a more conciliatory position regarding clerical standards, which allowed it to monitor and control standards without threatening lay souls by mass withdrawal of clerical services. Instead of withdrawing all wages for poor service or absenteeism, the council instituted a system of fines. The matter came to a head because the chaplains had failed to celebrate the mass of the Holy Blood. Unfortunately this mass was dearest to the hearts of the merchants,¹³⁶ and as they held the balance of power on the burgh council, the chaplains were likely to be punished heavily for their folly. On 27 February, 1510/1, the council decided that in future each absent prebendar would be fined 2d. on week days and 4d. on festival days, plus one merk to the confraternity of the Holy Blood.¹³⁷ Although it was the merchants

who were most devoted to the Holy Blood, the cult found favour with society as a whole, for devotion to the Holy Blood was an aspect of the "homogeneous group" centred around Jesus and His Passion. That is, the "Holy Blood" was believed to be the drops of blood which Jesus shed from His side while on the Cross, the same blood which flowed into the altar chalice in the illustration of the Eucharist in the Arbuthnott Prayer Book.¹³⁸

CONCLUSION

Scots were convinced of the efficacy of church rituals as performed by clerics, particularly the Eucharistic rite, as well as of the value of clerical prayers to supernatural beings on the laity's behalf. In order that God be glorified and feel kindly towards lay sponsors of the Eucharist, it was extremely important that the clergy be properly qualified and perform spiritual activities regularly and well. If rituals and prayers dishonoured God by not being carried out in a fitting manner, God might show His anger by turning against the laypeople who had sponsored these ceremonies; badly executed rites and prayers might do more harm than good to lay chances of salvation. Further, both high and low masses were considered central to salvation, and as low masses were attended only by clerics, it was important to devise mechanisms to monitor clerical behaviour. Documents which survive from the period under study reveal that the laity's growing emphasis on masses and obits was accompanied by a willingness to dictate requirements and enforce standards through complex foundation charters, monitoring of behaviour, and application of sanctions through the fining or dismissal of lax clerics.

Laypeople also understood the importance of their own spiritual preparation for the Eucharist, as observers of the

clerically-celebrated rite as well as participants in Communion. The Eucharist was not a purely mechanistic ritual wherein the fruits of the Passion were made available to the laity through the priest's consecration and elevation of the bread and wine. Rather, Jesus was the real sacrifice which had purchased human salvation, both historically on the Cross and in the Eucharistic rite where the sacrifice was re-enacted. Prior to attending the Eucharistic celebration, laypeople needed to be spiritually prepared through the sacrament of penance, prayer and devotion to Jesus and His Passion, and to be in a state of charity and unity with each other. With proper spiritual preparation, along with proper clerical execution, the rite would be fully efficacious, whether laypeople took Communion themselves or were involved in the process by witnessing the Eucharistic miracle.

Successful celebration of the Eucharist transferred Jesus' merits to the laity, cleansing sin and diminishing lay fears of sudden death and hell. Lay souls in purgatory and living souls on earth thus were brought closer to God, spiritual acceptability and heaven. The great efficacy of the Eucharist was understood to derive from the real sacrifice of Jesus in the rite, in which human and divine merged through consumption of His body and blood; it was the person of the crucified Jesus, present and historical, who brought Scots the promise of salvation.¹³⁹

Thus Jesus with his woundis wyde
As martir sufferit for to de,
And tholit [suffered] to be crucifyid,
O mankynd, for the luif of the.

. . .
Synnaris be glaid, and pennance do,
And thank your Makar hairtfully;
For he that ye mycht nocht cum to,
To yow is cumin full humly,
Your saulis with his blud to by,
and lous yow of the feindis arrest,
Ane only of his awin mercy;
*Pro nobis Puer natus est.*¹⁴⁰

NOTES

1. See comment by the General Assembly in Session #14, 6 February, 1587, 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. 721. In 1587 the Assembly testified to the power which the Mass had over lay hearts and minds: ". . . there are great bruits of suspicion of messes in many places of the countrey, which have genered in the hearts of the people contempt of the Word and Ministers.", in Ibid., p. 722.

2. cf. William Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 25-32, p. 163. Note that Le Goff discusses spiritual "worthiness" in the context of the laity's devotion to the concept of purgatory. Le Goff stated that laypeople were deemed "worthy" if they had lived a "good life" by doing good works and practising penance, constantly attempting to improve their spiritual state, in Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scholar Press, 1984, first edition 1981), p. 69. Scots believed that this attitude of improvement was important as a means of convincing God that they were worthy of His mercy. Obtaining God's forgiveness was particularly important as laypeople were increasingly convinced of their inherent sinfulness and inability to become truly worthy of entry into heaven, although the promise of purification in purgatory offered them hope.

3. 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. cxlv.

4. Ibid., f. cxlvii.

5. William Dunbar, "The maner of passyng to confessioun", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 10, p. 257.

6. 1228 addenda to the rules set down in the time of Gregory IX (c. 1221), in ed. William Moir Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. II of 2 vols., Documents (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), pp. 458 and 463.

7. Note that Jesus also had to be human in order for His sacrifice to be acceptable as recompense for human sin.

8. eg. Havik Brahmins in India, in Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London: Ark, 1984, first published 1966), p. 34. But note that blood combined notions of physical and spiritual pollution in late medieval Scotland. Thus on 19 January, 1453, Pope Nicholas V issued a bull to the Abbot of Newbattle which allowed him "to reconcile the church and cemetery of the monastery when violated by the effusion of blood". He also had the right to wear the pontificals, and to bless vestments and other "ecclesiastical ornaments", a more purely spiritual act of purification, in SRO GD40/1/96.

9.ed. Iain Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis (London: Saltire Society, 1940), #4, p. 17.

10.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Remembrance of the Passion", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 328-32, p. 225. Note that the humiliation of Jesus also was emphasised in the orison "Conditor coeli" in BM Arundel MS 285, by mentioning that he was spat upon, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Conditor coeli", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), l. 36, p. 256. Note that such experiences formed part of the "emotional suffering" which helped to make Jesus' self-sacrifice on behalf of humanity sufficient to gain God's mercy for humanity.

11.ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resaeue our saluour Iesu Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 360-7, p. 251 and p. xv.

12.Douglas, Purity and Danger, p. 120. Note that Christian culture developed the idea of "churching" women after childbirth and conceived of menstrual blood as polluting. Thus it was very important for laypeople to emphasise the purity of the Blessed Virgin Mary as a means of making her sufficiently worthy to be supreme intercessor with God, for she was a mother as well as a normal woman, with normal female bodily functions.

13.Ross, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, #28, p. 60.

14.Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxli.

15.Ibid., ff. cxli, cxlii and cxlv.

16.Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

17.William Dunbar (attributed), "The Passioun of Crist", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 38-9, p. 256 and l. 64, p. 257.

18.Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxliv-cxlv.

19.Ibid., ff. cxliv and cxlv, Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun (1559), in ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), pp. 189-90, and a prayer prior to the receiving of the Eucharist, in which the layperson was to refer to the Eucharist as a "sueit vnioun", in Bennett, "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resaeue our saluour Iesu Crist", l. 394, p. 252.

20.Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", ll. 84-6, p. 165. cf. The General Assembly demanded in 1565 that the laity be required to attend Sunday prayers and preaching just as the Catholic authorities had required them to attend the "idolatrous messe" on Sundays, 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. I of 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1839), p. 59.

21.Dunbar, "The Tabill of Confession", The Poems of William Dunbar, l. 92, p. 165, where Dunbar referred to the sinful receiving "of The my Salviour", ie. the literal consumption of Jesus' body and blood.

22.Ibid., ll. 42-4, p. 164.

23.ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse (London: Early English Text Society, 1870), ll. 3925-6, 3929, 3933-4, 3936-7 and 3980, pp. 113-4.

24.Dunbar, "The maner of passyng to confessioun", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, ll. 48-9, p. 258 and ll. 48-9 and 52, p. 258.

25.Ibid., ll. 22-3, p. 258 and ll. 60-3 and 67, p. 259. Note that this poem of Dunbar's has only been found in BM Arundel MS 285.

26.Letter to Frederick I in 1532, in ed. Denys Hay, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), p. 231. cf. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1891), p. 40.

27.SRO GD103/2/46. The request for an indulgence was also made by George Shaw, pensioner of the Abbey of Paisley, Robert Shaw, Abbot of Paisley, and Dame Helison Home, Abbess of North Berwick. Note that the indulgence included the right to have a portable altar.

28.William Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington. Vol. II of 2 vols., Correspondence and Charters (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 244.

29.Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in Patrick, p. 190.

30.ed. I.B. Cowan, Blast and Counterblast. Contemporary Writings on the Scottish Reformation (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1960), citing Patrick, pp. 189-90. The Catechism stressed the efficacy of the sacrament when received devoutly with faith, hope and charity, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxli.

31.Bennett, "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resaue our saluiour Iesu Crist", ll. 347-8 and 352-3, p. 250.

32.Ibid., ll. 374-5, p. 251, ll. 381-4, p. 251 and ll. 392-400, p. 252.

33.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. 156.

34.eg. The burgh of Callander has a coat of arms which includes a flaming cross which is based upon the burgh seal, in R.M. Urquhart, Scottish Burgh and County Heraldry (London: Heraldry Today, 1973), p. 112.

35.One of the carvings included the heart, hands and feet of Jesus, with flames above and a Cross rising from the flames, in Charles Carter, Charles, "The Arma Christi in Scotland", Proceedings (Edinburgh, 1959), LXXXX, p. 122.

36. Fetternear Banner, National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.
37. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxlix, cxlvii-cxlviii and cxli.
38. Patrick, pp. 189-90.
39. 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), pp. 64-169. The accusation of contemporary Protestant reformers and certain later historians was that the laity believed that the ritual of the Catholic Mass was an "external" ritual only, efficacious through its celebration, but not requiring the laity's own internal relationship with the godhead. However, the late medieval laity certainly was being urged by the upper clergy to relate "internally" during the Mass. (egs. "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun" of 1559, Catechism of 1552) Further, one must make a distinction between the laity's understanding of "Communion", in which its own spiritual involvement was absolutely essential for the rite to be an aid to lay salvation, and the Eucharistic rite in general, in which a high standard of spiritual involvement by the clergy was deemed to be the most important.
40. Richard McBrien, Catholicism. Vol. II of 2 vols. (Oak Grove, MN: Winston, 1979), p. 764.
41. Bennett, "Off ye birnyng lufe and gret effectioun yat we suld haue to resaeue our saluour Iesu Crist", ll. 382-4, p. 251.
42. Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum, and Foulis Easter collegiate church, Angus. Note also that the 1541 woodcut illustration of the celestial kingdom, part of Davidson's printing of the Acts of the Parliaments, depicted a number of people on their knees praying for 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.
43. cf. Secular penitential rites for crimes against the community of the burgh, in such burghs as Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh. See burgh records, passim. One example of such a secular penitential rite was demanded of candlemaker William Young in 1554 by Edinburgh burgh council. He was called to answer charges regarding the breaking of craft statutes. He overtly rejected the right of the burgh council to be the agent of community values when he told the bailies: "Ye ar oppressouris and oppressis ws." Young denied saying this, but was punished nevertheless, his punishment being a ritual procession to the parish church at time of high mass, carrying a one pound candle for the St. Giles light. Once in the church he had to ask the bailies' forgiveness and that of the provost, who granted forgiveness on his own and the burgh council's behalf, in ed. James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1528-1557 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871), p. 202. For discussions of how a sense of religious community functioned in burghs, see Elizabeth L. Ewan, "The Community of the Burgh in the Fourteenth Century", pp. 228-44, Michael Lynch, "The Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns, 1450-1600", pp. 261-86, and Elizabeth P.D. Torrie, "The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline", pp. 245-60, in The Scottish

Medieval Town, eds. Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988). cf. Various studies of European burgh religious values, such as Ozment's discussion of Germany and Switzerland, in which the "health and strength" of the town was believed to be closely related to its religious and moral quality. If of a high standard, God look favourably upon the town, and thus it was the town council's responsibility to ensure that individual town dwellers did not jeopardise the community's relationship with the godhead, in Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 33-4 and *passim*.

44. Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in Patrick, p. 189.

45. Ibid., p. 190.

46. Patrick, #245, pp. 138-9.

47. Thomas Winning, "Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), p. 357.

48. Cowan, Blast and Counterblast, p. 63, citing "Register of the Kirk Session of Stirling", Miscellany of the Maitland Club, I, pp. 129-30.

49. ed. David Hay Fleming, Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, 1559-1582, Vol. I of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1889), IV, p. 36.

50. eg. In 1552 the provincial council of the Scottish church complained that not enough of the laity attended Mass on Sundays, double festivals, or preaching, in Patrick, #245, pp. 138-9.

51. ed. John Kirkpatrick, "The Scottish Nation in the University of Orelans, 1336-1538", Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Vol. II of 10 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1904), XLIV, pp. 63 and 91-3.

52. Hamilton, Catechism, ff. cxliv-cxlv.

53. Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", ll. 3988-90, p. 115.

54. Hamilton, "Ane Godlie Exhortatioun", in Patrick, p. 189.

55. Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", ll. 3933-5, p. 113 and ll. 3960-2, p. 114.

56. Ibid., ll. 3928-32, p. 113 and ll. 3962-3, p. 114.

57. Ibid., ll. 3937-9, p. 113, ll. 3971-4, p. 114, and ll. 3957-9, p. 114.

58. Ibid., ll. 3982-5, p. 114.

59.eg. St. Augustine stated that the day a man saw God's "body", with clean heart and devotion, God would not take his sight, in Ibid., ll. 3976-8, p. 114.

60.eg. The rubric of the orison "O Clementissime" in BM Arundel MS 285 stated that those who said the orison would be comforted by Mary three days before their death, and that she would advise them of the hour of their death, in ed. J.A.W. Bennett, "O Clementissime", Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955), ll. 3-5, p. 279.

61.egs. Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott, who joined a confraternity in 1487, commissioned a Missal, Prayer Book and Psalter in the 1480's-1490's, and founded a Lady aisle in 1505 in St. Tiernan's church, Arbuthnott, in Bryce, II, pp. 263-4, and ed. James Balfour Paul, 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), #2867, p. 609. Archibald, Earl of Angus and Lord of Douglas, donated land to a chaplain celebrating for souls at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of the Blessed Brigide of Douglas in 1484, and gave more land to the same altar in 1506 for divine celebration and to benefit souls, in Ibid., #1455, p. 303, and #2974, p. 632.

62.Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", ll. 3979-81 and 3953-6, p. 114.

63.Ibid., ll. 3986-7, p. 115.

64.Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice. Evangelical and Catholic, trans. A.G. Hebert (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 84. For example, in the "Vertewis of the Mess", the author cited St. Gregory's comment that masses relieved many souls from purgatory, in Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", p. 113.

65.cf. For a discussion of the development of a professional class (eg. clergy) as part of the normal development of an institution (eg. church), and its consequences in terms of protecting rights and privileges, see James T. Borhek and Richard F. Curtis, A Sociology of Belief (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), pp. 73-5 and passim.

66.However, note that the laity was reassured that it received Jesus in His entirety through the bread alone, in fact, that it received the body, blood, soul and godhead of Jesus through Communion, in Hamilton, Catechism, f. cxlviii.

67.eg. David Scott of Buccleuch, who left money as gifts or for prayers for souls to the churches of the Holy Cross of Peebles, Hawick, Rankilburn and St. Mary of the Forest, in William Fraser, The Scotts of Buccleuch, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878), pp. 92-4. Note that the grandson and heir apparent in 1492 was Walter Scott, who in 1530 agreed to go on pilgrimage to the four head pilgrimages of Scotland to say a mass for the soul of the late Andrew Ker of Cessford and those killed with him on the field of Melrose, as well as to have a priest say mass daily for five years, in SRO GD40. cf. Thomson and Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, II, p. 312 (regarding the 21 November, 1526 reporting of the incident in which, while resisting the attack of Scott and his

band in Edinburgh, Ker was killed.) Unfortunately this attempt to reconcile the two feuding families seems not to have succeeded, for in 1554 Sir John Ker of Ferniehurt, knight, was accused of the murder of Walter Scott of Branhholm, knight, in SRO GD40/5/1. cf. ed. James Beveridge, Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol. IV, A.D., 1548-1556 (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1952), #2353, p. 393 (in which Sir John of Ferniehurst's sons Andrew and William Ker were given back the goods which had been escheat to the Crown as a result of Sir John being denounced rebel and put to the horn for non-finding of surety for the murder of the late Sir Walter Scott of Branhholme, knight). Note also in 1564, Sir Walter Scott of Branhholme by Andrew Ker of Cessford was the subject of a penitential ritual, to be carried out by Ker at St. Giles church, viz. to ask mercy on his knees from God for his murder of Scott and by the laird of Buccleuch. Ker had been killed by Scott in 1552, in Robert Pitcairn, Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833), pp. 390-1.

68. Note that James IV put great faith in the Franciscans, choosing them to be his confessors, according to Don Pedro de Ayala, in Brown, p. 40.

69. Hamilton, Catechism, Prologue.

70. eg. William Dunbar, "How Dumbar wes Desyrd to be Ane Freir", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), pp. 3-4, and R.J. Lyall, "Dunbar and the Franciscans", Medium Aevum (Cambridge, 1977), XLVI, 2, p. 254.

71. James V exhorted churchmen to reform, stating that the laity were contemptuous of churchmen because of their inferior knowledge, "wit" and manners. The king ordered all ordinaries to ensure that substantial reform be made to the honour of God, the blessed sacrament and divine service, within the financial constraints of each parish, 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. 370. A major complaint of reformers such as George Wishart (mid-1540's) was that the outward honour done to God in the Mass was not matched by the inward honouring of Him, so the king's directive would have been a step in the right direction, in Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, p. 156. John Adamson, provincial of the Dominicans of Scotland, instituted wide-scale reform in his order and impressed the laity with his work, resulting in approving words in foundation charters and continued support for the order. cf. Alexander Myln, "Lives of the Bishops" Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517) with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops' (A.D. 1483-1517), in Rentale Dunkeldense, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1915), p. 321.

72. Knox, "History of the Reformation in Scotland", I, Book 1, pp. 73-4.

73. William Dunbar, "Of the Nativitie of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 25-32, p. 155.

74. Myln, "Lives of the Bishops", pp. 320-1 and 326-7.

75. An early example of lay concern about attendance at services was that expressed in the charter of a chaplainry founded by burgess of Aberdeen John Knowles (*Knollis*). He founded his chaplainry at the altar of St. John the Baptist in St. Nicholas church, Aberdeen, on 9 October, 1486, demanding that a new chaplain be appointed if the resident chaplain was non-resident or often absent, in ed. James Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892), pp. 76-7.

76. Bryce, II, p. 20.

77. Alan Stewart of Craighall also demonstrated concern for regular celebration of services. Stewart founded a chaplainry of St. Anne in the parish church of Paisley, demanding personal residence from the chaplain, with the usual addendum that, after fifteen days absence without reasonable cause, the position be considered vacant and a new chaplain found. According to the editor, this foundation was made some time between 1531 and 1539, in ed. Gordon Donaldson, St. Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1944), pp. 19 and ix.

78. SRO GD79/4/140.

79. 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. 24-6. Note that Gray also allowed for the possibility that it would be the future lay patrons of the foundation who would allow the services to lapse, in Lawson. Note also that the friars were to make mention of Gray's "state" in the prayers said at their weekly chapter meeting, an indication that the laity understood their existence in the afterlife to be a "state of being", in *Ibid.*, p. 26.

80. For example, when Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure founded a requiem mass, *Dirige* and *Placebo* for souls in 1509, he was very detailed in his requirements. He outlined the order, equipment and location of the various components of the obit, and mentioned that the clerics were to use wear the proper attire, use the proper ornaments, and carry out the ritual in an honourable fashion, in Bryce, II, p. 139. James IV was an example of a wealthy founder who continued to improve standards of the equipment at the foundations of which he was patron. The author of A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents referred to him as a generous donor of ornaments and searcher for relics as well as a builder and endower of churches. As a devout hearer of mass and other divine services, he could be counted upon to notice any failure to carry out proper procedure, or failure to use the proper equipment or dress. Thus in the Treasurers' Accounts for 1494-5 for the Chapel Royal in Stirling, the king paid 3s. for the mending of the sepulchre, the chapel door, and the "Judas Crois", and in 1511, in the month of June alone, he paid £15 4s. 6d. for vestments and albs, and a covering for a chalice in the same chapel. All of these gifts were important to the proper execution of the Mass, in ed. Thomas Thomson, A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have Passed within the Country of Scotland since the Death of King James the Fourth till the Year MDLXXV (Edinburgh:

Maitland Club, 1833), p. 4, ed. Thomas Dickson, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. I, A.D. 1473-1498 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877), p. 228.

81. Thomson and Innes, The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, II, p. 370 and ed. James Balfour Paul, Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. VII, A.D. 1538-1541 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1907), p. 459. James V made a number of donations associated with improving the standards of equipment at the altar in the palace of Holyroodhouse. He appeared to be particularly interested in the provision of service books, in 1538-9 paying £24 for a great antiphonal book for the chapel. In the same year, 54s. was spent on towels and an alb for the chapel, in Paul, VII, pp. 132 and 135.

82. According to the king, for seventeen years there had been no cure of souls in the area, so rents and dues had not been paid. Therefore the bishopric was not wealthy enough to afford the fee for the "rochet", in eds. Robert Kerr Hannay and Denys Hay, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), p. ?? cf. letter of 1 November, 1529, in Ibid, pp. 162-3.

83. Donaldson, St. Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546, pp. 18-20. The editor places this foundation at some point between 1531 and 1539.

84. John Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", IR (Glasgow, Spring, 1962), XIII, 1, p. 74.

85. David S. Rutherford, Biggar St. Mary's. A Medieval College Kirk (Biggar: Mrs. John H. Wilson, 1946), pp. 29-30, and ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VIII of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1911), pp. 537 and 540.

86. Ibid., pp. 31-2.

87. Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", pp. 74-5.

88. Rutherford, pp. 28-30.

89. Ibid., p. 33.

90. Ibid., p. 34.

91. Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", pp. 75-6.

92. Rutherford, pp. 29-32.

93. Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", p. 75.

94. Charles C.H. Harvey and John Macleod (compilers), Calendar of Writs Preserved at Yester House 1166-1625 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), LV, #623, p. 180.

95. Bryce, II, pp. 19-20. Note that the initial moral "purity" of appointees to positions was also required. Thus the parishioners of Cumnock, Ayrshire, told George Campbell, son of John Campbell of

Polquhirter, that he would be made parish clerk as soon as he received absolution, in John Anderson and Francis J. Grant, Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, N.P. 1512-1532 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1908) (Protocol Books, I), #1144, p. 206. Note also that certain laypeople were censured by clerics for not making moral and academic qualifications a priority in appointments. Thus in 1507, James IV, generally considered to have been greatly devoted to spiritual matters, was accused by the Archbishop of Glasgow and his chapter of having forced a candidate on them for under-sacrist whom they had not examined for "morals and fitness". In fact, the candidate, William Elphinstone (*Elphinstoun*), was considered by the clerics to have been unfit and unable to carry out his myriad duties, which included bell-ringing, for which he had no training; the clerics had given in to the king's demand simply because they were "unwilling to displease" the king. The under-sacrist had a number of duties which, if improperly executed, would lead to God's displeasure. For example, the ringing of the bells was an important means of honouring God during church rituals such as obits. Contemporaries believed that the appointment of an incompetent under-sacrist would be liable to have dire results for the welfare of souls, 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), #242, p. 379. That the laity agreed with Glasgow Cathedral's concern about standards of service can be seen from a document of 1486 relating to the appointment of the parish clerk of Canongate. The parishioners ratified the choice of Robert, abbot of Holyrood, having been presented by the candidate, Patrick Ballantine (*Bellantyne*), and having been assured that he had been examined with regard to his "learning, letters and ability", in ed. Gordon Donaldson, Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1952), #54-5, p. 12.

96.SRO GD79/4/140.

97.eds. James Balfour Paul and John Maitland Thomson, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.d. 1513-1546, Vol. III, Part 1, #234, pp. 52-3. Paterson and Lauder's choice of St. Gabriel is interesting as it may have reflected the increased emphasis on the Annunciation, as well as St. Gabriel's role as comforter of those in purgatory. Paterson's 1523 donation was intended to ensure the health of her soul, and that of her late husband Alexander Lauder as well as her first husband John Carkettle. Note that the form of excommunication of the Scottish church included excommunication for "al thaim that brekis testament lauchfully maid", and the threats were those associated with the laity's fears of the afterlife. That is, unless they repented and made satisfaction, the church threatened them with early death, their souls to be deprived of the sight of God and cast into the "depest pot of hel", in Patrick, p. 6.

98.To a lesser extent, deacons of craft guilds were also expected to be involved in ensuring that standards were maintained at foundations made by craft members.

99. Aberdeen began in the 1480's to insist on high standards from clerics in its parish church of St. Nicholas. On 13 January, 1484/5, in response to a request from "Lord Erroll" (presumably William, third Earl of Erroll), the burgh council decided to pay Sir Walter Young 4 merks per annum out of the profits of the altar of St. Michael, although Young had lost his bid for the chaplainry to Sir Andrew Young. Further, Young was to receive a further 4 merks. In return, Young was required to attend *divine service three times* each day, or he would lose his income, 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), pp. 39-40, and ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1906), p. 565. When the burgh council appointed William Young to be sacristan of St. Nicholas church on 24 November, 1486, it insisted that he make continual residence and service in the choir of St. Nicholas, in Cooper, pp. 336-7. Twenty years later in 1505, when Sir Thomas Binnie (*Bynne*) was appointed to St. Michael's altar, he was enjoined to make continual residence and personal attendance in the choir and church for divine services. As chaplain, singer and music teacher, his regular attendance was crucial to the success of divine services. Note that the burgh council was explicitly concerned about the adherence of clerical appointees to the terms of foundation charters, for on 31 January, 1505/6, the council mentioned that Master Andrew Crawford (*Craufurde*), perpetual chaplain at the altar of St. Peter, was one whose role was to pray "for the saulis of the fondouris", in Stuart, Miscellany of the Spalding Club, V, p. 35. On 11 June, 1515, Gilbert Binnie (*Bynne*) the elder was paid 50s. to do good and continual service in the choir and church of St. Nicholas, in Cooper, p. 351. Then on 16 November, 1556, Master Andrew Gray was appointed as a chaplain of the choir of St. Nicholas church, good attendance and personal attendance being required of him, in Stuart, p. 301. Aberdeen proved that it meant to carry through on its demand for personal attendance and residence by rewarding "good" clerics and punishing negligent ones. Thus on 4 October, 1555, Sir Robert Binnie (*Bynne*) was confirmed in his annual stipend of 8 merks for the rest of his lifetime, although he was now blind and unable to completely fulfill his duties; he was being rewarded for his "gude and continuell service in tymis bigan", in Stuart, pp. 289-90.

100. Edinburgh burgh council was concerned that high spiritual standards be maintained by its appointees. On 20 November, 1501, the provost, George Tours, threatened disciplinary action against those prebendaries who did not do divine service according to the terms of the foundation and erection of the college of St. Giles. In 1504 the threats of the council began to be more effective, as the council stated the consequences for specified offences. Thus in April of 1504 it announced that no wages were to be paid to prebendaries of St. Giles who failed in their duties or were absent from *Dirges* and soulmasses, except for those absent through illness or "superexorsistene". This decision was said to have been made with the consent of the prebendaries, but what choice they truly had is not ascertainable. It is possible that senior church personnel with the ear of the council were concerned that clerical discipline was slack, and approached the council with a proposal for a council-controlled monitoring system. As the council held the purse-strings this would have been a logical step to take. However, there is no

indication that this decree of April 1504 was initiated by the clergy. Action was taken in the name of the lay burgh council, which represented laypeople who were concerned that lay souls were in jeopardy because of lax discipline among clerics. On 27 February, 1510/1, the burgh council of Edinburgh instituted a system of clerical fines for the provost and prebendaries of the collegiate church of St. Giles. This action was taken because the chaplains had failed to celebrate the mass of the Holy Blood, and the council wished to prevent this happening in the future. Any repeat offence was to result in a fine of 2d. per prebendary on weekdays and 4d. on festival days, plus one merk to the confraternity of the Holy Blood. The impetus for this statute clearly came from the laity, the provost of Edinburgh asking that an instrument be made of this agreement, in James D. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869), pp. 92, 99 and 130-1. It was an unfortunate tactical error on the part of the clerics to fail to celebrate the mass of the Holy Blood. Most of the members of the burgh council were merchants, and the ceremonies and institutions of the Holy Blood were closely associated with the merchant class. Thus if the burgh council were to be inspired to move on any matter of a lowering of standards, it would likely be on a matter relating to the Holy Blood altar or mass. Further, the cult of the Passion, associated with the Holy Blood mass, was extremely popular with the late medieval laity as a whole. Failure to celebrate the mass would be viewed with a jaundiced eye by more than the merchants. Unfortunately for the prebendaries of St. Giles, it was the laity, especially the merchants on the burgh council, who could use their power of the purse to influence disciplinary policy in the church.

101. 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.

102. Selkirk is a good example of a burgh council determined to keep standards high in the burgh church. This council was committed to finding the most able people as chaplains, appointing thirteen people to deliberate over an appointment to the Rood altar in 1539. To avoid any coercion or conflict of interest, the eight burgesses on the selection committee were not allowed to hold any tack or steadings from other men of the parish. The five other "parishioners" were from the surrounding area, and together with the burgesses, were to select the most devout, discreet and most law-abiding (*lawliest*) person to "thankfully" serve God, their altar of the Rood, and the parish. Their choice was to be made without "fraud or gill, favor of dredhour, or suplication of friendis". Clearly the council was intent on finding the most capable candidate without any reference to family connections or influence. The committee chose Sir Adam Ker as he was considered "abyll thairfor". Then Sir Adam was given the key to the altar as a symbol of his appointment. At the top of the statute the words "Pro re publica in tym to cum" were written; it was clear that the welfare of the community came before individual considerations, in eds. John Imrae,

Thomas I. Rae, and W.D. Ritchie, The Burgh Court Book of Selkirk, 1503-45 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1960), p. 207.

103. For example, merchant of Ayr Adam Wishart (*Wischart*) (d. 27 October, 1521), founded an obit for himself and his spouse in the church of St. John the Baptist of Ayr in 1506. He formally resigned the annual rent into the hands of a burgh representative, symbolising transference of responsibility for the foundation to the burgh council. Wishart gave the annual rent of 8s. for the obit to his son John Wishart in John's capacity as bailie of the burgh, and in turn John Wishart gave possession and sasine of the annual rent to a "discreet man", Sir John Ferguson (*Fairgesen*), curate and parson, on behalf of the church and choristers, in ed. James Paterson, The Obit Book of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Ayr (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), p. 51.

104. ed. W. Chambers, Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Peebles A.D. 1165-1710 (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1872), pp. 44-5.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7, 242, 253. Note that Peebles emphasised good service above all, which it believed could be obtained by choosing its chaplains on the basis of their qualifications. A statute of 1458 indicated that those appointed to chaplainry positions controlled by the burgh council were to be capable of plain song at least, and would be required to attend evensong and masses (*with note*) on Sundays and other holy days. Although the council wished to appoint burgesses' sons whenever possible, the appointments were not to be at the behest of any one person, the person appointed had to be "abil", and the choice was to be made by the bailies with the consent of the whole community, in *Ibid.*, p. 126. For example, on 19 July, 1559, the burgh elected Gilbert Tweedie (*Tuedy*) unanimously as chaplain for a year at the Geddes aisle. However, it insisted that the appointment was conditional upon him becoming a priest within a year and a day, in *Ibid.*, p. 255. It is possible that Tweedie was a singer in minor orders in the choir, and was considered good chaplain material. However, the burgh wanted him better qualified, so insisted that he undertake the training which would lead him to enter sacred orders.

106. Chambers, p. 258.

107. Lawson, pp. 23-7. The Countess' foundation can be compared to that of John Brown, burgess of Ayr, who died on 9 November, 1524. Brown's obit foundation in St. John's church of Ayr began in the same year as the Gray foundation. His method of obtaining prayers differed from that of the Countess. Instead of friars' prayers, Brown wanted the poor of Ayr to be urged and required to come to his obit mass and receive alms for praying for the souls of himself and his spouse Mariote Petheid, this being accomplished by a handbell being rung throughout the town, encouraging people to attend his obit. The intercessory prayers of the people were to be addressed to God and His "spotless mother". The supervision for Brown's obit was principally with the dean of guild of Ayr, in Paterson, pp. 58-9. The subject of lay prayer, often in connection with foundations supporting bedesmen and women (eg. collegiate churches with attached hospitals), has not been addressed in this work to any great degree

beyond the discussion in Chapter 6, due to space constraints. However, it is a subject which would bear further consideration. It has implications for lay perceptions of "holiness", the different levels of holiness believed to be attainable by clerics and laypeople, and the laity's changing views on this subject. Note that a "collect" is a brief prayer said before the epistle in a Communion service.

108. On 14 April, 1542, James V "gives back" one quarter of the Littleton lands to the Dominicans to do daily prayer for the late Alexander, Earl of Huntly, according to the Countess' foundations. Apparently the king obtained control of the lands because of negligence, presumably on the part of the Dominicans, such that the lands had fallen into the hands of Patrick, Lord Gray, who had since died, and John, Lord of Glamis, who had been forfeited, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, III, #2645, p. 160.

109. cf. The will of Barald Stewart, eighth Lord of Albigny and Earl of "Bewmont", who left large sums of money for his funeral rites and the poor on the day of his burial, for other "pious works", and for the Franciscans of Edinburgh, but was not more specific. He insisted that his executors dispose of the rest of his goods for the health of his soul as they would answer before the supreme judge on the Day of Judgment, in William Fraser, The Lennox, Vol. II, Muniments (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 186-7.

110. The foundation was made by Henry Livingston of Middle Binning on 14 May, 1496, so presumably this is an example of a layperson honouring the religious commitments of a departed family member. No doubt laypeople would not have gone to all the expense and effort of founding and endowing obits, chaplainries and other religious foundations had they not seen around them evidence of families taking care to ensure that family foundations continued to have high standards of service, in Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #2333, p. 496.

111. Note that as Fawy's main role was to celebrate divine services for the souls of the founder, his successors, and the faithful dead, it would have been in the best interests of Livingston's heirs to ensure that Fawy and his successors maintained high standards of service, in eds. James Beveridge and James Russell, Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnstoun, 1528-1578 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1920) (Protocol Books, I), #10, pp. 2-3.

112. Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", pp. 71 and 75.

113. Rutherford, pp. 32-3.

114. The confidence placed in the burgh councils and craft guilds, particularly the burgh councils, seems to have been merited, for councils acted with growing confidence to insist on high standards of clerical execution in burgh churches.

115. Stuart, I, p. 301.

116. Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", p. 75.

117. Donaldson, St Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546, p. 19.
118. Lawson, p. 22.
119. Walter Macleod (transcribed and summarised), Protocol Book of James Foular 9th March 1500-1 to 18th September 1503 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1930), XVIII, #6, pp. 5-6.
120. Bryce, II, pp. 19-20.
121. Durkan, "Foundation of the Collegiate Church of Seton", p. 75.
122. Rutherford, pp. 32-3. The conditions of Lord Fleming's Biggar foundation were a change from those under which earlier members of his family had operated. When the heirs of Robert, Lord Fleming, failed to present within forty days to the vacant chaplainry of Over Auchenrivock (*Ovir Achinrevoch*) in the parish church of Kirkintilloch, Glasgow Cathedral's president and chapter made the appointment, on 2 June, 1511, in Bain and Rogers, Liber Protocollorum M. Cuthberti Simonis, I, #529, p. 508.
123. Rutherford, pp. 28-9 and 31-3.
124. Ibid., pp. 28, 32 and 33.
125. Bryce, II, pp. 19-20.
126. Lumby, "Vertewis of the Mess", ll. 3968-70, p. 114.
127. Paul, Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, II, #2105, p. 444.
128. Stuart, I, pp. 39-40.
129. Cooper, II, pp. 351-2 and 354.
130. Ibid., II, p. 360.
131. Ibid., II, p. 356.
132. Stuart, I, p. 143.
133. Ibid., I, pp. 289-90.
134. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528, p. 92.
135. Ibid., p. 99.
136. cf. The Stirling merchant guild also had an altar dedicated to the Holy Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in Robert Lamond, "The Scottish Craft Gild as a Religious Fraternity", SHR (Glasgow, 1919), XVI, p. 197. Note that merchant guilds in Edinburgh and Dunfermline also had Holy Blood altars.
137. The Edinburgh merchant guild intensified its support for the Holy Blood cult through the sixteenth century. In 1518 the seal of cause of the guild requested that the new aisle in St. Giles' church

be set aside for the honouring of the Holy Blood, with the guild as patron. The guild's motive was to ". . . honour and repair the said Isle to the honour of God, the Holy Blud and polecy of our said kirk", in Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528, p. 181.

138.J. Charles Wall, Relics of the Passion (London: Talbot, 1910), p. 151, and Arbuthnott Prayer Book, Paisley Museum.

139.Note that Bishop George of Dunkeld prayed to an image of "the Crucified" at his feet in the last moments of his life, revealing himself to be a man of his times in his reliance on the crucified Saviour to help bring him to heaven. The Bishop also made the sign of the Cross as he died, all the while surrounded by his chapter who said the psalms, rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Passion Gospels, in Myln, "Lives of the Bishops", p. 320. The saying of the Passion Gospels was a clear reminder to God that the right to His mercy had been won for humanity by Jesus on the Cross.

140.Dunbar, "Of the Passioun of Christ", ll. 93-6, p. 158 and William Dunbar, "Of the Nativitie of Christ", The Poems of William Dunbar (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1932), ll. 17-24, p. 79.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the nature of Scottish lay faith during the period 1480 to 1560, and the mechanisms most favoured by laypeople in their search for salvation. As a prelude to this investigation, it was necessary to gain an understanding of lay imagery of the Day of Judgment and states of being in the afterlife, since lay images of the nature and function of the Day of Judgment, heaven, hell and purgatory helped laypeople to determine how best to achieve the spiritual acceptability necessary for salvation. To improve their spiritual worthiness and ensure success on the Day of Judgment, it was also necessary for laypeople to understand the nature and function of God, Jesus and Mary, and then to carry out specific activities aimed at honouring them and gaining their support in the search for spiritual worthiness.

The particular and general Days of Judgment were the central events toward which lay spiritual efforts were directed, for on these days, laypeople's attitudes and actions would be judged worthy or wanting. After death the individual was judged at the particular Day of Judgment and sentenced to heaven, hell or purgatory, and after the general Day of Judgment purgatory would no longer exist and all people would be sent either to heaven or hell. Thus the *general Day of Judgment* was of particular concern to laypeople, for the sentence pronounced on this day was not open to appeal, nor was there any chance for atonement or future reconciliation. Laypeople's images of the Days of Judgment were based upon the Bible, the liturgy, theology, art and literature; these sources emphasised the separation of body and soul at death and their

re-joining at the general Day of Judgment, and made a distinction between the individual nature of the particular Day of Judgment and the collective nature of the general Day of Judgment. Understanding the nature and function of judgment helped laypeople to focus their efforts and thus achieve sufficient worthiness to be accepted into heaven. The concept of the Day of Judgment also fulfilled lay expectations of perfect justice, and served to remind laypeople of the inevitability of death at the same time as giving meaning to earthly life.

The laity responded to its images of the Days of Judgment by ensuring that, after the particular Day of Judgment, the living would offer prayers and masses for dead souls. Laypeople also attempted to achieve as much spiritual worthiness as possible while still on earth, preparing for death through personal sanctification and the provision of satisfaction to their neighbours whom they had injured or slighted in some manner. Thus the sacred and the secular were entwined in Scottish society, daily life being necessarily imbued with religious values and concerns, as Scots attempted to live their lives in a manner which would be acceptable to God, and which would ensure an even happier life after death.

Entry into heaven was the ultimate aim of laypeople in the period under study, heaven being a place of perfect happiness and sinlessness in which the evils and miseries of the earthly world had no place. By learning about the nature of heaven and its inhabitants, laypeople hoped to become sufficiently worthy to merit a place there. Laypeople acted upon their understanding of the nature of heaven in a variety of ways. For example, they pursued personal holiness during life and chose burial sites that would maximise their chances of obtaining God's favour.

The laity contemplated hell with horrified fascination, imagining it as a place of endless physical, emotional and spiritual pain, and from which there was no escape. An understanding of hell's inhabitants, foremost of whom was the devil, informed laypeople about the types of sins which sent people to hell, and helped fix their minds on the church rituals and personal attitudes which would allow them to escape the temptations of the devil. The devil represented not only external danger, but also the internal evil or sinfulness to which all laypeople were subject due to humanity's inherently sinful nature and Adam and Eve's Original Sin in the Garden of Eden. Fears of dying intensified laypeople's fears about hell, and helped to direct their activities towards avoiding its eternal misery and pain.

Purgatory was a concept which found great favour with laypeople, for it offered them a second chance. That is, the period under study was one in which laypeople felt increasingly overwhelmed by their own sinfulness, believing that by the time of death they would not have achieved sufficient spiritual worthiness to be accepted directly into heaven. After death came the particular Day of Judgment, at which point God judged them personally and sent them to heaven, hell or purgatory. The understanding was that most Christians who had attempted to pursue personal holiness, especially contrition, confession and satisfaction, had supported church rituals, done good works (egs. religious foundations, care of the poor) and honoured God through their daily lives would be sufficiently acceptable to be sent to purgatory. Once in purgatory, dead souls suffered in expiation of the final stains of sin, and the living could assist them by arranging for prayers and masses to be said on their behalf, such that at the general Day of Judgment these

souls would have achieved sufficient purity to be accepted into heaven.

As prayers and masses were considered crucial to the process of purification, the growing emphasis in the period under study involved the foundation of commemorative services such as obits and daily masses for souls, often within the parish church of the deceased, but also in special chapels or collegiate churches founded by the wealthier members of society. Further, belief that the quality of the rituals affected their efficacy led to a lay emphasis on high qualifications and standards of service by clerical celebrants. Laypeople contemplating their period of suffering in purgatory were reassured that the perpetual prayers and masses said on earth would ameliorate their condition, but that did not mean that they were unconcerned about pursuing spiritual worthiness while still alive, for any improvement in their spiritual standing while on earth would reduce the time they had to spend in purgatory. Belief in the concept and function of purgatory led laypeople to obtain indulgences, often through pilgrimage, to express devotion to God through the sacrament of penance, to solicit the aid of the saints, Mary and Jesus in achieving personal holiness, and to obtain the aid of these supernatural beings as intercessors with God on their behalf.

The images laypeople had of the Day of Judgment and the afterlife served to focus attention on the spiritual worthiness of individuals, these images inspiring people to pursue personal and societal holiness through support of church rituals, ceremonies and institutions, and to develop a spiritually sound outlook and behaviour, avoiding personal sin as much as possible. However, laypeople understood humanity to be intensely sinful by nature and

therefore deserving of the worst fate - eternal damnation. While they wished to achieve spiritual acceptability, they doubted the sufficiency of their own merits and best intentions, turning to the powerful supernatural beings of God, Mary and Jesus to ensure their ultimate success on the general Day of Judgment.

Laypeople went to great lengths to learn about the nature of these beings, their personalities and backgrounds, and their expectations of lay attitudes and behaviour. By arriving at a more complete understanding, laypeople hoped to learn how best to approach them for aid and to gain their forgiveness and mercy. In a sense, all lay actions were oriented toward pleasing God, who made the final decision about who was allowed into heaven, although God's characterisation as father and judge led laypeople to fear His power and perfect justice and to rely more heavily upon Jesus and Mary for comfort and intercession. Nevertheless, laypeople sought God's mercy and approval directly as well as by approaching Him through other spiritual beings. God's favour was sought by pursuing personal and societal holiness and by making testaments, thereby offering satisfaction to God and humanity. Laypeople also ensured that perpetual prayers and masses (eg. obits) were offered on behalf of dead souls to this stern, judgmental God, who might need a great deal of convincing to forgive people their sins and admit them into heaven.

The Blessed Virgin Mary held a position of great prominence in late medieval Scotland. God had chosen her as mother of Jesus, as an eternal virgin she was shorn of the sinfulness normally associated with femaleness and human sexuality, and after the Assumption she reigned as queen of heaven. Her influence and popularity with God unmistakable, Mary was considered to be an

excellent intercessor for humanity, and she commanded a loyal following in Scotland during the period under study.

The humanity of Jesus was increasingly emphasised by the laity as a means of making His sacrifice on the Cross more efficacious for lay salvation, and also to ensure His support as a fellow human being. An associated development was the growing tendency to emphasise Mary's continuing relationship with her son Jesus. Mary's influence with Jesus was believed to be particularly profound, Jesus being conceived of as a loyal son who would deny His mother nothing. Further, Mary was believed to want happiness in the afterlife for humanity, so by gaining her favour laypeople also gained the aid and favour of Jesus. Belief in Mary's love for humanity was based upon her role as mother of Jesus, God incarnate, which also had made her mother of humanity. Faith in Mary's devotion to human spiritual welfare was also based upon her characterisation as empathetic sufferer with Jesus at the foot of the Cross. Possessed of all the best maternal characteristics, Mary was a willing guide, protector and intercessor in the lay search for salvation.

Lay belief in Mary's great personal spiritual worthiness, power as guarantor of human welfare in life and in death, and position as virtual co-redeemer with Jesus led laypeople to express their devotion to her and solicit her aid in a variety of ways. As a means of combining the power of the Eucharist with the power of Mary's intercession, it was common to found masses, chaplainries and churches and to augment existing foundations. Visits to Marian shrines and holy wells, the honouring of her in processions, and the recitation of the rosary were other methods employed by laypeople to gain her aid in the attainment of personal spiritual worthiness and the mercy and favour of Jesus and God.

Jesus' stature grew in the period 1480 to 1560, the laity increasingly conceiving of Him as a powerful friend of humanity, partly as an outgrowth of His close association with Mary in literary, artistic and theological images of the afterlife, and partly as the laity came to emphasise His suffering humanity and self-sacrifice on the Cross. However, Jesus' place in lay affections, and the greatest source of lay hopes for salvation, lay in His function as sacrifice in the Eucharist. Studying Jesus' nature as He was believed to function in the Eucharistic elements helps to demonstrate how theological principles, church ritual, and lay religious understanding functioned as one in this central rite of the Christian church.

The laity's understanding of Jesus' real presence in the consecrated bread and wine led it to attribute great power to this celebration. The rite's re-enactment of Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross was believed to bring remission of sins, reconciliation with God and eternal happiness in the afterlife, and to be the spiritual sustenance of suffering humanity on earth. Processions honouring the Host were an important expression of this belief in the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, and the donation of equipment associated with the rite expressed devotion to Jesus and honoured Him in His Eucharistic role. The laity's sense of spiritual unworthiness and its belief in the saving power of Jesus' sacrifice in the Eucharist led it to emphasise the clerical celebration of low masses as well as lay attendance at the Eucharistic rite, its greatest concern being for souls suffering in purgatory who were completely reliant upon the actions of the living to help them achieve spiritual acceptability.

Jesus' presence in the bread and wine and His sacrifice of himself on the Cross were expressions of God's great love for

humanity and concern for its welfare. Consequently, any dishonouring of the Eucharistic rite was considered to be a direct attack on God and Jesus Himself, and likely to make the rite ineffective and so harm the very fabric of humanity's relationship with the godhead. As a result, concern was expressed that laypeople be spiritually prepared before attending the Eucharistic rite, whether as observers or as participants in Communion. This preparation involved dedicating themselves to the penitential stages of contrition, confession and satisfaction, praying before and during the rite, reconciling with their neighbour before attendance at Mass, and expressing a burning love for Jesus and faith in the efficacy of His Passion to save humanity. If participants were properly prepared, the great merits of Jesus' Passion would save them from hell and give them the chance to enter heaven, and would help to cleanse sin from the living and the dead and thus make them more spiritually worthy and deserving of divine grace. Proper preparation for the Eucharist would mitigate the consequences of the sudden death which so frightened laypeople during this period, as it threatened them with judgment before they had made proper preparations to ensure eventual purification and acceptance into heaven.

Although the laity understood the importance of lay preparation for the Eucharist, the main thrust of activity during the period under study was the celebration of clerical rituals on the laity's behalf. Further, as most laypeople expected to require many years of prayers and masses in order to raise them from purgatory and into heaven, it was extremely important that clerics be reliable and effective agents of divine grace, since founders of masses, chaplainries and colleges would not be alive to ensure that

standards remained high. Thus laypeople increasingly sought to make arrangements for the control of clerical appointments and behaviour to ensure that God, Mary and Jesus were honoured properly through regular celebration of rituals of a high standard, such that named souls would receive full spiritual benefits. In order to achieve this, laypeople made their foundation charters more detailed, describing the attire, equipment, procedure and devotion to duty expected of the clergy, provided guidelines about the qualifications required of clerical appointees, and established sanctions against incapable or lax clerics.

The religious attitudes and actions of lay Scots in the period 1480 to 1560 were determined to a large degree by the imagery of the afterlife and its supernatural beings as presented to them in art, literature and theology, the latter being transmitted through preaching, church ritual and devotional art and literature. Along with basic psychological concerns and daily experiences, these artistic, literary and theological images gave form and content to lay spiritual needs and desires. The church offered laypeople various methods of expressing their religious beliefs and improving their spiritual standing. The laity adhered tenaciously to traditional Catholic institutions, rituals, and supernatural beings until the Reformers challenged these beliefs and rituals, although the persistence of Catholic traditions in the post-Reformation period testified to the laity's trust in their spiritual power. What appeal the Reformers did have for the laity was not so much their strong criticism of abuses in the Catholic church, but rather, that they appeared to offer a better means of attaining the spiritual worthiness necessary for acceptance into heaven. The Reformation was merely the next stage in the laity's search for salvation.

APPENDIX A:
SCOTTISH TESTAMENTS IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The origin, development and function of Scottish testaments can be discussed with profit within the context of European trends in the late Middle Ages. Scottish notions about charity, payment of debts, funeral and commemorative services and burial were similar to the rest of Europe, and the growing European emphasis on the parish can also be detected in Scotland. Scottish evidence can be sketchy or inconclusive, and due recognition and study of European parallels can provide fresh insight into the meaning of the Scottish data. This appendix is meant to enrich understanding of the meaning of the Ayrshire testaments studied in detail in Chapter 6.

DEVELOPMENTS IN TESTAMENTARY LAW

The sixteenth century Scottish Register of Testaments is of great value to a study of lay spirituality in Scotland in the period 1480 to 1560. Because testaments have a strong element of standardisation, to better judge Scottish testaments it is worthwhile to understand the canon law which pertains to them, and the normal testamentary wording and practice on the Continent. Scottish testators of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries lived in a world in which the canon lawyers had been refining their views on testaments for some time. Gratian's Decretum had offered a basic guideline for future generations of jurists, but individual Catholic hierarchies in various countries subsequently passed legislation regarding testamentary practice, such as the number of witnesses required, and the level of

involvement and responsibility of bishops and executors.¹ In Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe, by the late Middle Ages it was the ecclesiastical courts which were responsible for interpreting testaments, and provincial Scottish synods passed testamentary legislation, strongly influenced by English synodal legislation.²

The great English influence on Scottish synodal legislation meant that the Scottish hierarchy's attitude to testamentary matters was quite similar to its English clerical counterpart. It is clear as well from the Scottish testamentary evidence that the religious motives of the lay testators and the contents of their testaments were also similar to those of English lay testators. Consequently it is acceptable to use English testamentary evidence to enrich understanding of trends in Scottish testaments.

CONCERN FOR CHARITY IN TESTAMENTS

In his book The Will in Medieval England, Sheehan referred to the will (translated into the testament) as "an act characterised by religious solicitude", and this summation is borne out in Scottish and other European testaments. Sheehan summarised the basic attitude of the testator as one of concern for charity and justice (including payments of debts), as well as for the welfare of his or her soul.³ Of course, to aim for charity and justice was to do God's will, so in that sense these social aims served also to ensure personal success and happiness beyond death. "Charity" involved dispensing sums of money or goods to various people (whether as debts or gifts), and the English evidence points to a tendency to benefit as many people as possible with the resources at hand, and also to help the needy.⁴

Gratian's Decretum stated that male testators could not give more in "alms" than went to their primary heir, but this still might

leave considerable resources for distribution.⁵ Further, the English custom was for one third of the man's chattels to be given to his spouse, and one third to his children, which left only one third for distribution as he willed. Women testators were not subject to this limitation, so they tended to give more generously to beneficiaries, often to daughters or other female relatives.⁶ The Glasgow diocese testaments revealed this tendency as well. For example, in the late 1540's Katherine Carmichael, Lady of Cambusnethan, left £20 for her funeral rites, 4d. to the fabric of St. Kentigern, and the rest to her two daughters.⁷ As dowries to daughters were regarded as alms, Carmichael's concern for her daughters' welfare also might have been expected to improve her own spiritual standing on the Day of Judgment, although she did not leave them money and goods as dowries per se.

Sheehan emphasised that the testators often went beyond what was legally required of them in terms of the payment of debts, canon law having required that all debts be paid before beneficiaries could receive their portions.⁸ That is, the acquittal of debts was viewed as a form of alms or "charity" which would benefit the testator in the afterlife.⁹ It was very common to make generous restitution to injured parties or to debtors; generosity was a virtue, and testators would have wished their last act on earth to be a virtuous one. If one looks at testaments in light of the importance placed upon salvation by European Christians, it is unsurprising that testators attempted to please God and the church by seeking to be charitable and just in their final earthly act.

Occasionally testators made restitution to God by appointing substitutes to go on pilgrimage or crusade.¹⁰ In his testament of 25 November, 1456, Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath ordered his son

Mr Alexander Sutherland, Archdean of Caithness, to make a pilgrimage to Rome on his behalf and also "to do the things for me and my Saul that I have chargit him under confession, as he will ansuer befoir the Heyest Judge up on the day of Down as he was oblisst to me".¹¹ By appointing a son who was also a cleric to accomplish these tasks, Sutherland could rely on his wishes being executed and on the favourable reaction of God.

GROWING EMPHASIS ON PARISH FOR FUNERAL,

COMMEMORATIVE SERVICES AND BURIAL

The strongly religious nature of testaments, and their emphasis on the welfare of souls, meant that from the mid-thirteenth century there arose a growing emphasis on the funeral and commemorative services and burial, all centred on the local parish.¹² In the Lyonnais region of France from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, the subject of a study by Marie-Therese Lorcin, there was a marked shift from an emphasis on funerals to an emphasis on commemorative services.¹³ In Ayrshire the same shift occurred, with only a few obits being founded prior to the latter quarter of the fifteenth century, at which point there was a rush of obit foundations. These foundations continued to be made to the 1530's in the burgh of Ayr, for example, but elsewhere in the country obit foundations continued up to the 1550's.¹⁴

Sheehan associated concern with the place of burial to a concern for suffrages for one's soul.¹⁵ The constant theme in testaments from Glasgow diocese from the period under study was a concern for stating the place of burial, a right which Gratian's Decretum had established as belonging to the testator.¹⁶ In 1515, Lady Catherine Lauder made her will at her place of Cranshaws, indicating that she wished to be buried before the altar of St.

Ninian in the parish church of Crenshawis. She left £10 for the funeral rites and for the chaplains and poor who were to celebrate and pray, £10 being a generous sum in comparison with that assigned by other testators, which demonstrated her concern that sufficient suffrages be done on her behalf.¹⁷

Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, in her study of the rural Plats Pays region near Lyon (early fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries), discerned a marked movement away from lay concern with the metropolitan church and institutions external to the parish (apart from gifts to *le luminaire* and confraternities) and to a greater concentration on the local parish church and local religious institutions. Only the noble classes showed any desire to be buried away from their parish churches, or to give to institutions far away, and even they displayed a diminishing desire to do so.¹⁸ Thus, by and large, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a time in which religious matters increasingly displayed a local orientation. Scottish testaments appear to accord with the French evidence. While in the earlier centuries the upper orders of society had wished to associate themselves with the foundations of the regular clergy, in terms of burial, bequests and commemorative services, they gradually came to share the parochial orientation of the "lesser" laity. Thus lairds and magnates often chose to be buried either in their local parish church or in their own collegiate church, which often was the local parish church raised to collegiate status. For example, in 1390, Sir James Douglas, knight, Lord of Dalkeith, had asked to be buried in the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Newbattle near the body of his spouse Agnes, although he clearly felt a spiritual connection to his local chapel of the Blessed Nicholas of Dalkeith, to which he bequeathed a

chalice and missal.¹⁹ In contrast, in 1553, James Grant of Freuchie chose to be buried in his parish church of Duthill, Inverness-shire, instead of the cathedral church of Elgin where his grandfather had chosen to be buried (1482).²⁰ In similar fashion, in 1506, Sir David Sinclair (*Synclar*) of Swynbrocht donated money, goods and religious objects to a variety of churches, but chose to be buried in his local church of St. Magnus of Tingwall, to which he made the donation of two-thirds of a black velvet coat, and to which he demanded the return of a chalice currently in Dingwall, Ross-shire.²¹

In Scotland only the friars appear to have escaped the lay tendency to concentrate resources on local institutions, apparently because of their popularity. The friars received donations from outwith the locality, albeit such donations usually came from people living not too far away. Sheehan noted a strong and early support for the friars in England, stating that within ten years of their arrival in England, the friars appeared as beneficiaries in testaments.²² The same appears to have been true for Scotland, although the testamentary evidence is scarce prior to 1547. However, it is worth noting that testators such as Lady Catherine Lauder (d. 1515) singled out the Friars Minor for support soon after they were established in the country. Lady Catherine donated to one religious institution alone, apart from her parish church. She found the Friars Minor of Haddington the most worthy recipients and gave them a generous £10, equal to the amount she designated for her funeral rites and alms to the poor to be distributed on her burial day in the parish church of Cranshaws, Berwickshire.²³

Lorcin noted that occasionally a network of parishes operated in concert, sharing services and customs, such as funeral or

commemorative services (eg. obits) or the celebration of "Rogations".²⁴ This brought together the faith communities of different burghs and rural districts, extending the laity's connections beyond the local level. An understanding of the tendency of neighbouring parishes to share services helps to explain Ayrshire testamentary evidence, which indicates that inhabitants of burghs such as Irvine, Ayr and Ardrossan supported friars in each others' burghs. For example, Bessete Boyll of Irvine left money in her testament of 1547 to the Trinitarians of Failford, the Carmelites of Irvine and the Observant Friars Minor of Ayr.²⁵ Ayrshire provides evidence of the sharing of clerical personnel by burghs, Robert Leggat offering (simultaneous) cure of souls in both Prestwick and Ayr in the early sixteenth century.²⁶ The fact that testators often had debts to settle with people from other burghs or regions completes the picture of a shire in which distances were not great and people mingled and shared ideas and daily life.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that in many respects Scottish testaments were similar to those of Europe and England. This was especially true of their growing emphasis on commemorative services, and increasing orientation to the parish in terms of burial and support for religious institutions. Conclusions drawn from Scottish testaments, studied within the context of general European trends, offers the Scottish historian a better understanding of the nature and meaning of extant Scottish testaments.

NOTES

- 1.M. Sheehan, The Will in Medieval England (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1963), passim.
- 2.David M. Walker, The Scottish Legal System. An Introduction to the Study of Scots Law, Second edition, revised (Edinburgh: W. Green & Son Ltd., 1963), pp. 52-3. Scottish legislation regarding testaments exists from the thirteenth century onward. Most of the legislation is concerned with ensuring that executors acted properly by carrying out the testators' wishes (particularly with regards to pious bequests), but the church also was interested in making sure that it did not lose its own share of goods, particularly from persons who died intestate, in ed. David Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907), LIV, pp. 46, 74-5, 178 and passim.
- 3.Sheehan, p. 258.
- 4.Ibid., pp. 261 and 264-5. Note that Scottish testators exhibited a strong tendency to care for their personal friends and relatives, whether clergy or laity.
- 5.According to the thirteenth century statutes of the Scottish church, one third of the moveable goods of a person who died intestate went to the church. If the deceased had made a will, then he could dispose of one third of his moveable goods as he wished, with the other two-thirds going to the wife and children. If he had a wife or children, but not both, he could dispose of one half of his moveable goods as he wished. If the one third which the deceased had in his control was over a certain amount, then the church demanded one cow be given to the parish priest. Payment for the trental of masses (ie. thirty) and the anniversary mass were to be divided between the parson and the chaplain, and the heirs of those who died with no bequeathable property were to be held responsible for such costs. Although people could choose not to be buried in their parish church, the thirteenth century statutes decreed that their body be carried to the parish church first, where the fees payable to the parish priest were to be paid before the body could be taken to the place of burial, in Patrick, pp. 46-7. It is easy to see how these requirements, intended to ensure that the church had sufficient funds to carry on its spiritual work, could come to be seen as intolerable demands, although other regulations insisted that parish priests administer sacraments even if laypeople could not afford to pay the required offerings or tithes (eg. Eucharist in thirteenth century Aberdeen synodal statutes, or prayers for the dead, in the Constitutions of Bishop David, 1242), in Ibid., pp. 42 and 61.
- 6.Sheehan, p. 263. Sir David Synclar of Swynbrocht, whose testament was drawn up in 1456, bequeathed various goods and monies to a variety of people, then stated that "the geir that is nocht disponit be efter the gift of my gud beneuolanss, I ordinat to be deuidit betwixt my Soneis and Dochteris", in ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. III (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), XIXB, p. 109. Lady Catherine Lauder of the family of the Bass, married Sir John Swinton of Swinton in 1475, and in 1515 when she was ill she had her testament drawn up. She left £25 to her daughter Margaret,

along with a horse and ring owed to Catherine which Margaret was to claim. To her sons Catherine gave lesser amounts (£20, £10 and 40s. to each of her three sons), in Archibald C. Swinton, The Swintons of that Ilk and their Cadets (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1883), p. xcii.

7.SRO CC9/7/1.

8.Sheehan, p. 260.

9.Ibid., pp. 262-3.

10.Ibid., pp. 260-1. Note that Lady Catherine Lauder noted in her testament that, if her share of the goods was not sufficient to pay for her bequests, her husband Sir John Swinton of Swinton had agreed to make good on them. As she had left £10 to the Friars Minor of Haddington, as well as £10 for distribution to the poor and for other necessities on the day of her burial, she must have obtained her husband's promise so that she would not suffer spiritually by leaving insufficient funds for these clerical and lay prayers and rituals. She should have had sufficient funds, however, for the inventory of her goods stated a value of £329 17s.4d., and her debts amounted to £230 8s., in Swinton, pp. lxxxix-xcii.

11.SRO RH2/2/14. Note that the testator left £200 pounds for expenses for his son's journey and activities.

12.Sheehan, p. 258.

13.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. 314.

14.Examples of burgh obit foundations in the 1540's and 1550's include the foundations in the parish church of St. Michael in Linlithgow by provost of Linlithgow Robert Wethirspoune and his spouse Elizabeth Hammyltoun on 7 February, 1541/2 (altar of the Holy Trinity), by Helen Hamiltoun on 16 January, 1551/2 (altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary), and by Alexander Roust and his spouse Beatrice Douglas on 26 April, 1552 (altar of St. John the Evangelist). Burgess Adam Ramsay and John Moncur of Balleny founded obits in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Perth, in 1546 and 1550, respectively. Andrew Tod in Pitcorth Ester founded an obit in the collegiate church of Crail on 4 June, 1553, and Jonet Maxwell, Lady of Tinwald, founded an obit in the parish church of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire on 15 July, 1549. References for the above foundations are: ed. Beveridge, Protocol Book of Thomas Johnsoun, I (1920), #89, p. 18 (Wethirspoune), Rogers, Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail, #117, p. 69 (Tod), ed. Reid, Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers, #129, p. 44 (Maxwell).

15.Sheehan, p. 259.

16.See Endnote #5 for comments on the testator's right to choose his or her burial site.

17. Swinton, p. xcii.

18. Lorcin, Les Campagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles, pp. 452 and 455. Note also that the variety of ways in which piety was expressed was reduced as well. That is, the Lyonnais laity reduced the number of religious institutions and rituals which it supported (eg. much less support for monasteries, or general donations to various institutions), but increased the scale of its contributions to the few rituals and institutions it supported; thus masses and anniversaries became the centre of concentration, and multiple masses and anniversaries became the order of the day. Further, it was the laity below lairdly class that first exhibited this change, the nobility and clergy following its lead more slowly, in Ibid., p. 452.

19. Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, II, pp. 107-8. However, although Douglas chose to be buried away from his locality, his testament did exhibit his concern for proper suffrages and burial rites. He left the abbey half of his goods as payment for the celebration of his exequies and for masses for his soul and alms to the poor, and planned for his best horse to be sold to help pay for the funeral costs. He also gave £10 to the vicar of Lasswade (Leswade), Midlothian, for oblations, in Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, II, p. 107.

20. William Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1883), p. 122.

21. For example, Sir David left a red velvet coat to the high altar of the cathedral church of Orkney, one third of his black velvet coat to the "Cross Kirk" of Dunrossness, Shetland, two nobles to the Holy Cross in Stanebruch, the golden chain given him by the King of Denmark to the cathedral church of Roeskilde, ancient capital of Denmark, and to Sir Magnus Harrode he gave two noble and The Buk of Gud Maneris, some indication that the magnate class of Scotland read such works. (cf. The Porteous of Noblenes in the Asloan Manuscript). Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, III, pp. 107-10.

22. Note also that the wealthier members of English society often chose to join a fraternity in order that they might be buried in the religious house with which they were associated, in Sheehan, *passim*.

23. Swinton, p. xcii.

24. Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siecles", pp. 302 and 312. Note that in the testament of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath in 1456, provision was made by him for a supplementary payment to those priests coming from a distance to celebrate mass at his burial in the collegiate church of Roslin (2s. instead of the normal 18d.), indicating that it was not unusual for this sharing of clerical staff to occur, in ed. David Laing, The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. III of 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), p. 97.

25. SRO CC9/7/1.

26. Leggat was curate of Prestwick (by 1525) and several years later took on the same position in Ayr (1558), in Margaret H.B. Sanderson, Mary Stewart's People. Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1987), pp. 152 and 161.

APPENDIX B:

TESTAMENTS AS "FORMULAIC" - A GENERAL COMMENTARY

INTRODUCTION

A major criticism of testaments as a source is the "formulaic" nature of the introductory phrases. In order to justify making use of these "formulaic" phrases in the interpretation of history, it is necessary to discuss their nature and function, and how they revealed basic religious attitudes, particularly of society as a whole. This appendix is a supplement to Chapter 6 and other chapters where the imagery provided by the "formulaic" section is used to discuss ideas about dying, and changing perceptions of supernatural beings.¹

ORIGINS, NATURE AND FUNCTION OF FORMULAIC SECTION

The introductory phrases of a testament commended the testator's soul to God, the Virgin Mary and the saints, indicated the state of mind and body of the testator, and affirmed the uncertainty of the hour of death and the certainty of death itself. This was followed by sections that were presented in a "formulaic" manner, but the contents of which differed from one testator to another. Such sections included the location of the funeral and burial, and the testator's bequests, both pious (religious institutions) and charitable (schools, leper houses, hospitals). Finally executors were appointed, the notary affirmed that he had written the testament in proper form and had subscribed and affixed his *signum*, and the names of the witnesses were inscribed along with mention of the place and date.²

Engelmann, in his study of French fifteenth century wills, maintained that the Roman will had a series of formulaic sacramental symbols which were relics of forgotten beliefs.³ In the Middle Ages the will began to be considered important as a legal document, and by the fifteenth century it had a fixed pattern, encouraged by the development of the *testament authentique*, a will written in a standard style by an imperial or apostolic notary. This was in contrast to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when private wills of written (holographic) or oral (nuncupative) form were popular, especially with the nobility.⁴ However, the notary, who was often the parish priest as well, became increasingly involved with the process, leading historians to question if the opening phrases of the testament still accorded with the religious beliefs of the testators.⁵ Marie-Thérèse Lorcin and Robert Whiting disagreed on the utility of the introductory phrases, although both agreed that the pious and charitable bequests revealed the most about the testator's religious views. Lorcin, in her work on the late medieval laity in the Lyonnais region, believed that "formulaic" phrases were too standard or stereotypical to be of much help to the historian. Robert Whiting, on the other hand, in his work on popular devotion in England at the Reformation, defended the utility of these phrases. He believed that, although written by a cleric, the words being used could "rarely have diverged drastically from the views of his client".⁶

The making of a testament was a religious act (See Appendix A), and whilst the opening phrases of a testament came to be "formulaic", that does not mean that the testator did not believe in the truth of these phrases. In fact, it was the notary's responsibility to read the testament out to the testator to ensure

that the testator agreed with its wording; there were severe penalties for flouting the rules governing the drawing up of testaments, which emphasised the voluntary nature of the act.⁷ Scottish testamentary evidence provides various instances of the higher clergy's commitment to lay control of testamentary wording. For example, when Archbishop of Glasgow Gavin Dunbar confirmed the testament of Hugh Montgomery, second Earl of Eglinton, on 26 September, 1546, the Archbishop testified that the testament and inventory of goods of the Earl had been written according to the will of the deceased.⁸

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK REVEALED

Ideally there would be a number of private Scottish testaments to compare to those written up by the notaries, to discover differences in wording which might provide a clue to the religious beliefs of individual testators. Despite the paucity of private testaments, it is clear from this study of Scottish lay faith in the pre-Reformation period that Scottish testators had much in common with English and French testators. Given that this similarity can be established from a variety of sources (egs. testaments written by notaries, various religious foundations), some benefit can be derived from studying the wealth of testamentary evidence from France and England.

The advantage of looking at English testaments is that their form varied considerably, the fluctuating religious outlook of the government not always according with the outlook of English laypeople, who displayed considerable autonomy in terms of the wording of their testaments. Less standardisation occurred in England than in Scotland and France, because there were proportionally fewer English notaries, and more testaments were

written in the vernacular in England than in Scotland. Using the vernacular made it easier for testators to express their exact meaning and to correct the wording when the testament was read back. This offers some assurance that introductory phrases reflected the testators' beliefs.⁹

In terms of English government policy regarding testaments, Catholic forms were largely retained in the time of Henry VIII, then under Edward VI there was an attempt to truly "Protestantise" England, so references to Mary, the saints and purgatory were eliminated. However, under Mary I there was a return to Catholic practices and theology, and hence to earlier forms of testamentary writing.

The laity did not always go along with government policy. Recent work by Christopher Haigh has shown that a large number of English laypeople retained their Catholic beliefs despite the innovations of Edward VI's government, and that, once Mary had become queen, parishes in many parts of England rushed to reinstate Catholic practices, vestments and ornaments prior to being officially ordered to do so, often at great financial cost to the parish.¹⁰ Not only have English historians detected a strong Catholic adherence under "Protestant" Edward VI, they have also learned that many laypeople rejected Catholic symbols and beliefs during the reign of Henry VIII, whose own beliefs were essentially Catholic.¹¹

A.G. Dickens conducted his own regional survey of "formulaic" segments in English testaments. He found that, far from being a repository of old and forgotten opinions, these "formulaic" phrases changed to reflect different religious perspectives. In the spiritually fluid period from the time of Henry VIII to Mary I,

English testators' personal opinions were revealed in their testaments, sometimes according with government policy of the moment, and sometimes following a different path.¹² Testators of Protestant persuasion changed the "formulaic" phrases to reflect their personal religious outlook, and the notary dutifully recorded these changes.¹³ Thus it is possible that the remarkably similar religious outlooks expressed in Scottish testaments and religious foundations revealed a society more in agreement on religious matters than England's. Scots were aided by successive governments which consistently supported orthodox doctrines, apart from a few lapses by Governor Arran.¹⁴ In England, London Consistory wills revealed that, particularly in the 1540's, there were various opinions on such matters as the role of the saints (ie. nature of role, if any), the nature of God, and the importance of Jesus. Dickens interpreted testators' referral to Jesus by name rather than to "God" as an indication of "Protestant" leanings, perhaps a dubious interpretation.¹⁵ Mary was entirely removed from such testaments, as were the saints.¹⁶ Still other testaments revealed a growing interest in the Passion of Jesus and His role in salvation, but continued to invoke the Virgin Mary and the saints.¹⁷ This latter development accords best with the Scottish evidence from 1480 to 1560, when "Jesus" as such began to appear in the documentary evidence (although not in testaments), but Mary and the saints remained as part of the celestial phalanx responsible for aiding the laity in becoming spiritually worthy and acceptable to God. In fact, the laity's growing emphasis on Jesus and His role in salvation only served to intensify its devotion to His mother, and its belief that she was crucial to obtaining God's mercy and entry into heaven.¹⁸ (See Chapter 7)

SOCIETAL RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK REVEALED

The "formulaic" introductory phrases of testaments contributes to an understanding of the general spiritual outlook of society and the direction of religious change (egs. changing terminology for Mary and God/Jesus).¹⁹ In this thesis, the validity of this "formulaic" introduction has been established by comparing it to the religious attitudes and concerns revealed in artistic, literary and other documentary evidence. Lorcin's French study emphasised testamentary bequests, both pious and charitable. She could find little variation in religious outlook and concern between clergy, peasants and nobles, any differences which did arise appearing to stem more from financial capability than from religious outlook.²⁰ Even bequests, which varied the most, followed similar patterns.²¹ Thus it seems reasonable to assume that Scots testators, who also substantially agreed on bequests, agreed on the religious "truths" expressed in the introductory phrases. In fact, to reject entirely the utility of "formulaic" introductions would be to deny that society had a common religious outlook, which clearly it did. Further, to reject the validity of highly similar introductory phrases would seem to encourage the view that the only truly ascertainable beliefs are those which clearly deviate from the norm. The temptation to re-interpret history from the perspective of a once small minority is encouraged by this approach, leading to a Whiggish interpretation of religious "truth" as a grand march to Protestant enlightenment.

Engelmann cited an example of a French noble, chancellor of France Eustache de l'Aistre (d. 14 June, 1420), who wrote his testament while dying in an epidemic. He insisted on including the important "formulaic" phrases in his will, despite the fact that he

was only adding a codicil, barely had time to sign the will before he died, and did not have enough time to arrange pious bequests, leaving these up to his executors. His actions testify to the importance that these "formulaic" phrases had for the laity as expressions of basic religious attitudes.²² The fact that de l'Aistre began the common phrases and then wrote "etcetera" does not mean that the phrases were unimportant in religious terms, but rather that the ideas which the phrases contained were so well-entrenched in society at large that they did not need to be written out in full. The ideas contained in the formula, most especially those about the intercession of the saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary and those about death, were ideas pervasive in society, to which de l'Aistre felt he had to lay claim in order to be considered a spiritually worthy Christian.

Evidence of the strong hold these ideas had on Scottish society can be seen in the devotional literature of the period (eg. BM Arundel MS 285), Sir David Lyndesay's witnessing of the laity's devotion to saints and saintly intercession,²³ and the wealth of foundation and donation evidence aimed at influencing saints, especially Mary (egs. offerings on saints' days, multiple masses for the dead, chaplainry foundations). Scottish laypeople desperately sought to reassure themselves about death and to ensure that they would be well-received on the Day of Judgment; they accomplished this by endeavouring to gain warning of the hour of death in order to prepare for it, and by expressing their devotion to God, Jesus, Mary and the saints.

CONCLUSION

Given the English, French and Scottish evidence, it would be unwise to ignore the "formulaic" phrases of the average testament.

In their references to death and their invocation of the aid of God, Mary and the saints, they revealed the religious outlook and spiritual anxieties of the average layperson. Testaments also revealed the common religious outlook of the Scots in the late medieval period, their shared imagery of the godhead and the afterlife, and the importance they placed on affirming their beliefs when death was imminent. Studies of lay faith are based upon many types of evidence which may be deemed "formulaic", if the very popularity of certain foundations or phraseology is attributed to a "formulaic" lay desire to conform to one's neighbours (eg. obits). Widespread acceptance should not be construed as meaningless adherence to tradition, whether in terms of the phraseology of a testament, or the choice of an obit as a suitable means of preparing for death.

NOTES

1. Similar general comments could be made about the formulaic nature of other types of documents, such as obit or chaplainry foundations. That is, whilst a standard form often emerged in these documents, when carefully studied they can reveal a great deal about personal and societal religious outlooks.

2. Jean Engelmann, Les Testaments Coutumiers au XV^e Siecle (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1975 (originally published 1903), pp. 64-5 and 103. A minor difference in Scottish testaments was that the date and place of writing was often noted at the beginning of the testament.

3. Ibid, p. 4.

4. Note that, as late as 1407, a Scottish magnate had a nuncupative will. The will of Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, knight Banneret, and first Earl of Crawford, was narrated by his son on 12 August, 1407. The first Earl died in February of 1408 in Finhaven, and was buried in Dundee, in ed. James Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, Vol. III of 9 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1906), p. 16.

5. Andre Perraud, Etude sur le Testament d'apres la Coutume de Bretagne (Rennes: Plihon & Hommay, 1921), pp. 83 and 80. Note that in the post-Reformation period in Scotland when the Protestant theological beliefs of testators were extremely clear, these beliefs were expressed within the context of apparently "formulaic" introductory phrases. Thus it is questionable whether one should ascribe pre-Reformation wording to the opinion of the priest, but post-Reformation wording to the testator.

6. 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. 287, and Robert Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People. Popular Religion and the English Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 6.

7. Perraud, pp. 79 and 58.

8. Dunbar's exact wording was: "iuxta vltimam defuncti voluntatem, libere dando et comittendo", in William Fraser, Memorials of the Montgomeries, Vol. II of 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 143.

9. Scottish testaments were almost entirely in Latin, even into the 1550's, although occasionally they were partly in Scots. However, usually the Scots segment was the section on debts, whereas the "formulaic" introduction invariably was in Latin, in SRO CC9/7/1, passim.

10. Christopher Haigh, Tudor-Stuart Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, London, 1989.

11. Henry VII wanted only a change of headship in the church, not a new "Protestant" English church.

12.A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), *passim*.

13.Ibid., *passim*.

14.Regent Arran allowed the vernacular New and Old Testaments to be circulated in Scotland in March of 1542/3 then did an about-face in December of 1543, 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), pp. 415 and 443. In this manner the government would have confused laypeople looking to their government for guidance on matters of religion, although the English evidence indicates that laypeople's religious beliefs were capable of remaining stable despite changes in government policy. (See Appendix B). Nevertheless, in general, Scottish government policy was strictly anti-heresy and supportive of all attempts to maintain traditional adherence to saints, the Blessed Virgin Mary, purgatory, and other "orthodox" beliefs, which would have helped to keep the religious climate on the side of orthodoxy. See Chapter 5.

15.In Scotland the mention of Jesus by name certainly began to occur more frequently in foundations of all types (with the important exception of testaments and obits, which continued to refer to "Omnipotent God"). However, mere mention of Jesus did not denote a Protestant, for the Catholic cult of the Passion was flourishing in this late medieval period. Attention must be given to the way in which "Jesus" was defined. That is, before the Reformation Jesus was usually described in terms of His relationship to Mary, ie. as her beloved son. However, post-Reformation testaments tended to described Jesus more in terms of His nature as an aspect of the godhead. These are important distinctions. cf. SRO CC9/7/1, *passim*, SRO GD150/2233/2 and SRO GD122/2/871. Dickens' further emphasis on (Protestant) descriptions of Jesus as "sacrifice" for human sin or "saviour" describes equally the devotion to Jesus which formed part of the Catholic cult of the Passion; care should be taken in interpreting these terms as signs of Protestantism rather than as devotion to the person of Jesus, in Dickens, *passim*.

16.Certainly the removal of Mary and the saints also occurred in post-Reformation Scottish testaments.

17.Dickens, *passim*.

18.Laypeople tended to emphasise Jesus' humanity in order to remind God of Jesus' strong link to humanity. They achieved this by stressing Jesus' earthly relatives such as Mary, St. Anne and St. Joseph. Dual dedications to Mary and Jesus became common, often emphasising Mary's motherhood and Jesus' Passion (eg. Seton collegiate church of St. Mary and the Holy Rood). Thus Mary came to be defined less as a virgin, which would have emphasised her acceptability as intercessor, or as a queen, which would have emphasised her power and influence, and more as a mother, which emphasised her carnal link to Jesus and her emotional power over Him.

19.Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People. Popular Religion and the English Reformation, p. 6, and Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses

dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles", p. 287.

20. Arrangements for funeral rites and commemorative rites varied slightly. For example, only a few nobles, and none of the clergy or peasants, were buried in a religious institution outside the parish with which they had family connections, in Marie-Therese Lorcin, Les Campagnes de la Region Lyonnaise aux XIV^e et XV^e Siecles (Lyon: BOSC Freres, 1974), pp. 187 and 451, in Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles", pp. 292-3. Yet, sometimes hundreds of masses for the dead (not usually thousands unless a prince, according to Lorcin) were founded in European parish churches, whether the laypeople were buried there or not, rather than simply a few trentals and an obit, which would have been more normal for Scotland, at least as part of testamentary arrangements.

21. As bequests tended to vary the most, historians tend to prefer using them as indicators of religious outlook.

22. Engelmann, pp. 69-70.

23. eg. Sir David Lyndesay, "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, Vol. I of 4 vols. Text of the Poems, ed. Douglas Hamer, Third series (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), I, 1931. pp. 267-70.

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CC9/7/1	Register of Testaments, Commissariat of Glasgow, 1547-1555 (unfoliated)
CC20/4/1	Register of Testaments, Commissariat of St. Andrews, 1549-1551 (unfoliated)
E870/5	Records of the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office
GD1	Miscellaneous Accessions (includes, <i>inter alia</i> , GD1/413, the Wallace-James Notebooks with Haddington Burgh Court Books (1) and Town Council Minute Books (3), Common Good Accounts, 1554-75 (4) and Dunbar Burgh Book, 1538-66 (15))
GD4	Writs of the Estates of Benholm and Hedderwick
GD6	Biel Muniments, 1435-1915
GD11	Bruce of Kennet
GD12	Swinton Charters
GD15	Cardross Writs
GD16	Airlie Muniments
GD25	Ailsa Muniments
GD32	Elibank Papers
GD39	Glencairn Muniments
GD40	Marquess of Lothian Charters and Documents
GD44	Gordon Castle Muniments
GD45	Dalhousie Muniments
GD49	Barclay Allardice Papers
GD56	Rollo Charters
GD60	Fergusson Kennedy of Bennan and Finnarts Muniments
GD76	Henderson Collection
GD79	King James VI Hospital, Perth
GD82	Makgill Muniments (Viscount of Oxfuird), c. 1220-1978
GD86	Fraser Charters
GD90	Yule Collection
GD97	Duntreath Muniments
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GD103	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Collection
GD107	Tulloch of Tannachie Muniments
GD122	Craigmillar Charters
GD125	Rose of Kilravock Muniments
GD137	Muniments of Scrymgeour Wedderburn of Wedderburn, Earl of Dundee
GD143	Whitehall Papers
GD148	Inventory of Title Deeds in Possession of Mrs. Cunningham of Craigans
GD150	Morton Papers

GD151	Graham of Fintry Inventory
GD157	Muniments of Scott of Harden
GD158	Hume of Polwarth, Earls of Marchmont,
GD176	Mackintosh Muniments
GD185	Forglen Muniments
GD198	Haldane of Gleneagles Muniments
GD204	Roths Cartulary
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GD373	Mitchell of Darwhilling Muniments
GD398	Rainsford Hannay of Cardoness
NRA1500	Irvine of Drum (Inventory from the National Register of Archives)
RH1/2/284	Plenary indulgence to Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott and Marion Scrymgeour his spouse, 1480
RH1/2/292	Letter to Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott and Marion Scrymgeour his spouse, receiving them into the privileges of the Observantine order, 1487
RH1/2/294	Portable altar granted to Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott and Marion Scrimgeour his spouse, 1490
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RH1/2/339	Donation by David Fowrross to altar of the Three Kings, Haddington, 20 October, 1522
RH2/1/16	Protocol Books of Gavin Ross, 1512-1524
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- RH12/23 Leaf of a gradual or noted missal, containing Propers for the Nativity and Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 8-14)
- RH12/26 Leaf of a Missal, with various votive masses
- RH12/28 Two leaves of a missal, based on Use of Sarum, but produced in Scotland, containing Propers for various feasts, n.d. (but ordering of feasts similar to that ordered by Aberdeen Breviary)
- RH12/31 Two leaves of an illuminated Missal, containing propers for Trinity Sunday
- RH12/37 Leaves from a devotional compilation, probably a Book of Hours, possibly Flemish, late fifteenth century
- RH12/59 Leaf of an *alphabetum narrationem* (collection of *exempla* or short stories to illustrate sermons), fifteenth century

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