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CONTINENTAL INFLUENCE
ON RELIGIOUS PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS
IN PRE-REFORMATION SCOTLAND

VOLUME ONE - TEXT

Gilbert R. Connock
Thesis submitted
for the
Degree of Master of Letters
Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Glasgow

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Gilbert R. Connock.

SUMMARY.

The subject of this Thesis is Continental Influence on Scottish Religious Pageantry and Plays Before the Scottish Reformation. This is considered in eight chapters in Volume One, supported by evidence from primary and secondary sources set out in detail in Volume Two, APPENDICES. This includes a considerable amount of information gathered from original language sources contemporary with the period concerned, in Flemish/Dutch, French, German and Italian, for which in most instances translations have been provided as they have also for most Latin texts.

A chapter entitled INTRODUCTION gives an introductory survey of the development of outdoor religious pageantry and plays in the vernacular in Western Christendom. It shows that the principal springboard for the wider performance of such pageants and plays was the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi which began to be generally observed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, soon to be accompanied by scriptural pageants and plays. The popularity of this feast and its attendant pageantry and plays was much encouraged by the granting of indulgences to those who participated in the observance. The INTRODUCTION, however, is principally concerned with a survey of the developments that took place mainly in the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century.

Chapter One shows that in the thirteenth century Scottish Cathedral Chapters adopted English constitutional models to govern their affairs and regulate their liturgical worship. The English models they followed are shown to have had their origin in Normandy, an area which ecclesiastically was integrated into the mainstream life of the Western Church owing allegiance to the Pope. In the parishes the liturgical books of the Sarum Rite,

which were almost identical with those of Normandy, became the norm with the demise of the rites of the early Scottish Church. Thus the Scottish Church in the period that concerns us, in its life, worship and customs, came under the influence of continental models and patterns. This ultimately determined the form of Scottish non-liturgical outdoor religious pageants and plays in the vernacular.

Chapter Two examines the various channels or agencies through which continental influence entered Scotland, as for example, through Scottish trade with continental ports, especially with Bruges in the formative period, including the importation of church furnishings, a wide range of religious artefacts and illuminated service books, all of which were expressive of a common religious iconography. Besides which there were regular visits to the Continent by Ecclesiastics and Merchants, by men of rank, and sometimes by members of the 'lower orders' of society, who according to their state in life went to the Continent to attend Church Councils, religious festivals often held in connection with Trade Fairs, and to go on pilgrimage to the great continental shrines, and further afield to the Holy Land itself, with stops on the way. Besides such as these there were those who attended continental universities, in most cases eventually to return to their native land to serve their country in Church and State.

Chapter Three explores the Scottish devotional literature of the period and shows that much of its content is ultimately dependent on the devotional writings of continental spiritual writers of the thirteenth century who were the common devotional mentors of the Western Church. It shows that the realism of the vernacular

religious pageants and plays, especially those concerned with the Passion, was heavily dependent on the realism to be found in these writings.

Chapter Four is concerned with the religious iconography of the Western Church as expressed in manuscripts, carvings in wood and stone, and in the decoration and ornamentation of churches. It shows that generally speaking there was a common iconography which expressed itself representationally in the same way irrespective of the medium employed. This same common tradition of iconography was also given expression in pageantry and plays, in costuming, in the staging of scenes and in artefacts, such that, for example, the Jewish High Priests at the Trial of Jesus are universally shown dressed as Bishops and referred to as Bishops.

Chapter Five surveys the public pageantry and plays of the Continent, principally of the Low Countries, France, German-speaking Countries and Italy. It is concerned for the most part with the fifteenth century and with those places on the Continent with which Scots had contact as shown in Chapter Two.

Chapter Six studies religious representations in the Scottish Burghs as seen in surviving records. Most of these records are very basic, giving a minimum amount of information so that the fullness of what they represent has to be brought out by interpreting them in the light of traditions found elsewhere, i.e. in the light of the common iconographical and religious dramatic traditions found in other lands with which Scotland shared the same religious and artistic inheritance.

Chapter Seven explores the subject of the Saints in Scottish pageantry and plays. From a dramatic and religious point of view this is not of the same importance as the Nativity and Passion Cycles, but the subject has its own importance for our study in showing the heavy dependence of Scotland on the religious traditions of the Continent.

Our final chapter, Chapter Eight, attempts to sum up what has been established in earlier chapters, and affirms that despite the great loss of records and the lack of play texts, it can be fairly said that all the indications are that Scottish religious pageantry and plays in the Pre-Reformation era were very much influenced by the established traditions of the Continent, such that a visitor to the Continent from one of the Scottish burghs would have little difficulty in comprehending the staging of a religious spectacle that he might chance upon there, and the same applies to visitors from the Continent to one of the Scottish burghs, such as Lanark, Perth, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

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ABBREVIATIONS.Aberdeen Burgh MS Records -

The Aberdeen Council and Burgh Court Register, 1398-c.1600, comprising over forty volumes.

ALH

Compota thesauriorum regum Scotorum, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 1473-1566 ed. Thomas DICKSON and Sir James Balfour PAUL, 11 vols., 1877-1916.

Annales de la Société d'Émulations, etc.

Annales de la Société d'Émulations pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre, Bruges. Post-Second World War publications appear under the title: *Handelingen Van Het Genootschap Voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de Benaming Société d'Émulations te Brugghe*, cited as: *Brugghe, Handelingen*.

APS

The Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1124-1707, ed. Thomas THOMSON and Cosmo INNES (12 vols. 1814-1875).

CDRS

Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, 1108-1509, *Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, London ed. Joseph Bain (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1881-8, 4 vols.)

CUP

Cambridge University Press.

DMC

Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford University Press, 1933, 2 vols.)

EETS

The Early English Text Society.

ER

Rotuli scaccarii regum Scotorum. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 1264-1600 ed. John Stuart and Others (23 vols., 1878-1908).

HMGRH

Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh.

IR

The Innes Review (published by the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee, and John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow.

JEGP

Journal of English and German Philology.

MEREDITH & TAILBY

The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later-Middle Ages, Texts and Documents in English Translation, ed. Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, No.4, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1983).

METH

Medieval English Theatre published by Lancaster University.

MLN*Modern Language Notes.*MLR*Modern Language Review.*ODCC*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* ed. Frank L. Cross
OUP, London, 1957).OUP

Oxford University/Clarendon Press, Oxford/London.

PMLA*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*PSAS*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*REED*Records of Early English Drama* (Manchester University Press and
the University of Toronto Press, 1979, etc.)RORD*Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama.*SBRS

Scottish Burgh Records Society.

SES*Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society.*SHR*Scottish History Review.*SHS

Scottish History Society.

SP*Studies in Philology.*SPCK

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

SRS

Scottish Record Society.

STS

Scottish Text Society,

TN*Theatre Notebook*, published by the Society for Theatre Research,
London.

PREFACE.

Very little attention has been given to the study of medieval religious drama in Scotland. In 1908 Professor D.J.S. Medley of Glasgow University gave a lecture to the Glasgow Archaeological Society entitled, 'The Setting of the Miracle Plays'. The lecture was concerned with what are commonly called 'Mystery Plays', based on the christian scriptures, especially the New Testament. Such plays are to be found in the York and other cycles of plays.

'Miracle Plays' are those which feature the Lives of the Christian Saints. Medley's lecture was subsequently reproduced in the Society's Transactions.¹

At no point in the lecture is there any mention of the existence of any sort of religious play in Pre-Reformation Scotland, or the possibility that Scotland might have been the scene of such plays. The poverty of surviving Scottish records of performances of religious pageants and plays as well as the total non-existence of texts of any such plays [with one notable exception] is well-known to those interested in the subject. Where records of pageant and play performances exist they are economical in detail, more especially in the matter of staging and costuming.

All the signs are that the search for possible lost play texts of the Pre-Reformation era in Scotland is unlikely to bear any fruit. The sole surviving play text from the period is Sir David Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis in Commendatioun of Vertew and Vituperatioun of Vyce*. This however is neither a mystery nor a miracle play, but a religio-political morality play of which the theme is current abuses in Church and State.

Interesting for us are the following remarks made by Medley² regarding what he terms the 'miracle' plays of England,

.....Not only do the English miracle plays deserve more attention from literary and historical students than they generally get, but they need a closer study in connection with foreign models and parallels. It will go to prove, what is becoming clearer in many directions, that life in our islands in the middle ages was not an unique development along lines essentially its own, but was merely one phase of the general civilization which permeated Europe.

What Medley suggested needed to be done for the English plays vis à vis the Continent we attempt to do in our Dissertation in respect of such religious pageantry and plays as we can show once took place in Scotland.

Despite the lack of play texts there are areas where serious research held promise of yielding valuable information regarding the occasions when religious pageantry and plays were performed. These were the Burgh Archives, the records of the Guilds Merchant and the Incorporated Trades, where these had survived. Although some local research on a limited basis had already been undertaken for the larger burghs an overall and in depth study had never been undertaken at the time Medley gave his lecture, as equally no attempt had been made to bring together such information as had already been brought to light. The task that needed to be done was undertaken by Anna J Mill. The results of her researches were given in a Dissertation presented to St Andrews University in 192³. Her work embraces not only the religious pageants and plays of the burghs but also Folk Plays, Minstrelsy and Court Revels, from the first part of the fifteenth century into the seventeenth century.

In England the study of the Churchwardens' Accounts of Parish Churches has provided much valuable information at the local level regarding pageantry and plays. Sadly these are not available for Scotland and so Mill could not include these in her researches. Her work received a very favourable review by Edith C. Batho in *The Review of English Studies*.⁴

Touching the Pre-Reformation period with which the present work is solely concerned, Mill affirms in her Conclusions,

All over civilised Scotland,....., the town authorities either personally or vicariously through the Abbot of Unreason catered in one form or another for their play-loving 'neighbours'. They arranged for the pageants at Royal Entries, regulated the craft representations at religious festivals, subsidised clerk plays and interludes, controlled the organised folk games and ridings, budgeted for the preparation and upkeep of the playing-fields,

To the best of our knowledge Terence Tobin of the USA is the only author who subsequent to Mill's Dissertation has published anything devoted entirely to the subject she researched so thoroughly. Tobin entitled his sixteen page essay, 'The Beginnings of Drama in Scotland'. It appeared in the *American Theatre Survey* in 1967.⁵

The essay embraces more or less the same areas as those covered by Mill over the same period. It provides no new information, interpretations or conclusions. We take issue with him on the subject of sources. He wrote, 'The drama of Western Europe emerged from ancient pagan rites...'⁶ This is true enough of the wide-ranging seasonal activities of the folk, such as Sword and Morris Dancing, the Maypole Dance and the Mummers' Plays. It is not true, however,

of the medieval religious pageantry and the medieval vernacular religious plays based on scripture such as are to be found in the great English Cycles. These plays had their origin in the Latin liturgy of the Western Church. The medieval liturgy of Scotland, like that of England, ultimately derives from Normandy, but generally-speaking Scotland derived it from Normandy via England. This subject is dealt with in detail in our Chapter One.

Mill returned to her subject in 1970 with a three page Note⁷ published in the *Innes Review* under the heading, 'The Edinburgh Hammermen's Corpus Christi Herod Pageant'. Her concern here is what she states is an error made by John Smith when he transcribed⁸ the *Hammermen Book of Edinburgh*, and attributed to Herod 'two daughters' which she maintains, almost certainly correctly, should be 'two doctors'. She had already drawn attention to this in her⁹ Dissertation. In the same Note Mill also takes Hardin Craig to¹⁰ task for an error in his *English Religious Drama* where he incorrectly assigns to the Hammermen a 'Play of St Catherine', which in fact never existed.

Mill returned once again to the subject of 'Medieval Plays in Scotland' in a seven page essay entitled 'The Records of Scots Medieval Plays; Interpretations and Misinterpretations' in the 'Bards and Makars' part of *Scottish Language and Literature*,¹¹ *Medieval and Renaissance*. The essay does not appear to make any significant advance on what she had already written in her Dissertation of 1924. She draws attention to a number of inaccuracies contained in Alan Nelson's *The Medieval Stage*, misinterpretations, she alleges, of source material provided by her Dissertation. She is particularly concerned by Nelson's perpetuation of Craig's error in assigning to the Hammermen of¹² Edinburgh a 'Play of St Catherine'

In the same essay Mill takes issue with Professor John McQueen over his abandonment of the traditional Linlithgow 1540 date for the first performance of Lyndsay's *Satyre*,¹³ and the same writer is criticised for his failure to corroborate her suggestion that a play performed in Edinburgh in August 1554 was a performance of the *Satyre* before the Queen Regent on the new Greenside Playfield. In our Chapter Six we make an alternative suggestion for the play of August 1554, namely a pre-play 'monstre' through the streets of Edinburgh followed by a play of the 'Assumption and Coronation' of Our Lady' at the Tron. We suggest that Lyndsay's play was performed sometime in the Autumn of 1554, but do not dispute its performance on the new Greenside Playfield. (see Chapter Six, EDINBURGH and the same chapter THE DEATH, BURIAL AND CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY).¹⁴

In the wider field of medieval drama in England and on the Continent essays and full-length books have continued to be published. What scholars in this field have been attempting and achieving is reviewed in a series of thirteen papers published in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe* edited by Eckehard Simon. They cover research since the 1960's and were prepared for a conference held at Harvard University in 1987.

A valuable review of the subject is contained in the Preface and Introduction by Glynne Wickham, sub-titled 'trends in international drama research', which charts the most significant advances in research undertaken in the twenty-five years before the holding of the conference. No paper was read on the subject of the medieval drama in Scotland. Nevertheless anyone attempting to explore the influence of the Continent on Scottish medieval drama must take account of the latest research highlighted in this volume.¹⁵

Part III of the volume, entitled, 'Continental Drama', has among others, papers on France, Italy and Germany and German-speaking countries. These have proved helpful in the study we have been pursuing, with their extensive references to publications containing the fruits of the latest research. Also of value is the Bibliography, covering the whole volume in forty or more pages. A useful publication which is not mentioned is the *Verfasser Lexikon*, edited by Christine Stölinger-Löser. By 1992 eight volumes had already been published and others were to come in succeeding years.¹⁶

In the field of English drama scholars have been publishing the fruits of their researches in journals such as *Research Opportunities In Renaissance Drama*, published by the North Western University, Evanston, Illinois,¹⁷ and in the *Medieval English Theatre*, published by Lancaster University.¹⁸ More light is continually being shed upon the background to English medieval drama through researches into local English archives in volumes published under the general heading of, *Records of Early English Drama*, popularly referred to as REEDS, and published by the University of Toronto. A fairly up-to-date book covering English medieval drama, and a useful corrective to some of the errors in well-known earlier works is Stanley J. Kahrl's, *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*, first published in 1974.¹⁹

In the wider field of European drama three valuable books have been published in the last twenty years, Glynne Wickham's, *The Medieval Theatre* (published 1974, reprinted 1977); Richard Axton's,

European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (published in 1974) and William Tydeman's *The Theatre of the Middle Ages*, sub-titled, *Western European Stage Conditions, c.899-1576* (published in 1978,²⁰ and reprinted in 1984). None of these volumes attempts to undertake for England the task we undertake in this work in respect of Scotland, viz. to explore the channels of communication whereby the influence of the pageantry and drama of the Continent was brought to bear upon that of Scotland, which is particularly dealt with in Chapter Two and more obliquely in Chapters Three and Four.

Before his death in 1985 Heinz Kindermann issued two more important titles in succession to his many volumed *Theatergeschichte Europas*. These are: *Das Theater-Publikum des Mittelalters* (1980) and *Das Theater-Publikum der Renaissance* (2 vols. 1984), published by Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, Austria.

A valuable collection of erudite papers [European in scope] is to be found in the publication *Medieval English Theatre 11* (dated 1989 but circulated in 1992) under the title 'Evil on the Medieval Stage'.²¹ Touching medieval drama in the Netherlands valuable essays have appeared from time to time in *Dutch Crossing*,²² published by the Dutch Department of University College, London. Our own Dissertation explores the possibility of continental influence upon Scottish religious pageantry and plays in the Pre-Reformation era.

Firstly we seek to show that there was a close affinity between the liturgy and ritual of the Scottish Church and that of the

Church on the Continent via the Church in England. Our reason for this is that as generally accepted outdoor vernacular religious pageantry and plays throughout the West evolved from the liturgical drama performed in church.

If it can be shown that certain Scots who were able to influence events at home were either spectators of or participants in continental pageantry and drama it is not unreasonable to suggest that such experience might have influenced the same kind of events in Scotland. Students, ecclesiastics and traders in particular were in a position to bring their continental experience to bear upon the public pageantry and plays in their own country.

A survey of pageantry and plays in those continental places where Scots are known to have congregated will enable us to find affinities between Scotland and the Continent and suggest pageantry and plays that might once have been seen on the streets of Scottish burghs but of which we have no knowledge due to the serious loss of Scottish records.

In our researches we took the opportunity of taking a fresh look at most of Mill's Scottish sources and of undertaking some further research of Scottish records. Accordingly much time was devoted to the Burgh Archives of Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth, a fresh look was taken at the important records of the Hammermen both of Edinburgh and of Perth, and a thorough search was made of Scottish and international learned journals and published records.

Research in the Dundee Burgh Archives produced useful information about Scotland's continental trading partners. As members of the Guild Merchant, and in most cases also members of their Burgh Councils, merchants played an important part in organizing the civic outdoor pageantry and religious plays that took place in their burghs, in particular at the time of the Feast of Corpus Christi.

There is no evidence in Mill's Dissertation of research in the Perth Museum and Art Gallery which has a valuable collection of miscellaneous records not to be found in the Burgh Archives, including one which dates from the fourteenth century. Over a period of several years we carried out research of all the items that were deemed to have the possibility of shedding some light on our subject, and in particular we were searching for a document alleged to contain information about a Cycle of Corpus Christi Plays reported to have once been performed in Perth of which there was no other record. This affirmation was made by Samuel Cowan in his two-volumed *The Ancient Capital of Scotland*. No such document was discovered, and searches in the principal Scottish libraries also drew a blank. The subject is briefly referred to in Chapter Six of Volume One and discussed in Volume Two, APPENDICES, CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'D.'

At the time we were researching in the Perth Museum and Art Gallery the manuscript Guildry Book was on loan there. A thorough search of this document confirmed the accuracy of Mill's extracts

finally located in these museum archives. This is a record dated 11 January 1560/61 which shows that with but few exceptions none of the Craftsmen of Perth could sign their names except their hands be guided by the Notary handling the business of the document. This has important significance in regard to the staging of the plays in which craftsmen participated. The matter is discussed in Chapter Six.

There are a few early Aberdeen records of which Mill was unaware but which have subsequently come to light and been published and of which we have made use. These were published in 1957 in W. Croft Dickinson's *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1497* (SHS, Series Three, vol.44). Mill was also unaware of a record in the Edinburgh Archives which shows that the Goldsmiths of the Burgh were required to produce an annual Passion Play before the Sovereign.

Mill's main concern was to establish a corpus of evidence for pageantry and plays in the Scottish burghs. She did not attempt to show how Scotland might have been influenced by what took place on the Continent. This was no part of her brief.

Mill devoted some space to a consideration of the Candlemas celebrations in Aberdeen as also of the Corpus Christi celebrations there and in other Scottish burghs. We take a fresh look at these and offer some new suggestions.

Mill tackled the problem of the 'ludus bellyale' in respect of which expenses were met by the Burgh of Aberdeen as shown by a

record of 30th July 1471. She made the interesting suggestion that this might relate to a morality play of the type of the English *Castle of Perseverance*. We make an alternative and very tentative speculation of the possibility that 'bellyale' may in reality be the loose-living 'bellyaelis' of folk-lore tradition, and none other in a passion play context than Mary Magdalene before becoming the reformed disciple of Jesus Christ.

Evidence for an annual Corpus Christi Play at Perth is well-established. Questions regarding it relate to what constituted the cycle and how and where the plays were performed. We take a fresh look at these. We suggest that certain saints mentioned in the records were the subject of unusually realistic representation. On the basis of certain Post-Reformation records we make suggestions for a pageant or play of St Obert and more importantly for a pageant or play of 'The Slaughter of the Innocents'. If there had been such a representation this would indicate that the Perth Corpus Christi Play probably included a Nativity Cycle between that of the Creation and Passion Cycles which records suggest were performed annually. Some new suggestions have also been made for other burghs.

In medieval times throughout Europe there was an all-prevailing common christian-based culture expressed in various art forms and employing a common iconography. We devote some space to showing that whilst Scotland produced artistic work in various forms these were nevertheless expressed in terms of the common

western iconography, and were heavily outnumbered by imports from the Continent. Little is known about the costuming and staging of the religious pageantry and plays in Scotland and we suggest that the overall common iconographical and art conventions indicate that the Scottish representations would have looked very much like those of the Continent, representation for representation.

When we turn to Scottish literature we find, as shown in Chapter Three, that it is full of the religious imagery and idiom of the time and indebted to the same traditions as inspired the artists and craftsmen of religious art. The producers of religious pageantry and plays throughout the West were also indebted to the same sources for subject matter and style and manner of artistic representation, that is, staging and costuming. In other words, roughly-speaking, there was one artistic culture or tradition which was applied generally to pictorial, architectural and dramatic representations.

It would have been impossible and unnecessary to make a search of primary records in European archives for the fulfilment of our purpose. Many visits, however, were paid to the Continent to explore museums and art galleries, and personal contact was made with members of continental universities. Problems could have been expected in the study of the Low Countries scene, very little work having been published in English making use of primary sources. Fortunately scholars of the Low Countries have been assiduous over the years in making many of these sources available to a wider public but in their own language. The historic records of the ancient town of Bruges (Brugge), especially important in our field of study, have been published in a long series of volumes under the editorship of Edward Gailliard, a former Town Clerk. Of particular value is the *Inventaire des Chartes* edited by

Gilliodts van Severen, and containing Expense Accounts relating to the public pageantry and plays. Also available is Unger's *Bronnen Tot Geschiedenis van Middelburg* (Sources for the History of Middelburg). Valuable archival material has been published for the towns of Dendermonde, Malines (Mechelen) and other places. There are also eye-witness accounts of some religious processions.

Some of the records which we quote or refer to might be regarded as being too late to have relevance to our particular study. A later date, however, does not necessarily mean that the subject of such a record had not made its appearance at a rather earlier date of which there was no record, or if there was has been lost. Items first acquired or donated some years previously may only appear some years later when they needed renewing or repairing. It is conceivable that an item could have been in use for sometime and not appear in the records until such time as it needed refurbishing, or possibly someone was paid for carrying it in a procession.

The Scottish records touching our particular subject are so scarce that it is impossible to compare the historical evolution of religious pageantry and plays in Scotland with their evolution elsewhere. There are but few surviving records before the year 1440, but matters begin to improve in the latter half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century when classical and renaissance elements appear in Scotland more or less in parallel with corresponding developments on the Continent, more particularly in the sphere of the pageantry associated with Royal Entries. For example, Withington, the historian of such events, states in his *English Pageantry* that the appearance of personified Virtues in the celebrations for the Joyful Entry of Margaret Tudor into Edinburgh in 1503 was as early as anywhere, if in fact

it was not their earliest appearance. Then in 1558 included in the Edinburgh celebrations for the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the French Dauphin there was an astrological 'Play of the Seven Planets', pageants with the same title having been represented earlier in Paris that same year, in Rouen in 1550, and having made a somewhat earlier appearance in Milan in 1490.

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INTRODUCTION

A SURVEY OF EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS

Many of the religious plays of the Middle Ages, perhaps most, were written by anonymous authors. Nevertheless, there are a number of instances where plays can be attributed to named authors. In France between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were Bodel, Rutbeuf, Mercadé, Greban and Michel, and from Germany we have Benedikt Debs, from Italy Feo Balcari, and from Spain Gomez Manrique. In England there is probably Sir Henry Francis, a priest of St Werburgh's Abbey, Chester. All these latter are dated between the second half of the fourteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries.¹

Now follows a survey of the development of outdoor religious pageantry and religious plays in the vernacular in Western Christendom. Generally speaking developments took place on more or less parallel lines, evolving at a steady pace, particularly in the Low Countries, France, the German-speaking countries and Italy, in the first half of the fifteenth century. Developments were much slower and less ambitious in the Scandinavian countries to which christianity came much later than to the rest of Europe.

In twelfth century France, vernacular refrains began to appear in Latin liturgical plays, as in the plays of Hilarius,² and in the thirteenth century the change from Latin to the vernacular began in Germany with the Trier Oster Spiel, written partly in Latin and partly in German, the Latin being sung and the German spoken,³ a change which continued and spread throughout German speaking lands in the next century.

The move to outdoor performances came after the change from Latin to the vernacular had begun.

One of the first places where vernacular drama appeared was Anglo-Norman England, William Fitzstephen (1170-82) writing of London in his Preface to his *Vita* of St. Thomas à Becket reports that c.1180 there were given in Anglo-Norman speech,

representationes miraculorum quae Sancti, Confessores,
operati sunt.⁴

From the twelfth century there has survived a fragment of the Anglo-Norman 'Adam', the greater part of which is in Norman-French. This play is a good example of the transitional stage in development, when Latin was giving place to the vernacular.⁵ Another twelfth century Anglo-Norman play is 'la Seinte Resureccion'.

The oldest of all the vernacular religious plays of the Low Countries to have survived in manuscript form (incomplete) is that known as the 'Maastricht Passion Play', of which it is said that the dialogue suggests Limburg (in Brabant) as the place of origin. It is thought to have been written in the first half of the fourteenth century. Performances lasted several days and may have been given on the market place.⁶

Many vernacular Passion Plays were performed in the Low Countries from the end of the fourteenth until well into the sixteenth century, sometimes in the Market Square, and sometimes on the square in front of the Stad-(or Raad) huis. Such plays took place in

Deventer, Lier, Loo, Damme, Blankenberghe, Oudenaarde and 's-Gravenhage, and many more towns.⁷ Amongst the earliest outdoor performances in the vernacular must be the outdoor performances of Passion Plays seen in German-speaking lands in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸

In 1402 Charles VI confirmed the privileges of the Paris Confrérie de la Passion. They had been performing Mystery Plays since 1380. They were normally given from stages indoors. Such Confréries also existed in Chartres, Limoges, Rouen, Amiens, Compiègne, and elsewhere. When plays were performed out of doors in France it was usually in the market place, cemetery or an amphitheatre.⁹

Corpus Christi and Other Processions.

In 1264 Pope Urban IV published a Bull commanding the observance of the Feast of Corpus Christi. However, soon afterwards this Pope died and his Bull became a dead letter - at least very largely. It has been widely said that later the Feast of Corpus Christi was confirmed by the Council of Vienne (1311-12). This was not so as a study of the Proceedings of that Council shows.¹⁰ It seems that at about the time of the Council the Bull of Urban IV was resurrected by Pope Clement V, acting on the advice of his Cardinals. Clement V died in 1316 to be succeeded by John XXII, who is said to have encouraged the observance of the Feast.

The Feast of Corpus Christi began to be observed generally from c.1311-12, the year the Council of Vienne was held. The custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament in procession on the Feast became almost from the first a recognised part of the ceremonial, if it was not as many authors think, actually instituted by Papal authority.

The earliest record of which we know for the observance of the Feast with a Solemn Procession is of 1320 in which year a Church Council meeting at Sens under Archbishop Guillaume, passed a number of Canons, including one which ordered the Vigil of the Feast of Corpus Christi to be kept as a Fast Day, in compensation for which the people were granted an Indulgence of fourteen days, but as regards the Solemn Procession ('which one could almost say was of divine inspiration') nothing was prescribed, this being left for the piety of the clergy and people ('s'en remettant à la piété du clergé et du peuple') to decide.¹¹

The successors of John XXII (Pope: 1316-1334), Martin V (Pope: 1417-1431) and Eugenius IV (Pope: 1431-1447), promoted the devotion to Corpus Christi by the granting of indulgences. Bulls granting indulgences for the observance of the Feast were sent by Martin V throughout the Church. Every Scottish diocese must have received one. Records of two such Bulls for Scotland have survived. One addressed to the Diocese of St Andrews is dated, 7 June 1429, and the other addressed to the Diocese of Brechin is dated, 26 May 1429, which that year was Corpus Christi Day.¹²

In substance the same, yet they are not identically worded. Both provide for Indulgences for attendance at any of the Divine Offices, at Mass, and in the Procession, without specifying whether the Procession is to be inside or outside the church. They also provide for an Indulgence to those who take part in a procession taking the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, preceded by incense and lights. The body of the text explains that a principal object of the observance is to ward off pestilence and calamities and to bring peace to the Church.

Processions with Old and New Testament 'tableaux' were known before they appeared in Corpus Christi Processions. One took place as early as 1313 in Paris when 'tableaux' in dumb-show were processed before King Edward II of England & his wife Isabella of France. If the *Chronique Métrique* of Godfrey of Paris can be relied on, it contained no less than thirteen Old Testament scenes, which were alternated with scenes of non-biblical subjects, comic ones borrowed from the *Roman de Renard*.¹³

There are a number of examples of processions held in the Low Countries before the year 1402, which were not Corpus Christi Processions, but which included 'tableaux' of the kind that were to appear in some of the Corpus Christi Processions.

At Malines (Mechelen) the 'Twelve Apostles' appeared for the first time in 1365 in the annual 'Peis-Processie' held out-of-doors on Wednesday in Holy Week. They were 'live' and probably walked in the procession, for waggons did not make their appearance until 1401. In 1376 a group entitled 'The Prophets'

was added, and in 1388 there was added 'David's Confraternity'.

In 1396 a 'tableau-vivant' of the 'Three Kings' was processed at 's Hertogenbosch in what was simply called a 'Procession of our Lady'.¹⁵

In Bruges the 'Twelve Apostles' and the 'Four Evangelists' made their first appearance in the annual Holy Blood procession on 3 May 1395,¹⁶ and in 1396 the 'Garden of Gethsemane' was added;¹⁷ in 1398 the 'Annunciation', the 'Three Kings', and the 'Town of Jerusalem', were added to the procession.¹⁸ In 1401 further 'tableaux-vivants' were added, 'The Child Bed of Our Lady', 'King Herod' and the 'Tree of Jesse'.¹⁹

At Antwerp the annual Procession through the town in honour of 'Our Lady's Assumption' on 15 August 1398, included 'tableaux-vivants' of 'Our Lady's Death', 'Our Lady Being Carried to the Grave', 'Our Lady's Assumption' and her 'Coronation'.²⁰ In the same year (1398) in the same city on the occasion of the annual 'Besnijdenis-omwegang' (i.e. Circumcision Procession) on Trinity Sunday, besides the Holy Relic, (the Foreskin) the procession included fifteen 'tableaux-vivants', twelve being Old and New Testament scenes and scenes featuring the legendary²¹ St Christopher and three extra-biblical scenes.

The earliest record we have found for the appearance of live persons in a representational (but non-dramatic) role in the annual Corpus Christi Processions of the Low Countries is one of

1380 relating to the town of Dixmunde, when 'Twelve Apostles' walked in front of the Blessed Sacrament. Besides these there was a Giant, but he is said to have been 'borne along'.²²

The Corpus Christi Procession in Courtrai (Kortrijk) in 1391 appears to have had a 'tableau-vivant' of the 'Twelve Apostles'. The accounts do not name the Apostles but the fact that 'twelve companions' were rewarded for taking part in a dumb-show coupled with the fact that elsewhere in the Low Countries the Twelve Apostles were coming into the processions suggests that here they had also joined the procession.²³

Processions of the Blessed Sacrament through the public streets on the Feast Day became common practice, but it was not until the end of the fourteenth century that we learn of the inclusion in such processions of religious 'tableaux' depicting scenes from the Old and New Testaments, and sometimes from the lives of the saints.

One of the earliest Corpus Christi Processions to include biblical and other scenes took place in Valencia, Spain in 1400. It featured figures of angels, apostles, patriarchs, prophets, virgins, saints, dragons, Noah's Ark, St Bartholomew's Silver Cross, the Ship of St Nicholas and St Peter's Keys.²⁴

It is not known for certain when 'tableaux-vivants' in Spain acquired dialogue. It may not have been until 1500-10.²⁵ Be that as it may, generally speaking, both in Spain and elsewhere religious

plays were known and in use before they became associated with Corpus Christi Processions.

Italian vernacular religious plays, featuring scenes from the Old and New Testaments, and the extra-canonical scriptures, with dialogue, costumed actors and scenery, known as 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' originated in Florence in the fifteenth century. They were normally performed out of doors in public squares, and were simultaneously staged.

They were produced by the clergy and laity, and derived ultimately from the liturgy, but more immediately from the 'Laudes' (Hymns of Praise) of certain penitent and devout groups of 'simple' lay-folk, sung in chapel after Mass and Sermon. Several fourteenth century collections of these Laudes exist, many with dialogue.

These Laudes are the fruit of a thirteenth century religious revival in Umbria. Wandering bands of flagellants known as Disciplinati sang hymns of adoration in the vernacular, which included lyrics of spiritual conflicts in the form of dialogue. When the wave of processional self-chastisement had run its course, the Disciplinati continued to sing their Laudes in semi-dramatic form in their churches and chapels, sharing the dramatic roles amongst themselves. In the beginning the performers simply chanted their parts as they remained in their places, but recitation developed into costumed impersonation, sung either after Mass on Sundays or at festivals, or were incorporated into the service itself. These 'devozioni' ere long spread through Italy, and prepared the way

for the more elaborate 'rappresentazioni' of the fifteenth century. The performances (i.e. of the 'devozioni') were supported by the building up of wardrobes and stocks of machinery, and were presented in the form of recitation-with-mime. Possibly a clerical narrator took up his position on a small stage erected in the nave at the side of a larger stage where the players performed the necessary motions and movements.²⁶

The earliest known dateable example of a 'sacra rappresentazione' being performed in Italy is the 'Abraham and Isaac' of Feo Balcari in 1448.²⁷ There are no examples from Italy of a 'sacra rappresentazione' being performed in connection with a Corpus Christi Procession, either at points along a processional route or in some public place at the conclusion of a procession.

Further we know of only one example from Italy where 'tableaux' or 'tableaux-vivants' were associated with a Corpus Christi Procession. That was at Viterbo in 1462 when religious 'tableaux-vivants' were staged on scaffolds at a number of points along the processional route. There were no such 'tableaux' in the Procession itself. Failing further evidence what was done at Viterbo must be regarded as not typical for Italy.²⁸

This system of processions being conducted past scaffolds on which were represented 'tableaux-vivants' of Old and New Testament and other scenes was the norm at 'Triumphal and Joyful Entries' in France, the Low Countries, England and Italy. A similar system, differing in one important respect, was

that employed in Paris on 15 May 1444 at the celebrations for the 'Miracle of the Host'. On this occasion there was a Procession of the Blessed Sacrament and Relics of the True Cross, which included a mobile 'tableau' representing 'The Mystery of the Jew' (the central character of the legend of the 'Miracle of the Host') processed on a cart, with another 'tableau' representing 'Justice' and the wife and family of the Jew. Along the route were scaffolds on which were represented 'two very sorrowful mysteries'.²⁹

The earliest Corpus Christi Procession associated with the presentation of religious scenes which we know of from France is that of 1437 in Draguignan, after which date the event is featured regularly in the records.

The record of 1437 refers to the:

jeu que chaque année il a coutume de faire à la fête du
corps du Christ....³⁰

At this date we have no details regarding the content of the play or of the staging. It is not easy to be specific about this play. The above entry makes it clear that by 1437 the 'play' in the Corpus Christi Procession was a matter of custom. It was probably a 'tableau-vivant' with mime and gesture.³¹

After 1437 there is little information from France about Corpus Christi processions associated with pageants and plays, until the years 1544-49, when there is an abundance of material for Béthune.

In 1544 people who lived in the Rue de la Croix represented different aspects of the 'Passion'. There were also representations in

other roads, including one entitled 'Robe of Our Saviour and Saint Etienne (St Stephen)'. These 'tableaux-vivants' were given from 'hourds' (i.e. scaffolds) along the processional route of the Blessed Sacrament. There are other records for the following years, the most comprehensive being that of 1549 when twenty-seven 'Confréries' (i.e. Craft guilds) represented thirty-two New Testament 'tableaux-vivants' from the 'Annunciation' to the 'Last Judgement', one being entitled the 'Patriarchs' which in its New Testament context we take to have been a scene of the 'Harrowing of Hell' with their being freed from Hell.³²

German-speaking countries were among the first to associate vernacular speech with biblical scenes in the Corpus Christi processions. Among the earlier of such endeavours were those at Innsbruck, Freiburg, Künzelsau and Ingolstadt. The earliest is that at Innsbruck, where a manuscript for the Fronleichnams-spiel (i.e. Corpus Christi Play) of 1391 has a sequence of monologues by Adam and Eve, the Apostles and the Prophets, the Three Magi and the Pope, in seven hundred and fifty-six lines, with thirty set speeches, many illustrating prophecies of Christ's coming, and clauses of the Apostles' Creed. A play of such compass could have been processionally performed at one of the stations along the route without causing excessive delay.³³

The earliest reference to a Corpus Christi Play in England is 1376 when there is a reference in the York records to a place where three Corpus Christi waggons were stored.³⁴ There is a reference to a Corpus Christi Play in the records of the town of Beverley

in Yorkshire for the year 1377, when the Town Council ordered the Guild of Tailors to appear before them at the annual accounting of their expenses for a pageant of a Play of Corpus Christi ('pagine ludi Corporis Christi').³⁵ Even before the year 1378 scenes from the Old Testament were represented annually at Christmas by Clerks of St Paul's Cathedral, London.³⁶

It is impossible to say precisely when the York Cycle of religious plays began to be put together. It may not have been much before the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The fully developed cycle may have been achieved sometime early in the fifteenth century.³⁷ We have full documentation from 1415 and later dates in the Register. The surviving complete manuscript was probably transcribed during the years 1463-77.³⁸ The York Cycle appears to have been coming to maturity at about the same time as Corpus Christi plays were appearing in Germany.

Records show that there was a Procession at Coventry on Corpus Christi Day in 1348.³⁹ The first mention of a Corpus Christi Play at Coventry occurs in 1392. There is a further reference to them in 1414,⁴⁰ and there are frequent references to them in the fifteenth century craft documents. In 1457 they were seen by Queen Margaret.⁴¹

A 'Certificate' or 'Return' drawn up in Bury St Edmunds in 1389 describes the foundation and customs of a Guild of Corpus Christi in that town. It includes a reference to the maintenance of an

'interludium de Corpore Christi', but no further information is given.⁴²

The text of the cycle of plays now believed to have been performed at Wakefield is contained in a composite manuscript which for many years was known as the Towneley Manuscript after the name of its owners. This manuscript is thought to be a product of the fifteenth century, or even later. Five of its plays were taken from the York Cycle and it is suggested that they date from around 1400 and 1450.⁴³

We can only speculate on the way the Wakefield Cycle was staged. There is no specific evidence to show that the Cycle was processionally staged. It is possible it was played around an open space, or in a long line, perhaps in a public square, a market place, or in front of a church, with the spectators moving from pageant to pageant as the play progressed, on the same lines as Greban's *Le Mystère de la Passion* was performed at Valenciennes.⁴⁴

The cycle of plays known for sometime as the *Ludus Coventriae* is now generally known as the *N-Town Cycle* as there is no reason to connect it with the City of Coventry. It is now thought this cycle of plays originated in the City of Lincoln.

The surviving manuscript of the cycle bears the date of 1468, which is the date the bulk of the text was transcribed from

earlier manuscripts. It contains a complete cycle of plays.⁴⁵

A priest by name Sir Henry Francis may possibly be the father of the Chester Cycle of Corpus Christi Plays. He was Abbot of St Werburgh's Abbey where traditionally the Cycle commenced playing until its demise. When he was Abbot he signed two charters dated respectively 1377 and 1382. If Francis was in fact the originator of the Chester Cycle its date comes within the period approaching the end of the fourteenth century for which we have firm dates for the origin of Corpus Christi Cycles elsewhere in England. That is York, 1376; Beverley, 1377; London, 1378, and Coventry, 1392.⁴⁶

Single plays in the vernacular occur in England early in the fourteenth century. There are, for example: the MS of 'Dux Moraud' a speaker's part for a play on the tale of the incestuous daughter - dated for linguistic reasons, 1300-25; from the same period comes the fragmentary 'Interludium de Clerico et Puella'; an interlude performed at King's Lynn on Corpus Christi Day, 1385, by travelling players, and in the same town in the same year an interlude of St Thomas the Martyr was performed. However, no part of the cycle plays that has survived was written before the last part of the fourteenth century.

Kahrl dates *The Pride of Life* and *The Castle of Perseverance* at about 1425 (see his, *Traditions of Medieval Drama*, page 23); Happé puts the composition of *The Castle, etc.* between 1400 and 1425, stating that the reference to 'crakows' at line 1064

supports this (see his, *Four Morality Plays*, page 24); Rossiter gives 1410 (see his, *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans*, page 103).

There is an important collection of fifteenth to sixteenth century English plays known as Digby 133, containing the texts of plays entitled, 'Herod's Killing of the Children', 'The Conversion of St Paul', 'Mary Magdalene' and an imperfect copy of 'Wisdom'. When Furnival [their first editor] edited the collection he included two plays on Christ's 'Burial and Resurrection', from Bodleian MS E. Museo 160. Furnivall believed the plays should be dated in the fifteenth century, but D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy, who re-edited Furnival's collection, believed that all the plays of Digby 133 should be dated at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷

See also: *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, together with *The Croxton Play of the Sacrament* and *The Pride of Life*, re-edited from the manuscripts by Osborn Waterhouse (EETS., ES. No.104, 1909) later re-published as *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, re-edited by Norman Davis (EETS., SS1, 1970).

This chapter is essentially introductory. Medieval religious pageantry and plays on the Continent are treated in greater depth in Chapter Five where due to the large amount of evidence available we consider the subject only in regard to those places frequented by Scots as shown in Chapter Two. The evidence for Scotland is dealt with in Chapter Six which demonstrates that the same kind of religious pageantry and plays was to be seen in the Scottish burghs as on the Continent. Chapter One which now follows shows that the medieval Church of Scotland adopted the liturgy common to the West and offers evidence suggestive of the performance at least in some places of the liturgical drama which evolved from that liturgy and was to be seen in the cathedrals and churches of both England and the Continent.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION.

1. Jehan Bodel of Arras is thought to have written his *Jeu de Saint-Nicholas*, about 1200, for indoor performance on St Nicholas Eve, 5 December. See VOLUME TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDIX 'B'. ii) St Nicholas.

Also intended for indoor performance was *Le Miracle de Théoophile* dated about 1261, the work of the Parisian 'trouvère' Rutebeuf (1245-85), featuring the legend of the sixth century Bishop.

Eustache Mercadé (died, 1440)) wrote his *Passion d'Arras*, about 1425.

Arnoul Greban spent the most important years of his life in Paris where for some years he was organist at the Church of Nôtre Dame. His *Mystère de la Passion* was first performed in 1452 at Abbeville using a text of the play purchased in Paris by Guillaume de Bonoeuil on behalf of the Mayor and Councillors. See *Le Mystère de la Passion publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris avec une introduction et glossaire par Gaston de Paris et Gaston Raynard, reprint of l'édition de Paris, 1878*. See Introduction, I, i-xvi, and II, xvi-xxi. This work has been issued as a facsimile copy by Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1970.

A performance in Paris before that at Abbeville is likely but there is no record.

Jean Michel's *Passion* first appeared in 1486, and fifteen editions of the work appeared between 1490 and 1542.

References: Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1954):

Bodel, 48, 95-106, 210-16, 264, 5, 7.

Rutebeuf, 36, 106-12, 264, 6, 8.

Mercadé, 173, 5, 6, 179-81, 185, 8, 191.

Greban: as author and musician, 172, 3, 182, 3, 192, 205.
the *Passion*, 131, 141, 146 and note, 171, 4-6,
181-9, 209, 268.

Michel, 171-5, 182, 7-9.

Benedikt Debs (1485-1515), a schoolmaster, was the author of a seven day *Passion* performed in Bozen in 1514. See Heinz KINDERMANN *Theater Geschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg 1957) vol.1, 258.

Feo Balcari *The Play of Abraham and Isaac*, 1448. See KINDERMANN vol.1, 331.

Gomez Manrique was the author in 1492 of a *Shepherds' Play* which was combined with secular elements. See KINDERMANN vol.1, 346.

2. FRANK *The Medieval Drama* 53.

3. KINDERMANN *Theater Geschichte* vol.1, 248.
4. Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, 379-89.
Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, 1933, 2 vols.) vol.2, 542.
5. *Le Mystère d'Adam* edited P. STUDER (Manchester University Press 1918) No page number supplied.
6. Julius ZACHER 'Mittelniederländisches Osternspiel' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 2 (1855) 302-50.
7. J.A. Worp *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Toneel in Nederland* (J.B. Wolters, Groningen 2 vols 1904/08) vol.1, 17.
8. KINDERMANN *Theater Geschichte Europas* vol.1, 513.
9. KINDERMANN 514.
10. Charles-Joseph HEFELE *Histoire Des Conciles D'Après Les Documents Originaux* (Nouvelle traduction, Dom H. Leclercq, Paris, Librairie Letouzey et Ané 1915) Tome 6 pt.2, 717.
See also, pt.1, 623.
Wm.E. ADDIS and Thomas ARNOLD eds. *A Catholic Dictionary* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1955) 224.
11. HEFELE vol.6, pt.2, 788.
12. Walter GOODALL ed. *Scotichronicon Johannis De Fordun cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Bower* (R. Fleming, Edinburgh, 2 vols. 1775) vol.2, 93-94.
Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis qui accedent Cartae Quamplurimae Originales (Bannatyne Club 1856 2 vols) vol.1, No.31, 43-45.
13. *Chronique Métrique de Godfroi de Paris* (Collection Buchon, Verdrière, Paris, 1827) 190-92, lines 5329-80. The entire life of Christ from birth to his resurrection was portrayed. At least ninety angels and over one hundred devils took part, and there were diverse spectacles portraying the life of the blessed and the damned. Such 'mystères mimés' were usually presented at great festivals and at Royal Entries.
14. E. Van AUTENBOER 'Volksfeesten En Rederijkers Te Mechelen, 1400-1600' *De Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie Voor Taal En Letterkunde* 35 (1962) 37, citing Stads-Archief van Mechelen (i.e. Malines) Stads-Rekeningen, Compte of 1365-66, fol 64; Compte of 1375-76, fol 78, and Compte of 1387-88, fol 114.
15. J.H. GALLÉE *Bijdrage Tot Geschiedenis Der Dramatische Vertooningen In De Nederlanden Gedurende De Middeleeuwen* Academisch Proefschrift (i.e. Dissertation) Aan De Hoogeschool (sic) Te Leiden (A.C. Krusseman 1873) 83, quoting Stads-Archief van 's Hertogenbosch, Rekeningen, Compte of 1396.
16. See Chapter Five, 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1) BRUGES (BRUGGE). and VOLUME TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'.

17. *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges* (Edward GAILLIARD ET CIE) *Inventaire des Chartres* ed. L. GILLIODTS VAN SEVEREN Section Première vol.4 Troisième Au Seizième Siècle 469 Compte of 1395-96 fol 83 No.5; Compte of 1396-97 fol 90 No.1. Subsequent references are cited as 'VAN SEVEREN'.
18. VAN SEVEREN fol 89^v No.4 and fol 90 No.4.
19. VAN SEVEREN fol 115^v No.6.
20. Ridder Leo De BURBURE ed. 'De Antwerpsche Ommegangenⁱⁿ de XIV^e Eeuw Naar Gelijktijdige Handschriften' *Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen* 9, 2 (1878) 13-16 and Voorwoord [Foreword] VIII.
21. DE BURBURE 1-5.
 Moses and Abraham.
 The Twelve Apostles and God with the Four Evangelists.
 The Dream of Jacob.
 The Twelve Apostles and St Christopher.
 David's Adultery.
 The Annunciation.
 Virgins with St Michael.
 Octavian.
 The Circumcision of Our Lord.
 Bethlehem.
 The Three Kings and their Retinue.
 The Holy Sepulchre with the Three Maries.
 The Baked Loaves and Fishes - the Post-Resurrection Meal by the Lakeside.
 The Last Judgement.
 George and the Dragon.

 The 'Ommegangen' studied by De Burbure were later studied and compacted by Fl. PRIMS in 'De Antwerpsche Ommeganck Op Den Voorvond van De Beeldstormerij' *Meedelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie Voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten Van België, Klasse der Letteren*, Jahrgang VIII (1946) No.5, 5-21, 6-9.
22. Ernest HOSTEN 'Le Compte Communal de Dixmude 1380 à 1381' *Annales de la Société d'Émulations Pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre*, Tome 66 de la Collection 87-113, 109, 112.
23. Frans POTTER 'Schets Eener Geschiedenis Van De Gemeentefeesten In Vlaanderen' *Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren* 38 (Gent 1870) quoting Stadsrekening van Kortrijk (Courtrai) 1391-2 fol 44^v. De Potter suggests that the twelve men may have been members of a 'Rederijker Kamer' (Chamber of Rhetoric). Their appearance in the 1391 Corpus Christi Procession at Kortrijk could be their first appearance in such an event.
24. N.D. SHERGOLD *A History of the Spanish Stage* (OUP, 1967) 52-8, 80-6, 97-112.
 William TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (CUP, 1978) 50, 261. nn.49 & 50.

25. TYDEMAN 100.
26. Mario APPOLONIA *Storia del Teatro Italiano* (G.C. Sansoni Editore, Florence 1946, 4 vols) vol.1, pt.1, 60.
TYDEMAN 65-6.
27. KINDERMANN *Theater Geschichte Europas* vol.1, 515.
There is evidence from an Inventory of Dundee dated about 1450 that a play of 'Abraham and Isaac' was being played there regularly. See, Chapter Six DUNDEE.
28. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi Editore 1891 facsimile 1966 2 vols) vol.1, 235.
Scaffold stages were erected along the processional route on which there were staged 'tableaux-vivants'. There were scenes of the 'Suffering Christ between Singing Boy-Angels'; the 'Last Supper with St Thomas Aquinas'; 'St Michael the Archangel's Fight with the The Demons'; the 'Lord's Tomb with the entire Resurrection Scene' and finally there was set up on the Cathedral Square the 'Tomb of Mary' which opened up after High Mass and Benediction and born by Angels the Mother of God soared upwards to Paradise, singing as she went. There Christ crowned her and led her to the Eternal Father.

This system of processing past scaffolds erected along a thoroughfare is met with in France. At the annual 'Procession of Our Lady of le Puy d'Anis', 10 July 1468, scenes from the Old and New Testaments were 'mimed where people congregated' and at the 'Carrefours'. See Léon LEFEBVRE *Fêtes Lilloises de XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Jeux scéniques, ébattements et joyeuses entrées, le roi des sots, et le prince d'amour* (Imprimerie Lefebvre-Ducrocq 1902) 14, 15.

Again at Lille, 30 April 1549, a General Procession was held when along the route there were 'theatres' from which were given a series of 'tableaux-par-signé' from the Old and New Testaments and from Roman history. This was to obtain 'divine favour' for Philip of Spain, and there was also a rehearsal for the 'Triumphal Entry' to be given the latter Prince on 7 August the same year.

Sec, L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, les mystères* (Hachette et cie Paris 1880, 2 vols) vol.2, 197.
29. DE JULLEVILLE vol.2, 193-4. See also 'Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris' *Collection Michaud* vol.3, 293.
30. DE JULLEVILLE vol.2, 208.
31. In view of the way things developed later it probably consisted of a series of 'tableaux' based on scenes from the Old and New Testaments with actors grouped scene by scene. They may have mimed their parts and made gestures, and perhaps made short speeches as they processed. This was definitely so later as shown by an Ordinance of the Town Council.

forbidding any stops to be made during the course of the procession. We do not know whether pageant waggons were used at the early stage. It is not until 1602 that the records speak of scaffolds erected on the Market Place for stationary performances to take place there.

32. DE JULLEVILLE vol.2, 211-13, and 213 n.1.

33. Regarding plays performed in association with a Corpus Christi Procession Kindermann offers evidence only for some German-speaking areas, and England and Spain. His list of no less than eleven German-speaking towns, he says, relates only to the more important ones. These are (page numbers given in brackets): Galw (251), Egerer (251,291), Freiburg (251), Innsbrück (251,296), Künzelsau (261), Marburg (251), Munich (251,2), Verdingen (251), Vienna (261,2) and Zerbst (251,2).

See, KINDERMANN vol.1. For England see, 352 and for Spain, 343-4.

See also TYDEMAN 101; N.C. BROOKS 'Processional Drama and Dramatic Processions In The Late Middle Ages' *Journal of English and German Philology* 32 - subsequently quoted as *JEGP* (1933) 141-71.

34. Alexander F. JOHNSTON and Margaret ROGERSON ed. *Records of Early English Drama*, subsequently quoted as *REED*, 'York' vol.1 'The Civic Memorandum Book, 1376' xix. See also F.M. SALTER *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto University Press 1955) 40-42.

Glynn WICKHAM *Early English Stages, 1300-1660* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York, Columbia University Press; 1952/72, 2 vols) vol.1, 133-42. The reference cannot be taken to indicate the existence at that time of a full cycle of plays. In 1378 there is mention of a Corpus Christi Pageant when part of a fine levied on the Bakers' Craft is assigned 'à la pageine des ditz Pestours de corpore cristi'.

35. A.F. LEACH ed. *Report on the Manuscripts of the Corporation of Beverley* (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1900) 45. An entry for 1390 requires thirty-eight Craft Guilds to have their 'plays and pageants' ('ludos et pagentes') ready henceforth on every Corpus Christi Day, in accordance with the fashion and form of the ancient custom of the town, to play 'in honour of the Body of Christ'. LEACH 333-334.

It is not clear from the records whether a 'pageant' is a wheeled-vehicle or a stationary scaffold. Writers take differing views. See, CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol.2, 338.

36. On 9 August 1384 three Clerks gave a 'play' ('ludus') of Old and New Testament scenes which lasted four days. A 'play' of St Catherine was given in 1393. All these plays were stationary and none of them was associated with the Feast of Corpus Christi. CHAMBERS vol.2, 380 (App. W).

37. In the period 1386-90 there is evidence of the participation of certain Craft Guilds in the Corpus Christi festivities when they each had a 'pagyn de corpore christi'. In 1394 instructions were given that the pageants were to play at places 'antiquitus assignatis'. See, CHAMBERS vol.2, 399-406; see also, Richard BEADLE ed. *The York Plays* (Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., London, 1982) 19-27, and 10, 11 and 12-19.
38. British Library, Add MS 35290.
39. There were similar processions at Leicester, 1349-50, and at Beverley sometime between 1330 and 1350.
See, *English Gilds; Original Ordinances of More than a Hundred Gilds* ed. John Toulmin Smith EETS 40 (1878) 182, 292.
40. REED Coventry ed. R.W. Ingram xvii.
See also CHAMBERS vol 2, 423-(App. X) .
41. CHAMBERS vol.2, 357-8 (App. W).
The plays were performed processionally from pageant waggons as the text shows. Texts of only two of the plays have survived in transcriptions made by Robert Croo in 1534-5, plays of the Shearmen and Tailors, and the Weavers. Between them they shared a Nativity Cycle. The Smiths were responsible for 'The Trial and Crucifixion'; the Cappers for 'The Resurrection', 'The Harrowing of Hell' and 'The Visit of the Three Maries to the Empty Tomb'. See CHAMBERS vol.2, 432 (App. X).
42. R.M. WILSON *The Lost Literature of England* (Methuen London, 1952) 219.
43. A.C. CAWLEY *Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle* (Manchester University Press 1958) xxi.
44. Hardin CRAIG *English Religious Drama in the Middle Ages* (OUP, 1955) 122.

On the staging of Greban's *Passion* see Arnoul Greban *Le Mystère de la Passion* ed. Micheline de COMBARIEU DU GRÈS et Jean SUBRENAT (Éditions Gallimard 1987) 31-2.
45. CHAMBERS vol.2, 124.
On good grounds it has been suggested that the 'N' Town Plays should be credited to Lincoln. See, Kenneth CAMERON and Stanley KAHRL 'The N-Town Plays at Lincoln' *THEATRE NOTEBOOK* (subsequently quoted as *TN*) vol.20, (1967) 122-138.
46. SALTER *Medieval Drama in Chester* 40-42.
See also, Wickham *Early English Stages* vol.1, 125, 133-142.

47. F.J. FURNIVAL ed. *The Digby Plays* (EETS ES No.70, 1896);
D.C. BAKER, J.L. MURPHY and Louis B. HALL, Jr. eds. *DIGBY MSS*
133 and E. Museo 160 (EETS, 1982).

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONSTITUTIONS AND CUSTOMS
OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH AND THEIR
ENGLISH AND FRENCH ROOTS

PART I. CATHEDRAL CONSTITUTIONS.

It is generally agreed that vernacular religious drama performed in public outside the church evolved from the liturgical drama performed from time to time in church. It is believed to have had its origin in the 'Quem quaeritis?' trope which first appeared in a troped antiphon of the Easter Mass, later transferred to a position near the conclusion of the Office of Easter Matins. From this trope developed the liturgical drama known as the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries. The following pages explore the possibility of liturgical drama once having been as much a part of Scottish church life in Pre-Reformation times as it was in any other part of the contemporary Western Church.

The liturgy in general use in medieval Scotland was that of the Sarum Rite borrowed from English sources which itself had been borrowed from sources in Normandy which were closely identified with the Latin liturgy in general use throughout the Western Church. Up to the sixth century western liturgy was in a process of development, but by the sixth century there had evolved in the West a liturgical tradition known as the Gallican Rite which had evolved out of the older Roman Rite which in its primitive form was now confined to the City of Rome.

For two centuries these two rites existed side by side, the one influencing the other, until in the eighth century the Frankish Kings wishing to achieve liturgical unity throughout their domains made the Roman Rite the basis for liturgical uniformity. Henceforth the Roman Rite, incorporating many of the elements of the Gallican Rite, became dominant throughout Europe, and remained so from the eighth to the sixteenth century. It was

nevertheless not monotonously uniform, developing here and there local usages and customs, whilst adhering to the Roman Canon of the Mass almost word for word.

The early missionaries who came to Scotland in the 4th-5th centuries would have brought with them some form of the Gallican liturgy, as for example St Ninian, 'Apostle of Galloway', would have done. He made his centre at Candida Casa (lit-White House), now known as Whithorn. He is said to have conferred with St Martin of Tours 'en route' to Scotland from Rome where he had received instruction in the christian faith.¹ The subsequent Celtic Rite was essentially Gallican in character, but change came when the forces of the Cluniac reformation reached Scotland through the endeavours of St Margaret and her sons and a more up to date version of the Latin liturgy was introduced and gradually supplanted the Celtic liturgy.

The new liturgical form had its origin in the Diocese of Salisbury (Sarum). It was a local adaption of the continental Roman liturgy of the eleventh century. St Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, was pursuing a policy of adopting the rites and ceremonies of the Continent while at the same time preserving some of the Anglo-Saxon usages and customs of his own diocese, and introducing elements from Normandy where he had grown up. The Sarum Missal and Breviary are essentially the same as the corresponding Roman books of the Continent as these existed in the eleventh century, and are typical of the local Roman Rites which grew up all over Europe.

The penetration of the Sarum Rite into Scotland was probably gradual, but eventually it became the predominant liturgical usage

in Scotland, a position it held down to the Reformation.²

We now consider important elements that effected this historic change from Celtic to Sarum usages and customs.

It is in relation to the Diocese of Moray that evidence first appears to show the new conformity of the Scottish Church to the ways of the Church in England and on the Continent.

Early in the thirteenth century Bishop Bricius founded a Chapter of eight Canons at the new Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Moray established at Spynie, when he laid down that the Cathedral and its Chapter were to have all the privileges and immunities as found in the Constitution of Lincoln Cathedral, and furthermore were to be subject to that great church. The relevant charter is undated but Papal confirmation of it was received in 1214, the year the Chapter at Spynie received from Lincoln a copy of the 'Consuetudines', that is, the book containing details of the rites and ceremonies of the services, and the rules of discipline, but omitting Chapters Vi and IX.^{3a}

That year in response to their request the Chapter at Spynie visited Lincoln to learn of their privileges and customs at first hand, which were to become their own standard. A copy of the letter of the Dean and Chapter replying to the request from Spynie is preserved in the Moray Register known as the *Liber Decani*, which forms part of a collection of Moray Registers put together in the fourteenth century and now preserved in the National Library of Scotland.^{3b}

The copy of the 'Consuetudines' sent by Lincoln to Moray was a copy of the one they had obtained from Salisbury.^{3c}

Just after the See was settled in Elgin in 1223, Andrew de Moravia, now Bishop of the Diocese, confirmed to his Chapter in 1226 the liberties adopted from Lincoln twelve years earlier. A second set of Lincoln 'Customs' appears to have been sent to Elgin about 1236.^{3d}

In 1242 the Cathedral Chapter of the Diocese of Moray confirmed their adoption of the Constitution of Lincoln and also declared that they would follow the liturgical Customs of Sarum, stating in the Statutes of that date:^{3e}

Item receptum est et approbatum communiter ut in divinis officiis, in psallendo, legendo, et cantando,^a ac aliis ad divina spectantibus,^a servetur ordo qui in ecclesia Salisbryensi esse noscitur constitutus.

a - a: 'and also in other religious observances.'

Lincoln Cathedral was given its Constitution by Bishop Remigius who had transferred his See from Dorchester (Oxon) to Lincoln, where the building of the cathedral commenced in 1086.^{3f}

Details of how the liturgical services of cathedrals were to be ordered were contained in the 'Consuetudinary' which formed a part of the Cathedral Constitution. The equivalent of the 'Consuetudinary' in parish churches was the 'Customary', also known as the 'Liber Ordinarius' or 'Ordinary'. The 'Sarum Consuetudinary' was itself a codification of older statutes and rules made by Bishop Poore, first Dean, and afterwards, Bishop of Salisbury, about 1210.

The evidence that now follows shows that from the second half of the thirteenth century the Use of Sarum was adopted all over Scotland and in cathedrals, collegiate and parish churches became the norm. The religious houses, however, adhered to the usages established for use within their own orders.

It does not seem to have been established beyond all doubt whether the Statutes and 'Consuetudines' of Sarum were derived directly from Rouen or from Bayeux via Rouen. That they were derived from an important ecclesiastical centre in Normandy there can be no doubt. The influence of Rouen as an important centre of church life, and the capital of the Norman Counts/Kings cannot be denied. We favour Rouen as the source more likely to have influenced the Norman ecclesiastical invasion of England and Scotland.

A Code of Statutes for the Cathedral of Aberdeen was issued by Bishop Peter de Ramsay in 1256 when he was Bishop of the Diocese. It is not a copy of the Lincoln Statutes adopted by the Diocese of Moray, and whilst it contains some matter derived from Lincoln documents, it is evident that careful use was made of the 'Sarum Consuetudinary' and also that some of the material is original. It is quite possible that some of the Lincoln Statutes and Sarum liturgical rules and customs came to Aberdeen via Moray.^{3g}

In the middle of the fifteenth century Aberdeen incorporated into its Statutes a section entitled 'Ordinale Chori', made up of extracts taken from the 'Sarum Consuetudinary' dating from early in the fourteenth century, a simplified form of the 'Sarum

Consuetudinary' intended for use in parish churches. Evidently Aberdeen was still in touch with Salisbury and abreast of the current practice there.⁴

The Customs of Salisbury are said to have been introduced into Scotland as early as the middle of the twelfth century by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow (1147-1164) and the Usages of Salisbury are said to have been confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1172.⁵ In the middle of the thirteenth century the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow Cathedral applied to Salisbury for a statement of its Canons and under date 2 January 1258/9 the Glasgow Diocesan Register, Document No 208,⁶ gives details of the 'Confirmacio libertatum Sarisburiensis ecclesie' and Document No 211⁷ show that in 'Die Ascensionis' (22 May 1259) the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury sent the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow a copy of their 'Libertates et approbatas Consuetudines', including Chapters One to Nine of Bishop Poore's Consuetudinarium'. The book contained, amongst other matters, details of how the Sarum liturgy was to be performed in accordance with the Calendar.⁸

On 12 October 1268 the Chapter of Glasgow received from their Bishop confirmation of the 'Liberties of Salisbury' - 'Confirmacio libertatum Sarisburiensis ecclesie per canonicos Glasguensis ecclesie'.⁹

According to Mylne's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld* sometime between 1236 and 1249 Bishop Galfrid (Geoffrey)¹⁰ of Dunkeld,

novam *fecit* errectionis ad instar^a ecclesie Sarum.
a. 'after the likeness of'.

In an English translation of Mylne's work it says, 'Bishop Galfred had a great zeal for the worship of God. After the division of the Diocese, he reformed the worship in imitation of the Church of Sarum...' In the year 1238 he was chosen Bishop of St Andrews.¹¹

Mylne relates that Galfred's predecessor died in 1236-1238 and so his reform must have taken place in that period. Whatever the discrepancies there was evidently a tradition received in Mylne's day that in the first half of the thirteenth century the Bishop of the day introduced the Sarum Rite into his cathedral.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE SCOTTISH CONSTITUTIONS.

Bishop Remigius transferred his See from Dorchester, Oxon, to Lincoln, about 1078. It is believed he took with him the 'Liber de Officiis ecclesiasticus' written by his contemporary Johannis Abrincensis for Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen (1061-1067), which (together with certain illustrative documents from Rouen and some later Canons of Bayeux and Evreux) was printed in 1679 and can be found in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol.147, 1-279.

Both Giraldus Cambrensis and John de Schaltby, using a common source, tell us that Remigius, 'Constituta ecclesia et juxta ritum Rothomagensis (i.e. Rouen) ecclesiae stabiliter collectata, viginti et unum canonicos constituit in eadem.'¹²

Bradshaw believed he had discovered a close connection between the sister churches of York, Salisbury and Lincoln, with that of Bayeux

in Normandy, and that the 'Statutes and Consuetudines' of Sarum, Lincoln and York, came not from Rouen, but only via Rouen from Bayeux. That, however, does not necessarily rule out a Rouen influence upon them.

Not all scholars agree with Bradshaw. Edmund Bishop wrote thus,

The Bayeux 'Ordinarium' has since been printed and it shows that it is not from Bayeux any more than from Rouen that 'Sarum' derives. Is not 'Sarum' the Missal, simply, and no more than, a good sort of thirteenth century compilation and had not St Edmund (of Abingdon) a hand in it?

Bishop does not deny that when St Osmund first set his hand to the compilation of what became known as the Sarum Rite, that being a Norman who came to England in the wake of William the Conqueror, Count of Normandy, he most probably looked to the Church of his native land for material. Rouen as the capital of Normandy would probably have been the area to which he looked. Bishop himself, in spite of what he says in the above quotation says elsewhere, 'There is indeed definite and sufficiently trustworthy evidence that Bishop Remigius introduced Rouen customs to some extent at Lincoln.'¹³

As regards Scottish liturgical drama it would not be possible by means of a comparison of texts to say whether or not Scotland was indebted to this or that source in Normandy, for the simple reason that no Scottish texts have survived. Evidence for the possible existence of liturgical drama in Scotland has to be pursued by means other than the study of liturgical books.

PART II. THE SCOTTISH LITURGY AND LITURGICAL DRAMA.

We have shown that in the thirteenth century Sarum was the immediate source for the liturgical rites of Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Glasgow and Moray, and there is no doubt that the Sarum rite was adopted throughout Scotland, with the exception of the religious orders as already mentioned. This contention is supported by such service books as have survived from the parish churches and cathedrals (except where these were in the hands of religious orders), which are all of the Sarum Rite, though the Calendars of those of later date have been amplified by the inclusion of saints of special interest to Scotland, and not normally found in continental Calendars.¹⁴ Even Bishop Elphinstone's reformed 'Aberdeen Breviary' remains essentially a Sarum Rite. We also need to remember that the source of the Sarum Rite is Normandy. The manuscript 'Perth Psalter', thought to have been written in the Low Countries, is dated about 1475. It is with but one or two exceptions the same as the normal Sarum book of its kind. It has the Litany normally found in Sarum books, except that a few Scottish saints have been included. The Calendar is practically the same as that of Sarum, with a few significant omissions, but with the addition of twenty-nine 'Scottish Saints' and the Feast of the Translation of St Andrew, of special interest to St Andrews, as the Saint's mortal remains were allegedly held in St Andrew's Cathedral. The majority of these alterations were probably made in the sixteenth century. The treatment of this important book of the Sarum Rite is probably typical of the way other books of the Sarum Rite were treated, that is, by the addition of 'local saints' to the Calendar, with perhaps a few added to the Litany, done by a later local hand, in no way changing the Rite into something else.¹⁵

The oldest known liturgical drama had as its subject the 'Visit of the Three Maries to the Sepulchre', known as the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. It is first found in what is known as a trope dated somewhere towards the end of the tenth century. Tropes were an embellishment or amplification of an existing antiphon. The Easter Trope of the Three Maries and the Angel was an adaption to the form of dialogue of the interview between the Three Maries and the Angel at the Tomb as related in the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark. It appears originally as an Introit for the Third Mass of Easter Day. It was eventually transferred to the end of the Easter Office of Matins, where in some places it was sung dramatically whilst preserving its liturgical form. By dramatisation we mean characterisation with individual parts using dialogue.¹⁶

There is no easy answer to the question, Was there ever liturgical drama in Scotland? To anticipate what follows below we can say now that there is no evidence in surviving liturgical books of the Scottish Sarum Rite to indicate that there was. Whilst one Sarum book is very much the same as any other of the same category, it would not be right to rule out the possibility of there having been places where alterations or additions were made, or perhaps a separate composition written, for use as an alternative to what the standard Sarum Breviary had to offer, as for example, in the case of large collegiate churches or cathedrals where they had large clerical and musical resources. As an example of such action we may refer to the Dublin 'Quem quaeritis?' contained in a 'Sarum Processional' written in the fourteenth century and belonging to the fifteenth

century to the Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin. This composition shows dramatic skill and literary finish. It employs the Easter Sequence as part of the dialogue. It is said to be the only one of its kind outside Germany.¹⁷

The basic documents for an investigation of the subject of liturgical drama in Scotland are such Scottish Sarum Breviaries as have survived. Breviaries on their own, however, are not necessarily of any great help in the pursuit of liturgical drama. As normally written they contain a simple form of the 'Quem quaeritis?' intended for recitation by rows of clerks sitting in choir stalls opposite each other. The one side responding to the other. The following is a passage from the Office of Easter Matins taken from the 'Breviarium Bothanum' written for use in the Parish of FOULIS EASTER.

Leccio viii

Et nos ergo in eum qui mortuus est
credentes si odore virtutum referti
cum opinione bonorum operum Domini-
um querimus ad monumentum pro-
fecto illius cum aromatibus venimus

R Angelus Domini locutus est
mulieribus dicens Quem queritis
an Jhesum queritis jam surrexit
Venite et videte Alleluia
Alleluia.

V Jhesum quen quaeritis Nazarenum
Crucifixum surrexit non est
hic. Venite.

Leccio ix.

Ille autem mulieres angelos vident que
cum aromatibus venerunt quia videlicet
ille mentes supernos cives aspiciunt
que cum odoribus ad Deum per sancta
desideria proficiscuntur.

- R Dum transisset sabbatum Maria
Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salomee
emerunt aromata Ut venientes ungerent
Jhesum Alleluia Alleluia
- V Et valde mane una sabbatorum ve-
niunt ad monumentum orto jam sole Ut
u(ngerent).¹⁸

This is not liturgical drama, although it contains the formulae out of which grew elsewhere the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio-Sepulchri' of the Three Maries. It is the formulae we find in the standard 'Sarum Breviary' as commonly used in England.¹⁹ Scottish Breviaries which we have examined, the 'Glasgow Breviary',²⁰ (formerly known as the 'Sprouston Breviary') and the 'Herdmanston Breviary',²¹ which like the 'Foulis Easter Breviary' may be regarded as typical of the Scottish Breviaries in general use, and also the 'Revised Aberdeen Breviary' (i.e. Bishop Elphinstone's),²² Evidence for liturgical drama can sometimes be found in Cathedral 'Consuetudines' and in their parish equivalents, the 'Customaries' (also known as 'Ordinaries' or 'Ordinals'), in 'Antiphonaria Officii' (Antiphonaries of the Divine Office), and in 'Processionals'. The only such book to survive in Scotland is an 'Ordinal' from the Augustinian Abbey of Holyrood, Edinburgh, which throws no light on liturgical drama. No 'Consuetudinary' has survived from the Diocese of Moray and the interesting 'Dunkeld Antiphonary' is an 'Antiphonarium Missae' of the sixteenth century (see McRoberts, *Catalogue, etc.*, Item 89, 15). The so-called Aberdeen 'Cathedral Breviary' of the fourteenth century originated in England and was brought to

Scotland during the Wars of Independence where it was adapted for use in the Diocese of Aberdeen.²³

All the signs are that no evidence survives in Scotland in liturgical documents to suggest that liturgical drama was once a feature of Scottish church life. (This does not however, necessarily, mean there was no drama.) Neither do we have a collection of liturgical plays such as has survived at Rouen and elsewhere.

There now follows an outline of the overall context of the typical basic Sarum Rite of the 'Triduum', that is, Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Day, commonly called 'Pasch' in Pre-reformation times. This will show the sequence of liturgical events leading up to the 'Visitatio-Sepulchri' of the Three Maries.

The succession of liturgical events which concluded with the 'Visitatio' on Easter Morning began on Good Friday with the public service of the 'Adoratio Crucis', when a plain wooden Cross was positioned (as is still done today in Catholic Churches) at the Chancel Step where at the appropriate time in the liturgy worshippers came forward individually and made their devotions at the same time depositing their 'Offerands' in an alms bowl placed nearby. Mass of the Pre-sanctified (that is with Hosts consecrated the day before - Maundy Thursday) followed the 'Adoratio Crucis'. Vespers and the Post-Communion Prayer concluded Mass of the Pre-sanctified. Clergy then placed in the Sepulchre the Cross of the 'Adoratio Crucis' and also in many places a Host consecrated at the 'Cena

Domini' (Maundy Thursday). The choir sang the Respond 'Estimatus sum ...' and after censing, the sepulchre was locked and possibly sealed with a stone across the entrance as may have been the custom at the CHURCH OF THE COLLEGE OF ST SALVATOR, ST ANDREWS. (See further on this subject in next main paragraph below.) Appropriate anthems were then sung. This ceremony was known as the 'Depositio'. Details are in the *Sarum Missal* in general use in Scotland, such as the *Arbuthnott Missal*.²⁴ The concluding rubric in this Missal says,

Deinde, incensato sepulchro et clauso ostio;
incipiat idem sacerdos hos Reponsorium, 'Sepulto
Domino' (the full text would have been provided by the
Antiphonary) Et chorus prosequatur totum Reponsorium
cum suo Versu sic, Signatum est monumentum. Volventes
lapidem ad ostium monumenti. Ponentes milites qui
costodirent illud.

V. Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus et furentur eum, et
dicant plebi, Surrexit a mortuis.
(Repeated from, 'Ponentes.')

At this point the 'Customary' would probably have directed the sealing of the tomb, the placing of the stone before the door and the mounting of the Guard. [For an account of a 'Ludus depositionis' in Naples in 1533 see, PART III. a) EASTER SEPULCHRES. THE CHURCH OF THE COLLEGE OF ST SALVATOR, ST ANDREWS.

It was the custom to keep a 'Watch' at the Sepulchre from the 'Depositio' of Good Friday until the ceremony of the 'Elevatio' on Easter Morning when the Cross and the Host were retrieved to be ceremonially processed through the church to the singing of the anthem 'Resurgens'. The Host was then placed in the normal place of Reservation, a Tabernacle, Aumbry or Sacrament House and the Cross returned to the place where it was normally

kept. The Office of Matins of Easter was then recited. The basic details for the performance of the 'Elevatio' ceremony occur as rubrics in the Breviary as a Preface to the latter Office.²⁵ The Office of Matins followed the 'Elevatio'. It took the usual form, concluding with lessons separated by seasonal Verses and Responses featuring the Three Maries (as seen above in the 'Breviarium Bothanum'), their going to buy ointment to anoint the body of the Lord, and their meeting at the Sepulchre with the Angel of the Resurrection. Breviaries do not normally contain the dialogue, only the introductory words. The dialogue is provided by the 'Antiphonary' or 'Processional' with musical notation. The rubrics of the 'Breviarium Bothanum' provide for the use of a simple Cross in the 'Depositio' ceremony as also for the 'Elevatio' ceremony, in contrast to the more elaborate 'Imago Resurrectionis' or 'Imago Salvatoris' met with in some other places for the 'Elevatio' ceremony (see PART III. a) EASTER SEPULCHRES. THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST MUNGO, GLASGOW; THE CHURCH OF THE COLLEGE OF ST SALVATOR, ST ANDREWS AND COLDINGHAM IN NORTH BERWICKSHIRE).

It was at the point at the end of the Office of Matins featuring the lessons and Verses and Responses about the Maries going to buy ointment, that the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' evolved. Here indirect speech was transposed into direct speech and all was set for impersonation. Thus the liturgical drama of the Three Maries was born and found its way into many (but not all) 'Consuetudines', 'Customaries', 'Processionals', and 'Antiphonaria Officii' of cathedrals, parish churches and other places where liturgical worship took place.

The 'Regularis Concordia', a 'Customary' used by the Benedictine Order in England, and probably in Scotland (as for example at Coldingham Priory), was issued by Ethelwold, Bishop Of Winchester, about 970. It gives instructions on how the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' is to be performed. The musical setting for the 'Quem Quaeritis?' of the 'Regularis Concordia' is to be found in the 10th-11th century 'Winchester Troper'. This has been edited and published. A liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio', probably dated 1363-76, has survived from Barking Abbey (of Benedictine Nuns) in a fifteenth century manuscript. In it three Nuns impersonate the Three Maries.

The fifteenth century 'Shrewsbury Fragments' preserve the parts spoken by one or two actors and a few choral passages from the 'Officium Pastorum' and a 'Peregrinus' (viz. the 'Walk to Emmaus'). The special interest of these fragments is their demonstration of the change from the use of Latin to native speech. The fragment probably belonged to Lichfield.²⁷

Presumably the Benedictine Priory at COLDINGHAM in Berwickshire, under the Mother House at Durham, would have adhered to the 'Customary' known as the 'Regularis Concordia' as would other Benedictine Houses in Scotland under English jurisdiction. There may have been other foreign religious houses in Scotland which used a 'Customary' similar to that of the Benedictines. This is more than likely in as much as Ethelwold expressed his indebtedness to customs he had found in Ghent and in the manuscript once commonly attributed to Fleury.²⁸

In view of the widespread popularity of the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries all across Europe it is hard to believe that in Scotland there was no such drama anywhere throughout the Middle Ages, especially in the light of the Post-Celtic Scottish Church's liturgical birth out of the womb of the Norman Church, even though that may have been via the umbilical cord of the English Church and its Sarum and close-related Rites. There is evidence from many parts of Europe of Easter liturgies in which clerks acted as role players, whether associated with the earlier 'Quem quacritis?' trope or with the developed liturgy of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries. Young writes of forty-five such examples in German speaking lands, of thirty-two in France, of twenty-one in Italy, three in the Low Countries, two in Spain and of one each in Sicily, Czechoslovakia (Prague), Hungary, Poland (Cracow) and Jerusalem, making one hundred and eight in all. According to Neil C. Brooks almost three hundred versions of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' are known.²⁹

In view of the derivation of post-Celtic Scottish Cathedral Constitutions and rites and ceremonies from English and ultimately Normandy sources we now survey the liturgical drama of some of the English cathedrals, also making appropriate references to relevant continental sources. Some years after adopting the Sarum Constitution in about 1100³⁰ Lichfield Cathedral revised their Statutes to provide for the regular annual performance of three different liturgical dramas. Statutes of 1190 include the following item:³¹

Item in nocte Natalis representacio pastorum fieri consuevit et in diluculo Pasche representacio Resurreccionis dominice et representacio peregrinorum die lune in Septima Pasche sicut in libris super hijs ac alijs compositis continetur.

That is:

In accordance with custom there is to be a representation of the Shepherds in the night of the Nativity, and at dawn on Easter Day a representation of the Lord's Resurrection, and on Monday in Easter Week there is to be a representation of the Walk to Emmaus, as is contained in books about these and other compositions.

The same statutes when defining the duties of the Succentor in respect of the same events are a little differently worded:

.....et prouidere debet quod representacio pastorum in nocte Natalis domini et miraculorum in nocte Pasche et die lune in Pasche congrue et honorifice fiant.

If contemporary custom was followed, as no doubt it was, the 'Visitatio Pastorum' would have been a visit to the 'praesepe' by three clerks wearing dalmatics, with attendant ministers. This was often located in a chapel behind the High Altar (see this chapter, PART III. c) OBSERVANCES AT CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY: ST NICOLAS, ABERDEEN; AYR; ST GILES, EDINBURGH; PERTH and ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, ST ANDREWS.

The expression 'representacio Resurreccionis dominice' possibly indicates that on Good Friday after the Mass of the Pre-sanctified the Cross that had been used in the ceremony of the 'Adoratio Crucis' was placed in the sepulchre with another item known as an 'Ymago pro Resurreccione', a representation of the risen triumphant Christ holding a long-shafted Cross or Crucifix.³² At the 'Elevatio' where this procedure was followed, the Cross remained in the sepulchre for the time being and the 'Ymago pro Resurreccione' which contained a host in a small glass covered chamber in the

breast, was alone removed and processed around the church to the singing of the 'Resurgens....' (as already mentioned above). The Cross left behind in the Sepulchre would be discreetly removed before the performance of the 'Visitatio' of the Three Maries and be returned to its customary position.

The Statutes of York of 1255 contain the following provisions relating to Christmas, Epiphany and the Feast of the Purification (i.e. Candlemas, also known as the Presentation):³³

- i) Item inueniet thesaurus omnes cereos in processionibus ad Natalem Domini, et ad Purificacionem beate Marie virginis.
- ii) Item inueniet stellas cum omnibus ad illis pertinentibus, vnam in nocte Natalis Domini pro pastoribus, ijas in nocte Epiphanie, si debeat fieri presentacio iijum regum.

These items may be translated as follows:

- i) Item, let the Treasurer find all the candles for the processions at the Nativity of the Lord and at the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
- ii) Item, let him find the stars with all things relevant to the same,.....one on the night of the Nativity of the Lord for the Shepherds, two on the night of the Epiphany, if it is intended that a presentation of the Three Kings is to be made.

Item i cannot be taken to indicate any kind of liturgical drama.

Item ii might possibly indicate a dramatic liturgy with the

Shepherds but it is by no means certain. However this item seems to suggest that sometimes, if not every year, there was a dramatic liturgy of the 'Three Kings', perhaps incorporating other seasonal themes. According to Item i at York the Treasurer was responsible for providing candles for use in the procession at the Feast of the Nativity. At St Nicholas, Aberdeen, each Craft was made

responsible for providing a pair of torches for the occasion as also for the 'Resurrection' & 'Corpus Christi' (see, PART III.

a) EASTER SEPULCHRES. ABERDEEN, THE BURGH CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS.)

This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that at Aberdeen the Treasurer was responsible for providing candles for use by others on such occasions, but we have no record of such. Regarding the 'Officium Pastorum' and the 'Officium Stellae' in Scotland see, PART III. c) OBSERVANCES AT CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY. For the

celebration of the Feast of the 'Purification of Our Lady', also known as, the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple', or simply as the 'Purification', 'Presentation' or 'Candlemas', at the Burgh Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, see, this Volume One, CHAPTER SIX. 1) ABERDEEN, and VOLUME TWO, APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX.

APPENDIX 'B'. CANDLEMAS.

The surviving liturgical and other relevant records of Salisbury concerned with the ordering of the liturgy contain nothing appertaining to liturgical drama in the Christmas and Easter seasons. In the Palm Sunday ceremonies alone is found dialogue and impersonation and that of a very minimal kind.³⁴ However, the following item extracted from the 'Treasurer's Inventory for 1214-1222,'³⁵ shows:

Coronae ij de laton ad representationes faciendas.

This record raises problems of translation and interpretation regarding the word 'corona' which can be understood as 'circular chandelier' or 'crown'. We suggest that here the meaning is the former one, viz. a circular chandelier used at Salisbury in connection with the 'Officium Pastorum' with a 'corona' stationary over the 'crib' and the other a mobile 'corona' to guide the Three

Kings in an 'Officium Stellae'. It is possible that at Christmas at Salisbury (and at other English Cathedrals) they performed a liturgical play which included scenes of the Shepherds and the Three Kings, and Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents, as found in the 'Fleury' Manuscript, i.e. the 'Ordo Ad Representandum Herodem' (see, PART III. c. referred to on previous page).

The Sarum Statutes contain the following item regarding the duty of the Cathedral Treasurer to provide candles at the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord.³⁶

In die Natalis domini ad utrasque vespervas
et ad missam octo debet cereos.... Et in corona
ante altare sex....

The York Statutes of 1255 referred to above stipulate the provision of one 'stella' - 'in nocte Nativitate' and two 'stellae' - in 'nocte Epiphanie'. To meet such a requirement it was not necessary to have three 'stellae' available. The 'stella' used for the 'Officium Pastorum' would no longer be in use and could be used with the other for Epiphany, an indication that the Salisbury Inventory is parallel to the regulation in the York Statutes and relates to the use at Salisbury of two 'coronae' to serve as 'stellae', one over the 'praescpe' for the Shepherds' Play and the same one and another to make two for the Kings' Play.

The 'stella' is not mentioned in the texts and rubrics of the Shepherds' Plays, as for example at Rouen (see below), but that may not mean that a 'star' was not placed over the 'praesepe'.

The reason for the absence of any directions regarding the 'star' from texts and rubrics may merely be that the 'star' had no active function, such as moving, as a 'star' would have in the Kings'

Plays. That being so, unless we have an expense account showing the cost of providing 'stellae' or 'coronae', or again a sight of the Statutes detailing the duties of the Treasurer and Sacristan, we shall not be able to be certain whether or not such items were used in connection with the 'praesepe' which is the only point in the Shepherds' Play where such an item is likely to have been used.

Some idea of what a 'stella' was like is conveyed in an item gifted to the Altar of St Fergus in Holy Trinity Church, St Andrews,³⁷

a brazen star to hold oil for a light.

An account of Lincoln Cathedral of 1384 shows the costs:³⁸

pro factura unius stelle

and

pro factura trium coronarum pro regibus.

We suggest that the two 'coronae' at Salisbury were used in annual performances of an 'Officium Pastorum' and an 'Officium Stellae' as at York, and as we suggest at Lincoln in conjunction with a play of the 'Salutation'. At Lichfield, as explained above, there was an 'Officium Pastorum', but we know of no record to indicate the performance there of an 'Officium Stellae'.

At Rouen a 'stella' was used at the beginning of the 'Officium Stellae',

Ex tribus regibus medius^a ab Oriente veniens
Stellam cum bacelo ostendens, dicat alte:
Stella fulgore nimio (rutilat).

- a. MS 904 has, *Primus (i.e. the First King) stans retro altare, quasi ab oriente veniens, stellam baculo ostendat. Dicat simplici voce:*

MS 110 Y from which we have quoted has the Kings dressed in tunics and amices, but MS 104 has them with 'cappis (i.e. copes) et coronatis ornati'. In the Rouen 'Officium Stellae' there is a further rubric where at a different point in the drama a 'corona' does duty for a 'stella', thus,

Processio in navi ecclesiae constituta stationem faciat. Dum autem processio navem ecclesiae intrare ceperit, corona ante crucem pendens in modum stelle accendatur,^a et Magi, stellam ostendentes,^b ad ymaginem sancte Marie super altare Crucis, prius positam cantantes pergant:

Ecce stella in Oriente....

- a. MS 108 omits, 'accendatur....'
b. MS 904 has, 'Ostendentes stellam cum baculis.'

The same manuscript also has an 'Officium Pastorum'. As we might expect, there is no mention of a star, or of special lighting, as the text does not require it. In this instance only a 'Customary' or an Inventory could tell us whether cathedral officials were required to provide them.³⁹

As explained already the Moray Constitution which it derived from Lincoln has nothing to say on the matter of liturgical drama, yet as we shall see the best evidence for the performance of liturgical drama in the cathedrals of England comes from Lincoln Cathedral.

Evidence from there shows that there was a 'corpus' of liturgical plays of the more popular sort such as were widely performed on the Continent in cathedrals and churches of France, Germany and the Low Countries, where the earliest forms of liturgical drama

were transformed into something rather more elaborate. Accordingly we examine the surviving records of Lincoln, which unfortunately do not include texts, which leads to the suggestion that if Lincoln was so influenced or was at least keeping in step, why not other cathedrals and churches where texts are likewise lacking, in England and Scotland also?

Records of Lincoln Cathedral provide us with rather more information about plays performed in church than any other similar English source. Information about them is to be found for the most part in the Common Accounts which are fairly complete from 1304 up to modern times. The earliest item concerning representations comes from the year of account 1317-18 (accounting Sept. to Sept.).

*Item, vicarijs ecclesie Lincolniensis pro
solemnitate per eos facta die Epiphanie Domini
circa Ludum trium Regum, xvij s. ij d.*

There is a further but confused reference to the play again in 1321-2, which does not increase our knowledge, and a record of 1348 mentions a play of the 'Resurrection' as well as a play performed on the Feast of the Epiphany,

*Expense circa ludum die Epiphanie et
resurrectionis.*

The expenses were for a star and three crowns.

The entry is repeated in similar terms in 1387, and 1537-42.⁴⁰

Liturgical plays of the 'Three Kings' were numerous and widespread on the Continent and there is a high probability that the 'Ludus Trium Regum' of Lincoln and other places in England and Scotland

was very much like the continental 'Officium Stellae'.⁴¹

In 1321-22 expenses were also incurred for the play featuring Thomas Didymus (Doubting Thomas),⁴²

Item, in expensis factis temporare paschali
in ludo de sancto Thoma didimus, ix s. ix d.

Occurring at Eastertide the play is probably a representation of the New Testament scene of Thomas's doubt about Our Lord's Resurrection. Later we learn the play is to be performed in Easter Week. Such a play occurs in all four extant English Cycles. The play continued to be played at Lincoln in subsequent years, in 1324, 1327 and 1333.⁴³ and in the latter two years bread and wine were provided. The 1327 entry reveals the play was performed in the nave. Provision of bread and wine possibly indicates that it was preceded by a play of 'The Walk to Emmaus' ('Ludus Peregrinorum') when Cleopas and another disciple met the Lord and dined with Him (Luke ch.24, 13-35). The York Cycle has a play of the 'Supper at Emmaus' followed by a play of the 'Incredulity of Thomas'.

The play of 'Doubting Thomas' is not mentioned in the accounts again until an entry similar to those referred to above occurs once again in 1369. There is a brief last mention of the play in the Accounts for 1390-1, which shows the play was presented in Easter Week.⁴⁴

An entry in accounts for 1390-1 relates to:⁴⁵

Expense facte pro salutacione die Natalis
domini & pro ludo in Septimana Pasche:

i) In primis domino Johanni Louth pro expensis
per eum appositos circa stellam & columbam, ij s.

ii) Item in expensis factis per sacristam eodum
tempore pro Salutatione, vj s. ij d. ob.

iii) Item, pro expensis factis circa ludum in
septimana Pasche, iij s. xj d.

Summa, xij s. vij d. ob.

We concern ourselves here with items i and ii only. Regarding item i, the 'star' presumably relates to a 'Ludus Trium Regum' such as that referred to in the Accounts for 1317-18 mentioned above, performed on the Feast of the Epiphany.⁴⁶ The Rouen 'Officium Stellae' used a 'stella' and a 'corona', but the custom at Lincoln seems to have been to use a 'stella' only. The 'dove' probably relates to the play of the 'Salutation'. Perhaps the only reason they are linked is that expenses were paid to the same priest, 'Dominus John', who may have been the Sacristan.

The 'Salutation' mentioned in 1390-1 is its first appearance in known records at Lincoln. A later reference shows that the play was given at Matins early on Christmas Morning, when we might have expected a performance of the 'Officium Pastorum'.

Entries regarding the 'Salutation' occur in 1393,4,&5, naming Mary, Elizabeth and the Angel. We know of no continental play of the 'Salutation' performed on its own on Christmas Morning.⁴⁷

With the exception of the year 1398 similar expenses occur annually between 1397 and 1408 for the 'Salutation' scene on Christmas Morning at Matins. Elizabeth has dropped out but two Prophets have been added.⁴⁸

The play of the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors has a 'Prologue by the Prophet Isaiah' followed by scenes of the 'Annunciation', the

'Doubt of Joseph', the 'Journey to Bethlehem', the 'Nativity' and the 'Shepherds', 'Two Profettis', 'Herod and the Magi', the 'Flight into Egypt', and the 'Massacre of the Innocents'.

Entries regarding the play of the 'Annunciation' at Lincoln Cathedral similar to those of 1393, 4 & 5 occur in the Lincoln records in the years 1420, 1423 & 1440,⁴⁹ 1442-50 & 1452-65.

Throughout, gloves were bought regularly for Mary & the Angel. In 1531 there is a record of the purchase of gloves for Mary, the Angel and the Prophets,⁵⁰

In serothecis emptis pro Maria et Angelo et Prophetis
ex consuetudine in Aurora Natalis D(omi)ni hoc anno....

A play of the 'Salutation' on its own at Lincoln Cathedral seems unlikely, especially in view of the several references to 'Prophets' which are contained in the records, which would seem to suggest that at Lincoln on Christmas Morning they performed at least a small Nativity Cycle introduced by a Prophets' scene, using the themes of the 'Play of the Coventry Shearmen & Tailors' referred to above. The 'Salutation' is again referred to in the Accounts for the years 1553-61.⁵¹

The one play we would expect at Lincoln Cathedral on Christmas Morning, if nothing else, is the 'Officium Pastorum' but there is no reference to such a play in the known cathedral accounts. The answer may be simply that no expenses were incurred for the Shepherds who in liturgical plays of the 'Officium Pastorum' customarily wore ecclesiastical vestments, tunics or dalmatics with amices, readily available from the Cathedral Sacristan. Neither

do we have at Lincoln an item of expenditure relating to a 'praesepe' (a crib, or low roofed house). Ayr and Edinburgh records show expenses for a 'God's House' incurred by their Guild Merchants (see this chapter, PART III. c) OBSERVANCES AT CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY). Possibly similar expenses were met by the Guild Merchant at Lincoln. At the time of writing their accounts had not so far been published and so an 'Officium Pastorum' can be neither ruled in nor out.

A play of the 'Pastores' occurs as Play No.XVI in the 'Ludus Coventriac' which is now widely credited to Lincoln. It possibly derives from the older liturgical 'Officium Pastorum' of the Cathedral.

The Accounts published by Shull make it clear that whatever other performances took place at Christmas there was a performance of the 'Annunciaton' and Chambers⁵² is now shown to have been correct in his suggestion, as the Account for 1390-1, reproduced above, makes plain. Young, we believe, is correct in suggesting an 'Officium Pastorum' at Lincoln on Christmas Morning ('in aurora Natalis Domini'), but not if by that he excludes the play of the 'Salutation'.⁵³

A continental example of a cycle of liturgical plays of the Nativity Cycles is that of the Benediktbeuren Christmas Play which unites in one play, not only the 'Annunciation' and the 'Visit of the Shepherds' but all the other well-known scenes of the cycle.⁵⁴

The Lincoln Cathedral Commons Accounts for 1395-6 show expenses at Pentecost for repairs to a 'cord' (rope), for other necessities and for the 'dove' and an 'angel'.⁵⁵

An important new item begins to appear in the accounts from 1458-9 for representations in church of the 'Assumption & Coronation of Our Lady' for which the city became famous and which in due time became a part of the great celebrations on the Feast Day of St Ann, Mother of the Virgin, on July 20. In the outdoor celebrations a pageant of the 'Coronation' was featured, but the 'Coronation' play continued to be performed in the Cathedral. Further entries in the Accounts regarding the latter occur in 1460, & 1462-5, when a gap occurs, and 1483,6,90,91,94, followed by another gap until 1502-04, and then annually until 1507-1543.⁵⁶

Craig thinks the Lincoln liturgical plays must have been turned into the vernacular long before 1393, but suggests that they did not cease to be performed in liturgical form in the cathedral.⁵⁷

In the foregoing pages it has been shown that from the second half of the thirteenth century the Sarum Use was operative all over Scotland in cathedrals & collegiate & parish churches and that no documentary evidence has survived providing details of liturgical drama in the Pre-Reformation Scottish Church. However, documentary evidence has been quoted to show that liturgical drama was a regular feature in the life of certain English cathedrals to which Scotland looked as sources for cathedral statutes, customs, ceremonies and rites. In the opening pages of this chapter we showed that in such matters the Diocese of Moray looked to Lincoln Cathedral; Aberdeen, Glasgow and Dunkeld looked to Sarum, but Aberdeen also looked to Lincoln, but for all the ultimate source is Normandy, from Rouen, or possibly Bayeux via Rouen.

As shown above there were constitutional links between Sarum, Lincoln and Lichfield. We know, however, of no record to show direct borrowing by York from Sarum or the other two. Yet all four shared in common at least an 'Officium Pastorum', which may indicate that York got its play directly from Normandy. Its first Archbishop was a Norman, Thomas of Bayeux (1070-1100).⁵⁸

Scotland's borrowing from English cathedrals means that there is the possibility that if in fact they had liturgical plays ~~they~~ they were derived directly from Lincoln and Sarum. By deduction we have shown above that Sarum probably had plays of the 'Officium Pastorum' and the 'Officium Stellae' (viz. 'Ludus Trium Regum'). Lichfield may have derived from Sarum its 'Representacio Pastorum' and its 'Representacio Resurrectionis' as a result of adopting the Sarum Constitution about 1100. We have also shown that at Lincoln there was a 'Ludus Trium Regum', a 'Ludus Perigrinorum', a play of the 'Annunciation' (perhaps part of a Nativity Cycle), and according to Young, an 'Officium Pastorum' and possibly a play or scene of the 'Descent of the Holy Spirit'. Records of plays of the 'Assumption and Coronation of Our Lady' do not appear until 1458-9. Thus the possibility exists that any one or more of the above liturgical plays may have been adopted in Scotland, but no Scottish evidence has come to light to support this. Nevertheless this possibility makes it worthwhile to pursue the subject by reference to other types of Scottish sources which have survived as we proceed to do in PART III which now follows.

PART III. EASTER SEPULCHRES, SUDARIA (GRAVECLOTHS) AND
OBSERVANCES AT CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY IN SCOTLAND.

a) EASTER SEPULCHRES.

There are no remains of medieval Easter Sepulchres in Scotland, but evidence has survived of places where they might have been installed. Scottish sepulchres were probably wooden structures such as were used in many places outside Scotland. Such structures were wooden-framed for ease of assembly and disassembly, and removal. The customary place for the erection of such a sepulchre in Scotland seems to have been on the north side of the choir or chancel and not far from the High Altar. There is evidence from Scotland of altar tombs having been erected at that point because of its association with the Easter Sepulchre. The tombs were probably enclosed within the temporary wooden framework and served as sites for the Easter Sepulchres as seems to have been the case at ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHURCH, ST ANDREWS, as we show under that heading in succeeding pages.

On the Continent quite often an altar did service as an Easter Sepulchre, as for example at Besançon.⁵⁹ At the words 'Non est hic' angels standing nearby commonly raised the altar-cloth. When the sepulchre was in a place apart from the main altar it often took the form of a space enclosed by a curtain as was the case at Bamberg.⁶⁰ Within this enclosure, as in other types of sepulchre, there was often placed a box or coffer which became the sepulchre proper where the Sacrament and the cross or crucifix, etc. were deposited under secure conditions.⁶¹

We have given but the basic principles involved in very general terms. Sepulchres varied greatly in their conception, much depending on whether the institution was a cathedral, collegiate church, wealthy monastic foundation, or a parish church. We do not attempt to deal at length with the fascinating subject of the passion iconography associated with the sites where Easter Sepulchres were once installed. The subject has been given wide coverage by Alfred Heales and Neil C. Brooks.⁶² At ST GILES, EDINBURGH (see below) we suggest the Easter Sepulchre was possibly sited at a point elaborately adorned with passion symbols. This probably typifies the sites of other Scottish Easter Sepulchres.

For the BURGH CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN there is evidence for a spectacular celebration on Easter Morning. On 14 January 1512/13⁶³ the Burgh Council resolved that:

....euery craft within this towne sall haue a pair of Torcheifs honestlie maid of foure pund of wax to decoir and worschip the sacrament one corpus xpi day and at the fest of pasche at the resurrexioun at youle and at all vthir tymes quhene neid is to honour of the townn....

The use of torches 'at the fest of pasche at the resurrexioun' could relate to a possible celebration of the liturgy of the 'Elevatio' when the Craftsmen may have led the Procession of the Sacrament and Crucifix, or an 'Imago Resurrectionis' containing the Sacrament, around the church to the singing of the anthem 'Resurgens....', or it may relate to a procession in the course of the celebration of the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' as performed at St Florian.⁶⁴

At Aberdeen there were eight principal Incorporated Crafts, some of which included allied Crafts. The Aberdeen 'Ordour of corpus xpi proceessioun' of 22 May 1531 lists fourteen participating Crafts. Thus as many as twenty-eight torches could have been processed. (See CHAPTER SIX. 1) ABERDEEN. and VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'I'.) An elaborate procession with the Host at the 'Depositio' & at the 'Elevatio' took place at Essen, Halle and Biberach. (See also below, THE CHAPEL OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN AND ST MICHAEL, STIRLING CASTLE & COLDINGHAM.)

A ceremonial procession of the Host both at the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio' was common practice at this time.⁶⁵ In the present context we may understand the term 'the fest of pasche at the resurrexioun' in the above quotation as relating to the Easter Morning ceremony of the 'Elevatio' which took place before the Office of Matins.

We suggest the possibility that at ST NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN, both the Cross of the Good Friday 'Adoratio Crucis' (it may or may not have had a figure of Christ attached to it) and a consecrated Host from the Maundy Thursday Mass were deposited in the Easter Sepulchre after Good Friday Vespers. Before Matins on Easter Morning cross and Host were removed from the sepulchre in the presence of the Craftsmen with their lighted torches and ceremonially processed around the church to the singing of the traditional anthem, 'Resurgens...' en route to the High Altar when the Host was placed in the place of reservation nearby, either a tabernacle or an aumbrey, and the cross was returned to its normal resting place. It cannot be inferred from this that after Matins and before Mass there was a performance of the drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries. However, we suggest the possibility that a church that performed

the rite of the 'Elevatio' with such solemnity probably also presented the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

As shown above in PART II when considering dramatic liturgy at Lichfield Cathedral in some places a more powerful and dramatic imagery was employed for the 'Elevatio' than the removal of the Cross or Crucifix, which appropriate enough on Good Friday, on Easter Morning was no longer so to portray Christ's 'Victory over Death', the Resurrection from the Dead. There are grounds for suggesting the possibility that at COLDINGHAM PRIORY (see item below, COLDINGHAM) they did the same as was done at their Mother House in Durham where at the 'Resurrection' (i.e. 'Elevatio') a 'beautiful image of the Risen Christ' was removed from the sepulchre. We suggest the possibility that something similar may have been done at ST NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN, particularly in view of the use of the term 'resurrexioun' in the Council Minute rather than the term 'Elevatio'.

In succeeding pages we also suggest the use of images of the Risen Christ in the Easter Morning ceremonies at the COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, EDINBURGH, at ST ANDREW'S, PEEBLES, and at the CHURCH OF THE COLLEGE OF ST SALVATOR, ST ANDREWS.

In 1539 with a view to safeguarding their property from the Reformers the Chapter of ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL, OLD ABERDEEN, made an Inventory of items to be held in private houses. One of these relates to the Easter Sepulchre.⁶⁶

Item a capin^a for the sepulchre, of damas, and the other of double worsett with a great verdure^b that lays before the altare....

a. In this context a curtain hung around a structure of some sort, like a cope hanging on the shoulders and around the wearer.

b. French tapestry with prominent foliage.

We suggest that the above relates to a curtain-enclosed sepulchre such as that referred to above. Inside, as at Bamberg, there would probably have been a wooden coffer. If so, it would probably have been located near the High Altar, on the north side, as at Bayeux, or possibly in a Chapel, as at Soissons, where they had a similar curtain-enclosed sepulchre located in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.⁶⁷

A 'Vetus Ordinarium Bajocense' (An Ancient Ordinary of Bayeux)

has a rubric for Good Friday as follows:

Hodie paretur sepulchrum versus cornu altaris
sinistrum, lintheaminibus mundis et pallius
pretiosis....

Under Easter Sunday a rubric directs:

Sacerdos....accedit ad sepulchrum ex utraque parte
expansum.

There may have been a canopy over the curtained-sepulchre at Bayeux, for a rubric in a Bayeux Missal of 1642, which probably represents long standing tradition, directs that the burial place is to be prepared near the High Altar in the form of an altar or sepulchre, completely surrounded by curtains and covered with a canopy.⁶⁸

We understand that sepulchres of the curtained type which we have suggested for ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL were unknown in England, Easter Sepulchres there being normally located at a tomb against the north wall of the choir or chancel, of which we shall see there were examples in Scotland. Old Aberdeen seems to have preferred the Bayeux custom, showing that at least one Scottish church preferred to circumvent the Sarum Customs and go to one of the probable sources of the Sarum Rite. Another source shows the following item taken from an Inventory compiled by Bishop Gordon, the last Pre-Reformation Bishop of Aberdeen:⁶⁹

17 July 1559. Item, a beaken^a for the sepulchre of damask.

a. A pennant or flag, appropriate for a canopied and curtained sepulchre.

Thus on the very eve of the Reformation the Good Friday-Easter Liturgy was still being celebrated at ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL. No evidence, however, has survived to show that they celebrated the liturgy of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries.

Despite lack of corroborative architectural evidence an Easter Sepulchre of some sort must have been used in KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, ABERDEEN as indicated by an Inventory record of 'sudaria' (see Section b) SUDARIA, below). The Chapel was constituted as a Collegiate Church and the Divine Office and Mass were to be offered daily throughout the year. In season the 'Depositio', 'Elevatio' and 'Visitatio' at least would have been sung, even if there were no ceremonies and no drama, according to the text like

that in use at FOULIS EASTER. (See below, THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST MARNOCK, FOULIS EASTER.)⁷⁰

The Inventory details a silver crucifix for the High Altar, but the Inventory has many 'lacunae'.⁷¹ It details no items that might have been specifically required for use in connection with an Easter Sepulchre apart from the 'sudaria' already referred to. It is possible the High Altar Crucifix was used for the 'Adoratio Crucis' and the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio', and one of the several chalices listed in the Inventory could have been used for the burial of the Host.⁷²

There was a position near the High Altar where an Easter Sepulchre could have been set up, which would have met the prevailing traditions of Scotland, England and France. This was the Altar of the Blessed (or Venerable) Sacrament which it appears stood beneath the Sacrament House and close to the north wall, but oriented to face eastwards, and quite close to the High Altar. The tomb of William Elphinstone, the Founder, was also close at hand, in front of the High Altar, midway on the north-south axis from the Blessed Sacrament Altar.⁷³

The Dean of Guild's Accounts for the BURGH OF AYR for 1535 show an item of expenditure of 5s. for making a sepulchre.⁷⁴ That this relates to the Easter Sepulchre and not to a burial place or tomb for a parishioner is shown by the fact that the latter were known as lairs, and not sepulchres.⁷⁵ Furthermore the expenses would have been met by the family and not the Dean of Guild. The Aber-

-deen records discussed above show the interest taken in the liturgy of the 'Elevatio' on Easter Morning by the Burgh Council who were for the most part the Guild Merchant 'wearing another hat'. No evidence has survived relating to the participation of the Three Maries, but in the light of the expense for a sepulchre this remains a possibility.

In 1545-6 the Dean of Guild paid four shillings for 'a cord to the Pasche Candle,'⁷⁶ which traditionally was lit by a Deacon from the New Fire at the Easter Vigil Service of Holy Saturday, and kept burning at all services until Ascension Day, to symbolise the continued presence on earth of the Risen Christ. This practise still continues but until the Feast of Pentecost.

Similar expenses were incurred by the Dean of Guild in EDINBURGH in respect of ST GILES COLLEGIATE CHURCH, as shown below. Such an 'Office' would have resembled those of other places, such as in England, at Lichfield, Salisbury and York, and probably Lincoln, if as suggested in PART II, there was one there.

An Expense Account of 1370 for a Benedictine Priory at COLDINGHAM IN NORTH BERWICKSHIRE shows the purchase of two images:⁷⁷

In empcione unius ymaginis pro Resurrecione,
et alterius ymaginis sancti Blasii, cum aliis
operacionibus pictoris, xviiij s. x d.

The first is an 'Imago Resurrectionis' such as the community probably used in the Easter Morning ceremony of the 'Elevatio' or 'Resurrectio' as did their Mother House at Durham (see below).

The second item relates to the purchase of 'another image of St

Blaise', also known as St Blasius, one of the fourteen Auxiliary Saints much invoked by the sick, especially those with throat problems. The Saint was venerated in the BURGH OF DUNDEE (see this volume, CHAPTER SIX, 5) DUNDEE, item h.).

As to 'cum aliis operacionibus pictoris' we can only suggest this relates to meeting the expenses of a painter, perhaps one who painted the new image of St Blaise.

The Inventory of 1446 relating to the Chapel at the above Priory includes the following item:⁷⁸

Item j velamen pro tempore quadragesima, cum
uno panno depicto pro sepulcro Domini....

Understanding 'cum' in this context as meaning 'adorned with' we suggest this item concerns a large curtain decorated with a representation of the Easter Sepulchre. It was the custom in medieval times to hang a curtain across the entrance to the chancel and choir throughout the forty days of Lent.

Light is shed on the use of the 'Ymago pro Resurreccionc' by the description of the 'Resurrection' as celebrated at the Abbey Church of the Durham Priory of Benedictine Monks of which the COLDINGHAM PRIORY was a dependency,⁷⁹

There was in the Abbye Church of Duresme uerye solemne seruice uppon Easter Day, betweene 3 and 4 of the clocke in the morninge, in honour of the Resurrection, where 2 of the oldest monkes of the quire came to the Sepulchre, beinge sett vpp upon Good Friday, after the Passion, all covered with redd ueluet and embrodered with gold, and then did sence it, either monke with a paire of siluer sencors sittinge on theire knees before the Sepulchre. Then they both risinge came to the sepulchre, out of the which, with great reverence, they tooke a maruelous

beautifull Image of our Sauour, representinge the Resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in the breast whereof was enclosed in bright christall the Holy Sacrament of the altar, throughe the which christall the Blessed Host was conspicuous to the behoulders. Then, after the eleuation of the said picture, carryed by the said 2 monkes uppon a faire ueluet cushion, all embrodered, singinge the anthem of 'Christus resurgens', they brought (it) to the high altar, settinge that on the midst thereof, whereon it stood, the two monkes kneelinge on their knees before the altar, and senceing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the forsaid anthem of 'Christus Resurgens'. The which anthem beinge ended, the 2 Monkes tooke up the cushines and the picture from the altar, supportinge it betwixt them, proceeding, in procession, from the high altar to the south quire dore, where there was 4 antient gentlemen, belonginge to the prior, appointed to attend their comminge, holdinge upp a most rich cannope of purple ueluet, tached round about with redd silke and gold fringe; and at euerye corner did stand one of theise ancient gentlemen, to beare it ouer the said Image, with the Holy Sacrament, carried by two monkes round about the church, the whole quire waitinge uppon it with goodly torches and great store of other lights, all singinge, rejoyceinge, and praising God most deuoutly, till they came to the high altar againe, whereon they did place the said Image there to remaine untill the Assencion day.

We believe that the item referred to above as:

a maruelous beatiful Image of Our Saviour
representing the Resurrection,
with a crosse
in his hand, etc.

refers to an item frequently met with in the records of the time and called an 'Imago Resurrectionis'.

Further light is shed on the use of the 'Imago Resurrectionis'

by the Prüfening version of the 'Elevatio'.⁸⁰ There the Custos placed an 'Ymago dominice resurrectionis' in the Sepulchre on Easter Morning just before the beginning of the 'Elevatio'. This image was probably very much like the 'Ymago pro Resurrecione' in use at COLBINGHAM PRIORY as also probably very much like the 'marvelous beautiful Image of our Saviour' at Durham 'representing the Resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in the breast wherof was enclosed in bright christall the Holy Sacrament of the altar...'. At Prüfening the 'Imago Resurrectionis' containing the Host was raised from the Sepulchre on Easter Morning, while the 'Imago Crucifixi' put there on Good Friday was left there to be discreetly removed by the Custos at some time after the ceremony and returned to the place where it was normally kept.⁸¹

At Eiberach when the bells sounded midnight on Easter Eve:⁸²

.....trumpeters and pipers on the tower proclaimed the Resurrection of Christ. At the same time the Sacrament was removed from the grave (i.e. from the Sepulchre - it was gilded) and placed in the Sacrament House. Then the scholars who had been singing at the grave-side took our Lord (that was presumably an 'Imago Resurrectionis') out and processed Him three times around the church, singing in German and Latin, 'Christ is Risen!'. After that other young laity took Him (i.e. the Image) over and processed Him through the streets of the town, singing, 'Christ ist erstanden!'. Then they carried Him back to the church.

Contrary to the practise at Prüfening a large number of churches in South Bavaria and Austrian churches near the border used only the 'Imago Crucifixi' for both the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio' ceremonies. After Good Friday Vespers which followed

the 'Adoratio Crucis' and Mass of the Pre-sanctified an 'Imago Crucifixi' was placed in the Easter Sepulchre and a stone put in position. Shortly before Matins early on Easter Morning the Senior Clergy 'arose secretly' and raised the 'Imago Crucifixi' from the Sepulchre and in conclusion gave one another the Kiss of Peace.⁸³

Young thinks the term 'Imago Crucifixi' is far from clear, suggesting that whilst it usually refers to a Cross with a 'Corpus Christi' attached to it, sometimes it may mean the 'Corpus' alone detached from the cross, or may sometimes even be some kind of special representation of the Crucifixion, for example a painting or carving. There is some evidence that a plastic representation of some sort, unattached to a cross, came to be used in some countries.⁸⁴

The words 'ymaginem crucifixi coram populo de cruce deponunt' in the Prüfening text show that there the 'Imago Crucifixi' was the image detached from the cross. This was also the case at Barking Abbey. Brooks believes the evidence from Prüfening and Barking coupled with the fact that we know such an unattached image was in use, establishes a strong probability that the term 'Imago Crucifixi' usually, if not always, meant, an image of Christ not attached to a Cross.⁸⁵

A number of late medieval Inventories show an 'Imago Crucifixi' usually silver-gilt, with a cavity in the breast, covered with glass or crystal 'for the Sacrament for Easter Day'. The image was not attached to a cross but must have been very much like

the 'beautiful Image of our Saviour, representing the Resurrection' at Durham 'with a crosse in his hand, in the breast wherof was enclosed in bright christall the Holy Sacrament of the Altar,....'. Such a cross usually had a long shaft as seen in some medieval pictures of the Resurrection. A detail from a wall painting of the Crucifixion in the Guthrie Aisle, near Arbroath, portrays the Risen Christ holding a long-shafted Cross. An illuminated letter 'R' in the Abingdon Missal depicts the Resurrection with a naked Christ stepping out of a tomb with a short-shafted Cross, just about perceivable, held up in his left hand. An altar-piece of about 1410 from the Middle Rhine shows Christ wearing a garment stepping from a tomb with a long-shafted Cross with banner held in his left hand. (For more information see this volume, Chapter Four.)

The item used at Durham Abbey for the Good Friday liturgy of the 'Adoratio Crucis' was an 'Imago Crucifixi',

a goodly large Crucifix, all of gold, of the picture of our Sauour Christ nailed upon the crosse.....

At the end of the service (viz. after Vespers) this 'Imago
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Crucifixi' was laid in the Sepulchre,

with another picture of our Sauour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose....the most holy and blessed Sacrament of the altar....

Thus on Easter morning the latter item described in our previous quotation as a 'marvelous beautiful Image of our Saviour', representing the resurrection with the Sacrament in its breast, was retrieved from the sepulchre. The extended passage we quote

above describing the Easter morning ceremonies at Durham Abbey makes no mention of the withdrawal from the sepulchre of the 'Imago Crucifixi' at the time of the withdrawal of the 'Imago Resurrectionis' in preparation for its procession around the church. From this we infer that the 'Imago Crucifixi' was later removed privately. This is the same as the procedure followed at Prüfening and probably the same as that followed at Coldingham Priory in Scotland.

The item referred to at Durham as an 'Image of the resurrection' is sometimes met with elsewhere under the title 'Imago Salvationis', as at Lincoln Cathedral, and corresponds to the 'Imago Resurrectionis' of Prüfening. As we show below Glasgow Cathedral possessed an 'Imago Salvatoris'. That at Lincoln is described thus:⁸⁷

Imprimis, an image of our Saviour, silver and gilt, standing upon six lions, void in the brest, for the sacrament for Easter-day, having a beral before, and a diadem behind, with a cross in hand, weighing thirty-seven ounces.

Our explanation of the ceremonies at Durham differs from that given by Young, who taking into account 'certain continental usages' wrote of an 'Imago Resurrectionis' with a hole in the breast for the Sacrament, and another the, 'Imago Crucifixi', used for the Good Friday devotion of the 'Adoratio Crucis', this latter being a representation of Christ on the cross normally known as a crucifix, which Young affirms was held in the uplifted hands of the 'Imago Resurrectionis' but detachable from it. He believes that in the ceremonies of the 'Sepulchrum' the two effigies were buried and raised together.

The evidence shows that on Good Friday two objects were placed in the Sepulchre at the same time, viz. an 'Imago Crucifixi', the picture venerated at the 'Adoratio Crucis'; and the 'Imago Resurrectionis', viz. the one with the hole in the breast for the Sacrament, and a cross in its hand. Young believes this latter Cross was detachable and was the one used in the 'Adoratio Crucis'. We do not think this was so, and not born out by the continental evidence. We believe the Cross held in the hand of the 'Imago Resurrectionis' has nothing to do with the 'Imago Crucifixi' of Good Friday's 'Adoratio Crucis'. At Durham two 'Images' were not raised at the same time on Easter Sunday. The one raised at the 'Elevatio' was the one with the Sacrament in the hole in the breast, and a Cross in the hand which was not detachable. We suggest that at Durham, as elsewhere, the 'Imago Crucifixi' used in Good Friday's 'Adoratio' was left behind in the Sepulchre to be retrieved later, as was done, for example, at Prűfening.⁸⁹

The monks at Coldingham, Durham and Prűfening were all of the Benedictine Order. It would seem that throughout the Order there was a common way of performing the Good Friday- Easter Ceremonies, no doubt, in accordance with the regulations of a common 'Customary' and 'Ordinal', akin to the 'Regularis Concordia'.

Heales quotes brief records of thirty-nine Easter Sepulchres in England dated between the years 1370 and 1561.⁹⁰ Apart from Durham and Lincoln there were 'Images Resurrectionis' (which implies also 'Images Crucifixi' for the 'Depositio') at three

churches in the city of York, one at St Mary's, Richmond, one at St Saviour's, Southwark and probably one at Bury St Edmonds.

It is not possible to say what the customs were at the other churches mentioned by Heales. They may have observed the usual Sarum Rite of burying the Cross used in the 'Adoratio Crucis' with the Host in the pyx, using neither an 'Imago Crucifixi' nor an 'Imago Resurrectionis'.⁹¹ The Sepulchres cited by Heales must represent a small proportion of the total that once must have existed in England.

At ST GILES COLLEGIATE CHURCH, EDINBURGH members of the Edinburgh Guild Merchant paid for a 'Watch' to be maintained at the Easter Sepulchre.

1553-4. Item, for keiping of the Sepulture at Pasch, viij dayis, day and nyght...viij s.

Paid Watchers were normally employed to keep watch at St Giles and here they varied in number from one to four. The sum paid in toto varied from two pence to two shillings.⁹²

It could be wrongly assumed that after the 'Elevatio' on Easter Morning the Watch with candles or torches would have ended, although the Easter Sepulchre itself might have been left for a while. Customs varied. In some places it was taken down about a week after Easter. At Bayeux, whence at least some of the Sarum customs might have come, it is stated:⁹³

Et hec paratura Sepulchri durat usque ad diem Sabbati

On these days after Easter Sunday, at Bayeux and at Soissons, and probably elsewhere, there were daily processions to the Sepulchre at Vespers, and where there was a Chapel of the Sepulchre processions to it took place often over a much longer period, as at Vienne⁹⁴ and Origny. In some places the Watch lasted only from the 'Depositio' and 'Elevatio', that is, from Good Friday to Easter Morning, as at Abingdon, England.⁹⁵

Regarding removal of the sepulchre the Sarum Customary gives the time of removal as follows:⁹⁶

*Die ueneris (i.e. Friday) in abdomada Pasche
ante missam amouetur sepulchrum.*

This fits in more or less with the following request of Alice Bray of Chelsfield:⁹⁷

*I will a taper of iij li was to bren before the sepulture
of oure lorde wt in the said church at the tyme of Easter
that is to saye from Goode-fridaye to Thursdaye in the
Ester Weke to be brennyng at tymes convenyant according as
other lightes be wonte and used to be kept there about the
sepulture.*

At Edinburgh where they kept a full Octave their Watch would have ended before Mass on Friday of Easter Week. (See above.)

It is unlikely that a great Burgh Collegiate Church in a capital city would have been without a worthy location for an Easter Sepulchre. It appears to have been an arched recess, elaborately adorned with symbols of the Passion, in what was known as the Consistory or Holy Cross Aisle, located on the north side of the choir or chancel.⁹⁸

The Register of the COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY,

EDINBURGH, shows a record of expenditure for an Easter
 99
 Sepulchre,

1511-12. Item 147: Compotum Andree Sandelaris de
 fructibus de Kirkurd. (Reg. S. Trin. fol 3)

pro 'le sokkattis'^a Sepulture Dominice et tribus
 'le sparris' et 'le rachtoris' necnon pictura et
 aliis singulis^b 'le bandis'^c clausured.....xvi s.

- a. Sockets to hold candles.
- b. Should probably be read as 'cingulis,' curtain walls or girdles.
- c. hinges, i.e. for a gate.
- d. precinct, fenced enclosure.

The above may possibly relate to a curtained wooden-framed structure, mounted on a wooden platform surrounded by a low wooden fence with a gateway. It possibly resembles the curtained structure in ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL, OLD ABERDEEN, described above. The 'pictura' may have been similar to the 'marvellous beautiful image of Our Saviour' taken by the monks of Durham Abbey from the Sepulchre on Easter Morning.

Possibly the structure to house the sepulchre at OLD ABERDEEN and that at HOLY TRINITY, EDINBURGH was modelled after the fashion of a hearse such as was used in church to house a body during eve of burial all-night vigils to be followed by Requiem Mass and Commendation Ceremonies. Such a structure had sockets over the roof for the placing of candles. For the 'Depositio' and 'Elevatio' it was the custom to set up such a structure over a flat-topped tomb, normally against the North Wall, conveniently near the High Altar. 100

The fifteenth century 'Breviarium Bothanum' written for use in the

COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST MARNOCK, FOULIS EASTER, has a rubric for the ordering of the ceremony of the 'Elevatio' on Easter Morning from which we now quote:¹⁰¹

....(the Ministers and their attendants)
ad sepulcrum accedant et incensate sepulcro cum
magna veneracione corpus Dominicum super altare
ponant. Iterum accipient crucem de sepulcro....

According to the above after the sepulchre had been censed with great veneration, the Sacred Host was removed from it and placed upon an (or, the) altar, probably the High Altar, and again or secondly, the cross was taken from the sepulchre. From this we infer that the Easter Sepulchre was probably near the High Altar and possibly against the north wall adjacent to the choir or chancel. We also note the use of a plain cross, as opposed to a 'Crucifix, or 'Imago Resurrectionis' or 'Imago Salvatoris'.

In France sepulchres were often set up in the choir or chancel, as also it was common for an altar to serve as a sepulchre, as at Mont-St-Michel, in the fourteenth century. Other examples are Beauvais, Rouen, St Chapelle (Paris), Le Mans, Sens (13th cent.).¹⁰² More examples could be quoted. Such customs represent alternative possibilities for the usage at FOULIS EASTER. The practice was unknown in England. In France the arrangement seems to have been adopted to facilitate the performance of the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. Perhaps it was performed at FOULIS EASTER. There is no record. We can only speculate.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST MUNGO, GLASGOW possessed an 'Image of the Saviour', made of alabaster and mounted on a pedestal or base and kept in a wooden box when not in use. As an Inventory records,¹⁰³

1505. In primis, vnam ymaginem Saluatoris cum basi, in capsula lignea de gipso,.....

The figure being mounted on a base and not on a cross suggests that though kept in a box (or coffer) it was intended when not in the box to be stood upright, no doubt on Easter Morning.

Brooks suggests that some sort of a coffer was the real burial receptacle of most continental sepulchres as it was of English

Sepulchres.¹⁰⁴ (See further on coffers, etc. and Sepulchres,

ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS, below).

We have already referred to a figure entitled an 'Image of our Saviour' at Lincoln Cathedral where it had a 'void in the brest, for the Sacrament for Easter-day, having a beral before, and a diadem behind, with cross in hand, weighing thirty-six ounces', which figure is to be equated with the 'Image of our Saviour', representing the resurrection ...' used for the 'Elevatio' at Durham Abbey. We find the term 'Imago Salvatoris' in use in the liturgy of the 'Visitatio' from Diessen, Bavaria, where the Risen Lord was represented by an image bearing this name.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the liturgy of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries at Diessen and the use of the term 'Imago Salvatoris' at Glasgow poses the question as to whether or not there was a liturgy of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' at GLASGOW CATHEDRAL, or at any place where an 'Imago Resurrectionis' was used in the Easter Morning ceremonies. As far as Scotland is concerned it is a question that cannot be positively answered. No evidence exists on which to base a firm judgment, but clearly the possibility does exist.

The 1432 Inventory of GLASGOW CATHEDRAL lists a Silver Cross and a Silver Gilt Cross¹⁰⁶ both of which contained a particle of the wood of the true Cross. Either could have been used for the Good Friday 'Adoratio Crucis' and then been buried afterwards in the Easter Sepulchre at the ceremony of the 'Depositio'. The 'Imago Salvatoris' may have been buried at the same time, or as in many places, as indicated above, it may have been put privately into the Sepulchre on Easter Morning, sometime before the 'Elevatio'.

The fact that the 'Imago Salvatoris' was kept in St Mungo's Chapel may indicate that the Sepulchre was set up there as found in some places on the Continent as for example the Sepulchre set up before the Altar of St Laurence at Magdeburg,¹⁰⁷ Germany, and as mentioned under FOULIS EASTER above, at Mont St Michel in France.

The Church of ST ANDREWS, KINFAUNS, is now in ruins, but there remains an arched recess in the North Wall where an Easter Sepulchre may possibly have been set up. It probably dates from the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁸

An Indenture from PEEBLES, dated 4 February 1444/5, made between the Bailies and Community of the BURGH OF PEEBLES, Sir William Andersoun and Sir William Medilmaste, concerning the Altar of St Michael in St Andrew's Kirk, required the Chaplain to be present at the Liturgy of the 'Elevatio',

....and be he fra the begynnyng of the resurre-
ecioun on Pasche day he sal pay sex penys;....

The Indenture required the Chaplain to be able to sing Plain Song

and to be present throughout the round of daily services.¹⁰⁹

The fact that the Indenture related to the Altar of St Michael probably indicates that the Easter Sepulchre was set up in the chapel of that altar and quite possibly on the altar itself as at Mont St Michael in France and possibly FOULIS EASTER.

The above quotation indicates at least the removal from the Sepulchre early on Easter Morning of a cross placed there on Good Friday. It may also indicate the removal of a Host 'buried' at the same time. Further it might indicate the subsequent performance of the dramatic liturgy of the 'Visitatio' of the Three Maries. There is, however, no proof of this.

There is no known record of the location of the Easter Sepulchre in the CATHEDRAL OF ST ANDREW, ST ANDREWS. None was conjectured by McRoberts in his detailed account of the building. Here a Sepulchre may possibly have been located on the flat top of a large stone tomb, perhaps that of a member of the Douglas family, possibly erected on the pavement to the north of the High Altar. Such a location was much favoured by noblemen and ecclesiastical dignitaries. See the item below regarding Bishop Kennedy's tomb in the CHURCH OF THE COLLEGE OF ST SALVATOR, ST ANDREWS.¹¹⁰

The following extracts are taken from an Inventory of the above mentioned College Church first begun in the middle of the
¹¹¹
fifteenth century. We suggest all the items quoted relate to the Easter Sepulchre and the ceremonies associated with it, at least to the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio', possibly to the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' and even to other dramatic liturgies,

- i) Item tua stanis for the corsis.
- ii) Item j coffyr coruyn (i.e. copper crown) for the resurrection.
- iii) Item for the Sepultur of brass tua candlesticks.
- iv) Item ane Kyst of burd with ane claith for the Ymage of the Salvator of siluer.*
- v) Item ane gret sepultur with ane Ymage off our Saluour liand therwithin and ane Swdour quhit silk abon the same.*

*See below, section b) SUDARIA.

An Inventory dated approximately early 1559 supposed to relate to the Castle of St Andrews relates in fact principally to items formerly in St Salvator's College Church and now for the most part held in safe-keeping by various individuals. The items listed do not increase our knowledge of the liturgies of the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio'. This Inventory will be referred to again in connection with the Christmas-Epiphany Festival.^{112a}

Regarding item i above Brooks refers to a rubric which he found in several South German versions of the 'Depositio', including those of Freising and Moosburg, which explains how stones were used.^{112b}

At Freising:

Collocatur crucifixus in sepulchrum et linthocaminibus cooperiatur. Deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite seu sub dextro latere ponatur....

At Magdeburg after the burial of the cross there were placed by the Archbishop:

Duo lapides, unus ad caput crucis, alius ad pedes....

In some places a stone was placed at the entrance to the tomb to

symbolise the door. It was removed on Easter Morning in response to the sung request of the Mulieres:

Quis reuoluet ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum
cernimus sepulchrum?

The words may vary from place to place. It cannot be assumed that because such words were used a stone was necessarily implied.

Elsewhere an angel sat on a 'lapis' placed outside the Sepulchre and raised a curtain to reveal the interior of the tomb. Heales refers to expenses for an Easter Sepulchre at Abingdon, Berkshire in 1558 when the cost of 'Stones and other charges' amounted to
iiijs. vjd.¹¹³

The 'coffyr coruyn' (copper crown) in item ii above is not widely met with in scenes or plays of the Easter season. A play in the 'Fleury' manuscript has a scene of the 'Risen Lord's Last Appearance' to his eleven disciples when he wears a Crown, holds the Cross in his right hand and the Gospel Book in his left.¹¹⁴

In a 'Visitatio' of the fourteenth century from Mont-St-Michel when the Three Maries arrive at the tomb they meet an angel who is 'super altare' dressed in a white cope, with palm in hand and having a crown upon his head.¹¹⁵

In some places the theme of the 'Descent into Hell' was introduced into the ceremony by means of a verse such as the following,

Tollite portas, principes vestras, et elevamini portae
externales, et introibet rex gloriae.

This raises the question of whether or not in such a scene the 'King of Glory' entered wearing a crown. Not many records of representations of the scene of the 'Descent into Hell' have survived. We have found none in which Christ wears a crown.¹¹⁶

A number of items presented to the Church of St Mary, Redcliffe, Bristol, with the gift of a sepulchre, may indicate that a play of 'Christ's Final Appearance' may also have been played there and again it may have been indebted to the 'Fleury' manuscript:¹¹⁷

Item, The Fadre, the Crowne, & Visage, the
ball with the cross upon it, well gilt with
fine gould.

Additional items presented to St Mary, Redcliffe, at the same time included,

Item, 4 payr Angels' wings for 4 angels,
made of timber, & well painted.

Item, longeth to the 4 Angels, 4 chevelers (i.e. wigs).

Clearly William Canynge, the benefactor and priest was planning a liturgical play with 'live' participants.¹¹⁸

A representation of the scene of the 'Depositio Corporis Christi de Cruce' in Naples in February 1533 incorporated into the scene as speakers, St Jerome, St John the Baptist, Adam and King David who presumably wore a crown. This representation portrayed the scene of the 'Disputation Between Mary and the Cross', that is, a scene of the 'Planctus Mariae' of which a great many versions appeared in the Middle Ages. In the scene at Naples Mary reproaches the cross with the torments her Son had to endure. The cross defends itself by saying this had been necessary for the salvation

of mankind.¹¹⁹ It is said that some of the 'Planctus Mariae' are closely related to the Passion Play. Indeed some writers have fixed upon the 'Planctus Mariae' as the origin and beginning of the Passion Play. Other writers point out that although these 'Planctus Mariae' are always found in Passion Plays they are not in essence dramatic and so not the seed from which the Passion Plays grew. This is Young's point of view.¹²⁰

To sum up - possible uses of the crown at ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHURCH, ST ANDREWS are as follows:

- 1) By the Risen Lord at his last appearance to the eleven apostles as in the 'Fleury' Play Book and as possibly at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.
- 2) By the Angel at the entrance to the sepulchre when the Maries arrive on Easter Morning as at Mont-St-Michel.
- 3) By the Risen Lord in a Descent into Hell scene.
- 4) By King David in a Descent from the Cross scene.

The crown in the ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHURCH Inventory is probably evidence that there was at least one person (with others) impersonating a character in a dramatic role, perhaps in one of the scenes detailed above from the Paschal Cycle of liturgical plays.

In view of the close connection between ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY and the University of Paris it is possible the 'Fleury' and other collections of medieval religious plays became known from there as might also have happened in the case of Orléans.

The 'Kyst of burd with ane claith....etc.' at ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHURCH, ST ANDREWS was probably a wooden coffer, chest or box. Such an item might have been quite large. The semi-circular medieval vestment chests that survive in English cathedrals are as much as ten or more feet wide at the front. An undated but probably late fifteenth century account of St Mary at Hill, London, with another account of 1509, shows expenses 'for the sepulchre'. Another account dated 1516 shows:¹²¹

For the chest to lay the sepulcre in....
 xiij s. vjd.

With this may be compared the cost of only iv s. ix d. for making the Sepulchre in the undated year, when there were also charges of iis. ivd. for the provision of 'pennons'. At St Mary at Hill the Sepulchre was placed in the chest. Perhaps this is what happened at St Salvator's.

Item v seems very much like the 'Imago Salvatoris' at Glasgow which was stored in a box, Item iv may be the coffer or chest which served as the burial receptacle for the sepulchre at St Mary at Hill, London, and was the common practice on ^{the} Continent and in England. The box at Glasgow may have been no more than a storage box in which the image was kept throughout the year outside the Easter season. (See above, THE CATHEDRAL OF ST MUNGO, GLASGOW.)

We suggest that the 'Ymage off our Saluioir' referred to in items iv and v and the 'Salvator' referred to in item vi are akin to the 'Ymago Saluatoris' and the 'Image of our Saviour' of Glasgow and Lincoln Cathedrals respectively which are akin to the 'marvelous beautiful Image of our Saviour' of Durham Abbey and probably to the 'ymago pro Resurrecione' of COLDINGHAM PRIORY to all of which attention has already been drawn.

That an 'Imago Salvatoris' was not a Scottish or English peculiarity is shown by the use of such an image in a liturgical 'Visitatio Sepulchri' at Diessen, Bavaria; according to a fifteenth century document. After a verse of the Sequence 'Victimae paschali' by the organist the text shows that two Cantors raised the 'Imago Salvatoris' (taken from the Sepulchre at the 'Elevatio' before Matins) and sang the opening words of 'Christ ist erstanden ('Completo versu, duo cantores eleuantes Ymaginem cantent: 'Christ ist erstanden').¹²²

ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHAPEL contains a large monument to Bishop

Kennedy erected in the place where the Easter Sepulchre was often temporarily located.¹²³ Such monuments were often built on the north side of the High Altar with this in mind.

The tomb recess on the north side of the sanctuary of the COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST MARY AND ST CROSS, SETON, may have been the place where an Easter Sepulchre was set up. The tomb may have been that of the founder of the church, being positioned where a founder's tomb is normally found as in the case of Bishop Kennedy's monument in ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, ST ANDREWS, erected in the position normally occupied by the Easter Sepulchre.

Medieval wills often directed that a benefactor's tomb should be the place where the Easter Sepulchre was positioned.¹²⁴

There is a recess in the wall of the north aisle of the choir of the CHURCH OF THE HOLY ROOD, STIRLING. It is bell shaped and ornamented with carved work. Again this is a position where an Easter Sepulchre could have been located.¹²⁵

Within the north wall under the eastmost window of ST ANDREW'S CHURCH, TEMPLE, MIDLOTHIAN, there is a segmentally-arched-recess in poor condition, about six feet two inches long, with mouldings springing from small shafts and cups. An Easter Sepulchre may have been located there.¹²⁶

Expenses were regularly incurred by the Court at Paschaltide as shown by the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* which

record expenses relative to the CHAPEL OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN
AND ST MICHAEL, STIRLING CASTLE, when the King was in residence
 over Easter: 127

1494. Expens Maid Apoune the Kingis Chapell:
 Item, for the mending of the sepulture, the
 chapell dure and 'Judas Crois', ^a iiij s.

Item, for a lok, stapill and nalis, ij s.

a. The Paschal Candlestick.

Expans Maid Apoune The Kingis Almas.
 Item, gevin to James Dawsounis wif, for xxiij
 gownis and xxiij of luveray clathis agane Gud
 Friday; price of the gowne and hud, xiiij s.
 iiiij d.
 summa, xv li. vj s. viij d.

Item to iiiij hors to turs the samyn graith to
 Edinburgh, xx s.

1495. Item, for the carriage of the herras werk^b
 fra Edinburgh to Striueling agane Pasche wyth
 v hors xxv s.

b. i.e. Arras-work, embroidered tapestry.

Item, for the carrying of the copburd and siluer
 veschale, iiij hors, xv s.

Item, to four hors to carye the chapell geir to
 Striueling, xx s.

Item, to the Kingis Offerand on Pasche day, xviiij s.

1496. Item for the tarsing of the copburd to
 Striueling agane Pasche, x s.

Item, for the tarsing of the arres werk to
 Striueling agane Pasche, vj hors, xxx s.

Item, for a hors to turs the Kingis clothis the
 samyn tyme, v s.

Item, for the tarsing of the organis, the
 samyn tyme, to Striueling, gevin to Jhone
 Siluir, viij s.

Item, (the xix day of March), for iiij hors hire
 Striueling fra Edinburgh, with Kingis arras clothis
 and coffres agane Pasche, xx s.

An interesting item which cannot be explained with certainty is the one relating to twenty-three gowns with hoods and twenty-three livery clothes. As all would appear to be identical these items are hardly likely to be for a Passion Play. We can only suggest that they are perhaps for twenty-three people, possibly Courtiers or possibly paupers (see below) to wear in a procession to convey the Host and the Cross, Crucifix or 'Imago Crucifixi' to the Easter Sepulchre on Good Friday. They would probably be carrying candles or torches.

Processions to the Sepulchre on Good Friday varied very much from place to place in regards to the degree of elaboration employed. Some were quite simple, others were elaborate in the extreme, but always due solemnity was observed.

A fourteenth century 'Liber Ordinarius' from Essen gives details of such an elaborate procession in which many clergy and their attendants processed, but also, 'ultimo populus', presumably the whole congregation.¹²⁸

At Halle a 'Breviarium ecclesie collegiatae Hallensis' of the year 1532 shows not only the usual ministers and attendants but also 'pauperes' who came at the end of the procession. Perhaps this happened at Stirling, which is probably more likely, as Courtiers could be expected to bear the cost of their own livery.¹²⁹

In 1506 the King was still attending the Good Friday Liturgy of 'Creeping to the Cross' and the liturgy of the 'Resurrection' on

Easter Morning.¹³⁰

Item, the x day of Aprile, Gude Friday, to the Kingis Offerand to the Crucifixt, xv s vj d.

Item, the xij day of Aprile, to the Kingis Offerand in the mornynge at the Resurrectioun, and when he take his Sacrament, xliij s.

Item, to the Kingis Offerand at the hie mes, xiiij s.

There is no positive evidence for the performance of the ceremonies of either the 'Depositio' or the 'Elevatio' in the CHURCH OF THE ABBEY OF THE HOLYROOD, EDINBURGH, nor are we aware of items of information that taken together could make a case for the possibility of these ceremonies taking place at the Abbey Church of the Augustinian Canons. Furthermore there is no evidence for an Easter Sepulchre, either of a permanent or of a temporary nature. An Inventory of the 12 October 1493 shows two crosses of precious metal with relics of the True Cross, one of which was probably used for the 'Adoratio Crucis' of Good Friday which the 'Ordinale' (a rare survival for Scotland) shows was a custom of the Abbey. The 'Ordinale' makes no mention of the ceremonies of the 'Depositio' or 'Elevatio' but the fact of the performance of the 'Adoratio Crucis' would seem to imply that the customary Good Friday and Easter Morning ceremonies were very probably performed.

The Inventory seems rather too small for such a large institution as the Abbey, concentrating on the more valuable items, and not mentioning items of lesser value such as altar linen, etc. even if they existed.¹³¹

6) SUDARIA.

The 'Regularis Concordia' requires that in the ceremony of the 'Depositio' before putting the Cross into the Sepulchre the deacons are to wrap it in a 'sindon' (see below). This practice represents an important step forward along the road of dramatic realism, which in time resulted in the striking effects to be found in many versions of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

The synoptic gospels (i.e. Matthew, Mark and Luke) record that Christ's body in the sepulchre was wrapped in a linen cloth (Matthew 27,60 - Latin, 'in sindone'; Mark 15,46 - 'Ioseph.... deponens eum inuoluit sindone,...; Luke 23,53 - 'Ioseph....petiit corpus Iesu. Et depositum inuoluit sindone....'). St John's Gospel (Chap. 19,39,40) records that the body was buried with linen cloths ('lintea'; 'linteamina'; 'sudarium'). John also records (Ch.19, 39,40) that Joseph used spices with the linen cloths and tells us that when Peter and John visited the tomb after the resurrection they found the linen cloths ('linteamina') and a napkin ('sudary' = 'sudarium') about Christ's head ('super caput eius').

The dramatic liturgical ceremonies interpreted the gospel traditions with some freedom. Sometimes using the single linen or muslin cloth (the 'sindon' or 'linteum'), sometimes cloths, 'linteamina' - sing. 'linteamen'- lit. linen sheets, napkins or altar cloths). The term 'sudarium' is often met with, sometimes as a covering for the whole body. Where Scottish records are extant they show the consistent use of 'sudar', 'sudary' or 'sudarium'.

The determining factor as to whether or not the drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' was performed at the end of Matins is whether or not the grave cloths were ordered to be left behind in the Sepulchre after the ceremony of the 'Elevatio'. At Treves (Trier, Germany) they were specifically ordered to be left behind after this ceremony, and so be in place in readiness for the performance of the 'Visitatio'.¹³² Some records of the use of 'sudaria' in Scotland have survived (see below) but unfortunately no record has survived to show that in any of the instances referred to the 'sudarium' was ordered to be left behind. While evidence of 'sudaria' on its own cannot be taken as positive evidence for the performance of the 'Visitatio' there is a strong likelihood there was such a performance in view of the wide dispersion of this liturgical drama where there is evidence for the use of 'sudaria' (on this see below). The relative rubric in the 'Breviarium Bothanum' of FOULIS EASTER merely orders,¹³³

Iterum icipient crucem de sepulchro

However, it is almost certain that the Cross had been wrapped in a 'sudary' before being put into the Sepulchre in the rite of the 'Depositio' in accordance with normal Sarum custom. It is, therefore, possible that at FOULIS EASTER the 'sudary' was intended to be left behind with a view to the subsequent performance of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

An Inventory made at KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, ABERDEEN, in 1542 (never completed) lists items that might have been used to wrap a Cross, Crucifix or figure in the ceremony of the 'Depositio'.

Items, Sudaria:

Duo magna et honeste sudaria ex ly crispe.

We reject Eeles's suggestion that these 'sudaria' may have been used as humeral veils. Such veils were worn by the deacon at High Mass, draped over his shoulders, to cover the paten until needed by the celebrating priest. In practice they needed to be five or six feet in length and were made of material more precious than linen, of satin or silk, backed by linen, and were often heavily embroidered with iconographic symbols. We see no reason why the term 'sudaria' in this instance should be understood in any other context than that of the Easter Sepulchre.¹³⁴

An Inventory of 1550 of the COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF CRAIL shows that at least the ceremonies of the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio' were performed there:¹³⁵

Item, twa sudoris of dene sylk for the seruyce
in pascha.

An Inventory of 1454 of the COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, DUNDEE, includes the following,¹³⁶

Item, twa clathis for the sepulture.
Item, twa sudaris.

In 1320 a sudary was gifted with some other items for the Altar of St Mary, the Virgin, in the CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST MUNGO, GLASGOW.¹³⁷ Dowden thought it was unlikely that it would have been used in the ceremony of the 'Depositio' on the grounds that it was not "easy to say what the 'sudarium' was at this period".¹³⁸

Its use in that ceremony cannot, however, be ruled out. There is evidence from an eleventh- twelfth century German MS from an unidentified monastery giving the text of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' which shows the same use of the 'sudarium'.¹³⁹ After the words,

Venite et videte locum ubi positum erat
Dominus, alleluia, alleluia.

appears the following rubric or explanatory note

Intrent illi cum thuribulis et incensant sepulchrum, sublatoque lintheo vel sudario, quod inuenerint, tam ipsi quam et diaconi egrediantur, et ante altare sese ad conuentum vel ad populum conuertentes inter manus extendant sudarium ante se, et diaconibus ex utroque latere astantibus canant hi quinque hanc antiphonam:....

There is no mention of 'sudaria' in the Glasgow Cathedral Inventory of 1432 but the following item does appear:¹⁴⁰

Item, three linen cloths ('mappe') without frontals.

The fact that they are described as 'without frontals' might mean that they were covers for the tops of altars, i.e. runners, easily removable for laundering, such as are still used today. As they were of linen they might have as equally been named 'lintheamina' as 'mappe'. Altar linen was sometimes used to represent grave-cloths as in the fourteenth century rite at Senlis where the altar was used as a Sepulchre. There, when the angels sang the words 'Non est hic', they raised the altar-cloth to demonstrate the fact of the Resurrection.¹⁴¹

Cloths other than those used as grave-cloths were used in some Easter Sepulchres. These were 'steined' and used to cover the Sepulchre Coffin. We suggest the linen cloths at Glasgow

Cathedral were used as grave-cloths and so were 'sudaria/lintheamina'.

The extract of Inventory relating to the CHURCH OF THE COLLEGE of ST SALVATOR OF ST ANDREWS (shown above in Section a) EASTER SEPULCHRES, shows an item iv, 'ane cloth for the Ymage of silver' and an item v, 'ane Ymage off our Saluiour (lying in a sepulchre)....and ane Swdour of quhit silk abon the same'.

The normal custom was that on Good Friday when the Host and cross were buried in the Sepulchre they were covered with a 'sudarium' and says Young, we may assume that at the ceremony of the 'Elevatio' which took place before Matins early on Easter Morning the 'sudary' was left behind in the Sepulchre for dramatic use as we know was specifically enjoined by rubric at Treves (Trier, Germany).¹⁴² This custom was observed at Aquila¹⁴³ and elsewhere.

Young discusses or mentions at least two hundred and twelve manuscripts or printed sources from all across Europe where the 'sudaria/lintheamina' were used as a property to represent grave-cloths in a scene which invariably involved the Maries ('the Holy Women'), sometimes two, sometimes three, and the Apostles Peter and John, and perhaps other characters, depending on the stage of development particular plays may have achieved. These sources range in date from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries with a single eighteenth century source. The total is made up as follows:¹⁴⁴

Czechoslovakia, Prague, 13.
 France, excluding Paris, 13.
 Paris and the Diocese of Paris, 26.
 France, Unidentified sources, 1.
 German-speaking countries, 142.
 " " " , Unidentified sources, 3.
 Ireland, Dublin, 1.
 Italy, 10.
 The Netherlands, Haarlem, 1.
 Poland, Cracow, 2.

We submit that the drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' was sufficiently widespread to make it reasonable to suggest the possibility that where there is evidence of 'sudaria', etc, in Scotland there may have been performances of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. Some might think that the sole purpose of using 'sudaria' at all was to lend realism to the performance of the drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' by the discovery and showing of the grave-cloths. It is unlikely that Scotland pioneered this liturgical innovation. Grave-cloths were already a 'stage-property' of the tenth century 'Regularis Concordia'.

The above table of sources is unlikely to represent the total number of European sources featuring grave-clothes that once existed or even now still exist, and relatively speaking they almost certainly give a false picture. For example the comparatively high number of German sources is probably due to better conservation of resources coupled with more extensive and intensive research on the part of scholars. We calculate that the one hundred and forty-five surviving German sources were originally in use in forty-six different locations. Of

these the only one with which Scotland had much contact as far as records can show is Cologne, through the Scottish students and scholars who frequented its university, most of whom eventually became either ecclesiastics or lawyers. (See, Chapter Two.)

In France apart from the Paris region there are seven source locations but no records to show that Scotland had any serious contact with any of them. Significantly the Rouen manuscript play of the 'Officium Sepulchri' includes no incident involving the discovery or showing of the grave-cloths.¹⁴⁵

If there ever was a Scottish liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio' dependent on a French source other than Normandy then that could possibly have been located somewhere in the Paris region, and in particular in the City of Paris, through the many Scottish students & scholars who frequented the university, most of whom were eventually to pursue the same careers as those who attended Cologne and other universities at that time. (See Chapter Two.)

Another possible French source is the 'Fleury Play Book',¹⁴⁶ of which Scottish students, scholars and ecclesiastics may have had knowledge as a result of studying or holding office in Orléans. (See Chapter Two.)

A further possible continental source of influence is BRUGES (BRUGGE) where there was almost certainly a liturgical play of

the 'Mysterium Trium Regum' performed in the COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF OUR LADY from Epiphany 1330 and it is possible that a 'Mysterium Resurrectionis' already existed in 1350. A record of 1432 shows that it included a 'Visitatio Sepulchri' by the Three Maries and a 'Meeting with the Two Angels and the Risen Lord'. (See, CHAPTER FIVE. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1) BRUGES (BRUGGE). The Collegiate Church of Our Lady).

In Italy a thirteenth century record has survived from Padua Cathedral of a 'Visitatio Sepulchri' with grave-cloths business. Scotland had student and scholarly links with this ancient university city from at least the beginning of the thirteenth century and probably earlier (see, VOLUME TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. ii) SCOTTISH STUDENTS AT ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES).

There is no evidence to suggest that any Scottish 'Visitatio Sepulchri' that might have included grave-cloths as a property might have been dependent on an English-sourced version of such a play. There is no English evidence to show that such a play was performed other than in a monastery or convent, that evidence being confined to the tenth century Benedictine 'Regularis Concordia' and the fourteenth century rite of the Benedictine Convent of Barking. The tenth century 'Winchester Troper' has a drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' but has no business with grave-cloths. However, as Heales has shown, there is in England a large amount of surviving evidence relating to Easter Sepulchres. He presents extracts of wills, accounts and inventories showing provision for watches and lights and other items of equipment¹⁴⁷ but there is no mention anywhere of provision for grave-cloths

so-named and no mention either of 'sudaria' or 'lintheamina'.¹⁴⁸
 There is much mention of stained cloths but these¹⁴⁹ for different
 purposes, as for example, a covering for the coffer. Heales
 provides no evidence for any sort of liturgical drama in England,
 apart from the 'Regularis Concordia' and that of Barking Abbey,
 in connection with the Easter Sepulchre, and the same applies
 to the evidence offered by Brooks,¹⁴⁹ who says regarding the
 'Visitatio Sepulchri', "It is not possible to say how widespread
 the ceremony would have been found to be, if service books had
 not been destroyed, but it is certainly not justifiable to
 assume, as is sometimes done, that there was a 'Visitatio
 Sepulchri' wherever there was an Easter Sepulchre."¹⁵⁰

Although the surviving liturgical records of England and Scotland
 provide no textual evidence for the liturgical drama of the
 'Visitatio' such evidence is to be found in the fourteenth century
 Sarum Processional belonging to the Church of St John the
 Evangelist, Dublin, which in the dialogue makes use of an Easter
 Sequence known as 'Victimae Paschali',¹⁵¹ composed in the eleventh
 century, probably by Wipo, priest and chaplain to the Emperors
 Conrad II and Henry III.¹⁵² Sequences had been coming into the
 Mass from the ninth century.¹⁵³ We refer to the continental use of
 this sequence at Diessen under ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHURCH,
St ANDREWS (see above).

The element of dialogue included in the 'Victimae Paschali' led to
 its ever increasing use in the drama of the Church all over the
 Continent and especially in Germany. The primary use for

the sequence was to fill the gap between the reading of the Epistle and the reading of the Gospel. Sequences were free compositions, sung to lively tunes and were very popular with congregations. Pertinent to our present discussion is verse five of the original version

Angelos testes,
sudarium et vestes.
Surrexit Christus, spes mea;
praecedit suos in Galilaea.

The 'Victimae Paschali' sequence for Easter Day became the norm in the Roman Rite of the Continent but did not get into the Sarum Missals of England or Scotland.¹⁵⁴ In these two countries the Easter Sequence was quite different and much longer.¹⁵⁵ Thus the 'Victimae Paschali' is unlikely to have been widely known in England or Scotland. This made it unlikely that elements would be taken directly from this Sequence and incorporated into any hypothetical Scottish or English 'Visitatio'. If this were so it means that any Scottish 'Visitatio Sepulchri' which used grave-cloths (i.e. 'sudaria/linteamina') as a stage property was probably dependent on a continental source, viz. Paris or the Diocese of Paris, Orléans ('Fleury' Play Book), Bruges (Brugge), and Dublin cannot be ruled out as a possible source.

There is another possible source, namely, the various Benedictine Monasteries, such as COLDINGHAM PRIORY, where liturgy and ceremonies followed the requirements of the Benedictine 'Regularis Concordia'.

In bringing this review to a conclusion it may be recorded that

there is evidence from the prominent Reformer, George Buchanan, that the ceremonies of the 'Depositio' and the 'Elevatio' were still being performed up to the time of the Reformation. This suggests the possibility that there may also have been performances of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries. Buchanan (1506-82) poured ridicule on the liturgical services of the Church writing thus,¹⁵⁶

Yea and by degrees they (i.e. the beneficed clergy) withdrew themselves from the Office of singing at certain hours in cathedrals and churches, too; which, though it were but a light task, was yet a daily service; and hired poor shavelings to supply their places in singing and Massifying; and so by muttering and mumbling out a certain Task and Jargon of Psalms, which was appointed every day, they made a collusive kind of Tragedy, sometimes contending in alternate Verses and Responses; otherwise making a Chorus between Acts, which at last closed with the Image or Representation of Christ's Death.

There is a clear reference in the above to the liturgical ceremony of the 'Depositio' on Good Friday of a Crucifix in an Easter Sepulchre when, as we have seen, in many places a consecrated Host was also buried. This shows the ceremony was still being performed in Buchanan's lifetime probably up to the time of the Reformation. He does not refer to the ceremony of the 'Elevatio' which would normally have followed early on Easter morning, and which was itself followed towards the end of the Office of Matins by the dramatic liturgy of the 'Visitatio' of the Three Maries. At this time in his religious life, as a Calvinist, Buchanan would have found the ceremonies of the 'Depositio' and 'Elevatio' abhorrent, particularly where it involved the burial of a Host, having presumably rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. He would, no doubt, equally have objected to plays identified with the Feast of Corpus Christi. However, Buchanan had no objection to drama as such as shown by his composition of 'Jephthes' and 'Baptistes'.

David Ferguson, Minister of Dunfermline (1560-74), also ridiculed the liturgical services of the Church, and his probable date of birth shows he could have had personal experience of them in Scotland, writing thus of them:

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Where are ye commanded to lift the bread ouer
ur heades that the people may commit idolatrie
with it? Where are ye commended to dissagyse ur
selues lyke players or fooles with shauen crownes,
long wide sarkes^a aboue your clothing, and shorte
peies^b lyke cotes of armour abone all.

- a. The reference may be to the priest's alb worn when celebrating Mass.
- b. We have not identified the word 'peies,' but the reference is probably to the priest's chasuble worn over the alb referred to above.

Ferguson would also have found the ceremonies of the 'Depositio' and 'Elevatio' abhorrent, and strongly condemns clergy dressing up as players. It is probably correct to assume that he condemned all forms of dramatic performance.

In regard to liturgical practise there was broad and often very close agreement on the way things were done throughout the Western Church. Even so as between one country and another there was some variation of detail, as for example, the precise position in the church where an Easter Sepulchre might be located and so where the 'Depositio', 'Elevatio' and the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' might be performed. By looking at such detail it should be possible to suggest the likelihood of say English, French, or German influence, and so on.

In England the Easter Sepulchre was commonly established on the north side of the chancel or choir in a recess or over a tomb, near the High Altar. In France the High Altar was often used as an Easter Sepulchre, sometimes a specially constructed sepulchre,

was set up in the choir, or in the nave, in a side chapel, in the sacristy, or even in the crypt. In Germany the most common place for the sepulchre was in the nave and only occasionally in the choir, or in a side chapel. In Italy the usual place for the Easter Sepulchre was in the nave.¹⁵⁸

We now categorize the above suggested possible locations of Scottish Easter Sepulchres according to the countries by which their location or type may have been influenced. The exercise is bound to be arbitrary and without precision. For a number of churches we have no evidence regarding location, even though we may have other valuable information about them.

- a) English: King's College Chapel, Aberdeen;
Holy Trinity, Edinburgh;
St Andrew's, Kinfauns; St Salvator's,
St Andrews; St Mary and St Cross, Seton;
the Holy Rood, Stirling; St Andrew's and
Temple, Midlothian.

We have classified the above thus because the locations are associated with tombs or recesses on the north side of the choir or chancel, which can perhaps be regarded as the typical if not universal position in England.¹⁵⁹

- b) French: St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen, possibly a curtained enclosure near the High Altar; Coldingham Priory, if they followed the Customs of their Mother House at Durham with the Sepulchre on the north side of the choir, near the High Altar; St Giles, Edinburgh, in the Holy Cross Aisle or Chapel, to the north of the chancel; St Marnock, Foulis Easter, an Altar Sepulchre, probably the High Altar; St Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow, in St Mungo's chapel; in St Michael's Chapel, St Andrew's Church, Peebles.

- c) German: We have no evidence for Easter Sepulchres being set up in the nave in Scotland.

- d) Italian: as above.

None of the classifications should be regarded as definitive. A German influence, for example, cannot be ruled out because there were no nave sepulchres in Scotland, as far as we know.

There are a small number of German examples of sepulchres in side chapels.

Positively it can be said in regard to Easter Sepulchres Scotland shows influence by both England and France, and that there are examples of the French tradition which are not normally found in England.

c) OBSERVANCES AT CHRISTMAS AND EPIPHANY.

The following are extracts from Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the BURGH OF AYR:

1549-50. To Adam Nicol, to make Goddis hous, £1 10s.¹⁶⁰

1551-52. Mending Goddis hous, 3s.
Candles for Yule, 6s.¹⁶¹

At EDINBURGH the Accounts of the Dean of Guild show a similar entry in respect of ST GILES CHURCH as follows:

1554-55. Item, to a wryght to big ane litill
hous at the back of Sanct Johnis alter:
iiij dayis ilk day iiis.
Summa, xiijs. vid.¹⁶²

These records are suggestive of several possible observances during the Christmas - Epiphany season when 'Goddis hous' or the 'litill hous' may possibly have been the focal point for any one of the following activities

- i) Solemn non-dramatic ceremonies featuring at the Feast of the Nativity, the Visit of the Shepherds and at the Feast of the Epiphany the Visit of the Magi to adore the Holy Child.
- ii) Liturgical dramas with impersonations of the Midwives and Shepherds at the Feast of the Nativity and at the Epiphany impersonations of the Magi making their gifts.
- iii) A more developed version of the above liturgical dramas combining the two and possibly including scenes with Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents based on the 'Ordo Rachelis' performed at the Nativity or the Epiphany.
- iv) At the Nativity and/or the Epiphany a gathering of the congregation, light-bearers and clergy at the crib or about the altar serving as a 'praesepe', at the singing of the Gospel of the Day, or at the 'Offertorium', with the possible offering of gifts at the latter.

Unfortunately there is not much evidence to establish with what

special observances the Feasts of Christmas and the Epiphany were celebrated in Scotland. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss the subject at some length in a wider context to try and establish what the possibilities were, taking into account the practice in England and on the Continent. There is also ¹⁶³ need to clarify what the above records imply in the use of the term 'hous'. Records concerning dramatic liturgy outside Scotland always show the focal point of these dramas as the 'praesepe' or 'praesepio/praeseptum' in those instances where they actually give it a name. Surviving records of the 'Officium Pastorum' performed at Christmas on its own are meagre. Only a small number of churches are known to have cultivated it.

Visits of the Shepherds to the Infant Jesus in the manger at Bethlehem entered the liturgy in the course of the eleventh century when they began to be featured in a trope to the introit of the Mass of the Nativity, which paralleled that of the 'Quem quaeritis?' trope in the Easter Mass which was later transferred to the end of Matins and evolved into the dramatic liturgy of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. Records of eleventh century tropes have survived from a) Limoges, b) Ivrea, c) Mantua, d) Novales, & a twelfth century trope has survived from e) Bobbio.¹⁶⁴ These are all of later date than the Easter tropes. These Christmas tropes only became dramatic plays when they were transferred to the Office of Matins, in most cases to the end of the Office but in at least one instance to the beginning. In its new position it evolved into the 'Officium Pastorum'.¹⁶⁴ Such dramatic liturgies have survived from, a) Padua, thirteenth century, celebrated

before the Office and using a separate 'praesepe' in the middle of the choir, a short distance from the altar, with figures of the Holy Mother and Child either in it or on it. b) Clermont-Ferrand, fourteenth and fifteenth century texts, c) Rouen, fourteenth century, d) Senlis, fourteenth century, e) Mantua, eleventh century, f) Arras, eleventh century.¹⁶⁵ Wherever the location of the Holy Child is precisely named the term 'praesepe' is used.¹⁶⁶

Rather more documents featuring the 'Visit of the Three Kings' have survived than those featuring the 'Visit of the Shepherds'.¹⁶⁷ Liturgical dramas featuring the Three Kings probably grew out of the ceremonial singing of the Epiphany Gospel, and the Epiphany Offertory Verse. Our only surviving examples of the former come from Limoges and from Besançon and there is a single example of the latter from Limoges.¹⁶⁸ From these ceremonies it is thought the 'Officium Stellae' developed. In most places this Office was sung at the end of the Epiphany Office of Matins, which was traditionally sung daily as early as 2 a.m., which must have meant that very few of the public ever witnessed the event. More sensibly at Rouen, according to the fourteenth century version, the 'Officium Stellae' took place at once after the 9 a.m. Office of Terce and led directly into the Epiphany Mass,¹⁶⁹ a custom which might possibly have been followed in Scotland. Records of such plays have survived as follows:

- a) Rouen, Fourteenth century.
- b) Limoges, of uncertain date.
- c) Besançon, in the churches of St Stephen and St John, of uncertain date.
- d) Nevers, eleventh century.
- e) Compiègne, eleventh century.
- f) The Norman-French Kingdom of Sicily, twelfth century.

- g) Strassburg, 1200.
- h) The Province of Rouen, twelfth century.
- i) Bilsen, Belgium, twelfth century.
- j) The 'Fleury' manuscript of the Monastery of Benoît-sur-Loire, thirteenth century.
- k) Freising Cathedral, eleventh century.
- l) Padua, thirteenth century.¹⁷⁰

All the later Magi plays include one or more scenes with the Shepherds and some include scenes of 'The Slaughter of the Innocents' based on the 'Lamentacio Rachelis'.¹⁷¹ The simplest and oldest forms of the 'Officium Stellae' are found only in France, suggesting it originated there. Most of the surviving texts at their various stages of development are also from France, inferring that the play chiefly thrived there. Both records and texts indicate the eleventh century as the time when the 'Officium Stellae' arose and developed, as amply shown by existing texts.¹⁷²

Surviving texts of both the 'Officium Pastorum' and the 'Officium Stellae' are of no help in elucidating details of the precise nature of the 'praesepe'. At Rouen in the 'Officium Pastorum' it was placed behind the main altar, was big enough for two Midwives to stand in, and was provided with figures of the Virgin & Child.¹⁷³ It is generally agreed that according to the liturgical documents that have survived the Three Kings found the Child Jesus at or in a 'praesepe', but according to the Vulgate version of St Matthew's Gospel,¹⁷⁴ which has no account of the 'Visit of the Shepherds', the Kings found the Child in a 'domus' (house), but precisely where the Child lay in the house is not given. The Gospel according to St Luke is the only one which gives an account of the Nativity where it is recorded that when the Child was born

his Mother 'reclinavit eum in praesepio, quia non erat eis locus in diuersorio' (i.e. in the inn)¹⁷⁵ Here the Authorised Version of the Bible translates 'praesepio' as 'manger' which the Oxford Dictionary defines as 'box, trough, in stable, for horses or cattle to eat from'. The term 'praesepio' occurs again in verse 12 of the same chapter where its meaning remains as before. The context supports the translation given in the Authorised Version and it is fair to assume that the 'praesepio' or 'manger' was in fact either in a stable or in a cowshed, which again could be loosely designated a 'house'.

As explained above the term 'praesepe' (or 'praesepio', 'praeseptum', 'praesep', etc.) is normally used throughout the liturgical documents that feature the 'Visit of the Shepherds' and the 'Visit of the Magi'. In both the visitors find the Child in or on a 'praesepe', and we have not found the term 'domus' as found in St Matthew's Gospel in the Vulgate for the 'Visit (or 'Adoration') of the Magi'. Sometimes, however, an altar with a curtain does duty for a 'praesepe' and the term 'praesepe' is not used.¹⁷⁶

If there was ever liturgical drama in Scotland featuring the Shepherds and the Three Kings it could possibly have been derived directly from England. As we have shown in PART II there is a record of 1190 of the performance of a 'Representacio Pastorum' in Lichfield Cathedral and according to a York record of 1255 (quoted above in PART II) there is the possibility of the

performance in the Minster of both an 'Officium Pastorum' and an 'Officium Stellae'. According to Salisbury records for 1214-22 (see PART II) there may have been performances of the same Offices there. In view of Scotland's derivation of its Constitutions from England evidence for possible liturgical drama there strengthens the possibility of its one-time existence in Scotland and its probable ultimate derivation at second-hand from Rouen. Rouen's text of the 'Officium Pastorum' is one of the few texts of that play to survive. In the Rouen 'Shepherds' Play' the Shepherds offer their worship to the Holy Child at what the text calls a 'praesepe' set up behind the High Altar where 'Obstetrices' pull aside a curtain to allow the Shepherds to look in.¹⁷⁷

In the comparatively simple fourteenth century Rouen version of the 'Officium Stellae' a curtained altar on which are figures of the Holy Mother and Child serves as the focal point for the 'Adoration of the Three Kings' and thus as a 'praesepe' although that term is not used of it.¹⁷⁸ An altar also did duty as a 'praesepe' at Limoges and Besançon.¹⁷⁹

Chambers found no trace of the performance of the 'Officium Pastorum' on its own in Germany, where the 'praesepe' became a centre more for carols, dances and crib-rocking, with its dumb figures, than for liturgical drama.¹⁸⁰ However, the 'praesepe' is found as the focus or centre of the action in the 'Stellae' at Strassburg,¹⁸¹ Bilsen¹⁸² and Einsiedeln.¹⁸³

We know of no Scottish records which taken together with the terms 'Goddis hous' and 'ane litill hous' would help to determine positively the context of these terms. We cannot assume that the Scottish use of the term 'hous' is indicative of the Holy Family leaving a stable with its manger or ox-stall for a proper house by the time of the Epiphany. Where in the liturgical dramas we find the use of the term 'praesepe' in the English vernacular cycles we find the use of a wider range of terms. In Play XIV of the York Cycle in the 'Nativity' of the Tile-thatchers we find the use of the word 'cribbe',¹⁸⁴

Nowe lord that all this worlde schall wyne,
To be my sone is that I saye,
Here is no bedde to laye the inne,
Therefore my dere sone I the praye,
Sen it is soo,
Here in this cribbe*I myght the lay
Betwene ther bestis two.

*The Oxford Dictionary defines 'crib' as 'barred receptacle for fodder; hovel, hut; small bed for child with barred sides'.

In York Play XV, 'The Shepherds', of the Chandlers, the Shepherds are said to find the Infant Jesus in a 'house.....Betwyx Two bestis tame'. Clearly in this play the birthplace was represented as a stable, although in fact called a 'house',¹⁸⁵

Loo, here is the house, and here is hee
Ya forsoothe, this is the same,
Loo whare that lordc is layde
Betwyxc two bestis tame,
Right as the sungell saide.

In Play XVI, 'Herod and the Magi' of the Masons and Goldsmiths we again find the use of the word 'house' for the place where the Holy Child was to be found,¹⁸⁶

Lo, here is the house at hande
We haue noyt myste this morne.

Play XI of the Chester Plays, in 'The Magi's Oblation' we find the use of the word 'howsing' for the place where the Holy Child was to be found:¹⁸⁷

Secundus Rex.
That is the signe we be heare,
but high hall se I none heare,
to a childe of such power
this howsing standeth Lowe.

In another verse of the same play we find the use of the word 'stable',¹⁸⁸

The Star over the Stable is;

In the following verse the 'stable' is called 'this simple house',¹⁸⁹

and this simple house is his.

In the next verse we learn that the Child rested in an 'oxe-stall',¹⁹⁰

for though he lye in an oxe-stall
his might is never the lesse.

A little later we find the term 'stable' being used once more,¹⁹¹

And I will offer through Gods grace
Incense, that noble savour mase;
Stench of the Stable it shall wast,
there as they be lent.

In the 'Nativity' of the 'N-Town' or 'Lincoln Plays' (formerly known as the 'Ludus Coventriae') the birthplace is named a 'hous'¹⁹²
and is by implication also a 'stable',

Yondyr is an hous of haras
that stane be the wey;
Among the bestys
herboryd may ye be.

In the 'Wakefield (formerly 'Towneley') Plays' the place in which the Holy Family were staying is not named, neither in the Shepherds' Plays nor in the Plays of the Magi. However, Play No.XIII, 'The Shepherds' Play II', tells us the Child was in a
¹⁹³
 'crib',

Bot the angell says
 In a cryb was he layde;

(Words standing outside the text such as: 'They enter the stable,' are editorial notes.)

In Play No.XIV, the 'Offering of the Magi', the Holy Family are described as at a 'place',
¹⁹⁴

Yond is the place that we haue soght
 ffrome far cuntre;
 yond the chyld that all has wroght,
 Behold and se!

In the Shearmen and Taylors' Play of 'Herod and the Slaying of the Innocents', one of two surviving plays in the authentic Coventry Cycle, we meet the term 'jesen', a place of confinement, or labour bed. An original direction says,

There the iij kyngis gois to the jesen, to Mare and
 hir child.

The word also occurs in the text:

Now he thatt made us (i.e. the Kings) to mete on playne
 And offurde to Mare in hir jeseyne,
 He geve us grace in heyyin agayne
 All togeyder to mete!*
¹⁹⁵

*'Jesen' (or, 'jeseyene'), a labour bed with the implication that when the Kings visited the stable or house Mary was either in it or on it nursing the infant Jesus.

There is no reference to beasts in the Coventry Play of 'Herod and the Slaying of the Innocents'.

We suggest that the evidence from the English cycle plays indicates the probability that the 'Goddis hous' at AYR and the 'littill hous' at ST GILES, EDINBURGH, are correctly understood as taking in each case the form of a mock-up stable made by a local carpenter to resemble the stable in which it was believed the Infant Jesus was born, like that with which the craftsman was familiar. Besides Mary, the Infant and Joseph, there would almost certainly have been figures of the Ox and an Ass, in each instance probably carved in wood and coloured.

The English cycle plays, like the continental liturgical plays, make no distinction between the place visited by the Shepherds and that visited by the Magi. In the case of the liturgical plays it was normally called a 'praesepe'. There were, however, a few instances where an altar did duty as a 'praesepe', as for example at Rouen (see above) in the 'Officium Stellae' ('Le Jour de l'Epiphanie'), although it was not named as such.¹⁹⁶ Latin dictionaries define 'praesepe', etc., as 'an inclosure, I, a crib, manger. II. a stall, a low house'. In Arnoul Greban's 'Le Mystère de la Passion' in the scene of the 'Adoration des Bergers', the Innkeeper, Sadoc, offers Mary & Joseph what he calls 'un viel appentis...en ruine' at the side of the inn.¹⁹⁷ An 'appentis' is a lean-to shed, but elsewhere in the same scene this is called 'la maison'. In the scene of the 'Adoration des Mages' the place visited by the Kings is called 'une masure', i.e. a hovel, or tumble-down house.

In this PART III, a) EASTER SEPULCHRES, we have already quoted a record from the ABERDEEN BURGH records relating to the Council

Order made on 14 January 1512/13 whereby every local Craft was required to provide a pair of torches, not only 'to decoir and worschip the sacrament one corpus xpi day and at the fest of pasche at the resurrexion' but also at 'youle' (and at other needful times), each torch to be of 'foure pund of wax.' These would have been for use in connection with the worship of the BURGH CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, either indoors or outdoors. Yule being in the winter we assume the torches were for use in church as at the 'resurrexion'.

We believe the word Yule has to be taken literally and mean Christmas Day itself, and should not be taken to include the Epiphany which occurs on 6 January.

The presence of a large number of Craftsmen with their torches probably means the attendance of a large normal congregation at the principal Mass of the festival. We suggest this precludes the possibility of their being present at an 'Officium Pastorum' after Matins beginning at the traditional time of 2am when there was unlikely to be a large congregation of laity. It is more likely that the principal congregational Mass took place after the recitation of the Hour of Terce, traditionally recited at 9am. That was the position where at Rouen they performed their 'Officium Stellae',¹⁹⁸ which led directly into Mass as did their 'Officium Pastorum'. It is possible that at Aberdeen, perhaps after Terce on Christmas Day, they performed a Shepherds' scene in the same way as at 'Fleury' on the Feast of the Epiphany they performed their 'Ordo Ad Representandum Herodem'. There the

'praesepe' was placed at one of the doors of the church and to which the Shepherds proceeded after the angelic salutation.¹⁹⁹ Here took place the usual dialogue with the Midwives. Then after adoring the Child themselves, the Shepherds invited the congregation standing around to do likewise:²⁰⁰

Postea surgentes inuitent populum circumstantem
adorandum Infantem, dicentes tribus vicibus:

Venite, venite, venite, adoremus Deum, quia
ipse est Saluator noster.

At ST NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN, if indeed there was such a celebration, the Craftsmen may have stood around the 'praesepe' holding their torches in company with clergy and members of the lay congregation. Such a possibility cannot be precluded solely on the grounds that at Aberdeen there is no record of a 'praesepe', for which in accordance with the practice of some continental places an altar could have served. What happened in ABERDEEN could have been done in AYR or EDINBURGH.

Akin to the ABERDEEN ORDER is a York Minster Statute of 1255 which requires the Treasurer to find all the waxen tapers for the procession at the Nativity of the Lord and at the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (For extract of record see above, PART II. THE SCOTTISH LITURGY AND LITURGICAL DRAMA.)

We suggest the abnormal requirement of waxen tapers at York were for distribution to members of the congregation to be used in the same way as were the craftsmen's torches at ABERDEEN. As already shown above at AYR there was special provision for candles for

Yule in 1551/2 when 'Goddiss hous' was repaired. What may have been done at York, Aberdeen, Ayr and Edinburgh, may have been in imitation of what St Francis of Assisi is recorded as having instituted at Greccio in 1223 where after obtaining Papal sanction he erected a 'praeseptum' where he stationed a live Ox and Ass with provender for them to eat. It is recorded that, 'Crowds gathered and that Holy Night was made festal with clustered lights and glad sounds. Before the manger which served as an altar, stood Francis'. As St Bonaventure wrote:²⁰¹

....fecit praeparari praeseptum, apportari foenum, bovem et asinum ad lucem adduci. Advocantur fratres, adveniunt populi, personat silva voces, et venerabilis illa nox luminibus copiosis et claris, laudibusque sonoris et consonis.

Observances associated with the 'praesepe' did^{not} stay still or fossilise, and developments that we know took place elsewhere raise other possibilities for Scotland. In the later Middle Ages popular items in the vernacular found their way into the liturgical drama. There are examples from German-speaking lands from the end of the fourteenth century of this new practise, especially at Christmas when a 'Wiegenlied' was sung in the vernacular at the crib.²⁰² The Scottish religious lyric 'All Sons of Adam' of about 1540²⁰³ whilst not a cradle song in the sense of a lullaby would have been an appropriate lyric to have^{been} sung at the Christmas Crib. Some of the longer religious lyrics of the period would have learnt themselves to simple mimetic or even dramatic performance in addition to or instead of the traditional Christmas and Epiphany liturgical drama.²⁰⁴

There is a fifteenth century record from Siena, Italy, of a Nativity Mass in which an Angel appears and sings 'Gloria in Excelsis'.²⁰⁵ After the Mass another Angel appears and speaks a Prologue after which follow scenes of the 'Birth of Jesus', the 'Visit of the Shepherds' who bring gifts of cheese and a barrel of wine. Then follows the 'Adoration of the Magi', which concludes with an Epilogue spoken by an Angel. The action took place in the middle of the church, at the Transept Crossing in front of the High Altar where a stable had been set up. This shows the tendency to amalgamate scenes to make up a Nativity Cycle and it also shows that the events of Epiphany were in some places brought forward and remembered on Christmas Day. This is something that may have happened at Aberdeen, Ayr or Edinburgh, or in any Scottish burgh.

Apart from these three burghs there is some evidence of possible Christmas and Epiphany observances in the Burgh Church of Perth. The Accounts of the GUILD OF HAMMERMEN OF PERTH show the following item:²⁰⁶

- 1521. Item for candill to the sterne...iij d.
- 1522. Item deliverit on All Halloweven
for uly (i.e. for oil) to the
sterne....vj d.*

*Items of expenditure for oil and for 'imps' (very small candles or 'night-lights' used for pricket stands) appear at regular intervals in the accounts.

Although the 'sterne' was obviously a permanent installation this would not exclude its use in connection with a liturgical

'Officium Trium Regum' or 'Officium Pastorum'. The Perth 'sterne' was not a simple device with candles, for it also used oil. This was probably for a lamp in the centre, the candles being spaced around the outer rim to make a very handsome 'corona'. At Perth it was probably installed in the Hammermen's Chapel of St Eloi, which may have been where the Christmas Crib was set up. Whilst in some places a special 'star' or 'corona' was brought out for use at Christmas it was not uncommon for one normally in use to be used for the Christmas plays, as in the later version of the plays at Rouen, where the 'corona' was evidently very much like the one at Perth, consisting of a central glass bowl surrounded by ancillary ones, all containing fuel and a floating cotton wick as distinct from the candles used at Perth. The whole was surrounded by a piece of ornamental metal.²⁰⁷

We refer once more to the Inventory supposed to relate to the Castle of St Andrews already referred to above. It is in fact mostly concerned with items once in the College Church of St Salvator's College. It is possible that 'the starne of brass' included in the list may have been used as a 'star' at Christmas for a scene of the 'Visit of the Shepherds' to the Bethlehem Stable (or 'Goddis hous') and/or for a scene of the 'Adoration (or Offering) of the Magi' at the stable - either static scenes with carved figures or with live actors.^{208a}

Our study of sources outside Scotland has shown the various possible ways in which Christmas and Epiphany might have been marked with special seasonal observances but the paucity of surviving Scottish records does not permit of any definite conclusions concerning the precise form which these took, but records of 'houses' at AYR and EDINBURGH and the provision of torches at Yule in ABERDEEN shows that at those places and possibly at PERTH there was some special observance at Christmas, and the likelihood is that whatever it was it was in line with common custom throughout the Western Church.

The 'houses' were probably simple structures akin to the one that can be seen in the illumination of the Adoration of the Magi in the fifteenth century Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany (Queen of France) held in Edinburgh University Library (MS 45), or in the mid-fifteenth century Franco-Italian painting (oil on wood) of the Nativity with St Jerome, a Pope and a Cardinal (Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries), both of which resemble the sort of 'stable' still to be seen in some churches today during the Christmas season.

d) THE LITURGICAL EPISCOPUS PUERORUM.

There is not much evidence ~~in surviving~~ ^{surviving} Scottish celebration of the above liturgy, although the Boy Bishop and his gang were well-known figures on the streets during the Christmas season, pressing passers-by for alms, and they passed into Scottish life after the Reformation. The only indication we have of a possible liturgical Boy Bishop is in the Inventory of the COLLEGE CHURCH OF ST

SALVATOR'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS. 208b

1552. A mytyr for sant innocentis bisscop.

The Boy Bishop was a choir boy elected by the other choir boys on St Nicholas Day, 6 December. His duties began at Vespers on St John the Evangelist's Day, 27 December, the Eve of the Holy Innocents, continuing later that day with Compline. Next day, Holy Innocents' Day, he presided at Matins and Lauds and later the same day at First Vespers of St Thomas the Martyr. That completed the Boy Bishop's liturgical duties.

It was clearly intended that these services should be conducted with the same decorum as when conducted by the ordained clergy. The Boy Bishop was dressed as a bishop and carried a crosier, and the choir and candle bearers all wore vestments. When required the Boy Bishop censed the altar, as he did, for example, at Vespers at singing of the 'Magnificat'. He said prayers from his throne and gave Blessings, the only function he performed that was normally reserved to a bishop or priest.

The play of the Boy Bishop was very widespread in medieval France, even so it is thought that it had its origin in St Gall, Switzerland, in the tenth century. From there evidence has survived from the year 911 of a custom which had not yet been properly formalized. There is also definite evidence of the observance of the custom from many places in England, as also from here and there in Germany, ²⁰⁹ as for example, in Worms in 1307, in Lübeck in 1336, in Moosburg in 1360, also in Regensburg, ²¹⁰ Prague and Mainz, where the Boy Bishop was known either as the Schul-Bischoff or the Apffeln Bischoff. ²¹¹

A large ex-patriate Scottish population grew up in Regensburg, which being centrally situated and on the Danube made it an important trading centre where trade routes crossed. No doubt this was the reason for the Scottish settlement. At the same time Scottish monks began to infiltrate the Bavarian Benedictine Monasteries.

In Germany the Boy Bishop customs were similar to those observed elsewhere. On the Eve of St Nicholas the Boy Bishop was chosen by the 'ludi magister der scola trivialis'. The Boy Bishop had his own Chaplains, beadles and horses. On St Nicholas Day and Holy Innocents Day he sat in a stall near the High Altar and took part in First and Second Vespers. In between-times he paid a visit with his comrades to the house of the 'ludi magister' where they sang a hymn, requested a gift or to be supplied with food and drink. This observance continued in Cologne until 1662 and in Mainz even as late as 1779.

Abuses crept in in some places even in the thirteenth century. The Archbishop of Rouen reported that at his Visitation of the Monastère de la Trinité de Caen in 1256, on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, the young religious sang 'farced lessons',²¹²

Juniores in festo Innocentium cantant lectiones
suas cum farsis.

The Archbishop forbade the practise.

The fifteenth century 'Breviarium Bothanum' of FOULIS EASTER makes no mention of a Boy Bishop under the Feast of St Nicholas or the Holy Innocents. The only indication of any special ceremony comes at the end of the Vespers of St John the Evangelist, 27 December, and the Eve of Holy Innocents, when a procession of children was to go to the Altar of All Saints to sing the 'Memoria' of the following day, with burning candles and wearing copes,²¹³

tunc eat processis puerorum ad altare omnium
sanctorum cum cappis et cereis ardentibus.

However the Scottish Record Office has a collection of fragments of medieval manuscripts salvaged from book bindings. One such fragment comes from the fifteenth century 'Sarum Breviary', which although no positive proof exists, is most likely to be of Scottish provenance. The fragment contains much of the standard liturgy of the Boy Bishop which with its rubrics follows closely the normal text of the 'Sarum Breviary'.²¹⁴

The liturgical rite of the 'Episcopus Puerorum' where it was performed in Scotland would generally speaking have been performed in accordance with Sarum customs. These are set out in *Ceremonies And Processions Of The Cathedral Church Of Salisbury* and are described in Daniel Rock's *The Church Of Our Fathers*. A comparison with the Rouen Rite shows that the two rites are closely

related.²¹⁵

CONCLUSIONS.

We believe that the facts we have set out in this chapter show that the Church in Pre-Reformation Scotland was well and truly integrated into the Church of the West, adopting Constitutions which had their roots in the continental mainland. In broad terms its liturgical practices were the same as those of the Continent and if liturgical dramas were performed in Scotland then it is highly likely that at least in broad terms their content and rendition would have closely resembled that of the Continent and in particular that of France, and more especially that of the cathedrals and churches of Normandy.

We believe that the evidence that has survived and to which we have referred, small though it may be, points to the same sources of influence on the origin and evolution of hypothetical Scottish observances in respect of both the Feasts of Easter and Christmas. We believe the seminal sources were based in Normandy, and probably derived from Rouen Cathedral, or from some church in the Diocese of Rouen, and were mediated to Scotland for the most part via England, with the possibility of some direct influence.

The table on the following pages names the liturgical dramas we suggest might possibly have been performed in Scotland in Pre-Reformation times.

CHURCH.	SUGGESTED POSSIBLE DRAMA & REASON
<u>ABERDEEN.</u>	
St Nicholas.	a) An 'Officium Pastorum', or an 'Officium Stellae' which included 'Shepherd' and 'Slaughter of the Innocents' scenes. Craftsmen required to provide Torchbearers at Yule. b) A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. Craftsmen required to provide Torchbearers 'at the fest of pasche at the resurrexioun'.
King's College Chapel.	A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. Evidence of 'sudaria' (i.e. grave cloths).
<u>OLD ABERDEEN.</u>	
St Machar's Cathedral.	A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'. The 'Curtained Sepulchre'.
<u>AYR.</u>	
The Burgh Church.	An 'Officium Pastorum', or an 'Officium Stellae' which included 'Shepherd' and 'Slaughter of the Innocents' scenes. Provision of a 'God's House'.

CRAIL.

The Collegiate Church.

A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

The 'twa sudoris'.

DUNDEE.

The Collegiate Church
of the Blessed Virgin
Mary.

A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

The 'twa sudoris'.

EDINBURGH.

St Giles Collegiate
Church.

As at a. and b.

ABERDEEN. St Nicholas.

- a) Provision of a 'God's House'.
- b) Use of a chapel would provide room for 'actors'. Also, evidence of an Easter Sepulchre - 'Sepulture Dominice' [for the Lord's burial] & the 'pictura', either a painting or an image of the Crucified and Risen Lord.

FOULIS EASTER.

St Marnock.

A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

Possible use of an Altar Sepulchre with space for 'actors'. Rubric requiring Sacrament to be placed on the altar and the Cross (Crux) to be removed from the Sepulchre.

GLASGOW.

St Mungo's Cathedral.

Possible use of Aisle Chapel to give room for actors. Possible use of 'Imago Salvatoris' as at Diessen.

PEEBLES.

St Andrew's Burgh Church.

A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

Possible use of an 'Imago Salvatoris' as at Diessen.

ST ANDREWS.

St Salvator's College Church.

A 'Planctus' scene, followed by a 'Harrowing of Hell' scene, including King David wearing a crown, as at Naples in 1533.

A possible 'Visitatio Sepulchri' scene with an Angel wearing a crown as in the 14th century at Mont St Michel, France.

A possible post-resurrection scene of the 'Appearance to the Apostles' as in the Fleury MS.

Much depends on the use of the crown.

COLDINGHAM PRIORY.

A 'Visitatio Sepulchri'.

Possible use of 'Imago Salvatoris' as at Diessen.

REMARKS: wherever there was an Easter Sepulchre, especially with the use of 'sudaria', the liturgical drama of the Visitatio Sepulchri' is a possibility.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.

1. Donald ATTWATER *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1965) 255.
2. David McROBERTS 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy Illustrated by Surviving Documents' *SES* vol.15, Part 1 (1957) 24-30, especially 24-6.

'Some Sixteenth Century Scottish Breviaries and their Place in the History of Scottish Liturgy' *IR* 3. 1 (1952) 43.
3. i) Henry BRADSHAW arranged *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* Parts I and II ed. Christopher WORDSWORTH (CUP, 1892).

ii) *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* ed. anon. (Bannatyne Club, 1837).

iii) W.H. FRERE ed. *The Use of Sarum* (CUP, 1898/1901, 2 vols.).

iv) David WILKINS ed. *Conciliae Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verulamensi Ab CCCCX LVI ad Londinensem AD MDCCXVII Accedunt Constitutiones et alia ad Historiam Ecclesiae Anglicanae Spectantia* (London, 1737, 4 vols. Copy held by Glasgow University Library, Special Collections Dept., Bi. ib.5-8)

v) F.L. CROSS *ODCC* (OUP, 1957).
- vi) Francis C. EELES 'The Relation between the Constitutions and Liturgical Uses of Aberdeen and Salisbury' *SES* 12, 3 (1938/9).

a) BRADSHAW Part I, The Black Book, 40,4, 64. See also Part II, xlv, 832.
Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis Part II, 136-42.
FRERE (as n.3, iii, above) 93.

b) BRADSHAW 40, 64.

c) FRERE vol.1, xxv, xxviii, xxxvii, and xlvi.

d) BRADSHAW 64.

e) BRADSHAW 64 and Part II, 831-5; *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* 107,9.

f) CROSS *ODCC* 810.

g) EELES (as n.3, vi, above) 99-103.
5. BRADSHAW (as n.3, i, above) Part II, 831. Compare: Cosmo INNES ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1843, 2 vols.) vol.1, 25, Item 28.
6. INNES (see n.5 above) vol.1, 166.

7. INNES as n.6 above.
8. WILKINS (see n.3, iv) vol.1, 741,2.
9. INNES (see n.5) vol.1, 171, Item No. 213.
10. BRADSHAW (see n.3, i, above) Part II, 834, quoting from:
*Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum a prima sedis
Fundatione ad 1515, ab Alex Mylne.* Mylne was a Canon of
Dunkeld Cathedral. The Quarto MS is dated 1515 and is
deposited in the NLS, Edinburgh.
11. A version of the above published in *Transactions of the
Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth* 1 (1827) 37. This
appears to be the only Transactions ever published by the
Society.
12. BRADSHAW (see n.3, i) Part I, The Black Book, 76.
13. BRADSHAW, The Black Book, 102,3.

Edmund BISHOP *Liturgica Historica* (OUP, 1918/62) 276-300,
and especially 277 and 300, n.1.
14. Details of surviving Scottish liturgical books are to be found
in: David McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Liturgical Books and
Fragments* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1953).

Saints associated with Scotland did not begin to appear in
Scottish Calendars until the fifteenth century, and only then
when added by local hand in imported books.
15. Francis C. EELES 'The Perth Psalter' *PSAS* vol.66 (1932) 426-
41, especially 426,7, 430-4, 435-41.
16. Important books relevant to the study of liturgical drama,
where they have survived are the: *Antiphonarium Officii* and
the *Antiphonarium Missae*. In current usage the term
Antiphonary refers only to the former book. The two books
give the full text with music for the parts of the Breviary
and Missal which may be sung.
17. Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, 1933/51, 2
vols.) vol.2, 315-8. On the subject of Tropes and the 'Quem
quaeritis?' see YOUNG, vol.1, 178-238, and 239-410.
18. W.D. MACKAY ed. *Breviarium Bothanum sive Portiforium Secundum
Usum Ecclesiae in Scotia* (Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.,
London, 1900) 180,1.
19. PROCTOR & WORDSWORTH eds. *Breviarium Ac Usus Insignis Ac
Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum* (CUP, 1882) dcccxii-dcccxiv.
20. Held by the NLS, Edinburgh, under reference Adv MS 18.2.13.
This is a fourteenth century MS.
21. Also held by the NLS under reference Adv MS 18.2.13A. Dated
about 1300.

22. Four copies of Elphinstone's *Aberdeen Breviary* are extant in Scotland and there is a copy in the British Library, London. Details are in McRoberts's *Catalogue* on pages 15 & 16, Items 91-5 (see above n.14).
23. On the *Aberdeen Cathedral Breviary* see McRoberts's *Catalogue* page 6, Item 25. It is held in the Library of Edinburgh University and is described in: C.R. BORLAND *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1916) 37-41, Item 27.
24. A Scottish Sarum Missal, dated 1491, which has survived and which has been published is the: *Liber Ecclesiae beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott*. See, A.P. FORBES ed. *The Arbuthnott Missal* (Burntisland, 1864).

The original is held by the Paisley Museum and Art Galleries and is described by: William MCGILLIVRAY in 'Notices of the Arbuthnott Missal, Psalter and Offices of the Blessed Virgin Mary' *PSAS* vol.26 (1892) 89-104.

See, FORBES 147-9 for the 'Adoratio Crucis' and 149-50 for the 'Depositio Crucis'.

See also, J. Wickham LEGG ed. *The Sarum Missal* (OUP, 1916) 114,5; FRERE *The Use of Sarum* (see, n.3, iii) vol.2, 'The Ordinale Sarum', 155,6.

Other Scottish Missals that have survived are:

- 1) *The Missal of St Nicholas Burgh Church, Aberdeen*, 1505. (See, *PSAS* vol.33, 440 et seq.)
- 2) *The Rothiemay Missal*, 1523.
- 3) *Gordon's Missal*, 1526.
- 4) *John Stewart's Missal*, 1541.

1 and 3 were formerly at Blair's College (closed in recent years) and are now probably either at another catholic establishment in the area or on deposit to the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Nos. 2 and 3 are held in St Andrews University Library. These Missals are all printed versions and none of them appears to have been reproduced in facsimile.

The following Non-Sarum Missals once in use in Scotland have also survived:

- 1) A *Sarum Missal* once used in Cambuskenneth Abbey.
- 2) A *Monastic Missal* of the Cluniac Order once used in Paisley Abbey.
- 3) A *Roman Missal* formerly used by the Chaplain Gilbert Ostler.

On these see, William J. ANDERSON ed. 'Three Sixteenth Century Missals' *IR* 9, 2 (1958) 204-09).

25. FRERE *The Use of Sarum* (see n.3, iii) vol.1, 153, 4.

26. YOUNG devotes some space to this subject and gives textual examples: *DMC* vol. 1, 139, 40, 157-61, 555, 6. See also 331.
27. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol. 2, Appendix 'O', 303-09. W.H. FRERE ed *The Winchester Troper* (Henry Bradshaw Society, London, vol. 8, 1894).
On Tropes see YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 381-5.
See also YOUNG vol. 2, 424, and Appendix 'B', 522, 3 re *The Shrewsbury Fragments*
28. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol. 2, 306-09, especially 307. See also W.L. SMOLDEN 'Early Medieval Music up to 1300' *The New Oxford History of Music* (revised edtn OUP, 1955) 175-219; John CALDWELL *Medieval Music* (Hutchinsons, London, 1978).

See this Chapter, PART 3, COLDINGHAM.
The localisation of what has long been called *The Fleury Playbook* at Fleury is now questioned: 'Any attempt to localise *The Fleury Playbook* is premature: in the case of that famous manuscript the only reason for claiming its use at Fleury is that it was once there.....' - due it is said to a particularly zealous collector of manuscripts. (See Eckehart SIMON ed *The Theatre of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, CUP, 1991) Part I, Latin Drama 3, Andrew HUGHES, 'Liturgical Drama Falling Between the Disciplines' 42-62, 45.

On the checkered history of Coldingham Priory see, *IR* 23, 2 (1972) 91-137.
29. YOUNG *DMC* vol 1, 178-410. See also Neil C. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Literature, with special reference to the Liturgical Drama' *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 7, 2 (1921) 8.
30. K.W. HAWORTH *The Use of Sarum: The Worship and Organisation of Salisbury Cathedral in the Middle Ages*.
The Friends of Salisbury Cathedral (1973) 13.
31. BRADSHAW *Statutues of Lincoln Cathedral* (see n.3) Part II, 12, 23
32. See this Chapter, Part 3, COLDINGHAM, for details of an *Imago Resurrectionis* possessed by Lincoln Cathedral.
33. BRADSHAW Part II, 98. See also, FRERE *The Use of Sarum* (see n.3) i and xxii.
34. Christopher WORDSWORTH *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral of Salisbury from the Fifteenth Century MS No 148, with Additions from the Cathedral Records and Woodcuts from the Sarum Procesionale of 1502* (CUP, 1901) 'In Die Natale' 49-51; 'In Die Pasche' 87, 8.
YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 93, 4. FRERE *The Use of Sarum* (see n.3) vol. 1, 5, 6, 115, 153, 5, 6.
35. W.H.R. JONES *Vetus Registrum Sarisburiensis alias dictum Registrum St Osmundi Episcopi* (Raines Society, 1883-4) vol. 2,

129. See also, WORDSWORTH *Ceremonies and Processions, etc* (see n.34) 171 for the Inventory of 1214-22.
36. FRERE *The Use of Sarum* (see n.3) vol.1, Section V, 'De Officii Thesaurii,' 4.
37. F.C. EELES 'The Altar of St Fergus in Holy Trinity Church, St Andrews' *SHR* vol.2, (1905) 260-7, 261.
38. Virginia SHULL 'Clerical Drama in Lincoln Cathedral, 1318 to 1561' *PMLA* 62 (1937) 951.
39. Amand CASTÉ ed. *Les Drame Liturgiques De La Cathédrale De Rouen* (Extrait de *La Revue Catholique de Normandie*, Evreux, 1893) Play No IV, 'Officium Stellae,' 49-57; Play No.II, 'Officium Pastorum,' 25-37.
40. SHULL (see n.38) 946-66, 948,50,1,64.
41. YOUNG *DMC* vol.2, 29-58, 59-101.
Charles DAVIDSON *Studies in the English Mystery Plays* (Yale University Dissertation, 1892) 50-65.
42. SHULL (see n.38) 949.
43. SHULL 950.
44. SHULL 950,1.
45. SHULL 951.
46. SHULL, see n.40.
47. SHULL 952.
48. SHULL 953.
CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol.2, 422,3, gives full details of the various editions of the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors' Play.
49. SHULL 954.
50. SHULL 954-7. See Christopher WORDSWORTH *Notes on the Medieval Services in England, with an Index of Lincoln Ceremonies* (T. Baker, London, 1898) 126; BRADSHAW *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* (see n.3) vol.2, iv.
51. SHULL 965,6.
52. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol.2, 67, 377.
53. YOUNG *DMC* vol.2, 484.
54. YOUNG vol.2, 172-90.
The scenes are of The Prophets, The Salutation, The Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, The Visit of the Shepherds, The Visit of the Three Kings to the Holy Family, The Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt.

55. SHULL 953.
56. SHULL 955-6.
57. Hardin CRAIG *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (OUP, 1955) 269.
58. CROSS *ODCC* 1484, 5.
59. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 290.
60. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 63, 4.
61. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 323; vol 2, 510.
62. Alfred HEALES 'Easter Sepulchres; their Object, Nature and History' *Archaeologia* 42 (1868) 263-301.
BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 59-70, 71-87, 88-91.
63. *Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Records* (Burgh Archives, City Chambers, Aberdeen) vol. 9, 177.
64. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 365-7, especially 366.
65. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 44.
66. Daniel FORBES ed *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis: Ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis Regesata Que Extant In Unum Collecta* (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, 2 vols) vol. 1, Appendix to the Preface, XC.
67. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 62, 3-n.11.
68. BROOKS 63-n.11.
69. William OREM *A Description of the Chanonry, Cathedral and King's College, Old Aberdeen in the Years 1724 and 1725* (Chalmers, Aberdeen, 1791) 104.
70. Francis C. EELES *King's College Chapel, Its Fittings, Ornaments and Ceremonial in the Sixteenth Century* (Aberdeen University Studies No 136, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London 1956) 86-98.
71. EELES 8, 30.
72. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 115.
73. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 65, 6.
See also EELES *King's College Chapel etc* (see n. 70) plan of the Chapel following 270.
On the subject of the position of Easter Sepulchres in relation to Sacrament Houses and Tombs, see David McROBERTS

'Scottish Sacrament Houses' *SES* 15 (1964) 33-56, especially 38. Compare with:

The Church of the College of St Salvator, St Andrews, see below.

74. George S. PRYDE *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624* (Scottish History Society, subsequently quoted as SHS, Third Series, vol. 28, 1937) 'Discharge of the Dean of Guild,' 75.
75. PRYDE 83.
76. PRYDE 96.
77. James RAINE ed. *The Priory of Coldingham, Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls and Law Proceedings* (The Surtees Society, 12, 1841) lxi-lxii.
Information concerning the history of Coldingham Priory is to be found in: A.L. BROWN, 'The Priory of Coldingham In The Late Fourteenth Century' *IR* 23, 2 (1972) 91-101; Norman MacDOUGALL 'The Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488' same vol. 102-114 and Mark DILWORTH 'Coldingham Priory And The Reformation' same vol 115-137.
78. RAINE lxxxiii.
79. SURTEES SOCIETY *A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging or beinge within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression* (Surtees Society 107, 1903) 12, 13.
YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 138, 9.
80. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 105. At Prüfening (near Regensburg, where in the later Middle Ages there was an expanding Scottish colony) there was a Benedictine Abbey.
81. BROOKS 39, and Appendix 105-7.
82. BROOKS Appendix 95, 6.
83. BROOKS 37.
84. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 139, 40, 145, 161, 555, 6.
BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' 37, 8.
85. BROOKS 39.
86. SURTEES SOCIETY *A Description or Breife Declaration, etc* (see n.79) 11, 12. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 137, 8.
87. W. DUGDALE ed *Monasticon. Monasticum Anglicanum: or the History of the Ancient Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales* (a new edition, ed J. CALEY, Sir H. ELLIS and the Rev'd B. BANDINEK) (Bohn, London, 1846, 6 vols) vol 6, 1278-92, especially 1279.

88. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 139.
89. YOUNG vol. 1, 161.
90. HEALES 'Easter Sepulchres, etc' (see n.62) 269-77.
91. HEALES 267.
92. Robert ADAM ed *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (Scottish Burgh Records Society, subsequently quoted as SBRS, Edinburgh. 1869-82, 4 vols, 1403-1589) vol 2, 1528-57, 328. See also 339,66.
93. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 87.
94. BROOKS 70.
95. HEALES 276.
96. BROOKS 87.
97. BROOKS 87.
98. Daniel WILSON *Memorials of Edinburgh in Olden Times* (A. and C. Black, Edinburgh, 2nd edn, 1891) 226.
George HAY 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh' *PSAS* 107 (1975/6) 242-60. See 255 for plan of the church.
99. *Registrum Domus de Soltre necnon Ecclesie Collegiate S Trinitatis prope Edinburgh* (The Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1861) 165.
100. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 72,3.
See figure 19, opposite 72.
101. *Breviarium Bothanum, etc* (see n.18) 180.
102. BROOKS 53,4.
103. Joseph BAIN and the Rev'd Charles ROGERS eds *Liber Protocolorum Cuthberti Simonis; and the Rental Book of the Diocese of Glasgow 1509-1570*. (The Grampian Club, 1875, 2 vols) vol. 1, 334,5.
104. BROOKS, 62,3.
105. YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 358-60, 360.
106. John DOWDEN 'The Inventory of the Ornaments, etc. Belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432' *PSAS* 33 (1899) 280-329, 298. On 'Sudars' see above, KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL, ABERDEEN. (See n.70).
107. BROOKS 102,3.
108. David McGIBBON and Thomas ROSS *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1896/7,

3 vols) vol 3, 514.

109. W. CHAMBERS ed *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles with Extracts from Records of the Burgh AD 1165-1710* (SBRs, 1872, 9-12, and especially 11.

St Andrew's was the Burgh Church, founded in 1195. The Holy Relic of the True Cross, which attracted large numbers of pilgrims, was at the Cross Church, founded in 1261, becoming a monastic church in 1473. King James IV made frequent visits to the Shrine at the Cross Church.

See, Dr GUNN *The Book of Peebles Church, St Andrew's Collegiate Parish Church, AD 1195-1560* (A. Walker and Son, Gallashiels and J.A. Anderson, Peebles 1908) 41,3, 81,2, 94,8.

See also for King James's visits of 1504-5 *Compote thesaurariorum regum Scotorum, i.e. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473-1566*, subsequently quoted as *ALHT*, eds. Thomas DICKSON and Sir James Balfour PAUL (Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh, 11 vols, 1877-1916) vol. 3, 1506-7, 57 shows four payments of xiijs for 'Offerands at the Cors of Peebles.'

110. David McROBERTS *The Medieval Church of St Andrews* (J.S. Burns, Glasgow, 1976) 'The Glorious House of St Andrew,' 63-171, 84.

111. Ronald G. CANT *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development, Including a Selection of Documents, With a Critical Edition of the Furnishings of the College Church by Francis C. EELES* (University of St Andrews and Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London, 1950) Appendix to Chapter Three: 'The Inventory of Furnishings' 151-63. For the items quoted see, 133, 159, 161,2.

See also, 'Inventory of Vestments and Books, St Salvator's College, St Andrews *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (The Club, Edinburgh, 1842) vol 3, Part I, 193-205.

At the Reformation items from the Chapel were placed in safe-keeping and listed in an Inventory. We can find no mention of items i) to v). Possibly the list conceals some of the items, e.g. 'All ye treyng wark yat belangis to ye kyrk and queir' might include items made of wood used in connection with the Easter Sepulchre. See, John DURKAN *IR* 16, 1 (1965) St Salvator's College Chapel, Castle Inventory' [*Miscellany*] 128-30.

- 112a. DURKAN (as in n.111).

- 112b. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 67,8.
See also: Freising, 99; Moosburg, 104; Havelburg, 102,3;
Magdeburg, 103.
YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 153, 259, 365.
See above, COLDINGHAM.

113. HEALES 'Easter Sepulchres, etc' (see n.62), 299,
regarding an Easter Sepulchre and its furnishings at
St Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol. The Inventory includes
a crown.

114. YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 476.

115. YOUNG vol.1, 372-4, 373.

116. BROOKS 42,3.

117. HEALES 301.

118. HEALES 301 and BROOKS 83.
119. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origini Del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi Editore, Rome, 1891, 2 vols) vol. 1, 284-7.
Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte Des Neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, A.S., 1893, 3 vols) vol. 1, 336-8.
120. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 492-513; CRAIG *English Religious Drama*, (see n.57) 47.
121. HEALES 'Easter Sepulchres, etc' (see n.62) 298.
122. YOUNG vol. 1, 358-60.
123. CANT *The College of St Salvator, etc* (see n. 113) 133.
124. Stuart CRUDEN 'Seton Collegiate Church' *PSAS* 2 (xxxix) 1955-6, 424-32. Preliminary sanction for the Collegiate Church of Seton was granted by a Papal Bull of 1470 to the third Lord Seton, who died in 1478. Final sanction was given in 1492.
125. James RONALD *Landmarks of Stirling* (Encas Mackay, Stirling, 1899) 401.
126. McGIBBON and ROSS *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (see n.108) vol 2, 489.
127. *ALHT* vol. 1, 1473-98, 229, 241, 268,9, 325.
128. BROOKS 97.
129. BROOKS 101.
130. *ALHT* vol. 3, 1506-7, 72.
131. Francis C. EELES ed *The Holyrood Ordinale* (Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol. 7, 1914):
The Ordinale: lxxi-lxxvii and 70-173.
The Inventory: lxxxii-lxxxvii, and 212-16.
See lxxii for EELES'S comments on the Abbey's Customs and their dependence on Sarum Customs without adopting all of these.
132. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 143.
133. MACRAY *Breviarium Bothanum, etc* (see n.18) 361-3.
134. EELES *The Holyrood Ordinale* (see n.133) 17,39.
135. CRAIL *The Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail* ed. unknown (The Grampian Club 1877): 'The Ornaments and sylver werk in the College Kyrk of Caraille,' 63-6, Item 10, 65. The original MS is preserved in the NLS.
136. The Inventory is to be found in vol 1 of the Burgh and Head

Court Book preserved in the Burgh Archives, City Chambers, Dundee.

137. DOWDEN 'The Inventory of Ornaments.....Glasgow Cathedral' (see n.106) 282-4, 283.
138. DOWDEN 283, n.2.
139. YOUNG vol. 1, 263.
140. DOWDEN 314, Section VI, Item 16.
141. YOUNG vol. 1, 245,6.
142. YOUNG vol. 1, 142,3.
143. YOUNG vol. 1, 145.
144. YOUNG vol. 1, Chapters IX-XIII, 'The Visit to the Sepulchre,' First, Second and Third Stages, 239-410, 248-410 passim, and 576-683 passim. For Biberach see BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) Appendix 95,6.
145. GASTÉ *Les Drames Liturgique etc* (see n.39) 58-62.
YOUNG vol.1, 599-601.
146. YOUNG vol. 1, 393-7.
147. HEALES 'Easter Sepulchres, etc' (see n.62) 272-7.
148. HEALES 278-84, 289, 300-3.
149. BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 71-87.
150. BROOKS 71.
151. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 1, 347.
152. YOUNG vol. 1, 273,4.
153. YOUNG vol. 1, 26,7, 182-87.
154. YOUNG vol. 1, 15-43.
155. F.H. DICKINSON ed *Missale Sarum* (Burntisland, 1861-3) 'Fulgens praeclara.....' 165,6.
A.P. FORBES ed. *The Arbutnott Missal* (see n.24) 'Fulgens praeclara.....' 165,6.
156. George BUCHANAN *The History of Scotland* translated J. Fraser (London, 1690) Book X, Item xxxix, 346.
157. David FERGUSON *Tracts by David Ferguson, Minister of Dunfermline, 1563-72* 'Ane Answer to Renat Benedict's Epistle, Dunfermling, 26 April 1562' (Bannatyne Club, 1860) 20. * *see below*.
158. The best evidence for England is to be found in HEALES 'Easter Sepulchres, etc' (see n.62) 288-91; and in BROOKS

* Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation 1540-74
(A.H. HANS, *SR5*, 153, 1972, 270) shows Ferguson
as Minister of Dunfermline, 1560-74.

- 'Easter Sepulchres, etc' (see n.62) 288-91; and in BROOKS 'The Sepulchre of Christ, etc' (see n.29) 53-8, especially 58.
159. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol. 2, Appendix 'P', 310.
160. PRYDE *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624* (see n.74) 'Discharge of the Dean of Guild, 1549-50,' 109.
161. PRYDE 'Discharge of the Dean of Guild, 1551-52,' 115. For a similar item see 'Discharge of the Dean of Guild, 1547-48,' 105.
162. ADAM ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, etc* (see n.92) vol. 2, 358.
See also item above: 1) ABERDEEN, THE BURGH CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, and item: 2) AYR.
For the text of the Rouen *Officium Pastorum* see GASTÉ *Les Drames Liturgiques, etc* (see n.39) 25-32 and 'Appendice à l'Office des Pasteurs,' 33,4.
The text is taken from Bibliothèque de Rouen, MS Y 110, dated in the fourteenth century.
See also YOUNG *DMC* vol. 2, 12-20, 26, 428,9.
163. YOUNG vol. 2, 29.
164. YOUNG vol. 2, 4-8. a) 4-6. b) 6-7. c) 7. d) 7-8. e) 6-7.
165. YOUNG vol. 2, 9-23. a) 9-11. b) 11-14. c) 14-21. d) 21-23. e) 23. f) 23.
166. YOUNG vol. 2, 9-23.
167. YOUNG vol. 2, 29.
168. YOUNG vol. 2, 41, 37.
169. GASTÉ (see n.39) 49-52, 49.
170. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 2, 26 and 29-101. a) 26, 43-50, 435-2. b) 34-42. c) 37-42, and 37-n.4. d) 50-53, 439-43. e) 53. f) 59-63. g) 64-68. h) 68-74. i) 75-84. j) 84-92. k) 92-99. l) 99.
171. YOUNG vol. 2, 102-9.
172. YOUNG vol. 2, 101.
173. YOUNG vol. 2, 26.
174. *St Matthew's Gospel*, Chapter 2, v 11.
175. *The Latin Vulgate, St Luke's Gospel*, Chapter 2, 7.
176. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol 2, 43. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 2, 12-20, 26, 428,9.
177. GASTÉ *Les Drames Liturgiques, etc* 25-34, 25-28.

178. GASTÉ 49-52, 50. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 2, 43-6.
179. YOUNG vol. 2, 47.
180. CHAMBERS vol. 2, 44.
181. YOUNG vol. 2, 64-8, 446.
182. YOUNG vol. 2, 75-84.
183. YOUNG vol. 2, 446, 7, 447, 8. CHAMBERS vol. 2, 44.
184. Richard BEADLE ed. *The York Plays* (Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, London, 1982) 127, lines 113-19.
185. BEADLE 132, 91-5.
186. BEADLE 146, lines 283, 4.
187. Hermann DEIMLING ed. *The Chester Plays* re-edited from the MSS (EETS 62, 2 (1892, reprinted 1968) 177, lines 17-20.
188. DEIMLING 178, line 25.
189. DEIMLING 178, line 30.
190. DEIMLING 178, lines 35, 6.
191. DEIMLING 179, lines 53-6.
192. Peter HAPPEÉ ed. *English Mystery Plays* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1975) 234, lines 83, 4.
193. George ENGLAND ed. *The Towneley Plays* (EETS ES 71, 1897; last reprinted 1968) Play No 13, 'The Shepherds' Play II,' 116-40, 138.
194. ENGLAND Play No. 14, 'The Offering of the Magi,' 157, lines 531-34.
195. R. George THOMAS *Ten Miracle Plays* (Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, London, 1966) 82, following line 220; 84, lines 286-9. Glossary 157.
196. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 2, 47.
197. Arnoul GREBAN *Le Mystère de la Passion* ed. Micheline de la Combarieu du Grès and Jean Subrenat (Éditions Gallimard, Impressions Bussière à Saint-Amand (Cher), 1987) 111, 129, 136.
198. GASTÉ (see n. 39) 49.
199. YOUNG *DMC* vol. 2, 84, 5.
200. YOUNG vol. 2, 85, 9.

201. ST BONAVENTURA in *Acta Sanctorum* ed. Members of Religious Orders (J. Carnandet, Paris, 1863-8) vol 8, 1866, Part II, 77.
202. CREIZENACH *Die Geschichte Des Neueren Dramas* (see n.121) vol.1, 218.
203. *Games Joyous of Early Scotland, Programme for a Concert of Music in the Chapel Royal, Stirling Castle, Friday, 3 July 1981* on the Occasion of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, at the University of Stirling, 2-7 July 1981. See Item 1, 1,2.
204. Peter DRONKE *The Medieval Lyric* (Hutchinsons of London, 1968, 1978) See Chapter Two, 'The Rise of the Religious Lyric,' 32-108 where the continental scene is surveyed in detail. There is no mention of Scotland.
205. See this Dissertation, VOLUME 2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'E'. REPRESENTATIONS GIVEN IN CERTAIN ITALIAN CITIES BEFORE THE REFORMATION. 6) Siena. Nativity Play.....
206. Colin A. HUNT ed. *The Perth Hammermen Book* (The Craft, Perth, 1889) 12, 20.
207. Fletcher COLLINS Jr. *The Production of Medieval Church Music-Drama* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia, 1972) 38-41.
- 208a. DURKAN 'St Salvator's College, Castle Inventory', *IR* 16, 1 (1965) (Miscellany) 128-30, 128 [see n.111].
- 208b. CANT and EELES *The College of St Salvator*, (see n.113) 157.
209. See Chapter Two of this Volume, THE SCOTS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT. a) THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR MERCHANDISE. C. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES. See also this Volume, Chapter Seven, and Volume Two, Chapter Seven, Appendix 'B'.
210. Chapter Two of this Volume, as underlined in n.209 above.
211. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol.1, 336-71, 351,2. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 9 vols, 1957-70) vol.1, 302.
212. Gasté *Les Drame Liturgique, etc* (see n.39) 36.
213. MACRAY *Breviarium Bothanum, etc*, (see n.19) 55.
214. David McROBERTS 'The Boy Bishop in Scotland' *IR* 19, 1 (1968) 80-2.

215. WORDSWORTH *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, etc* (see n.34) 52-9.
Daniel ROCK *The Church of our Fathers as seen in St Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury* New Edition edd. G.W. HART and W.H. FRÈRE (John Murray, London, 1905, 4 vols) vol. 4, 249, 56.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SCOTS AND THE PEOPLES
OF THE CONTINENT

In this chapter we explore the principal areas of activity on the Continent of Europe in which Scots engaged with the members of other nations, whether in the sphere of commerce, the arts or religion. At the time we are considering there was a religious-cultural unity throughout the western world with a common symbolism and iconography which found expression in the various aspects of human life. Exposure to the then continental way of life in whatever sphere is likely to have had its influence upon Scots when on the Continent either by strengthening and sustaining the religious culture they already shared with the Continent or by introducing them to new ideas to take back with them to enrich their own way of life. At home most of the Scots who spent time abroad when on their home ground were active in spheres where they could influence events and bring to bear knowledge and experience gained abroad. This is particularly true of merchants who for the most part were members of the Burgh Councils who were promoters and overseers of the burgh pageantry and plays. It is equally true of Ecclesiastics and students, most of whom when returning home would become ecclesiastics themselves and in many cases Notaries Public, the men who more often than not wrote the play-books. All these would inevitably be witnesses of and sometimes participants in the great public spectacles, as would also the many who travelled abroad on pilgrimage to one of the popular shrines which drew great numbers of pilgrims from all parts of Europe.

a) THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR MERCHANDISE.

A. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

It was the Crusades of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries which played a large part in the expansion of BRUGES as a great centre of merchandising and shipping for the nations of Europe, the most powerful group being the Teutonic Knights of East and West Prussia, the founding fathers of the Hanseatic League, generally known as Eastlingers, together with the money-lenders of Lombardy and the bankers of Florence.¹

There is a considerable amount of evidence available for trade with the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium of today), and from Bruges (known locally as, Brugge) in particular. This was the Scottish nation's only Staple Port in the Low Countries for about two and a half centuries² and throughout this period there were close ties between the two peoples. Several works deal in depth with Scottish trade with the Low Countries in the period of the Staple.³

The importance of Bruges in the fifteenth century as a great centre of commerce and a meeting place of the nationals of many nations is well illustrated by the fact that in that era no less than sixteen nations had Commercial Headquarters (i.e Consulates) in the city⁴ looking after the commercial interests of their various nations. These were as follows:⁵

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| i) Austrians. | ii) Biscay Merchants. | iii) Castillians. |
| iv) English. | v) Florentines. | vi) French. |
| vii) Genoese. | viii) Germans. | ix) Irish. |
| x) Luccans. | xi) Portuguese. | xii) Scots. |
| xiii) Smyrnans. | xiv) Spaniards. | xv) Turks. |
| xvi) Venetians. | | |

Unfortunately no document has survived that can confirm the exact date for the first establishment of the Scottish Staple as the entire archives of Bruges were destroyed by fire on 15 August 1280 and there are no Scottish records before the fourteenth century. It is known, however, that Scottish merchants were well established there in the thirteenth century. In 1284 a certain Goteboie was sent to the King of the Scots, Alexander III (1249-86), with letters. The Schottendyk (Scots' Quay), where the Scots conducted their business, is first mentioned in the records in 1291.⁶ The affairs of the Scottish Staple in Bruges however were wound up on 12 August 1468.⁷ This prompted many Scottish merchants to move to Middelburg, Antwerp and Campvere.⁸ Nevertheless Bruges continued to be a centre of trade although it had actually begun to decline some time before that due to the silting up of the River Zwijn which connected it to the open sea. Another highly significant year for Bruges trade is 1488 when the Emperor Maximilian (to whom the Dukes of Burgundy and the Counts of Flanders were answerable) expelled all members of foreign colonies living there.⁹

In the period 1419/20-1450 thirteen Scots became Burgesses of Bruges and twenty-six in the period 1450-65. However, in the period 1465-1557 the number recorded as becoming Burgesses is no more than eight. In the period 1496-1530 no Scottish names appear in the Register. This suggests that the most active period for Scottish trade conducted through Bruges was the period 1450-1465.¹⁰

Scottish merchants would almost certainly have continued to visit the annual Bruges May Fair and the coincident annual Procession of the Relic of the Holy Blood with its rich and colourful religious

pageantry and 'tableaux', and then go on to the Fair and Procession of Religious Tableaux which took place at about the same time at BERGEN-OP-ZOOM. Scottish ecclesiastics appear to have taken part regularly in the Bruges Holy Blood Processions. (See, VOLUME TWO, APPENDICES, CHAPTER FIVE, APPENDIX 'A', THE LOW COUNTRIES.

i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.)

That Bruges was looked to by Scotland as the exemplar in the matter of craft participation in the public processions is shown by the ~~the~~ wording of the Seal of Cause granted to the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons of Edinburgh, dated 15 October 1475. The subject is discussed at length in VOLUME TWO, APPENDICES, CHAPTER SIX, APPENDIX 'I', THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS. A BURGH BY BURGH SURVEY. See especially, 4) Edinburgh. xlii) Wrights and Masons. See also item headed: C) THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF THE CRAFTS OF BRUGES.

After Scotland ended its Staple with Bruges there were regular negotiations between Scotland and MIDDELBURG authorities with a view to establishing the Staple there. There were comings and goings of ambassadors, each side trying to get the best terms for itself. All the time trade continued to be carried on between the two contenders. The protracted negotiations are detailed by Matthijs P. Rooseboom.¹¹

From 1468 to 1541 when the Scottish Staple was finally established at CAMPVERE¹² there was no Scottish Staple in the Low Countries. That Scottish traders were well established in Bruges in the fifteenth century is well illustrated by the fact that towards the end of the fourteenth century they established their own chapel there. The first moves towards this seem to have been made on the 6 July 1366 when the Carmelite Fathers of Bruges generously

granted permission for the building of a chapel for the honouring of Our Lady and St Ninian. The document relative to this does not specifically state in the text itself that the chapel is set aside for the use of Scots merchants, and in fact 'grant' is made to seven 'Brethren' only one of whom appears to be a Scot. viz. Adam Deeling. However a contemporary copy of the original 'grant' held in the Carmelite archives bears the 'opschrift' (i.e., 'inscription'), 'De capella Scotorum'. We suggest that this may have been added later, but not necessarily much later, when by 'use and wont' the Scots had adopted the Chapel of St Ninian, Apostle of Galloway, as their own. This might have been the original intention, but it is not 'spelt out' in the document of 1366.¹³

On March 10 1369 work commenced on the building of St Ninian's Chapel, helped along by a Papal Indulgence of One Hundred Days to all who should assist in promoting its completion.¹⁴

Scottish interest in the Chapel is made more positive with the foundation 30 June 1383 by Willem Goupylt, a Scots merchant of Bruges, of a Solemn Annual Service in the Chapel with organ and choir, as well as a 'Daily Said Mass',¹⁵ and on 22 October 1416, an agreement was made for the daily celebration of a Requiem Mass for the Scot, Thomas Karres.

The most significant date in the history of the Chapel is 6 June 1457, when in the presence of Thomas, Bishop of Whithorn, an agreement was reached in the Chapter House, with the Town Clergy regarding the rights and responsibilities of the Chaplain to the Scots community. It was agreed that he should be appointed by the

Scottish King and should receive his 'Permission to Officiate' from the 'Dean of Christianity' of Bruges, and on the above date Andreas Porroit, priest of the Diocese of St Andrews, commenced his duties. A deed of 28 June 1457 shows that at the expense of a local Scot a painting was installed in the Scots Chapel.¹⁶

The Burgh Council of Edinburgh ordered that the 'Aisle of St Ninian' at Bruges should be supported by dues levied on Scottish cargoes handled in the port.¹⁷ Grants were made by the Parliaments of James II and III to pay the Chaplain's stipend and meet his expenses.¹⁸

There was a Scots Chaplain active in Flanders 1430/31-1436.

In 1436 Robert Tod 'the Kingis Chaplane' was paid the sum of eighty-two pounds for expenses incurred in Flanders for a period of six years.¹⁹

Consequent on the Emperor Maximilian's Order of Expulsion of all foreigners from Bruges the Scots left Bruges and their Chapel of St Ninian fell into disrepair. They returned when peace came in 1493, but it was to be of short duration. The Scots King and the Duke of Burgundy (overlord of Flanders) broke off trading relationships in 1498 and the Scots again had to leave the town. Their absence was to last forty years. They took possession of the Chapel once again 20 July 1538.²⁰

During their long absence the silverware and valuables of St Ninian's were taken care of by Master 'Alexander Frotringham' (probably, Fotheringham), a Scottish priest, who was a Canon of the Collegiate Parish Church of Sint-Donaas. He died 6 September 1536, after which the Scots' treasures were kept in the Convent

Chapter House Treasury, where they remained until 1541, when they were returned to the Scottish community, except for certain items that were not handed back until 7 March 1547/8. After that the records are silent about the Scots' Chapel in the Convent of the Carmelites of Bruges.²¹

The Carmelite Convent became a centre where the merchants of many nations met. The English Merchant Adventurers had been there from 1344 and established a Chapel of St Thomas à Becket there, although they did not reside permanently in view of the short distance to return home. They came back, however, as need be, including to attend the Holy Blood Festival and the coincidental annual May Fair, when they took accommodation with the Carmelites. (See VOL. ONE. CHAPTER FIVE. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1) BRUGES (BRUGGE).

On 28 October 1347 merchants of the German Hanse from Hamburg, Lübeck and Danzig, established themselves there, sharing the chapel of the English Merchant Adventurers. They were the last foreign community to establish themselves in Bruges.²²

Besides Scottish merchants there also lived in fifteenth century Bruges a number of Scottish 'werklieden' i.e. artisans, known locally as 'courtenaers'. The merchants lived in the 'Schotten-plaats' and round about that area, but the 'courtenaers' lived in the nearby Sint-Gillisdorp-Straat.²³

The Scottish artisans were employed by the Scottish merchants for whom they fulled and dyed cloth imported from Scotland, subsequently to be re-exported, an occupation that required them to purchase citizenship. These Scots also were provided with religious

privileges. On 14 June 1462 they were granted the use of the Altar of St Andrew in the North Transept of Sint-Gilliskerk (i.e. St Giles Church). It was supported by dues from the Scottish merchants who shipped through the port. The Altar of St Ninian in the South Transept was used by the Corn Handlers and Corn Carriers of the town.²⁴

Due to the expulsion from Bruges of all foreigners by the Emperor in 1488 (see above) the Scottish artisans must have left the town with the Scottish merchants with whom they probably returned in 1493, only to leave again with the merchants in 1498, and come back once more with them in 1538 (see above).²⁵

These expulsions mean that Scottish Merchants and Artisans, normally resident in Bruges, were probably for the most part back in Scotland during the years 1488-1494 and during the years 1498-1538. All these would inevitably have been exposed to the religious pageantry, scriptural 'tableaux-vivants' and probably plays of the rhetoricians, which would probably have had its effect on religious pageantry and plays in Scotland.

Bruges made great efforts to regain the Staple, and Middelburg with the help of the Edinburgh merchants made similar efforts to obtain it. Sir Andrew Halyburton, himself a merchant, who appears to have traded in the Low Countries from at least 1492, was Conservator of Scottish Privileges there from 1500 to 1508. He normally resided in Middelburg but maintained a residence in Bruges where he conducted business with local factors as he did with others in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Ghent & Veere (also known as Campvere). His valuable Ledger records his business transactions over the period 1492 to 1503.²⁶

Halyburton's Ledger shows he carried out business commissions for residents of the following Scottish burghs:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| i) Aberdeen. | v) St Andrews. |
| ii) Dundee. | vi) St Johnstone, i.e. Perth. |
| iii) Dunkeld. | vii) Stirling. |
| iv) Edinburgh. | |

Halyburton, however, was not the first to carry out commissions in Bruges on behalf of the Burgh of Dundee, which was so grateful to William Aitkyn that they granted him and his wife burial places in the Burgh Parish Kirk as shown by a record of 1450:²⁷

for his fynance and trawell making of the town
errandis to Byrges (i.e. Bruges) in Flanderis upon
his awyn expens.

A Scottish factor resident in MIDDELBURG in Halyburton's time was a 'Richard Binnyng,' also known as 'Rychye Bynyn.' His name is of frequent appearance in the Ledger. Kennedy in his *Annals of Aberdeen* prints a list of prevailing surnames in the town. It includes the name 'Benyn.'²⁸

As a nation which had gained its independence from the English Scotland had reason to be grateful to the men of the Low Countries and to those of ANTWERP in particular. Many such Flemings remained behind.

The Battle of Bannockburn, 23-4 June 1314 was the most decisive battle of the Scottish Wars of Independence, and set the seal on Robert Bruce's recovery of Scotland. This produced two important effects, firstly the exodus from Scotland of the great majority of Norman feudal lords who threw in their lot with Edward I of England, and secondly opened the way for the influence of Flemish soldiers, traders and settlers, some of whom produced families of distinction in Scottish life.²⁹

Two knights of Brabant who fought at Bannockburn did not remain behind, but returned to their native town Antwerp after the victory and there founded a hospital for Scotsmen. It is probable that all men of the Low Countries who came to the help of Bruce were called Flemings, irrespective of what Province they came from.³⁰

There is not much documentary evidence to show the extent of Scottish trade with Antwerp until the period covered by Halyburton's Ledger, 1492-1503, which does show evidence of such trade, for example in 1495 he bought an image of St Thomas there for 'Jon of Pennycuik', and another image in 1498 for 'John off Rattrye'.³¹

The city of Antwerp made a bid for the Scottish Staple in 1539, and by command of the King a Convention of the Burghs of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Perth and St Andrews, was held at Edinburgh, 18 December that year, to meet and discuss the matter with Master William Thomson, a Canon of the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp. The negotiations came to nothing.³²

William Thomson was a member of the Order of Franciscans Minor, born in Antwerp of Scottish Parents, who had been in correspondence with David Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews.³³

Dundee was not represented at the above meeting but there is evidence of trade between Dundee and Antwerp from an archival record of 26 October 1552, a testimonial sent to the 'lordis of anwerp' complaining about the poor quality of onion seed.³⁴

There is also evidence of trade between Dunfermline and Antwerp in the first half of the 16th century. On 15 February 1549/50

Robert Fergusone of that town brought before the Gild Court a
 suit for the non-deliveriey of hides from the Port of Antwerp.³⁵

Antwerp was famous for its fine wood-carvers, and a number of
 Scottish cathedrals and collegiate churches are known to have
 imported retables and stalls produced by members of the Carvers'
 Guild of that city.³⁶

The *Medieval Scots Merchant's Handbook* dated c 1390 may be
 indicative of trade with Antwerp by Scottish merchants. Antwerp
 is not specifically mentioned, but the book was intended as a
 'ready-reckoner' in coping with the difficulties of a variety of
 currencies operating in Flanders and Brabant of which Antwerp
 was the principal city and port.³⁷

A sizeable Scottish presence in BERGEN-OP-ZOOM (known to Scots as
 Berry) is indicated by the presence in the parish church of St
 Ontcommeren of a Scottish Altar of St Trinian from at least
 c. 1509,³⁸ but Scots were probably there in c 1475, and possibly
 earlier.³⁹

Andrew Halyburton's Ledger shows that he traded with the town via
 the harbour at Veere. A number of entries in the Ledger show trade
 between Perth (shown as, St Johnstone) and Bergen at the end of
 the fifteenth century.⁴⁰

Between 1480 and 1520 at least sixteen Scots took out citizenship
 of Bergen, including Halyburton (November, 1491) who also became a
 member of the Guild Merchant. These were mostly labourers and art-
 isans who had migrated permanently in search of a better life.

Besides them were Scottish factors acting on behalf of Scottish merchants, nobles and ecclesiastics. These had not come to stay and so in most cases did not become citizens, although they bought local properties where they could store goods in course of transit. Among the Scots closely associated with trade at Bergen who did not become a citizen was James Moffat who became Scottish Conservator in 1527, but he abandoned Bergen in favour of Veere when trading conditions changed.

Like Antwerp Bergen had profitted greatly from the decline of Bruges as a port in the second half of the fifteenth century. It became famous for its two annual Fairs, held at Easter and on St Martin's Day, 11 November, which with the Fairs held at Antwerp were the most important in the Low Countries. All the major trading nations had their factories in the town.

Scots who settled in Bergen made their homes along the canal that skirted the town in the north-west, and by 1530 this area was known as the 'Schotsche Veste', i.e. the 'Scottish Rampart'.

Bergen was at the height of its prosperity in the first half of the sixteenth century, but declined rapidly after 1530 when great gales altered the shape of the coastline, and the Scottish merchants abandoned the port.⁴¹

GHEENT is the capital of East Flanders. Halyburton also conducted⁴² some business in this city. There was, however, never any suggestion that it should become the Scottish Staple Port. It is

much less conveniently situated to the open sea than the other ports.

There were, however, other reasons than trade that might attract influential and cultivated Scots to pay the city extended visits. From time to time there were 'Joyful' or 'Triumphant Entries' into the town, richly and artistically staged.

Ethelwold (c 908-84) of Winchester, reputed author of the *Regularis Concordia* (dated c.970) stated that he was not only indebted to Fleury but also to Ghent for his account of the Easter Day liturgy.⁴³

The town of VEERE (CAMPVERE) is situated only four miles NNE of Middelburg, in part of Zeeland known as Walcheren. Strong links with Scotland were established in 1444 when Mary Stuart, daughter of James I, married Wolfert van Borselen, Lord of Campvere (as it was then known), who was granted by James the Earldom of Buchan. This alliance may have encouraged Scottish traders to come to Veere and for services rendered to them descendants of Wolfert became hereditary Earls of Lauderdale.⁴⁴

Extant records show that after 1444 there was always a Scottish settlement at Veere. When for his own good reasons James IV prohibited exports to the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy he made an exception by a letter dated 19 August 1498 to a certain Neil-ball whose ship was bound for Veere 'ladyne and chargit with merchandise and gudies of St Nicholas of Aberdene.'⁴⁵

Henry van Borselen, Bailiff of Veere, a descendant of Wolfert mentioned above, sometimes correctly or incorrectly referred to as Conservator of Scottish Privileges, despite the best efforts of Middelburg, finally obtained the Scottish Staple for Veere in 1508, and trade was established on a regular basis between Veere and the East Coast Scottish ports, as illustrated by the calling on 5 August 1541 by the Provost of Aberdeen of a meeting with Commissioners from Dundee, Montrose, St John's (i.e. Perth) and St Andrews relative to the Conventions and Staple of that port.⁴⁶ Haddington which was not invited also had some trade with Veere.⁴⁷

Either Veere was never given much to pageantry and plays, or its records have been lost or if they have survived have not been researched. Of the works of the various authorities we have consulted we have found but one which mentions Veere, and that provides evidence of an Ordinance of the town authorities dated 1530 regulating the affairs of the local Rederijkers Kamer. Unfortunately we do not have details of this. It is very likely that its provisions resembled those of the nearby town of Middelburg (see above).⁴⁸

We now give some examples of the wide variety of imports into Scotland from Bruges and other parts of the Low Countries. Amongst the earliest items were tomb-slabs from Tournai (Flemish, Doornik), one such of the early fourteenth century having survived at Dundrennan Abbey, Kirkcudbrightshire.⁴⁹ In 1329 a tomb was imported from Paris via Bruges for the mortal remains of Robert Bruce (died, 7 July 1329) at Dunfermline Abbey.⁵⁰ Such

tombs were still being imported from Bruges at the end of the fifteenth century. In February, 1495/6 Halyburton purchased there a tomb for Archbishop Scrove of St Andrews,⁵¹ and purchased there a most elaborate tomb for Archbishop James Stewart, Duke of Ross, younger brother of James IV, for which various expenses are detailed in his Ledger between the years 1497 and 1499.⁵² Such artefacts would have given expression to the elements of the christian faith in the iconography and symbolism then common throughout the Christian West.

Such iconography was, however, more vividly expressed in the illuminated service books that were produced in the Low Countries and France and imported into Scotland. A Psalter imported from the Low Countries and dated in the late thirteenth century once belonged to Inchmahome Priory.⁵³ In the last part of the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century service books and vestments were regularly imported into Scotland from the Low Countries through Andrew Halyburton.⁵⁴ In 1494 when on a visit to Bruges the Abbot of the Abbey of the Holyrood, Edinburgh, bought vestments and hangings for the Abbey.⁵⁵

Imports into Scotland from the Low Countries covered the whole range of ecclesiastical requirements. Normally these were purchased but sometimes they took the form of gifts (see further on manuscripts, etc. in Chapter Four).

In 1413 John the Fearless of Burgundy presented a set of Arras tapestries to the Regent, the Duke of Albany,⁵⁶ and in 1436 James I bought tapestries from the Low Countries.⁵⁷ In 1439 William Knox of Edinburgh purchased a gilded altar-piece with

images from Jan van Battele of Malines (Flemish, Mechelen).⁵⁸

In 1441 Melrose Abbey imported from Bruges stalls 'de la même façon que ceux des monastères des Dunes et de Ter Doelst.'⁵⁹

One of the finest items to have come from the Low Countries and which has survived is the fifteenth century brass chandelier which now hangs in the North Transept of St John's Parish Kirk in Perth (i.e. St Johnstone). It formerly hung before the altar of the Skinner (or Glover) Craft, one of the leading Crafts of the burgh. It is thought to have been a gift from Mary of Gueldres (i.e. Gelderland) and to date about 1450. (See Chapter Four.) and the other for an altar in Dunkeld Cathedral. (See Chapter Four.)⁶⁰

Flemish altar-pieces, known as tabernacles, rich in colourful iconographical artistry, often portraying scenes familiar from the religious plays, were regularly imported from the Low Countries. In 1505 Bishop George Brown imported two Flemish tabernacles, one for the Altar of the Three Kings in St Mary's, Dundee,⁶¹ and the other for an altar in Dunkeld Cathedral.

An Inventory of St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen, dated probably c.1549, shows 'a carpet from Bruges' and a 'shrine' from Flanders.⁶²

Some of the religious artefacts which had their origin in the Low Countries and elsewhere have survived and are discussed in Chapter Four - see PART I. SOME SURVIVING LITURGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS, etc.; PART II. THE CHURCH: ITS ORNAMENTATION AND FURNISHINGS and PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE THE PASSION.

Items of a more mundane kind were also imported. In the years 1497 and 1498 the site was being cleared in Aberdeen for the building of King's College by Bishop Elphinstone, its founder. Through Halyburton (not as yet officially Scottish Conservator) Elphinstone imported gunpowder, carts and wheelbarrows. This was the first of many such orders for this undertaking.⁶³ The Accounts of the Scottish Lord High Treasurer for 1503 show an expense for the shipping to Scotland of chairs made in Bruges via the Port of Middelburg.⁶⁴ These were possibly required for the use of guests at the marriage that year of James IV to Margaret Tudor.

Trade was by no means all in one direction. There was a steady flow of exports from the East Coast Ports of Scotland to Bruges and other ports in the Low Countries according to where the Staple was located. A Scottish Merchant's Ready Reckoner (referred to above), gives some idea of the contemporary regular trade that existed between the two countries in canvas, hides, skins and wool. The business section is prefaced by prayers and penitential devotions and a representation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, all done by 'another hand.' At the lowest the apparent piety of the owner may represent little more than self-interest, but such a merchant when travelling abroad would probably have had a keen eye for religious spectacles, especially if attendance earned an Indulgence.⁶⁵

Banking.

The carrying on of trade and business generally in the Low Countries was greatly facilitated by the Florentine Bankers and Lombardian Moneylenders who established themselves in Bruges. In 1362 the second yearly instalment of King David II's ransom was

paid at Bruges. By treaty it should have been paid at Berwick in
⁶⁶
 1359.

In 1436 one hundred pounds was paid on behalf of James I to the Scottish Ambassadors (Bishops) attending the Roman Curia through the Bruges banker, Johannes de Pyno,⁶⁷ and in the same year there is record of payment to Bruges bankers to cover the cost of purchasing 'jocalia'.⁶⁸

On pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in 1437, Sir Alexander Seton deposited various valuables with a Florentine banker in Bruges.⁶⁹

In ca.1450 Lord Somerville paid a sum of money to his son through Bruges bankers, a loan was made through them by the Bishop of St Andrews to James II and another loan by Richard de Farnelee and Georgio of Berwick, 'citizens of Edinburgh' in both cases to be repaid at Bruges.⁷⁰

After he was assassinated at Perth in 1437 the heart of James I was taken on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as was the heart of Robert Bruce. A Treasurer's Account for 1443-4 shows a payment made to a certain knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem for bringing back the heart of the King from Rhodes and depositing it in the care of the Carthusian monks at Perth.⁷¹ It has been suggested that the heart had been taken to Jerusalem by Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon who travelled there via Bruges, Basle, Venice and Rhodes, and died about 1443-4 on his return journey

at Rhodes. Consequent on this there arose a dispute about a legacy Seton had made to the Hospitalers of Rhodes featuring money and valuables he had deposited with a Florentine banker in Bruges, a transaction he repeated at Basle, Venice and Rhodes, to provide for the successive stages of his journey.⁷²

Although the centre of gravity for Scottish trade with the Low Countries had shifted from Bruges to Zeeland and Brabant (i.e. to Middelburg, Campvere, Antwerp), Scots traders were still using the banking facilities of Bruges in 1507.⁷³

B. FRANCE.

The thirteenth century was the century when Anglo-Norman and Norman ecclesiastical influence began to spread all over Scotland with the introduction of the Sarum Constitutions and Liturgy (see Chapter One).

When English monarchs subdued Scottish land and towns it followed that important ecclesiastical appointments in those areas were filled by men loyal to the conqueror, and that normally meant the appointment of Anglo-Normans. During the time that Edward II sought to subdue the country he occupied most of it, and many Anglo-Norman clergy were appointed to offices and benefices, as for example, Robert de Coucy who was appointed Dean of Glasgow⁷⁴
6 August 1319.

To keep their independence the Scots needed help, and the French were their obvious allies. From 1295 onwards the Scottish Kings

entered into a series of alliances with the Kings of France who benefitted from the opening of a 'second front' on the Scottish Borders in their own efforts to regain lost territories.⁷⁵

One of the chief benefits of such Franco-Scottish concord was that it opened the doors of France to the Scots, at least to those parts not occupied by the English.

In 1334 Philip VI of France invited David II of Scotland with his Queen to take shelter from Edward III, allowing them to reside at the Château-Gaillard on the Seine until 1341.⁷⁶ After his return further unsuccessful conflict with England & being ransomed several times over he died in 1371 and the dynasty of the Stowarts began with the coronation of his uncle as Robert II.

It was James I (1424-37) who established the body politic on firmer foundations and so enabled his country to move forward economically and culturally.

As the Scottish merchants played a major role in the putting on of religious pageantry and plays in their burghs at home through their membership of the Burgh Councils and Guilds Merchant we do as we have done in connection with the Low Countries. We define those French ports with which the Scots traded with a view to investigating the religious pageantry and plays which they or the resident Scottish factors might from time to time have witnessed.

Matthew Paris *Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, records the purchase of a ship built in Moray as early as the thirteenth century for Hugh de Chatillon, Count of Saint-Pel and of Blois.⁷⁷

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the principal ports in Scotland were all on the east coast, ^{E.g. Aberdeen,} St Johnstone (Perth), and Dundee, and most of their trade was with the Low Countries (see above) and the Hanseatic ports of Eastland, i.e. Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig, later Bremen, and also with Stralsund. There was trade with France too, but the records show that it was on a smaller scale, and as far as imports were concerned it was mainly wine, although there was some trade with religious artefacts.

The French towns with which Scotland traded are Dieppe and Rouen, and also Bordeaux and Paris. As the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* shows the principal port of entry for passengers was then, as now, Calais.

The two most important ports to Scotland in France were Dieppe and Rouen. This is shown firstly by Privileges Of The Scottish Merchants Trading In France, granted by King Francis I in 1518. Only Dieppe is specifically named in this document because it had imposed a tax upon foreign merchandise, from which the 'Privileges' exempted Scottish merchants. The above document caused confusion because it failed to be specific about other ports in Normandy. Privileges Of The Scottish Merchants Trading In France granted by King Henry II in 1554 clarifies matters. This exempts

Scottish merchants from all taxes imposed on exports to Scotland from any port whatsoever in Normandy, and specifically mentions Rouen. Although the privileges were not granted until the middle of the sixteenth century, at the request of Mary Queen of Scots, there is no reason to doubt that Dieppe and Rouen had been Scotland's principal trading ports for some long time, beginning soon after the end of the English withdrawal from Normandy. The 'Privileges' confirmed in 1554 seem to be intended to include all parts of France, as well as Normandy.⁷⁸

Data regarding Scotland's trade with France will be found in VOL.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. i) SCOTLAND'S TRADE WITH FRANCE, and ii) DUNDEE'S TRADE WITH FRANCE. The data we are able to provide is not large. Over the period 1423-1556 they show trade with Bordeaux, Dieppe and Rouen. Normal trade free from incident did not get into official records except where trade was on behalf of the sovereign or a public body, or where there is a record of a Certificate of Safe Conduct. The Glasgow university Dissertation of Mary Black Verschur of May 1985 shows that in the period 1540-60 the ports we have named were Scotland's principal French trading ports. Verschur also states that 'Dieppe appears to have been the principal port used by Perth merchants.'

The importance of Dieppe as a centre of Scottish trade is demonstrated by the fact that it had a resident Scottish Chaplain, certainly in the first half of the sixteenth century. Bishop Rede, who was consecrated Bishop of the Orkneys, 21 July 1541, died in Dieppe, 6 September 1558, and his remains were interred in

the Chapel of St. Andrew, called 'La Chapelle des Escossais' in the Parish Church of St Jacques. He was aged sixty-three.⁷⁹

C. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

Scotland's links with German-speaking peoples go back a long way.

Aaron (c. 992-1052), a Scottish writer on music, was born in Scotland and became the Abbot of Saint Martin's at Cologne.⁸⁰

The spectrum of contacts between German-speaking lands and Scotland was narrower than that between France and Scotland. There was, for example, nothing like the sometimes close links between the Scottish and French Courts, and there was not the same political and diplomatic intercourse. Nevertheless there is some small evidence of King Robert II (1371-90, b. 1316) having business involvement in Prussia. In 1382 expenses were paid to a certain John Dugude (Dugald) for travelling to Prussia on the King's business.⁸¹ There is also evidence rather later of 'Duchemen' being employed in official entertainment, as for example, the 'Dugemen that playt and dansyt apone the schore of Sanctandrois before the Kingis Grace,'⁸² In May 1540, the 'foure Duchemen, qha with thair trumbis playit before Lady Barbara at her incuming fra the Kirk,' February 1548/9,⁸³ and probably the most significant of all, the 'Duchemen servandis to the Lord of the Fair,' 1541.⁸⁴

'Dutchmen' (Germans) were employed by the Aberdeen Burgh Council as gunners to defend the town in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸⁵

The principal areas of contact between Scotland and Germany were trade and the universities (see below) and it is probable that

the trade contacts were as important as the academic ones in terms of the influence such contacts may have had upon certain aspects of Scottish life.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries traders from Bremen, Cologne, Danzig (now Gdansk), Dortmund, Recklinghausen, near the latter, Greifswald, Hamburg and Lübeck, entered Scotland.

German merchants had a trade centre in Berwick-on-Tweed which they named the White House, and there is evidence that a similar centre existed in Roxburgh, which was known as the Black Hall as shown by a document dated 1330, when the house belonged to Margaret de Auldton.⁸⁶

The Scottish centres of trade in Germany were Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Emden, Rostock, Wismar, Greifswald, Stralsund, Danzig, Königsberg (now, Kaliningrad), and Elbing (now, Elblag).

In the states of East and West Prussia, and Pomerania, in which most of the above towns were situated, no less than two thousand five hundred Scottish families, viz. about seven thousand five hundred souls, settled mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Scottish ports trading with the above were Aberdeen, St Johnstone (Perth), Dundee and Leith/Edinburgh.

German trade with Scotland was handled by German factors representing the Hanse League in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The merchants

of Danzig, where was the largest and very influential Scottish settlement, had their own Factor in Edinburgh.

From the end of the thirteenth century increasing trade links between the two peoples were developed. More information on the subject will be found in vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO.

APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES:-

- i) GERMAN CRAFTSMEN AND TRADERS IN SCOTLAND;
GERMAN TRADERS IN SCANDINAVIA AND THE LOW
COUNTRIES.
- ii) SCOTTISH TRADERS IN NORTH EAST GERMANY.
- iii) 'DUTCHMEN' AND GERMAN FACTORS OPERATING IN SCOTLAND.

An important centre for trade was Regensburg in Bavaria. It was what was known as a 'Reichsstadt' (i.e. an imperial city) in those days of the Holy Roman Empire, subject directly to the Emperor and not to any lesser overlord, such as a Count. It had many links with Scotland. In July 1515 a Scotsman was appointed by the Pope to be Abbot of its Irish Monastery of St James. A good many Scots had settled in the area. Many of them were merchants and some had been granted citizenship. The appointment of a Scot as Abbot is probably indicative of a large Scottish presence in the monastery, and also of pressure by the local Scottish community (most of whom must surely have been engaged in merchandising) to have a Scot at the head of the Abbey.

The Scottish connection with St James Abbey could predate the Anglo-Normanization of the Scottish Church. The Brockie manuscripts brought to Blairs College from Regensburg contain an unusual litany which purports to have once been used by the Culdees at Dunkeld. Although it appears to be a compilation made in the early sixteenth century there is reason to believe it was based on a genuine early litany. 'Irish' monks first came to Regensburg in 1075. They may have come not from Hibernia but from⁸⁸ the Highland regions of Scotland.

Scots appear in the records of Regensburg in 1460, 61, 62 and 1467, and are described as 'Abenteurer,' literally 'Adventurers,' and possibly in practice meaning foreign traders.

From the year 1493 there are regular enrolments of Scots as citizens of Regensburg. Probably Scots were living in the town some years before that. In 1500 a confraternity of Scots was established.

According to Fischer's list between the years 1493 and 1559 fifty-two Scots were granted citizenship, and between 1548 and 1577⁸⁹ there were nine marriages there involving Scots. Since then, however, many more names have come to light, and it is believed that even now the list is by no means complete. A number of volumes of the Registers have been lost, and eventually it ceased to be the practice to add 'Schott' after the name. It must also be understood that the Scots who took citizenship represent but a⁹⁰ fraction of those who some time actually lived there. Here we have yet another possible source of influence upon the Scottish scene, which it is quite impossible to quantify.

Regensburg stands on the Danube and in medieval times stood at the crossroads of trans-European trade, and its merchants traded all over Europe.⁹¹ It is near Eichstätt, and also near Ingolstadt where an order of Procession for Corpus Christi has been preserved in the city archives.⁹² Several Scots matriculated at the University of Ingolstadt in 1543. (See below, Item b) SCOTS AND THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE CONTINENT.

D. ITALY.

We have no information on Scottish merchants having any direct Scottish representation in any of the ports and cities of the country we now call Italy. Any trade Scotland had with such places was most likely to be conducted through Bruges throughout most of the fifteenth century. The Florentines, the Genoese, the Luccans and the Venetians all had Consular Houses at that time in Bruges.⁹³ Besides these there were Italian bankers so important in facilitating trade. Bruges is the place where Scottish merchants or their factors would have had the best opportunity to meet traders from one of the great Italian cities and ports, and it is there they would learn something of Italian pageantry through the 'Joyful' or 'Triumphal Entries' (see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES, ETC.).

The Calendar of the Perth Psalter⁹⁴ includes St Severus, Bishop of Ravenna, Italy, who had an altar in the Parish Church of St John, for which one of the saint's relics would have been required. It was founded by Robert Clark, burgess of Perth and endowed with an annual stipend of £5 6s 8d., 6 September 1504, and on 21 February 1526/7 Archbishop James Beaton of St Andrews ratified the foundation by charter.⁹⁵ Robert Clark either had a commercial

connection with Ravenna, or had perhaps spent some time there, perhaps both suggestions apply.

King James IV, a keen shipbuilder, sought the help of the Signoria of Venice in the furtherance of his shipbuilding projects, but it is not known whether they supplied him with the shipwrights he requested.⁹⁶

Amongst the most important foreign residents in Scotland were the Italian bankers, such as the father and son, both named Evangelist Passer, originally from Naples, who served James IV and James V, and Cardinal Beaton, also conducting the financial transactions of many Scottish merchants. In Queen Mary's reign they were succeeded by Timothy Cagnioli, who like the elder Passer married an Edinburgh woman, Janet Curle, and became a burghess.⁹⁷

E. SCANDINAVIA.

The Scandinavian lands were Christianized later than Italy, France, the German-speaking countries and the British Isles. The surviving records are much less than elsewhere, and far less research seems to have been undertaken.

a) Denmark.

Scotland traded with Denmark, principally from the Ports of Aberdeen & Dundee. Scottish merchants settled in large numbers in Elsinore (Helsingör) and Copenhagen and in both places had an Altar of St Ninian of their own in parish churches. A few Danes came to Scotland to work, one or two in service of the crown.⁹⁸

More details regarding Scotland's commerce with Denmark will be found in: VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'E'. SCANDINAVIA.

The Royal Houses of the two countries were linked by the marriage in 1469 of James III to Margaret, daughter of Christian I, a connection surviving into the sixteenth century. In 1512/13 Sir Thomas Norray, Fool to the King, was paid 56 shillings 'at his passage to St James, Elsinore'⁹⁹. We presume this is a reference to the Danish Court, in the same way as the English Court is known as the Court of St James.

b) Norway.

There was some Scottish trade with Norway. The MS Dundee Register of the Burgh and Head Courts for the period 9 April 1551 to 29 July 1556 has records of fourteen cargoes delivered to Dundee from 'Norroway' in ships of 'Norroway'. Almost all these cargoes are of timber. There were, however, several cargoes of miscellaneous items.¹⁰⁰ In the period 1548-51 Aberdeen had some dealings with Norwegians who had arrived in the burgh. They appear¹⁰¹ to have been scafarers.

c) Sweden.

Apart from some unsatisfactory pieces of evidence there is no definite indication of any direct contact between Scotland and Sweden before the sixteenth century.¹⁰² In the Accounts of the

Lord High Treasurer for 1512 there are three references to imports of timber from Sweden.¹⁰³ After that there are no more references to Scottish imports from Sweden until the 1530s. Gustaf Vasa, the Swedish leader who rescued his country from the Danes, commented in 1550 that the Scots were but seldom accustomed to visit Stockholm, and even the ship which arrived there that year was apparently a fugitive pirate sent on by Danish customs officials at Elsinore.¹⁰⁴ Clearly in the years before the Scottish Reformation Scots had no significant contact with the Swedes. Furthermore even when minimal contact began in the 1530s the Lutheran Reformation was already under way in Sweden.¹⁰⁵ For these combined reasons, although there is evidence of religious drama in Sweden before the Lutheran Reformation we do not attempt to evaluate its possible influence in Scotland.¹⁰⁶

F. SPAIN.

The only part of Spain frequented by Scots before the Scottish Reformation was Compostela (sometimes spelt, Compostella) in Galicia, whither they came on pilgrimage to the Shrine of Santiago (St James, the Apostle). From the turn of the fourteenth century Scottish pilgrims 'to the Holy Land, or to St James, or any other Holy Place.....' were subject to the protection of the Scottish sovereign, which meant the safe-keeping of the property they had left behind.¹⁰⁷

As to commercial ties with Spain we have no information. Most probably these were carried on through Factors and Agents located in Bruges, until the trade was transferred to Middelburg, Veere (Campvere) and Antwerp.¹⁰⁸

b) SCOTS AND THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE CONTINENT.

In earlier medieval times Scots wishing to study at a university could only do so by going to England or to the Continent and until universities were established elsewhere that meant studying in Paris. Once universities were set up in other places it became the fashion for many students to spend time in more than one university, perhaps in several different countries to sit at the feet of some well-known scholar or to specialise in a subject for which a particular university had gained a high reputation. This clearly gave such students and scholars a wide knowledge and understanding of continental culture and life. Such mobility, however, except in the case of men of note, makes it difficult to compile precise details of student and scholarly careers. Many such wandering Scottish scholars, however, did return to Scotland to found and staff the new universities, notably in the first instance St Andrews founded in 1412, to be followed by Glasgow (1451) and Aberdeen (1495). After the foundation of the Scottish universities, however, Scots still continued to attend those on the Continent, especially to study for higher degrees, and the Scottish universities continued to be staffed mainly by men who had attended continental universities, some already having enjoyed distinguished careers, as we show below. This process is still observable in the sixteenth century. At St Andrews on the same day, 9 June 1523, there were incorporated into the university John Major (or Maior), Doctor of Theology of Paris, and Patrick Hamilton of Paris and Louvain. On 27 February 1529/30 William Manderston, Doctor of Medicine of Paris, was incorporated and

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elected Rector four months later.

Surviving records of Scots attending the University of Paris begin in the early part of the fourteenth century. English records¹¹⁰ show that on

26 July 1313: Robert de Ros Son of Robert de Ros and fifteen others said they were studying in the Schools at Paris and on their way home. All were arrested.

The Scots College in Paris was founded in 1326 by John de Pilmor, Bishop of Moray, at first for the benefit of students from his own diocese.¹¹¹ Paris was not only the main filter of European culture but also the second capital of Christianity, and Scottish students being made members of the German Nation were subject not only to French influence but also to that of German and Flemish students. When Hector Boece (1465?-1536) left Paris his most vivid memories were of Jean Standonck of Malines (Mechelen) and of Erasmus of Rotterdam.¹¹²

John Barbour (1316?-1395/6), Archdeacon of Aberdeen and author of *The Bruce*, received a Certificate of Safe Conduct from the English King (Edward III), 13 August 1357. for himself and three students on their way to Oxford to study.¹¹³ In 1368 he went to France, probably to study and to teach at the University of Paris. He had already been to 'St Denis and other sacred places' in 1364.¹¹⁴

Inevitably political events affected numbers at particular times. In the period 1412-18 due to the Burgundian triumph in the City of Paris the number of Scots there was reduced to a mere handful and many turned to Cologne, a daughter university of Paris.¹¹⁵ Fresh

difficulties arose for the Scots when the English occupied the city.¹¹⁶

Scottish students began to reappear in Paris in c.1445 and two hundred and thirty-four received their baccalaureate in the years 1450-94.¹¹⁷ Writing in c.1820 the editor of *Miscellania Scotica* stated that not only do the records of the university show a great number of Scottish doctors and professors in all faculties but also thirty Scotsmen who have been Rectors in times when that office was one of considerable prestige.¹¹⁸

A notable Scot and very much a wandering scholar, no doubt, partly due to his zeal for reform, was George Buchanan (1506-1582) who studied on the Continent in the first half of the sixteenth century at a time of great religious ferment. Studying at Paris in 1520-2 he returned to Scotland in 1524 to study under John Major at St Andrews, taking his baccalaureate the following year. In 1526 he was again in Paris, graduating MA in the Scots College in 1528. Between then and 1539 he took several teaching posts in France and Scotland and then becoming 'persona non grata' he left Scotland to teach at Bordeaux, 1540-3. At Paris again 1544-7 he was once again teaching until removing to teach at Coimbra (Portugal) where he was imprisoned by the Inquisition 1549-51. From 1553 to 1559 he held further teaching posts in France and Italy. Returning to Scotland he identified himself with the protestant cause.¹¹⁹

In referring to universities in French towns other than Paris Durkan states that these

were overshadowed and provincialised by the Parisian monopoly, although all sheltered the odd Scots during their occasional spells of temporary brilliance.

The particular universities to which he refers are those at
Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Poitiers, Angers and

¹²⁰ Montpellier. Bourges was not founded until 1465. It
subsequently became famous in the department of jurisprudence.
Toulouse became a 'Studium Generale' in 1229 or 1233. Bordeaux
was founded in 1441, Poitiers in 1431, Angers not later than 1305,
and Montpellier in 1289. Other smaller French universities that
Durkan could have mentioned are Avignon, founded in 1303, Caen
founded in 1437, and Cahors, Grenoble, Orange and Aix in Provence,
all founded between 1332 and 1409, Valence, founded 1452 and
¹²¹ Nantes in 1463. What Durkan wrote about the possibility of the
odd Scot sometimes being enrolled at Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux,
Poitiers, Angers and Montpellier, no doubt, applies equally to
these universities.

From the sixth century onwards down to 1305 Orléans possessed
a flourishing 'Litterarum Studium', which from the end of the
eleventh century was famed as a school of law. In 1305-12 this
¹²² school was erected into a university.

In 1336 the name of Gartentus Bisetus appears as 'procurator
of the Scottish Nation' and in the following year Walterus
de Coventre is shown as procurator. He became Dean of Aberdeen in
1348. Much of his life was spent as student and teacher at
Orléans. He returned home in 1356 to exercise his office
principally in legal matters. He became Bishop of Dunblane in
1361.

Student festivities that became the custom at St Andrews and Glasgow Universities may owe something to those held by the students in Orléans where courses were frequently interrupted by the saints' days observed as holidays. In 1365 an ordinance was directed against abuses attending the festivities held by the various nations.

By now the university contained two distinct faculties, classics and theology, and civil and canon law. In the Middle Ages Orléans became the great centre of attraction for Scottish and other law students from Northern and Western Europe.

The fame of the university attracted many foreign nationalities, especially to the school of law, comprising in the 15th and 16th centuries as many as ten different nations, France, Lorraine, Germany, Burgundy, Champagne, Normandy, Picardy, Touraine, Scotland and Aquitaine. Up to 1538 these were regarded as distinct nations but then various amalgamations took place and the Scottish nation was merged with that of Normandy. The list of Procurators of the Scottish Nation is complete from 1336 to 1538,¹²³ but the Nation may have existed before 1336.

It is more than probable that study and impressions of life gained at Orléans by many Scottish students over two hundred or more years exercised its influence on events and affairs in Scotland when they returned home and achieved positions of authority in public life.

Of four hundred Scots who graduated in the years 1340-1410 two hundred and thirty are said to have studied at Paris, fifty-five at Orléans and thirty-four at Avignon. Ninety were granted Safe Conduct certificates by the English authorities to study at Oxford or Cambridge, but there is only evidence for eleven who definitely did so. The foundation of universities at St Andrews and Glasgow, and of King's College, Aberdeen, in the fifteenth century, reduced the number of students going to France, but many still went in pursuit of second degrees.¹²⁴

John Knox (1505-1572), leader of the movement for reform on Calvinist lines, is recorded as matriculating at Glasgow in 1522, but does not appear to have taken a degree on the Continent, unlike the other leading Reformers. John Row (1525?-1580), who some time after taking his Master's degree at St Andrews became a licentiate of laws at the University of Rome in 1556 and a Doctor of Laws at Padua.¹²⁵

William Elphinstone (1431-1514), Bishop of Aberdeen (1488-1514) studied and taught at Orléans in 1481-4, having gained his Master's degree at Glasgow in 1452. He became Regent of that university in 1465. Subsequently he took a Doctorate in Decrees at Paris, returning to Scotland once again in 1474 to be appointed Regent of Glasgow University.¹²⁶

Cardinal David Beaton (1494-1546) who studied at St Andrews, Glasgow and Paris is also on record as having been at Orléans in 1519 when Master Thomas Marjoribanks, who became Provost of St Giles, was also probably there.¹²⁷

John Lesley (or Leslie) (1527-96), after taking his Master's degree at Aberdeen, studied at Paris and Poitiers, 1549-54. From there he removed to the University of Toulouse where he spent almost a year in 'repetition' and conference with the doctors of law before taking a license in civil law. He became Bishop of Ross in 1566 but did not continue with the reform movement in Scotland, ending his career as Bishop of Coutances.¹²⁸

Henry Scrimgeour (1506-72), an uncle of Andrew Melville, studied at St Salvator's College, St Andrews, in 1532 and then proceeded to Paris and Bourges. Another Scot, Edward Henryson (1510?-1590?), incepted at Paris in early 1534 before continuing his studies at Bourges where from 1554 he was Professor of Civil law.¹²⁹

Andrew Melville (1545-1622), the leading presbyterian, after studying at St Andrews, went on to study at Paris in 1564, moved on to Poitiers in 1566 and to Geneva in 1568, returning to Glasgow in 1573 to be appointed head of the college in the following year.¹³⁰

When foreign occupation and other problems in the first half of the fifteenth century prevented Scots from studying at Paris or elsewhere in France many turned to Cologne as an alternative. Some had already studied at St Andrews but there were others who were just beginning their university education who came to take their arts degree, before in some cases staying on to take a higher degree, sometimes in theology, sometimes in law in which subject Cologne was gaining a great reputation.¹³¹

Among the Scots who studied at Cologne were a number of Religious (i.e. members of religious orders) who came principally to study theology. One of these was Thomas Livingston, a Cistercian, destined later to become a prominent figure at the Council of

Basle (Basel) who matriculated in 1423, and in 1429 three more members of this Order arrived, including John Hunter, Dominican Prior of Glasgow, presumably to study theology.¹³²

On 4 March 1424/5 'Wauter Styward', Canon of Glasgow, 'studying at Cologne' was granted a Warrant of Safe Conduct to pass through England with six servants on his return from the Continent.¹³³

A controversial Scot associated with Cologne and with St Andrews for more than forty years was John Athilmer or Aylmare, who as a licentiate of St Andrews of four years standing was admitted to the Arts Faculty at Cologne on 1 September 1430 to study theology. After qualifying for his Bachelor of Theology he stayed on to teach and by 1435 was presenting candidates for their license.¹³⁴

The number of Scots coming to Cologne in the 1430's grew steadily and between 1430 and 1437 twenty-eight matriculated, whilst three Religious entered the higher faculties. Thirteen of the Scots were entering a university for the first time.

Athilmer was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Cologne on Palm Sunday, 1437. He was the first Scot to achieve this distinction. He served, however, no more than a half of the annual term and by 1 April 1438 was back at St Andrews teaching in the Faculty of Arts. However, the attractions of Cologne and the Council of Basle brought him back to the Continent and on 23 June 1441 he was incorporated at the University of Basle.¹³⁵

Coincidental with Athilmer's return to the Continent there was a significant movement of Scottish masters and students to Cologne. No less than thirteen masters and bachelors did so between 1440 and 1443. Athilmer was once more back with the Faculty of Arts at

Cologne by May 1442.¹³⁶ However, by 3 November 1448 he was once again teaching at St Andrews, his association with Cologne having apparently ended.¹³⁷

By 1450 Athilmer had been appointed Dean of Theology and on 27 August 1450 he was appointed Provost of St Salvator's College, recently founded by Bishop James Kennedy. There he was surrounded by former students and colleagues from Cologne, John Atholl, David Crannach, Thomas Leitch, Adam Hepburn, Duncan Bunch (before moving to be Principal of the new Glasgow College), Thomas Baron and Archibald Whitelaw.

A new phase in Scottish relationships with Cologne began with the matriculation there on 11 July 1454 of Robert Stoddart, who in spite of an inauspicious beginning enjoyed there a long and succesful career. He presented his first candidate for inception in April 1460 and later the same year was appointed an examiner of the prospective bachelors. Two years later he was elected Dean as also on three further occasions. Until his death in 1490 he played an outstanding part in the life of the Faculty. He seems also to have identified himself with the life of the City of Cologne as shown by his appointment as a Canon of St Mariengraden. He appears to have taken no special interest in Scottish students, most of whom were presented by non-Scottish masters.¹³⁸

In the later 1460's Scots continued to arrive at Cologne in a steady stream, many to study arts as hitherto, yet still with a sprinkling of established scholars.¹³⁹

Ignoring those Scots who came to Cologne to study in the Faculties of Theology, and Canon and Civil Law, the total number of Scots who matriculated there in the fifteenth century was more than three hundred. These were mostly students in Arts who appear not

to have already attended a Scottish university.¹⁴⁰

Relatively small though the number of Scottish students must have been they seem to have made an impact out of all proportion to their numbers. Five Scots became Deans of the Faculty of Arts, and men like Athilmer, Baron and Anderson in the 1440's;¹⁴¹ and Stoddart with several others, played a prominent part in the life of the university later in the century.¹⁴²

Some of those who had been at Cologne on returning home were later to play important roles in Church and State as did Kennedy, Turnbull and their circle who had been at Louvain (Leuven), on which see below. In the period 1500-51 forty Scots are shown in the Matriculation Register of the university, one of these was John Macalpine, a bachelor of theology who was to become a Reformer and a Professor at the University of Copenhagen (see below).¹⁴³

Rather smaller numbers of Scots attended universities in other German-speaking parts and mostly in the later part of the middle ages. In the years 1455-1522 only nine Scots from various parts of the country are recorded in the Matriculation Register of the University of Vienna, including two who had previously been at St Andrews. After 1522 the next name to appear is that of James Gordon, and that not until 1569 when he is described as 'doctor of theology'.¹⁴⁴

In the years 1519-35 eleven Scots were registered at the University of Wittenberg, and this includes two who are described

as from Hibernia. They are thought, however, in fact, to have been Scots.¹⁴⁵ There were four Scots at Frankfurt^{am-der-Oder} about 1540-55, including Alexander Alesius, a convert to Lutheranism, who moved on to Leipzig, and John Fidelis, a professor (i.e. at Frankfurt) in 1547.¹⁴⁶ Five Scots are recorded at Marburg, 1527-37, including Patrick Hamilton (1504?-1528), who held a license from Paris.¹⁴⁷ At Greifswald, 1519-46, there were five Scots, including D. Alexander Dume (most probably, Dunn), who later became a Doctor of Theology.¹⁴⁸ Several Scots are recorded as matriculating at the University of Ingoldstadt in 1543.¹⁴⁹

The oldest established university in Germany is that of Heidelberg, founded in 1386 and between then and 1662 the names of thirty-one Scots appear in its Matriculation Register, but of these no more than two appear before the Scottish Reformation, viz Johannes Malull, 20 December 1423 and Duncanus de Lythoon, 5 May 1434. It is suggested the two may have been from the Diocese of Aberdeen.¹⁵⁰

We have already drawn attention to the fact that even in Paris Scots had close contact with Germans and Flemings through their common membership of the German Nation.¹⁵¹

Another university much favoured by Scots was the University of Louvain (Leuven), founded in 1425. Initially most of its students came from the Low Countries, that is, the provinces of present day Holland and Belgium. Within a few years, however, it began to attract students from Scotland, John Lichton, a recent graduate from St Andrews, arriving on 31 July 1428, and becoming Rector of

the university in 1432.

In the four years to 1431 nineteen Scots matriculated there, seven having already obtained their Master's degree at St Andrews, and one at the University of Paris. Some of this group later became distinguished at home in Church and State. James Kennedy, a future Bishop of St Andrews, matriculated in 1430, and William Turnbull, a future Bishop of Glasgow, matriculated the following year.¹⁵⁴

Twenty years later Kennedy was to found St Salvator's College at St Andrews, and Turnbull Glasgow College, the latter appointing another Scot from Louvain, Nicholas Otterburn, as Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1451.¹⁵⁵

In the years 1500-60 no less than one hundred and sixty-nine Scots are recorded as students at Louvain University. The names include 'The noble lord and master George Ferne archdeacon of the cathedral of cathedral church of Dunkeld'; 'the noble and most reverend Lord William Gordon, bishop of Aberdeen' and 'Andrew Forman of Edinburgh, St Andrews' who registered in the years 1510, 1515 and 1518, respectively.¹⁵⁶ There is reason to believe that the latter is the Andrew Forman appointed Archbishop of St Andrews in 1516 and who had been Archbishop of Bourges, 1513-15.¹⁵⁷

Evidence for Scots attending the remoter universities of Italy are meagre, but there is evidence to show that Scottish students began to attend Italian universities from at least the fourteenth century. Records show them at Bologna, Padua, Pavia, Rome and Siena in the Pre-Reformation era. Although we know of no records of

Scottish students registering at Bologna, effectively a 'Studium Generale' from the end of the 12th century and the oldest, it is probably true to say that there was always a trickle of Scots coming there to study, in most cases canon and civil law for which it had great renown. For the later period our suggestion receives support from the fact that at least two Scots achieved high office there. William Baillie, a graduate of Glasgow University, was Rector there in 1486-7 and John de Scotia who was there, 1512-26, was the Bedellus there at the time of his death.¹⁵⁸

Rather more Scots appear to have attended Padua University, first being found there in the first half of the fourteenth century. By the first half of the sixteenth century there were so many there that they were granted the dignity of a Nation of their own, having long been members of a combined Nation of the English and Scots.¹⁵⁹

Other Scots, probably in rather smaller numbers, attended the Universities of Pavia, Rome and Siena. It is, however, recorded of Siena that in 1423 the Scottish priest, Andrew de Hawk, was Rector of the Doctors and Scholars.¹⁶⁰

Salerno was the most renowned medical centre in Europe in the Middle Ages. Some names occur in the obituaries from the twelfth century onwards which might possibly be Scottish, for example the name 'Athiulfus' appears in 1201 qualified by the term 'Scotus' and other similar terms occur in later years. We cannot be certain, however, that the person so named was in fact a Scot from Scotland. The possibility nevertheless remains that a person so described was a Scotsman from Scotland.¹⁶¹

Alexander Kinghorn, a Scot, was the first to occupy the chair of medicine at the University of Copenhagen in the year 1513 at a time when he was already the King's physician. In 1517 Kinghorn is recorded as being the Rector of the University. Another Scot, recorded as 'Master Thomas Allen or Skotte', who taught in the Faculty of Arts c.1520, may be 'Thomas Alane, nationis Britanniae' and the Thomas Alane from the Diocese of Glasgow who matriculated at St Andrews on 7 August 1492. Peter Davidson of Aberdeen, who matriculated at Cologne in June 1467 and probably the Peter of Scotland, a theologian at Cologne c.1477, went to the University of Copenhagen at about the time of its foundation in 1479 and soon became Dean of the Faculty of Arts, ultimately being promoted doctor in 1498. He was Rector in 1482, 1488, 1494, 1499, 1503, and 1509.¹⁶²

From 1542 John Macalpine (d.1557) (already referred to above), a graduate of Cologne, was Professor of Theology at Copenhagen. He had been Prior of the Dominicans at Perth, 1532-4.¹⁶³

There may have been some Scottish students at this university, but we have no details. Their number is not likely to have been large.

Further information regarding Scottish students at Italian Universities will be found in VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. Item ii) SCOTTISH STUDENTS AT ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES.

Although 'influence' cannot be quantitatively expressed there can be little doubt that Scottish students and scholars returning to their native land brought with them ideas which could be fed into Scottish life in a wide range of aspects orienting it in at least some degree towards that of the Continent. Speaking of two great continental universities Dr Roderick Lyall wrote,¹⁶⁴

Many of the Scots who studied in Cologne and Louvain no doubt took books back with them to Scotland, as we know to have been the case with George Lichton and Magnus and John Makculloch. The books men read and the ideas and experiences they carried with them were all part of a crucial process of contact, with which we must learn to come to terms if we are to understand the rich cultural tradition which flourished in Scotland between 1450 and 1513.

This is well illustrated by the fact that the ancient statutes of Glasgow University (founded by Royal Charter, 1453) take as models the statutes of the Universities of Bologna, Cologne, Paris and Louvain.¹⁶⁵ S.J. Curtis states that Glasgow was modelled on Bologna and Louvain. As William Turnbull, founder of Glasgow University, matriculated at Louvain in 1431, and appointed another Scot, from Louvain, Nicholas Otterburn, as Dean of the Faculty of Arts, we should expect some influence on Glasgow from Louvain. At St Andrews a 'Studium Generale' had been founded in 1411/12, modelled on Paris and Bologna.¹⁶⁶

The fact of the Reformation that finally took place in Scotland in 1559-60 is undeniable. It must be the case that this was largely inspired and fuelled by Scottish students and scholars who had spent time at continental universities, such as George Buchanan, Patrick Hamilton, Andrew Melville and, of course, numerous others. There can surely be no better example of how ideas were imported into Scotland from the Continent to influence events there. We

suggest that this process of the transmission of ideas had been an ongoing thing all the time Scotland had links with the Continent and that it is thus reasonable to suggest that even in more unquantifiable spheres such as that of representational art Scots who had been abroad when suitably placed at home would bring a continental influence to bear on matters that concerned them. Those who were keen about such things having witnessed colourful pageantry and impressive dramatic scenes abroad would wish to see them repeated in their own land, emulating, copying and perhaps trying to improve upon what they had seen in France, the Low Countries, in the German lands, and elsewhere.

Dates for the foundation of a 'Studium Generale' where not already given for universities referred to above are noted below:

- 1) Paris, end of 12th century. 2) Padua, 1222.
- 3) Siena, 1241. 4) Rome, 1303. 5) Pavia, 1361.
- 6) Vienna, 1364. 7) Cologne, 1388. 8) Leipzig, 1409.
- 9) Greifswald, 1456. 10) Ingolstadt, 1459.
- 11) Basle, 1469. 12) Wittenberg, 1502. 13) Frankfurt-am-Oder, 1506. 14) Marburg, 1527.

Within the given confines of a thesis it is clearly not possible to attempt a study of religious pageantry and plays at all the continental universities which might or might not have had a Scottish presence to a greater or lesser degree. When, therefore, we come to attempt a study of religious pageantry and plays in university towns where there was a Scottish presence it will necessarily be undertaken on a selective basis, the guiding principles being principally numbers and dates.

D.E.R. Watts's *A Biographical Dictionary of Graduates To A.D. 1410* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977) is a most useful book up to 1410, providing one is forearmed with the names of individuals, but it provides no university by university analysis. In any case our principal concern is with Scottish students on the Continent in

the first half of the fifteenth century, the period in which it appears to us the birth, evolution and development of public religious pageantry and plays mainly took place in Scotland, at least as far as we can tell from the scanty records that have survived.

c) SCOTS ON PILGRIMAGE TO CONTINENTAL SHRINES.

In 1367 John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*, went on pilgrimage to 'St Denis and other sacred places'. The alternative name for this saint is St Dionysius believed to have been martyred in c. 258 in the district of Paris now known as Montmartre, Apostle of France and its patron saint, his shrine is at the Abbey of St Denys on the outskirts of Paris on the northern side. One of the other sacred places is almost certainly the most famous French shrine of all, that of the head of St John Baptist at Amiens in Picardy. He went to France again in 1368, this time to study.¹⁶⁸

William Dunbar (1465?-1530?) the most brilliant poet of medieval Scotland, studied at St Andrews University, taking his B.A. in 1477 and his M.A. in 1479. On leaving he became a novice in the Franciscan Order of Greyfriars. According to his own account he preached betwixt Berwick and Calais and on through Picardy. It is very likely that once in Picardy he made for Amiens there to pay his devotions to the relics of St John Baptist's head as we have suggested John Barbour did, and as did many other Scots before the Reformation.¹⁶⁹

Pilgrimages were very popular throughout the Middle Ages, and many Scots went farther afield than to Amiens. There are records of Scottish pilgrims visiting shrines in German-speaking countries but they are not so many as those going on pilgrimage to shrines in France and Spain.

Pilgrimages were sometimes made for purely devotional reasons and sometimes for penitential reasons, either voluntary or when ordered by the Courts. For details of Scottish pilgrims to the Shrine at Amiens see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE. Item iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, AMIENS. The numbers on record can only represent a proportion of the total number of pilgrims in the period covered, 1314-1542.

Evidence from official Scottish sources is not available until 1488, the year of commencement of the published *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*. We know that many licenses to go on pilgrimage must have been issued from 1369/70 to 1488 by reason of an act of Parliament requiring all those proposing to go overseas to obtain a License permitting them to do so. Thus, the Parliament sitting at Perth: 18 February 1369/70:
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That no burgess nor merchant transport themselves out of the realm without the leave of our lord the King, or his Chamberlain, sought or obtained.

Another factor inhibiting the compilation of a complete list is that some records refer only to 'pilgrimage/s' without giving the name of the shrine concerned. We have not included these in our list.

There were probably some pilgrims to Amiens who took the sea route to the Low Countries and then travelled overland. Some merchants may have taken in a visit to the Shrine whilst in the area on business on the basis of a License granted for the latter purpose.

Our list extending from 1314 to 1542 consists mainly of high-ranking

laymen, beginning with Duncan, Earl of Fife and concluding with John Erskine of Dun with others in 1537 and possibly the same man and others in 1542. The list includes two Bishops, James Kennedy of St Andrews, in 1459, and a Bishop Patrick, described as of Aberdeen, with a party of clergy in 1468. The Diocesan Bishop of Aberdeen at that time was, however, Thomas Spens. A Bishop named Patrick Graham was at St Andrews at that time, having been appointed in 1465.¹⁷¹ Perhaps this is the Bishop who went to Amiens in 1468.

There are records of some Scottish Pilgrims visiting religious shrines in German-speaking countries, but they are not so extensive as those relating to pilgrimages to shrines in France and Spain.

A record of 27 July 1445 tells of how the useless legs of a young Aberdonian were restored at the Shrine of St Thomas à Becket, Canterbury, by a miracle which occurred on 2 May 1445. As an act of thanksgiving he left Canterbury for the Shrine of the Holy Blood at Wylsnak, Brandenburg, and subsequently returned to Canterbury.¹⁷² Wylsnak was a village on the banks of the lower Elbe 'where had been alleged since 1383 that a consecrated wafer secreted the blood of Christ':¹⁷³

In 1451 the English authorities granted a Certificate of Safe Conduct to two Scottish Chaplains, 'Jacobus Hunter & Henr(y) Herward' to travel through the King's lands on pilgrimage to 'Wylsnak, Cantuar, Walsyngham and Hayles'. There was also a Shrine of the Holy Blood at Hailes, Gloucestershire.¹⁷⁴

By an indenture dated 4 September 1486 a certain Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule, is required to ensure that three persons involved in a feud resulting in a fatality are to go on pilgrimage, 'ane to Rome, ane to Sanct James, and to the haly bluid of Welsnake, and thar to do suffrage....' ¹⁷⁵

Easter Day, 25 March 1543, a certain Leonard Panntmayr testified that George Donaldson had been to Confession and Communion at Taufkirchen in the Diocese of Ratisbon (i.e. Regensburg). Donaldson had broken his journey on his way back from Compostela, and was en route to the shrine at Wylsnak. ¹⁷⁶ Donaldson was also given a similar testimony by Andrew Hunter, a Scottish monk, who was already a monk at Ratisbon in June 1523. On that date he was elected Abbot of the Scottish monastery in Erfurt. He died in Germany in 1561. ¹⁷⁷

There was also a Shrine of the Holy Blood at Aachen to which a Scot was ordered to go on pilgrimage by the Magistrates of Danzig as an act of penance in 1471. From there he was also to pass on pilgrimage to the famous shrine of Einsiedelen in Switzerland, then on to St James of Compostela, and finally to St Adrian, for whom no shrine is found in the record. He was required to bring back proofs of his having visited these places. ¹⁷⁸

In 1475 Alexander Gustis (?) was ordered by the Danzig magistrates to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Blood for wounding a fellow Scot, William Watson. He was also ordered to give two marks to the altar of the Scots in the Church of the Black Monks at Danzig, and two

marks to Our Lady's Church at Dundee.¹⁷⁹

Scottish pilgrims to Compostela via the Continent in many cases followed the route Bruges , Amiens, Paris, Chartres, Tours, Poitiers, Xantes and Bordeaux, and then into Spain. In all these towns they might have witnessed religious plays and pageantry. We do not know, however, of any records of such things along the route from Bordeaux to Compostela.¹⁸⁰

One Scottish pilgrim intending to pass through Regensburg en route to Compostela was William Robertson of Edinburgh. Sadly he died during his stop-over in Regensburg, leaving a sum of money to a local citizen, probably of Scottish origin. On 5 March 1518/19 the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh addressed a letter on the matter to their opposite numbers in Regensburg.¹⁸¹

Records show visits to Italy from time to time by Scotsmen of various ranks from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries and up to the Reformation. In the ranks of the ecclesiastics were bishops, e.g. Bishops of Aberdeen, Glasgow and St Andrews; Abbots of Dunfermline, Melrose, and Holyrood; the Prior of St Andrews, the Dean of Aberdeen, the Provost of Bothwell. There were also archdeacons and canons, and ordinary clergy, usually designated as 'Masters'. There

were numerous members of the nobility and burgesses who were probably merchants. Most of the above came to Rome either in connection with business at the Curia or to pay their devotions to the Apostles Peter and Paul, or perhaps for both purposes. At Rome most of these visitors would have been accommodated in a Hospice reserved for Scottish visitors. In most cases the men of rank were accompanied by large numbers of servants and horses.¹⁸²

Pilgrimages to Rome from the Diocese of Glasgow are shown to be at least as early as the twelfth century by a MS fragment of that century. In the *Registrum Vetus* of the Diocese folio 11 has a short *Vade Mecum* for Pilgrims to the 'threshold of the Apostles,' beginning with a *Commemoracio stationem Rome*, a list of Lenten Station Churches in Rome. Then follows *He remissiones fiunt in dedicationibus ecclesiarum extra stationibus*, a list of additional churches and shrines where Indulgences might be obtained, and finally there is a short service for pilgrims.¹⁸³

Most pilgrims during their stay in Rome would have been accommodated in a hospice. It is possible that the ancient hospice of St Andrea delle Fratte was founded for Scottish pilgrims in the Holy Year of 1450. In the Scottish Record Office there is a certificate given by Alexander de Neronibus

of Florence, Pronotary Apostolic and Preceptor of the Hospice of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome, to William Mirton, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, in acknowledgement of his entering the hospital and confraternity and promising annual alms in return for plenary Indulgences. A procuratory of 1505 by Gilbert Gray, son of Andrew, Lord Gray, appointed a Canon of Brechin and others to present his offering for the support of the hospice.¹⁸⁴

One reason for visits to Rome were the Papal Indulgences granted in the Holy Years. Beginning in 1300 the intention was to hold a Holy Year every hundred years. In 1343 this was changed to every fifty years and in 1389 to every thirty years in honour of the years of Our Lord's life. In 1470 the period was settled at Twenty-five years. The determining date for finding the later dates of Holy Years is 1450, the year Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews attended to qualify for the Indulgence.¹⁸⁵

It can be assumed that almost without exception Scottish Diocesan Bishops, like all other Bishops in the Church of the West, would have paid regular periodical visits to Rome to venerate the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul and to report on the state of their diocese. The custom was of obligation and was known as going on pilgrimage, 'Ad Limina Apostolorum', i.e. 'to the threshold of the Apostles'. The custom originated in a decree of the Roman Synod of 743 which enjoined such visits on all bishops who had

been ordained at Rome. Gregory VII extended this obligation to all metropolitans of the West, and from the thirteenth century it was imposed on all bishops consecrated by the Pope himself or by his special representative, which in practice must have meant that at least all diocesan bishops went regularly 'Ad Liminum Apostolorum'.¹⁸⁶

Our list of Pilgrims (see APPENDIX 'D' referred in next para.) covering the period 1372 is mainly composed of men in Holy Orders, including Religious, as for example, Thomas, Abbot of Paisley, who went in 1453, Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews in 1449, Bishop William of Glasgow in 1453 and Robert, Abbot of the Abbey of the Holy Rood, Edinburgh, who went on to Rome from Flanders in 1494.

In addition to pilgrims and travellers to Italy itself there were also pilgrims who passed through Venice en route to the Holy Land via Rhodes.¹⁸⁷ Details of at least some of those Scots who made the journey to Rome or who passed through Venice en route to the Holy Land will be found in VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. Item iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS AND TRAVELLERS TO ITALY, and Item iv) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS PASSING THROUGH VENICE EN ROUTE TO THE HOLY LAND VIA RHODES.

The Shrine of Santiago (St James, the Apostle) at Compostela in Galicia, Spain, appears to have been regularly visited by Scottish pilgrims. From the turn of the fourteenth century Scottish pilgrims 'to the Holy Land, or to St James, or any other Holy Place.....' were under the protection of their Sovereign.¹⁸⁸

For further information regarding Scottish pilgrims to the shrine at Compostela see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES, CHAPTER TWO.

- APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN. Item ii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

Those Scottish pilgrims who took the land route to Compostela across the Continent in many cases passed through Bruges, Amiens, Paris, Chartres, Tours, Poitiers, Xantes and Bordeaux and then into Spain. In any one of these places they might have witnessed religious pageantry and plays. We do not know, however, of any records of such things along the route from Bordeaux to Compostela.¹⁸⁹

Some pilgrims probably took the sea route to Coruna (also spelt, Corunna) either from a Scottish port or from Plymouth in Devon. Some may have disembarked at Bordeaux. Another route was possibly via a Baltic port, from there to the Holy Blood Shrines at Wylsnak, Bruges and Aachen, perhaps to St Denys, Paris, St John the Baptist at Amiens and then across to Regensburg to visit relatives before making for Compostela.

While at Compostela, supposing they were there at the right time, a matter to which they had probably given careful attention, they might have participated in the Great Office of St James, the Apostle (see CHAPTER FIVE. F. SPAIN).

Records show that for Scotland, as probably also for other European countries, the Shrine of Santiago de Compostela ranked second

only in importance to that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Our list of Scottish Pilgrims to the Shrine of Santiago de Compostela is short and is hardly likely to represent a complete list. It is headed by William de Landallis, Bishop of St Andrews. (For list see, Vol. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN.

Item ii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

d) ECCLESIASTICS AND OTHER MEN OF SIGNIFICANCE IN SCOTTISH LIFE ON THE CONTINENT.

Apart from contact with the people of the Continent through trade, the universities and pilgrimages, there had long been other avenues through which such contact was made or maintained, in many cases by men already familiar with the Continent through attendance at one of its universities earlier in life. We now give some examples of these.

In 1332 Bishop James Ben of St Andrews died in Bruges and was buried in the Augustinian Church at Eeckhout.¹⁹⁰ Whether or not the bishop had been in Bruges to witness or take part in the annual procession of the Holy Blood it is not possible to say. It is possible, for according to the Town Accounts of Bruges such processions had already begun in 1303.¹⁹¹

William de Cameron, Prior-Elect of Monymusk died in Bruges c. 1416 when returning from Rome after receiving confirmation of his election. He was buried in the Church of St Aegidius (i.e. St Giles) before the Altar of St Andrew. When Scottish artisans working in Bruges were granted the use of an altar in 1462 it was this same altar (see above, the Chapel of the Scottish Artisans).¹⁹²

A Compte of 1433-4 shows that gifts were made by the town to a visiting but unnamed Scottish bishop to the value of xvij lb. vj s. viij d. par. The same account also shows gifts made to the Bishop of London.¹⁹³

Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews attended the Papal Jubilee in Rome in 1450 and reached Bruges in time to take part in the annual Procession of the Holy Blood, 3 May 1451.¹⁹⁴

Bishop Thomas of Whithorn was in Bruges in June 1457 on the occasion when an agreement was made regarding the rights and responsibilities of the Chaplain to the Scottish Community (see above).¹⁹⁵

In 1463 William Knollys obtained from Edward IV of England a 'Safe Conduct' valid for one year, to enable him and Thomas Spens, Bishop of Aberdeen, and other Scotsmen, nine in all, to pass through England with twelve attendants. At the time he was living in Bruges and employed in public business there in 1468-9. He was tutor to John Stewart, third son of James III. The Prior of St Andrews visited Bruges the following year.¹⁹⁶

Archbishop Graham of St Andrews was in Bruges in 1473 as shown by the expenses incurred in sending a messenger to him from Scotland.¹⁹⁷

William Elphinstone passing through Bruges in 1495 undertook the services of Maundy Thursday and of the 'Triduum' (i.e. Good Friday - Easter Day) in the parish church of St Walburg. At the Easter Vigil he ordained a number of priests on behalf of the Bishop of Tournai (i.e. Doornik) in which the Diocese of Bruges was at that time.¹⁹⁸

On 2 September 1494, Robert, Abbot of the Abbey of the Holy Rood, Edinburgh, departed from Scotland to the land of Flanders en route to Rome. From Bruges the Abbot brought back to his Abbey jewels and vestments that he had bought very cheaply in the market place.¹⁹⁹

Bruges was a place where a bishop was likely to meet bishops from any part of the Catholic West, and whose services might be called upon whilst there, as we saw above in the case of William Elphinstone of Aberdeen.²⁰⁰ The most likely occasion would have been the annual Procession of the Holy Blood at the beginning of May.

Ecclesiastics were not the only Scots to pass through Bruges en route to some other place. In 1450, the year of the Papal Jubilee, William, eighth Earl of Douglas (1425?-1452), passed through with his entourage, bound for Rome. Some other 'passers through' have already been noted under, 'Banking' above.²⁰¹ (See A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. a) THE MERCANTS AND THEIR MERCHANDISE.)

Returning from Rome in 1497 where he had presented the cause for the elevation of the Duke of Ross to the Archbishopric of St Andrews Dean Brown (b.n.c. 1456) of Aberdeen (appointed 1484) spent six months in the Low Countries fulfilling various commissions for the Duke and himself.²⁰² He appears in the Accounts of Halyburton for the months of May, June, July, September and October, 1498,²⁰³ spending the latter month in Antwerp. A Scot known to have been in Antwerp in 1536 was Brother George, of the Order of Preachers, i.e. the Dominicans, who had houses in Edinburgh, Perth and St Andrews.²⁰⁴

There are records of parties of Bishops and other ecclesiastics, often accompanied by noblemen, making visits to France and places beyond its borders, normally via Calais after riding through England with a Certificate of Safe Conduct and Protection granted by the English authorities, information about which is to be found in the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*.²⁰⁵

More often than not these parties were in France on state business. Our earliest record is of the Bishop of St Andrews going on the King's business to King Philip in 1313. Our latest Pre-Reformation record is of the Compter with the Abbot of Kilwynning, Ambassador to France, at the French Court in 1552. For further details, mostly taken from the *Calendar of Documents* referred to above, see VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE.

Item iv) SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICS ACCOMPANIED BY OTHERS, ETC.

e) SCOTS APPOINTED TO HIGH ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICE AND OTHER HIGH OFFICES IN FRANCE.

Some Scots were appointed to high ecclesiastical and other high offices in France. For the period of two hundred years for which we have records the number of Scots who achieved high office in the French Church does not amount to very many. The editor of *Miscellanea Scotica*, however, is probably correct when he suggests that large numbers of Scots served in France as Priors, Canons, and Curates, and in benefices, but we have no statistics for these.

The most significant names are those of Andrew Forman, Bishop of Bourges, 1513-15, and Archbishop of St Andrews from 1515, and David Beaton, Bishop of Mirepoix, 1537-38 and appointed Archbishop of St Andrews, 1538/9. For further information see, VOL. TWO. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. Item iv, referred to above.

There were times when it was not possible to reach France via England and Calais but there was always the alternative route of travel by sea to one of the ports of the Low Countries and over land to such parts of France as were not involved in war with England. Statistics for travel in this way are not readily available. It seems reasonable to conclude that whatever their business in France Scottish ecclesiastics were in touch with the traditions and ongoing life of the people of France and of their Church. It was normal for ecclesiastics to be accompanied by noblemen who held positions of influence in the Scottish Court and in Scottish life generally.

The *CDRS* gives many instances of Certificates of Safe Conduct and Protection being granted to Scottish nobles and their retainers with horses to travel through the dominions of the English Sovereigns, en route to France and elsewhere. Many must have travelled by sea to the Low Countries. Many served in the armies of the French Kings.²⁰⁶ This class is not likely to have effected the evolution of pageantry and plays in Scotland and so we have not compiled statistics regarding them. Ecclesiastics and Merchants are those through whom French influence would have entered Scotland, bearing in mind that in those times almost all students became ecclesiastics of one kind or another, and it was in the ranks of those in orders that literary talents flowered.

A study of *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* does not show any appointments in Scotland of French ecclesiastics to posts that correspond to the appointment of Andrew Forman as Bishop of Bourges or that of David Beaton to be Bishop of Mirepoix. In both cases, however, as indicated above, after but short terms of office they returned home to be elevated in both instances to the Archbishopric of St Andrews.

It is reported that eleven Scottish families had houses in Bourges between 1436 and 1500, and it is more than likely that most of them were still there when Forman was made Bishop of the Diocese in 1513.²⁰⁷ About 1500 a Roman Breviary was written and illuminated for a Scotsman living in Bourges. One of the illuminations features a Corpus Christi Procession, which it is presumed reflects such a procession in the town of Bourges.²⁰⁸

Sessions of the Council of Basle (Basel) took place in the years 1431-49. A number of Scots attended sessions. We have already mentioned above under b) SCOTS AND THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE CONTINENT, the Cistercian, Thomas Livingston, a prominent figure at the Council, and also John Athilmer, who attended some of the sessions.

Besides these we have found records of three others who with attendants were granted 'Safe Conducts' by the English authorities to travel through England on their way to the Council.

On 10 May 1434 such a warrant was issued to 'Ingerame Lyndesay of Scotland familiar priest and acolet to the Pope'. On the same day one was granted to 'Walter the abbot of the monastery of St Thomas the Martyr of Aberbroth', and on 25 June 1435 one was granted to 'master Alexander Lawder' for the same purpose. Lyndesay had two attendants, the abbot ten and Lawder six. ²⁰⁹

Rather more Scots must have attended sessions than those mentioned above, those choosing to travel by the direct sea route to the Continent and so avoiding the need to obtain a Certificate of Safe Conduct from the English authorities. For further information see, VOL. TWO. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE.

Item iv) SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICS ACCOMPANIED BY OTHERS WHO TRAVELLED TO FRANCE. ETC. See years: 1434,5.

Scottish contacts with Germany and Germans were principally through trade and the University of Cologne and Germans who for various reasons came to Scotland to engage in a variety of activities. Such contacts have already been discussed. We have not found any records to show contact between Scots and Germans either at court, diplomatic or higher ecclesiastical level. This need not mean that none took place. The records we quoted for French contacts were almost entirely based on English records for the granting of Certificates of Safe Conduct and Protection. Many of these were expressed in general and vague terms, such as permission to pass through England 'to other parts beyond the borders of France,' 'to pass to foreign parts,' (an expression very frequently used), 'to pass abroad.' Any one of these expressions could cover a journey into Germany, or Italy, and so on. One of the entries in

our list, dated 1490/1 relates to the Bishop of Glasgow and others going as Ambassadors to the King and Queen of Castile and 'to pass to Leon, Aragon' (both in what we now call Spain) and to 'Sicily, etc.' An entry of 1491 relates to the Bishops of Aberdeen and Glasgow and others going as 'Ambassadors to Charles King of France, and the King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon and Sicily'. (See, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE. Item iv) SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICS ACCOMPANIED BY OTHERS WHO TRAVELLED TO FRANCE AND BEYOND. ETC.

f) PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH AUTHORS AND THE CONTINENT.

Walter Kennedy (1406?-1508) wrote his part of the *Flyting* when Dunbar was in Paris in 1491,²¹⁰ and refers to the latter's stay in that city. At the time Dunbar was a member of an embassy headed by Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, together with Robert Blackadder (d.1508), Bishop of Glasgow, sent to negotiate a marriage for James IV. Mackay says there can be little doubt that after leaving St Andrews much of Dunbar's time was spent in foreign parts, probably in France, and Dunbar reminds the King of how he had been employed not only in France, but also in England, Ireland, Germany and Spain.²¹¹

The poems of William Dunbar (1465?-1530?) show that he was influenced by the French school, not merely at second hand through the imitation of English authors who themselves had been influenced by still earlier French poetry.²¹²

Robert Henryson (1430?-1506) was Master of the Benedictine Abbey School, Dunfermline. He was admitted 'ad eundem' into Glasgow University in 1462, when he was styled, 'the venerable Master Robert Henryson, Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in Decrees'. It is thought that he may have graduated on the Continent, but there is no proof of this. He appears as witness to some deeds in 1477 and 1478 when he signs as 'Robert Henrison, notarius publicus',²¹³ which may point to his having been at either Paris or the University of Orléans. Public Notaries were often the clerics who wrote out the play texts.

'Schir Gilbert Hay,' (fl 1456), one of the lost 'Makkars,' was Chamberlain to Charles VI of France. About 1460 he completed in twenty thousand lines, a translation of a French metrical romance, *The Buke of the Conqueror, Alexander the Great.*²¹⁴

John Ireland (Johannis Irlandia, fl 1480), the author of the 'Meroure of Wysdome,'²¹⁵ tells that he was 'thretty yeris nurist in Fraunce, and in the noble study of Paris in latin tounge, and knew nocht the gret eloquens of chauceir na colouris that men usus in Innghlis metir.'²¹⁶ Ireland was Confessor to James III (1460-88, bn 1452) and Louis XI of France.

Chapter IX of the work referred to 'declaris the gret disputacioun betuix the foure hevinly wertuis, Mercy, verite, equite & pass, before the hie maieste and the hevinly wissdome, anens the jincarnacioun of the blist sone of god, jhesus...'²¹⁷ This is a reference to the Heavenly Debate with the Four Daughters of God which featured as a Prologue to many Cosmic Cycles, or as they were sometimes termed in France, Passion Plays. Whether or not such a Prologue was a feature of Scottish religious plays it is not possible to say, as no texts have survived, but it is unlikely that John Ireland was the only Scottish man of letters familiar with the 'Debate'. If it did form the Prologue to a Scottish cycle then the likelihood is that it came to Scotland from France.

On 26 March 1532 Sir David Lyndsay (1490-1555) in company with Sir Thomas Erskine (Marchmont Herald) and the Bishop of Ross,

James Hay, left on a mission to the Court of the King of France in search for a bride for their King.²¹⁸ They visited Tours, Angers & Paris, returning to Scotland via England in November the same year.²¹⁹ In February 1533/34, Erskine, David Beaton and Lyndsay travelled to France, visiting Compiègne, and Paris.²²⁰ This embassy probably returned to Scotland in August that year.²²¹ There were further embassies in 1535 and Lyndsay probably joined an embassy in France that left Scotland, 5 August 1535.²²² They travelled to Bur-sur-Seine or Bur-sur-Aube, and Dijon, to make contact with the French King. In early November the same year they visited Paris.²²³ In March 1536 they were in Lyons.²²⁴

King James V crossed to France in Autumn 1536, and there is firm evidence that Lyndsay was also in France.²²⁵ He may have gone with the King to Paris and was probably present at the Royal Entry on 31 December, and at the marriage of James and Madeleine on 1 January 1536/7, the accounts showing that he received a gown of velvet on 20 January, which also record his expenses 'to pas in Scotland'²²⁶ There is no record of Lyndsay paying any subsequent visit to France. Altogether Lyndsay could have spent a total of twenty-seven months in France.

Mill suggests that Lyndsay may have been in Paris in 1532 and 1534 for the May Festival of the Clerks of the Basoche and may have witnessed their annual 'montre' at the beginning of July. No records are known of dramatic performances on these occasions. It is possible that in 1536 he may have taken part in the festivals of all three sections of the Clerks of the Parliament, at the Epiphany,

Shrove Tuesday, May Day and July celebrations:²²⁷ Outside Paris in Tours, Angers, Compiègne, Dijon and Lyons, there were famous corporations of 'clerics' or 'ecoliers', some of whose performances Lyndsay may have witnessed.²²⁸ Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* is in the nature of a political satire or morality rather than a religious play in the generally received sense. For that reason we do not discuss the question of French influence upon its composition, taking as our brief continental influence upon the religious pageantry and plays of the burghs such as found in the cycle plays of, for example, York. In any case the influence of the Continent upon 'The Thrie Estaitis' has already been covered by Anna J. Mill in her essay 'The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*.'²²⁹

Lester, who made a study of Scottish and French influence upon English literature concluded that the *Thrie Estaitis* was clearly drawn from French models,²³⁰ and believed that the work which 'directly gave him a model' was Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz*, performed at the Paris Halles in 1512. Mill agrees with Lester up to a point, but argues that the parallels are not so close as Lester contends, except in regard to Gringore's preliminary 'sottie.'²³¹ Gringore had been made known in Scotland by Barclay who in 1506 published the *Castel of laboure*, a translation of the French satirist's *Le Chasteau de Labour* of 1499.²³²

All the above writers had had some kind of contact with France and all have works credited to their names which have survived.

In varying degrees they all came under French influence. Only one of them, however, viz, David Lyndsay, is known to have written a play of which we still have the text. There were probably a number who if they did not write 'straight' plays probably wrote farces, but whose works have perished with them.

The purpose of this brief exercise has been to show that in literary endeavours outside the field of religious plays of which no texts have survived French influence can be detected. It surely follows that there is a distinct possibility that the lost texts were influenced by French models.

g) THE MUSICIANS, ACTORS AND OTHER PERFORMERS OF SCOTLAND
AND THE CONTINENT.

There were players of various kinds of musical-instruments in the service of the Scottish Court for many years, such as harpers, fiddlers and performers of mimes. The King's minstrels were in attendance at the Battle of the Standards in 1138.²³³ and in the fourteenth century the Court Minstrels of Robert II (1371-90) entertained the Spanish Court.²³⁴ (See below)

One of the earlier surviving records of Scots musicians is of the occasion when the musicians of the King of Scotland together with those of the King of England, King Henry of Castille, Duke Albert of Bavaria, the Counts of Namur and Blois, Count Louis of Flanders and the Duke of Brabant, were rewarded for their performances at the splendid gatherings that were held during the peace negotiations between France and England, held in Bruges in 1375 and 1376.²³⁵

In 1436 a total of seven actors were brought to Scotland from Flanders, almost certainly from Bruges, where it is likely they provided entertainment at the Ducal Palace when the Duke of Burgundy was in residence. The same year costumes for the mimers were imported from Flanders and in 1437 Martin Vanartyne (their head-man) and his companions were rewarded for their performances at the time of the Coronation of King James II on the instructions of the Queen Mother, Marie of Guelderland, and the Council. James was aged only seven at the time of his crowning.²³⁶

In August 1473 'Heroun, clerk of the Chapell' (i.e. the Chapel Royal, Stirling) received 'ii s. to his passage to the scolis'.²³⁷ On 3 September 1473 Johnne Broune 'lutare' was paid v li. 'at his passage oure sey to lere his craft.'²³⁸ 4 September 1474 Andro Balfoure was paid xxiiij s. to buy clothes 'to the Kingis litill lutare that he send to Bruges'.²³⁹ In 1473 David Yong was paid 2 s. at the King's command, for 'a barrell of Salmond' sent to the luter in Bruges.²⁴⁰ At the King's command in 1508 four scholar-minstrels were paid xxi li. to buy instuments in Flanders and given a further 56s. to help with their expenses and towards freightage charges.²⁴¹

The City of Bruges subsidised minstrels' schools, large gatherings of musicians from different towns and countries, held annually in Lent in several towns of Flanders. The famous Jacomi Sentluc from Aragon attended the school in Flanders in 1378/9. Strohm suggests that these Music Schools did not survive for long, but the Scottish records show that Music Schools continued at Bruges at least through most of the fifteenth century, and its fame for the production of musical instuments (especially of brass) continued into the sixteenth century.

Bruges seems to have had a large number of music teachers. Some were subsidised by the Burgh Council. From 1482-89 payments are recorded to two music teachers for teaching children to play the flute, the trumpet, and also probably other instuments.²⁴²

French minstrels designated as such are not found at the Scottish Court in surviving Scottish records until the latter end of the fifteenth century when James IV (1488-1513), himself a musician, introduced into the Court not only Italian singers, and English harpers, trumpeters and pipers, but also French 'taubroners' and 'cornatt' players. ²⁴³

Between 1467 and 1553 records show that the French minstrels, entertainers and players (i.e. actors of farces) performed at the Court in Edinburgh (including at the Abbey), Dundee and Stirling, often under the direction of John Damian, the French leech, who subsequently became Abbot of Tunland. (Details are set out in Vol. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE.

Item vi) FRENCH PERFORMERS AT THE SCOTTISH COURT, 1467-1558.

The only records to survive in Edinburgh that give details of the public processions of the Crafts are those of the Incorporation of Hammermen. These show regular payments to minstrels in connection with the annual procession at Corpus Christi, on St Eloi's and on St Giles Days, for the procession to St Katherine's Well, and for participation from time to time in the 'Joyful Entries' of Royalty during the period 1494-1558.

There are regular payments throughout the accounts to minstrels whose nationality is not given. ²⁴⁴ From 1494 up to and including 1508 ²⁴⁵ there are regular payments to a certain minstrel named, 'gilyame' and companions. Sometimes the man is named, guilliams,

guilliam, or gilleam. We suggest he was a Frenchman. His name certainly sounds more French than that of 'John King' who in 1519 was described as a 'franchman'.²⁴⁶ The same name occurs from time to time in the court records which show him as a 'trabronar'. (See items 3, 5, 8 and 9, APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE, Item vi referred to above). We suggest the man named 'gilyame'²⁴⁷ (or some other variant) in both sets of accounts for more or less corresponding periods is one and the same man. The Hammermen records also show him as a 'taubronar' or 'talberour'.²⁴⁸

The Hammermen accounts show unnamed French minstrels for the years 1515-17,²⁴⁹ and in 1519 'John King, franchman' was rewarded for playing and supplying 'ane greit bovum'.²⁵⁰ A 'Franch cheld that playit on the swas' was rewarded in 1529.²⁵¹ 'Jakis' (Hog) said to be a Frenchman, first appears on the accounts in 1531 when he supplied 'hides of o^r swas'.²⁵² From 1533²⁵³ he appears regularly up to the Reformation (1558) shown as a minstrel and with companions, who appear regularly in the processions on Corpus Christi Day and its Octave Day, at the head of the Hammermen.

During the time Jakis Hog served the Hammermen he also served the burgh as shown by the burgh records.²⁵⁴ However his assistants were described we have referred to them all simply as his 'companions'. Sometimes the records speak of his 'twa sonis', sometimes of his 'marrowis' and once of his 'band'.

There is not much evidence for French entertainers performing in the burghs in the fifteenth century, and the information avail-

able is insufficient to enable us to say precisely what performances were given.

The Burgh Accounts for Ayr for 1546-47 contain the following entry,

for the franchmennis lawingis ^a in robert hvdys playis.....
 fl. 15s. 8d. ²⁵⁵

a. A session for drinking or entertainment, especially in a tavern; a drinking party.

The expense relates to the customary entertainment given to players after their performance. It seems that the Frenchmen supplied a hogshead of wine to the value of £4.10s. A certain William Kar gave the wine away, presumably at the festivities, but failed to pay the Frenchmen, who for the town's honour were paid by the Treasurer. ²⁵⁶

A hogshead is equivalent to fifty-two and a half gallons, or four hundred and twenty pints, which if the wine was all consumed on the same occasion, as it probably was, five hundred to a thousand people were entertained after the performance of the plays.

While the Frenchmen were in the town they repaired the town clock. ²⁵⁷

Burgh Accounts of 1550-51 show that once again Frenchmen were in Ayr in connection with Robin Hood plays. ²⁵⁸

Expenses of four Frenchmen in George Dun's house, - when he was Robin Hood...£2.

a. George Dun had also been Robin Hood in 1547-48. ²⁵⁹

Robin Hood plays are also referred to in accounts for the following years: 1538-9; 1539-40; 1542-43; 1544-45; 1547-48. The 1553-54 account shows expenditure for 'powder for the Robin Hood plays', as also for, 'wine, aqua vita, and skrotchartis' (some kind of sweetmeat).

Sometimes the name of Little John is coupled with that of Robin Hood, as for example in the discharge of 1550-51.²⁶¹

References to Robin Hood and Little John in the records cannot ^{necessarily} be taken to indicate that plays built around their characters were performed, or that the plays had anything to do with 'Bringing in Summer' or were connected with traditional pagan folk customs. The two could have been those to whom responsibility was given to organize the annual Corpus Christi and other pageantry and processions. The names could be equivalent to those of the Abbot and Prior of Bon Accord of Aberdeen, elected annually, and whose responsibility was to organize the annual Holy Blood or Corpus Christi Procession.²⁶² At Aberdeen in May, there were 'danssis, farsis, plais and gamis', organized under the supervision of the Lords of Bon Accord, who in 1551 employed the services of a French company of players, presumably to perform the 'farsis', (and) plais'.²⁶³

In extant Scottish records featuring Robin Hood and Little John we have found no mention of Maid Marian.

The Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen, the
Discharge of 1548-51, include the following item, ²⁶⁴

1551.

Item, to Monsieur de Termes and his company in vyne....
8 lib.8s.

This is five times as much as was spent in Ayr for wine for the
'franchmennis lawingis', and almost twice as much as was paid
for a hogshead of wine at Ayr. Thus two hogsheads of wine are
involved at Aberdeen, which if distributed on one day would have
satisfied a great number of people.

That the burgh council regarded the amount spent on wine at
public festivities as excessive is shown by measures they agreed
upon on 14 April 1552, from which we quote the salient parts:

...the lordis of Bonnacord in tymes bygane hase maid our mony
grit, sumptuous, and superfleous banketing...and specialie in
May...and did hurt to sundry youngmen that wer elekit in the
said office, becaus the last elekit did aye pretent to surmont
in thair predecessouris in thair ryetouss and sumptuous bank-
eting, and the causs principal and gud institutioun thair of,
quhilk wes in halding of the gud toun in glaidnes and blythtnes,
with danssis, farsis, playis, and gamis, in tymes convenient,
neclekit and abusit; and thairfor ordinis that in tyme cummin
all sic sumptuous banketing be laid down aluterlie except thre
sobir and honest, vizt., upoun the senze (i.e. Ascension) day,
the first Sunday of May, and ane (...) upoun Tuisday efter Pasche
(i.e. Easter) day...and in the forsaid superfleouss banketing to
be had and maid yeirly to (i.e. two) generall plais, or ane at
the lest, with danssis and gammes usit and wont,;... 265

It seems reasonable to assume that Monsieur de Termes and his
company performed French farces and plays, but what they were
we are not told. Besides the above payment to Monsieur de Termes

and his company there were at the same time other payments to Frenchmen as follows,²⁶⁶

- i) Item, to Villeam Daudsone to pass on Frenchemenne with utheris...5s.
- ii) Item, to pass on ane Frenche man callit Loyis Brant-offir, deliuerit Wat Andersone...2s.
- iii) Item, to pass on ane Frencheman callit Venian Caenant...2s.

Church music had fallen into decay in Scotland in the thirteenth century. It was reformed mainly by the efforts of the musical theorist Simon Tailler who studied music both in Rome and Paris, the latter being the hub of the musical world of those times. From Paris he returned to Scotland and settled with the Dominicans at Dunblane. He then set to work to reform the church music of his native land to such effect that 'the church music of Scotland was considered to rival that of Rome.'²⁶⁷

Scottish instrumentalists, however, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, went principally to Bruges to learn their craft. We have found little evidence that they went to Paris for such purposes. One exception was 'James Lawder' Prebendary of the Choir of St Giles, Edinburgh, to whom the Burgh Council gave leave,²⁶⁸

26 January 1552/3, to pas furth of the realme to the pairtis of Ingland, (and) France, thair to remane for the space of ane yeir nixt efter the dait heiroyf, to the effect that he may haue and get better eruditioun in mvsik and playing nor he hes:...

As shown above minstrels of French origin were active in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both at Court,

and in Edinburgh on behalf of the Burgh and with the incorporation of Hammermen, especially at Corpus Christi. Some Scottish musicians were active in France. William Costeley, a Scot, was composer to the Court of Henry II (1519), and the two favourite lute players of Henry IV (1553), were James and Charles Hedington, whose family name suggests that they were Scots, all of which points to a mutuality of culture in the field of music.²⁶⁹

From 1501 to 1560²⁷⁰ the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer and the Exchequer Rolls show regular payments for the entertainment of the Court by Italian minstrels, pipers, trumpeters, players on the 'veolis', dancers, 'spolaris' (i.e. acrobats and tight-rope walkers), and histriones' (?actors). Sometimes when the King went on his travels he took Italian minstrels with him, as at Brechin in 1503.²⁷¹

An interesting fact revealed by a record of 19 March 1529/30 concerning Italian minstrels is the employment of the Italian banker, Evangelist Passer (Evangelist was his Christian name) to act as surety to five Italian minstrels for £240.²⁷²

A few Spanish entertainers amused the Scottish Court at the turn of the fifteenth century, and although, as already mentioned, Scottish musicians are reported at the Spanish Court in the last quarter of the fourteenth century,²⁷³ one is bound to say that

Spanish influence at the Scottish Court was probably very minimal compared with that of other countries.

A record of 1491 shows that Spaniards were rewarded for dancing before the King 'on the Cawsay' (a paved area) of Edinburgh and in 1508 'Martin the Spanyol' was provided with a new gown 'for the bancat'. (For details see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN. Item i) SPANIARDS AT THE SCOTTISH COURT (SCOTS AT THE SPANISH COURT).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.

1. Reinhard STROHM *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (OUP, 1985) 34.
2. The term 'Staple' meant the sole right of the Staple Port to handle all trade between the Low Countries and Scotland.
3. See especially: J. DAVIDSON and A. GREY *The Scottish Staple at Veere*; M.P. ROOSEBOOM *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands* (The Hague 1910); W.A. FINLAYSON *The Scottish Nation of Merchants in Bruges. A Contribution to the History of Medieval Scottish Foreign Trade* (Glasgow University unpublished Ph.D. Thesis No.1030, 1951).
4. FINLAYSON 106,7.
5. Malcolm LETTS *Bruges and Its Past* (Charles Beyaert, Bruges; A.G. Berry, London, 1924) 109.110.
6. FINLAYSON 24,5.
7. Edward GAILLIARD ed. *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges* (publié sous Les Auspices de l'Administration Communale de Bruges 1878) Section Première ed. L. Gilliodts van SEVEREN *Inventaire des Chartres Première Série, Trèzième au Seizième Siècle: Introductory Volume and Vols.1-6 with Glossaire and Analitical Index* - henceforth referred to simply as 'VAN SEVEREN'. In this instance see, vol.2, 199-200. See also, FINLAYSON 113.
8. FINLAYSON 147.
9. FINLAYSON 146, 151, 155.
10. R.A. PARMENTIER ed. *Geschiedkundige Publicatiën Der Stad Brugge: Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken* vol.1, 1418-1450, 6-421; vol.2, 1480-1794, 476-895. NB. Intro. of vol.1, vii, explains that 'Poorters' had the full rights and privileges of citizens, some of which were denied to 'de andere stedeZengen' - privileges which included additional responsibilities.
11. ROOSEBOOM 19-34. See also: William KENNEDY *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion to the end of the year 1818, etc.* A. Brown and Co., Aberdeen, Wm. Blackwood, Edinburgh and Longman and Others, London, 1818, 2 vols.) vol.1, 78, where Kennedy notes that in 1507 Aberdeen sent Commissioners to the Staple at Middelburg. In 1503 'V cheris of estait', richly upholstered and decorated, were made in Bruges and imported into Scotland via Middelburg see, Compota thesaurariorum regum Scotorum. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473-1566* ed. Thomas DICKSON and Sir James Balfour PAUL (11 vols. 1877-1916) (Subsequently referred to as ALHT) vol.2, 227,8.

In 1512 a ship's compass was purchased in Middelburg for the 'King's navy'. See ALHT vol.4, 302 and 294, 332 and 440.

12. R.K. HANNAY 'Shipping and the Staple, A.D. 1515-1531'
Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (vol.9, 1916) 49-57, 51.
13. J. MARECHAL 'de Devotie te Brugge tot Sint-Niniaan, bisschop
Whithorn in Schotland, 1366-1548' *Handelingen van Het
Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de Benaming
Société d'Émulations te Brugghe* 99 ((1962, pts.3,4) 187 and
Appendices I & IV 194,7. This is the later and present title
of the publication we refer to in its earlier life as *Annales*,
Bruges and which in its later life we refer to as *Handelingen
Brugghe*.
14. MERECHAL 188.
15. MARECHAL 188,9.
16. MARECHAL 189,90.
17. Edinburgh Burgh Records vol.1, 5, 66,7.
18. *The Acts of Parliament of Scotland* (subsequently referred to
as *APS*) vol.2, 87, 178.
19. *Exchequer Rolls* (subsequently referred to as *ER*) vol.4, 1436,
681,2.
20. MARECHAL (see n.13, etc.) 191.
21. MARECHAL 192.
22. STROHM (see n.1) 64,5.
23. MARECHAL 192.
24. MARECHAL 193.
25. " "
26. Cosmo INNES ed. *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, 1492-1503*
(HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1867) 51.
27. *Register of Burgh and Head Courts* (known as *The Book of the
Kirk*) Transcript 555-7. Entry undated but thought to be
ca.1450.
28. KENNEDY (see n.11) vol.1, 103.
29. J. Arnold FLEMING *Flemish Influence in Britain* (Jackson, Wylie
and Co., Glasgow, 1930, 2 vols.) vol.2, 34,5.
30. William STEWART *The Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland; or, a
Metrical Version of Hector Boece* ed. Wm. Turnbull (Longman,
Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, London, 1858, 3 vols.)
vol.3, 240, lines 50398-50403.
31. INNES ((see n.26) *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, etc.*, 9,
189.

32. ROOSEBOOM (see n.11) 54.
33. Margaret H.B. SANDERSON 'Kin, Friendis and Servandis etc'.
IR 26, 1 (1974) 31-48, 46.
34. *Dundee Manuscript Register of Burgh and Head Courts* fol 194.
35. Elizabeth P.D. Torrie *The Gild Court Book of Dunfermline, 1433-1597*; Scottish Record Society (subsequently quoted as SRS) NS 12 (1986) 82.
36. J.S. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Medieval Date in Scotland' *PSAS Sixth Series, Vol.2* (1927-8) 197-224, 199, 200.
37. Anthony ROSS 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 1481-1560' *IR* 20, 1 (1969) 12.
38. Register of Conveyances of Bergen-op-Zoom (known as 'Obdrachten') 216 fol 130, 18 February 1509/10.
39. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.6, 352, indicates trade between Aberdeen and Berry (i.e. Bergen) in 1475.
40. INNES The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton (see n.26) e.g. the Account of Mr. Walter Drummond, 1498, fol 46, and the Account of Alexander Towris, 1495, fol 68; 60, 92. For further examples of Halyburton's trade with Bergen-op-Zoom see, fol 151, 1498, 183; fol 51, 1496, 70.
41. Alexander W.K. STEVENSON 'Notices of an Early Sixteenth Century Colony at Bergen-op-Zoom and an altar there once dedicated to St Ninian' *IR* 26, 1 (1975) [Miscellany] 50-52.
42. ROOSEBOOM (see n.11) 30.
43. See Chapter One. See also, Theodoor WEEVERS *Poetry of the Netherlands in its European Context, 1170-1930* (University of London, 1960) 46.
44. ROOSEBOOM 21.
45. " 29.
46. James GORDON *Aberdoniae Utriusque Descriptis: A Description of Both Towns of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1842) 71.
47. W. Forbes GRAY and James H. JAMIESON *A Short History of Haddington* (East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, Edinburgh, 1944) 106.
48. J.A. WORP *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Toneel in Nederland* (J.B. Wolters, Groningen, 1904/08, 2 vols.) vol.1, 58, 160.

49. *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland* (National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh 1982) 32, C12. Although from Tournai (Doornik) it was probably shipped through Bruges.
50. *ER* vol 1, 1329, 149.
51. INNES The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, etc. (see n.26) 7, 160,1, 215, 250,1
52. INNES Halyburton, for further tombs see, 47, 69, 215.
53. *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, etc.* 33, C21.
54. i) 17 December 1493: 25 Breviaries for Master Comyng and another.
 ii) May 1498: a number of Missals (a 'stak'); 2 black bonnets, and 2 red copes for the Bishop of Aberdeen (W.Elphinstone) bt. in Bruges.
 iii) Dec. 1496: a blue satin chasuble for Geo. Towrs, bt. in Bruges.
 iv) 1498: an image for John Rattray, bt. in Antwerp.
 v) 1502: an image for the Dean of Dunkeld.
 vi) 1495: an image of St Thomas of Canterbury, bt. in Antwerp for John of Penicuik, which Halyburton arranged to be painted before shipping.
 vii) 20 April 1494: 2 'westmentis' (probably copes) bt. in Bruges for Sir Robert Wellis.
 viii) 1498: a chalice, half silver and half copper, 'the cop of sylueral dobyll owir gilt' and an embroidered red (altar) frontal, for the Archdeacon of St Andrews.
 ix) 1499: a holy water vat with a 'morter', and a repeat order, for the same Archdeacon.
 x) June 1499. 8 'portus', i.e. Breviaries, for Master James Comeyn.
 xi) 1502. An 'almocht' (probably an amice or hood) for Master Robert Aloquhy.

See, INNES Halyburton the following pages: i) 101; ii) 183; iii) 70; iv) 189; v) 254; vi) 9; vii) 11; viii) 159. See also for other chalices - 118, 160, 184, 249, 250; ix) 162, 251; x) 100; xi) 235.

Note: Halyburton's Ledger covers only the period 1492- 1503. There were other Scottish Conservators before him. Records of their business transactions are unknown.

55. Frances EELES ed. *The Holyrood Ordinal* (The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol.7, 1914) 213.

56. Léon Emmanuel Simon Joseph, Marquis de LABORDE *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (Plon Frères, Paris, 1849-52, 3 vols.) vol.1, pt.2, 96,7.
57. ER vol.4, 678-80.
58. G. ASAERT 'Documenten voor de geschiedenis van de beeldhouwkunst te Antwerpen in de XVe eeuw' *Jaarboek van het Koninklijke Museum voor Schoone Kunsten* (Antwerp, 1972) 43-86, 48.
59. Octave DELEPIERRE 'Extraits des Cartulaires de la Ville de Bruges' (*Annales Bruges* Série 2e vol.3, 1841) 309-22, Groenen Bouck 316-19, 317.
60. *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* (see n.53) F23, 116.
61. R.K. HANNAY *Rentale Dunkeldense* (SHS Series 2 vol.10, 1, 1915) 2,3,4, 311.
62. Daniel FORBES ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis Ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis Regesta Que Extant in Unum Collecta* (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, 2 vols.) vol.2, 194,8.
63. INNES *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, etc.* (see n.26) 183,4.
64. ALHT vol.2, 227,8.
65. Alison HANHAM 'A Medieval Scots Merchant's Handbook' *SHR* vol.15, Nos. 149 & 150 (1971-2) 107-20.
66. ER vol.2, xlii, 90,91.
67. " vol.4, 676.
68. " " " "
69. VAN SEVEREN *Bruges Town Records* (see n.7) vol.1, Charte No.777. See also, David McROBERTS 'The Rosary in Scotland' *IR* 23, 1 (1972) 81-6, 81.
70. ER vol.5, 392,3.
71. " " " 156, 179.
72. Annie I. DUNLOP *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Oliver and Boyd, Aberdeen, 1950) 31, n.6, and 390. Seton had lodged jewels with a Florentine Banker in Bruges in 1441. See, FINLAYSON *The Scottish Nation of Merchants in Bruges, etc.* (see n.3) 97.
73. ALHT vol.3, 1507, 277,8.
74. Joseph BAIN ed. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1108-1509* (subsequently quoted as *CDRS*) (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 4 vols., 1881-88) vol.3, No.659, 124.

75. W. Croft DICKINSON *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603* (Third Edition, Revised and Edited by Archibald A.M. Duncan, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977) 154-185.
76. DICKINSON 179.
77. Richard VAUGHAN ed. *The Chronicles of Matthew Paris - Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century* (Allan Sutton, Gloucester, St Martin's Press, New York, 1986) 1249, 197.
78. Thomas MONCRIEFF ed. *Miscellania Scotica* (A Collection of Tracts Relating to the History, Antiquities, Topography and Literature of Scotland: John Wylie and Co. Ltd., Glasgow, 1818-20, 4 vols.) vol.4 ('The Ancient Alliance between the French and the Scots') 49-53.
79. Charles ROGERS ed. *The Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus with the Breviary of the Register* (The Grampian Club, London, 1879, 2 vols.) vol.1 'Historical Notices of the Abbots of Cupar' 91.
See also Mary Black VERSCHUR *Perth and the Reformation, Society and Reform, 1540-60* (unpublished Thesis, Glasgow University, No.7117, May 1985, 2 vols.) vol.1, 256.
80. H.G. FARMER *Music in Medieval Scotland* (William Reeves, London, undated, ?1930) 15.
81. *ER* vol.3, 99.
82. Athol L. MURRAY ed. 'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster 1539-40' *SHS* Series 4, vol.2 (Miscellany X 1965) 50 (Item dated 23 May 1540).
83. *ALHT* vol.9 LXVIII, 599.
84. *ALHT* vol.7, 444.
85. John STUART ed. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, 1844) 261.
86. Alistair MOFFAT *The History of Kelso from Earliest Times* (Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh, 1985) 35.
87. Mark DILWORTH 'Two Scottish Pilgrims in Germany' *IR* 18, 1 (1967) 19-24, 22; 'The First Scottish Monks in Ratisbon' *IR* 16, 2 (1965) 180-98, 180,1.
88. David McROBERTS 'A Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments' *IR* 3, 1 & 2 (1952) 49-63, and 131-5.
Subsequently published in a revised and much augmented version under the same title by: John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1953. See this publication, 14, Item 81.
89. Th. A. FISCHER *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Otto Schulze and Co., Edinburgh, 1903) Supplement: 'Scots at Ratisbon' 234-7.

90. Mark DILWORTH 'Ninian Winzet: Some New Material' *IR* 24, 2 (1973) 125-32, 128.
91. Donald MATTHEW *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (Phaidon Press Ltd., Oxford, reprint 1986) 134.
92. Neil C. BROOKS 'An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession And The 'Biblia Pauperum' *JEGP* 36 (1936) 1-16.
93. LETTS *Bruges and Its Past* (see n.5) 109,10.
94. Francis C. EELES 'The Perth Psalter' *PSAS* vol.66 (1932) 426-41, 428.
95. John Lawson PARKER *The Book of Perth* (Thomas G. Stevenson, Edinburgh 1847) 66.
George HAY 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles' *PSAS* vol.107 (1975-6) 255.
Alexander MAXWELL *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register, with Additions from Contemporary Annals* (David Douglas, Edinburgh and William Kidd, Dundee, 1884) 27-29.
96. David McROBERTS 'The Greek Bishop of Dromore' *IR* 28, 1 (1977) 22-38, 35.
97. McROBERTS as above. For an example of the use of the banking facilities of Evangelist Passer see Vol.2, APPENDICES to this chapter, APPENDIX 'D', Item v) THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY. Extracts of Records: *ALHT*: Item x) 19 March 1529/30.
98. Hugh FERRIE 'Some Pre-Reformation Scots in Denmark' *IR* 3, 2 (1952) 130,1.
99. *ALHT* vol.4, 24 March 1512/13.
100. MS Dundee Burgh and Head Court Register vol.2, fol 49^b, 9 April 1551 - vol.3, fol 62^b, 29 July 1556.
101. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (Aberdeen, 1852, vol. 5) 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen' 48-181, Discharge of 1548-51, 51,2.
102. James DOW 'Scottish Trade with Sweden 1512-80' *SHR* vol.48, 145,6 (1969/70) 64-79, 64. Also relevant to the study of Scottish connections with the area is DOW 'Skottter in Sixteenth Century Scania' *SHR* vol.44, 137 (April 1965) 34-51.
103. *ALHT* vol.4. 289,90.
104. DOW 'Scottish Trade with Sweden' 67 and n.1.

105. Gustavus Vasa, who in 1521 headed the war of independence against Denmark, identified himself with the reforming movement and in 1524 relations were formally broken off with the Roman Curia. See, F.L. CROSS, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (subsequently referred to as *ODCC*) (OUP, 1957) 1308,9.
106. See, VOL TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'E'. SCANDINAVIA. b) Drama in Sweden.
107. See, VOL. TWO. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDICES. 'APPENDIX' 'F'. SPAIN. Item ii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.
108. See this chapter, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES.
109. *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree* SHS and St Andrews University Publications, Edinburgh, 1964 No.56, lii.
110. *CDRS* vol.3, 83.
111. Lauchlan Maclean WATT *Scottish Life and Poetry* (Nisbet and Co. Ltd., London, 1912) 79.
112. John DURKAN 'The Cultural Background In Sixteenth Century Scotland' *IR* 10, 2 (1959) 382-439, 387 and 392.
113. WATT 46.
114. WATT 47.
115. R.J. LYALL 'Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century' *IR* 36, 2 (1985) 55-73, 55.
116. LYALL 55, see n.4.
117. LYALL 69 and 73, n.134.
118. MONCRIEFF *Miscellania Scotica* (see n.78) vol.4, 19.
119. On Buchanan see, *Dictionary of National Biography* vol.7, 186; DURKAN (see n.112) 387, 391,2,8 and 408.
120. DURKAN 387.
121. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition, 1910-11) vol.27. 'Universities', 748-80, 756.
122. As above.
123. John KIRKPATRICK 'The Scottish Nation In The University Of Orléans 1336-1538' *SHS* vol.44 (Miscellany, 2nd.vol.) Series 3 (Edinburgh, 1904) 47-102, 47-53, 53-56, 56-64, 64-69.
124. *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* (The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, HMSO 1985) 19.

125. KNOX - *DNB* vol.21, 308; DURKAN 403-5, 410, 411-15, 421-23.
Row - *DNB* vol.49, 327; DURKAN 387.
126. *DNB* vol.17, 328; KIRKPATRICK 55, 101.
See also, Leslie J. MACFARLANE *St Machar's Cathedral in the
Later Middle Ages* (The Friends of St Machar's Cathedral,
Aberdeen, Occasional Papers, No.1, reprint of 1979) xix,
which says that Elphinstone was incorporated at Glasgow
University in 1457; graduated MA in 1462; studied Canon Law
there, 1465-70; student, then Bachelor and Lecturer in Canon
Law, University of Paris, 1470-71. Macfarlane also states
that Elphinstone studied Civil Law at Orléans but gives no
dates.
127. Beaton - *DNB* vol.4, 17; Marjoribanks - Margaret H.B.
SANDERSON 'Kins, Friends and Servandis' *IR* 25, 1 (1974)
31-48, 44.
128. *DNB* vol.23, 93; DURKAN 388.
129. Scrimgeour - DURKAN 399; LYALL 55.
Henryson - DURKAN 399; *DNB* vol.26, 129.
130. DURKAN 399; *DNB* vol.37, 230.
131. LYALL 55,6.
132. " 56.
133. *CDRS* vol.4, No.977, 200.
134. LYALL 56,7,8.
135. " 57,8.
136. " 60.
137. " 61.
138. " 63,4.
139. " 64.
140. " 68.
141. " 68.
142. ' 68.
143. " 68.
144. DURKAN (see n.112) 427.
- 144-48. DURKAN 428.
149. DURKAN 433.

150. W. Caird TAYLOR 'Scottish Students at Heidelberg, 1386-1682' *SHR* vol.5 (1908) 67-75, 67.
151. DURKAN 307.
152. LYALL (see n.115) 58.
153. " 59. For the period 1426-84 see, J.H. BAXTER 'Scottish Students at Louvain University, 1425-84' *SHR* vol.26, No.100 (1928) 327-334, 329-334.
154. " " . DURKAN 428-33.
155. LYALL 59.
156. DURKAN 427-432.
157. *DNB* vol.19, 436.
158. *Rotuli dei Lettori Leggisti e Artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799* (U. Dallari, Bologna, 1888) vol.1, 130.
Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis (Maitland Club vol.7) 208.
ALHT vol.2, lxxix, 445,77.
DURKAN 387.
159. A. Francis STEUART 'The Scottish Nation at the University of Padua' *SHR* vol.3 (1903) 53-62, 53,4.
160. DURKAN 387.
Annie I. DUNLOP 'A Calendar of Supplications to Rome, 1423-28' *SHS* Series 3, vol.48 (1956) 44.
161. Ian JOHNSON 'Scots in Salerno' *IR* 7,1 (1956) Miscellany, 123.
162. As n.98 above.
163. DURKAN 388,9, 404,9, 414,5
DNB vol.34, 398.
164. LYALL (see. n.115) 69.
165. Cosmo INNES *Sketches of Early Scottish History and Social Progress* (Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, 1861) 220,1,2.
166. S.J. CURTIS *The History of Education in Great Britain* (University Tutorial Press, London, 1948/53) 502,3.
167. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (see n.121) vol.27. 'Universities'-748-80, 750-62.
168. WATT *Scottish Life and Poetry* (see n.111) 47.
See also: Donald ATTWATER *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1965) 104,5.

169. WATT 98.9. Some writers are as sceptical about taking Dunbar at his word regarding his continental sojourn as they are about his ever having been a Franciscan Novice. See, for example, Harvey WOOD *Two Scots Chaucerians* (Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1967 - for the National Book League) 25.
170. William CRAIG *The Cooper Craft: A Compilation of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, of the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer and of the Magistrates of Glasgow from A.D. 1124 to A.D. 1707: Relating to the Laws, Regulations and Privileges of Burghs and Burgesses, the Guild, the Cooper Craft, and the Cooper Craft of Glasgow* (Charles Glass and Co., Glasgow, 1899) 74.
171. *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1967-70* (OUP, 1970) 1844.
172. S.C. WILSON 'Scottish Canterbury Pilgrims' *SHR* vol.24, No.96 (1927) 262.
See also, John STUART 'Notices of an Original Instrument Recently Discovered among the Records of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Describing the Miraculous Cure Effected on a Citizen of Aberdeen While on a Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury, dated 27th July 1445' *PSAS* vol.10 (1874) 528-31.
173. WILSON 383.
The belief associated with the Shrine of the Holy Blood at Wilsnak was that in 1383 after the village and its church were burned down, the parish priest found, as he claimed, three Hosts intact and with miraculous blood upon them. The following year Pope Urban IV gave an Indulgence of a year and a quarantine to those who made a pilgrimage to Wilsnak on certain feast days. The intention was to promote the rebuilding of the church and the Hosts were not mentioned. Wilsnak's fame spread quickly and soon pilgrims came from many parts.
See, Mark DILWORTH 'Two Scottish Pilgrims in Germany' *IR* 18, 1 (Spring 1967) 19-24, 21.
174. D. MACPHERSON and OTHERS *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitulare Westmonasteriensi Asservati, 1399-1516* (Public Record Office, London, 1814/19, 2 vols.) vol.2, 347.
175. Sir William FRASER *The Book of Carlaverock, Memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords Maxwell and Herries* (Privately printed for William, Lord Herries, Edinburgh, 1873, 2 vols.) 446-8, 447.
176. DILWORTH (see n.173) 21.
177. As above.

178. FISCHER *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*
(see n.89) 11.
179. As above.
180. As n.107 above.
181. DILWORTH (see n.173) 19.
182. See, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY.
Item iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS AND TRAVELLERS TO ITALY.
183. Cosmo INNES *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1843 2 vols.) vol.2, 604-08.
184. John DURKAN 'Some Scots in Rome' *IR* vol.27, 1 (Spring 1976) 42-48, 42.
185. *ODCC* 650,1.
186. " 18.
187. See, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY.
Item iv) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS PASSING THROUGH VENICE EN ROUTE TO THE HOLY LAND VIA RHODES.
188. See, VOL. TWO. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN.
Item ii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.
189. As above.
190. Walter BOWER *Scotichronicon Johannis de Fordun cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Bower* ed. Walter GOODALL (R. Fleming, Edinburgh, 1775, 2 vols.) vol.1, 363.
The Abbot of Eeckhout was the most important ecclesiastic in Bruges, which was then in the Diocese of Tournai (Doornijk). From 1390 he presided regularly at the annual Procession of the Holy Blood.
191. ANON. 'Essai sur l'histoire du Saint-Sang depuis les premiers siècles du Christianisme' *Annales Bruges* (see n.13) vol.7, 2e Série (1849) 18-118, 90, quoting 'Stads-Archief, Compte de la Ville', 20, 'Als men Ons Heere Bloet omme droech, van de veste te slectane...' 5-0-6.
192. BOWER (Fordun) (see n.190) 374.
193. VAN SEVEREN (see n.7) vol.5, 48, *Compte of 1433-4*, fol 81, No.2.
194. ANON (see n.191) 'Essai sur l'histoire du Saint-Sang. etc.' 189,90.
195. MARECHAL (see n.13) 'De Devotie te Brugge tot Sint-Niniaan, etc.' 189,90.

196. John EDWARDS 'Charter of Sir William Knollys' *SHR* vol.2 (1915) Notes and Communications, 330-32. The William Knollys referred to here is probably the same person as referred to in *ER* vol.7 (1469) 658, shown as 'William Knollys of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, Preceptor of Torphichen'. See also, FINLAYSON 'The Scottish Nation of Merchants in Bruges, etc.' (see n.3) 135,6.
197. *ALHT* vol.1, 44, 48, 50,4.
198. 'Chroniques Brugeoises de 1491 à 1498' *Fragments Inédits de Romboudt de Doppere* publiés par le P.H. Dussart, Bruges (1892) 52:-

1495: die xvi apriles in coena Domini Brugis Brugis Walburgis consecravit sacrum Chrismas episcopus Abardanen ex Scotia, ideo quod sedes Tornacen.....
 Item episcopus Scotus in vigilia Paschae, ordinavit Sacerdotes Brugis novus ad Walburgis, et legit missam sine cantu.
199. EELES (see n.55) *The Holyrood Ordinal* lxxxvii.
200. J. GAILLIARD *Recherches Historiques sur la Chapelle du Saint-Sang à Bruges* (Gailliard, Bruges, 1846) 307-09.
201. *ER* vol.5, lxxxiv.
202. David McROBERTS 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours' *IR* vol.19, 2 (Autumn 1968) 144-67, 161,2.
203. INNES 'The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, etc.' (see n.26) 216, 112, 217, 211 and 205.
204. Anthony ROSS 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 1481-1560' *IR* 20, 1 (1969) 3-36, 12.
205. See n.74.
206. MONCRIEFF *Miscellania Scotica* (see n.78) vol.4, 19-23.
207. Albert VAN DER PUT 'The Monypenny Breviary' *PSAS* vol.56 (1921-2) 72-114, 72.
208. VAN DER PUT and McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* No.78, 13.
209. *CDRS* (see n.74) vol.4, 200.
210. John SMALL ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Scottish Text Society, 1893, 2 vols. Intro. by Aeneas J.G. Mackay) vol.1, xxvii, and vol.2 23, lines 369-72.
211. WATT *Scottish Life and Poetry* (see n.111) 99, 103 and SMALL vol.1, xxvii.
212. SMALL *The Poems of William Dunbar* vol.1, xxvii.

213. WATT 91.
214. " 74.
215. Charles MacPHERSON ed. *The Meroure of Wyssdome: Johannis Irlandia* (STS NS 19, 1926, 2 vols.) vol.1, xvi.
216. A.W. WARD & A.R. WALLER eds. *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (CUP, 1908) vol.2, 97.
217. MacPHERSON *The Meroure of Wyssdome* 106-17.
218. Anna J. MILL 'The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis' *Modern Language Review* (subsequently quoted as *MLR*) vol.25 (1930) 425-42.
219. MILL 427 and n.3. *ER* vol.16, 1.
220. " " and n.4. *ALHT* vol.6, xlix, 231,2.
221. " " and nn. 7 & 8.
222. " 428 and n.2.
223. " " " n.3.
224. " " " n.5. *ALHT* vol.6, lxviii.
225. " " " n.7. " " " 455,6.
226. " " " and *ALHT* vol.7, 16.
227. " " and n.3.
228. " 430.
229. " 437,8.
230. J.A. LESTER 'Some Franco-Scottish Influences on the Early English Drama' in *Haverford Essays, Studies in Modern Literature prepared by some former Pupils of Professor Francis Gummere* (Haverford, 1909) 131-152, 139.
231. MILL 437,8.
232. LESTER 143.
233. FARMER *A History of Music in Scotland* (see n.80) 40.
234. FARMER 43.
235. Craig WRIGHT *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1491: A Documentary History* (The Institute of Medieval Music, Henryville, USA, 1979) Musicological Studies No.28, Documents, 10-13 and 17-19.

236. *ER* vol.4, 678,80, and vol.5, 35. See also LESTER 129-52, 132. Gelderland was a Duchy of the Empire of which a much smaller province with the same name survives in the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands in the eastern part of that country. It once included territories now forming part of Western German towards Dusseldorf. Arnhem and Nijmegen are well-known places of historic and modern Gelderland. They probably spoke a form of Low German. The territory passed into the hands of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, who then also became Duke of Gelderland in 1471.
237. *ALHT* vol.1, 43.
238. As above.
239. *ALHT* vol.1, 60.
240. " " " 67.
241. Charles ROGERS *History of the Chapel Royal, Stirling* (Grampian Club 1882) Intro. liii.
242. STROHM *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (see n.1) 78, 90.
243. H.G. FARMER *Music in Medieval Scotland* (see n.80) 17.
244. John SMITH *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church, Extracts of Hammermen Records, 1494-1558* (William Hay, Edinburgh, 1906).
245. SMITH 1-41.
246. " 68.
247. " 32.
248. " "
249. " 60-65.
250. " 68.
251. " 82.
252. " 87.
253. " 90.
254. " lxx. On this page Smith says that Jakis began his regular service with the Hammermen in 1537, but the records he produces show he began in 1533 at the latest. Extracts from the Hammermen records covering the period 1494-1529 can be found in Anna J. MILL's *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*, 225-33. Smith's work is much fuller.
255. George PRYDE ed. *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624* (SHS Series 3, vol.28, 1937) 100.

256. As above.
257. PRYDE 99.
258. " 111.
259. " 105.
260. " 83,4, 90, 102,05, 120.
261. " 110.
262. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.4, 203, 13 May 1440; vol.v, pt.2, 708, 1445. In these earlier records only the Abbot of Bon Accord is referred to, but in later records his name is coupled with the Prior of Bon Accord, and often the two are referred to as Lords of Bon Accord, and there was a later period when the two were called Robin Hood and Little John (Robert Hude is the more common Scottish form).
263. 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen, Accounts of the Dean of Guild' *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1852, vol.v) 51.
264. As above.
265. STUART *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, etc.* (see n.85) 279,80.
266. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol.v (see n.263) 52.
267. FARMER *Music in Medieval Scotland, etc.* (see n.80) 15; Kenneth ELLIOTT and Frederick RIMMER *A History of Scottish Music* (BBC,1973) 8.
268. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1528-57* (vol. 2 of 4 vols. published by the Scottish Burgh Records Society 1869-82) 176.
269. FARMER (see n.267 and n.80)) 21.
270. Reigns of: James IV, 1488-1513; James V 1513-42; and Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-67.
271. For fuller details see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. Item v) THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY.
272. See the above Appendix, Italian Minstrels in Brechin.
273. See, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN. Item i) SPANIARDS AT THE SCOTTISH COURT (SCOTS AT THE SPANISH COURT).

CHAPTER THREE

REFLECTIONS OF MEDIEVAL DEVOTIONAL
LITERATURE IN PRE-REFORMATION
SCOTTISH LITERATURE

In this chapter we discuss items occurring in Scottish Pre-Reformation literature which seem to indicate that the writer was probably influenced by a knowledge of religious pageantry and plays which he had witnessed either in Scotland or perhaps even more likely on the Continent, or by the largely devotional literature that lay behind such representations. The sequence of discussion is that of the great English cycles, such as that of York.

A) THE NATIVITY CYCLE.

The Nativity Cycle is not featured in Scottish or any other devotional poetry to the same extent as the Passion Cycle. The pressures were on the overriding importance of the Death of Christ as a propitiating sacrifice which was 'represented' before God as often as a priest said Mass.

John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* is a typical medieval exposition in Scots English of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed and the Sacraments, interspersed with other commonplace theological matter. The allegorical interlude of Chapters Nine and Ten presents 'the gret disputacioun betwix the foure hevenly wertuis, Mercy, Verite, Equite and Pes' in the presence of God, following an account of the Fall of Adam. Ireland's work is strictly a theological exposition intended for reading. Ireland does, however, show his indebtedness to the dramatic form of the *Debate*.¹

The theme of the *Debate of the Four Daughters of God* is said by some to have first appeared in the *Chasteau d'Amour* of Robert Grosseteste (c.1175-1253), Bishop of Lincoln, whence it passed into drama.² Others, however, are probably correct in saying that

the original source of the dramatic version of the *Debate*, also known as *The Trial In Heaven*, is in a sermon of St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) which was repeated in the *Meditationes* (dated, c.1274) of the so-called Pseudo-Bonaventura. The *Debate* appears as an allegorical scene in a number of English works, in *Piers Plowman's Vision*, in the *Castle of Perseverance*, in Lydgate's *Court of Sapience*, *Life of St Mary* and a poem entitled *Prospect of Peace*.³ (See further below, b) THE PASSION CYCLE.)

In Scotland the *Debate* also appears in summary form in *The Passion of Christ* of Walter Kennedy (?1460-1508).⁴ and in the *Bannatyne Manuscript Written in Tyme of Pest 1568* in an anonymous poem.⁵ (See, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE.

APPENDIX 'A'. THE CREATION/FALL/NATIVITY CYCLE IN PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH LITERATURE. 1. THE DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD. a) THE DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD FROM THE BANNATYNE MANUSCRIPT. Lines 57-64.)

As a Professor of Theology Ireland would have been well acquainted with the *Meditationes* apart from probably having witnessed plays in France which included the scene of the *Debate*.⁶

'Mystères' which featured the Heavenly Debate of the Four Daughters of God under the title *Procès de Paradis* became well known in France. *La passion d'Arras*, attributed to Eustache Mercadé (died 1440), is framed within the *Procès de Paradis*⁷ whence it passed into the Passions of Greban and *Michel*. The *Procès de Paradis* was also featured in the play of *L'Incarnation et La Nativité de Jésus Christ* at Rouen in 1474,⁸ and in a variety of other French 'mystères'. It featured in the twenty-five day *Passion* given there in 1549. The earliest known continental presentation

of the scene was that in *De Eerste Bliscap* performed in 1441, probably in Brussels, which is not far from Valenciennes. The scene is also featured in the Low German *Sündenfall* of Arnold Immesen which is dated, 1490-1500.⁹

Some of Ireland's lines show familiarity with the non-canonical tradition which we find in the religious plays. Lines 9-22 of the *Meroure* are studded with such references. Referring to the scene of the birth of Jesus they tell us,

the twa bestis, the ox and the ass, anournyt him...¹⁰

The words

The wyne treis and balme florist and bare fruit in 'vineis engadi'...

remind us of the Old Testament longing for the time when everyone in Israel would be able to sit without fear under his own vine tree.¹¹ The words, however, should be read with lines 17-21 that follow which speak of the legend of the revelation made to Caesar Augustus Octavianus by the Sibella concerning the birth of Christ, and an old tradition (see the APPENDIX referred to above, Item b) THE VISIT OF THE MAGI. From *The Meroure of Wyssdome* of John Ireland.).

It is to the legend of the revelation to Caesar Augustus Octavianus by the 'Sibella', concerning the birth of Jesus Christ, that the pageant of 'the emprioure and the twa doctourez' in the Aberdeen Order for the Candlemas Offerand of 1442 almost certainly relates.¹²

The play of *Octavian and the Sibyl* occurs in a number of the French mysteries, appearing in *Le Mystère du Viel Testament* (Play XLV), the Semur Passion, the Arras Passion, the two Passion Plays of Valenciennes, and the Rouen 'Nativité'.¹³

Octavian and the Sibyl in the *Mistère du Viel Testament* is an elaborate play of the *Conversion of Octavian*, much space being devoted to the Sibyls and their sayings. This play and the *Chester Conversion of Octavian* (Play VI) feature the legendary temple of Peace.¹⁴ None of the other English Cycles contain this play. (See, APPENDIX 'A' 1. b) THE VISIT OF THE MAGI.) - *The Meroure of Wyssdome* of John Ireland, line 22.)

John Ireland (Johannis de Irlandia) informs us that he was in France for almost thirty years, where at the University of Paris he became a Doctor of Theology and a Professor.¹⁵ He tells us that in these years he was 'counsalar, oratoure, and familiare' to Louis XI of France.¹⁶ His return to Scotland probably dates c.1482-84. Thus he probably began to reside in France 1455-60. His probable date of birth is 1441.¹⁷ He determined at St Andrews University in 1455.¹⁸ According to Ferrerius on returning to Scotland he was appointed to a high ecclesiastical benefice.¹⁹ Ireland himself tells us he became 'Rector de Foresta,' said to be in Selkirk within the bounds of the present Parish of Yarrow,²⁰ which would not appear to be a 'high ecclesiastical benefice'. Watt's *Fasti* tells us that a John Ireland was Provost of the Collegiate Church of Crichton 1483-5 during which period he is also on record as Archdeacon of St Andrews,²¹ but it seems likely that he did not actually take up either appointment as the Provost did not vacate the post on failing to be appointed Bishop of Dunkeld as had been expected. The *Fasti* also shows a John Ireland as Succentor and Subchanter of Moray, 1487-95,²² a post for which he may have quitted being 'Rector de Foresta.' The facts about Ireland's sojourn there cannot be checked with the *Fasti* as it is not concerned with the appointments of Rectors, Vicars and Curates. It is thought Ireland was composing his *Miroure* between the years 1488 and 1490 during the time he is recorded as

Succentor of Moray.²³ Whether he ever fulfilled the duties that went with the post it is impossible to say. It is possible he spent much time at the Court where he appears to have been a valued favourite. An entry dated 11 March 1502/3 in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer reads as follows,²⁴

...to Schir Johne Irland, Vicar of Perth, for writing of the citationis and lettres on Maister Gawin Douglas, provest of Sant Gelis Kirk.....ix s.

The Parish Church of St John, Perth, never became a Collegiate Church and so we cannot check appointments to it with Watts's *Fasti*, and we cannot be certain that the above John Ireland was the author of the *Meroure*. However, it is possible that he was and he may have come to Perth on ceasing to be Succentor at Moray in 1495. However, documentary evidence, dated January 1497, connected with the succession to the Subchantory at Moray, refers to him as deceased. Accordingly, if this is so, the 'Schir Johne Irland, Vicar of Perth', of the record of 11 March 1502/3, must be someone else. Lawson's *The Book of Perth* shows that a 'Master John Ireland' was Vicar of Perth in 1518/19, almost certainly the 'Schir Johne Irland' of the 1502/3 record.

There is a detailed account of John Ireland, the one-time Professor of the University of Paris, in James H. Burns's essay, 'John Ireland And *The Meroure of Wyssdome*' (*Innes Review*, 6, 1 [1955] 77-98, see especially 96).

Of course, had the Parisian Professor been Vicar of Perth he would, no doubt, have brought his influence to bear upon the local religious pageantry and plays.

The poem entitled the *Lang Rosair* was written as an aid to meditation when using the Rosary. It resembles the *Rosarium Aureum* of Wynkyn de Worde's (?1534) *Sarum Hours* and also that of the *York Book of Hours*. It is nonetheless a Scottish work.

Luke (chap.2,v.7) alone of the Evangelists tells us that the Birth of Jesus took place in a stable and that his Mother wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger. The author of the *Lang Rosair* embellishes Luke's account, and does so in accordance with non-canonical traditions as now shown,

Mothir of God, quhilk did hap^a thy bony^b baby in claithhis,
and betuix twa beistis in a cribe laid him in hay:...²⁶

- a. Wrap a garment around a person.
- b. Beautiful, fine looking.

Luke does not mention beasts. The two beasts of tradition are an ox and an ass and are derived from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (Ch.14), a Latin work of earliest date the fifth century, and professing to be a translation by St Jerome from the Hebrew of St Matthew. The beasts were believed to be an ox and an ass in fulfilment of the prophecy in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah²⁷ (Ch.1, v.3).

It is not possible to say what was the poet's immediate source for his embellishment. It could have been devotional literature, the annual sight of a Christmas Crib in church, a pageant in a Nativity Cycle of religious plays, or his knowledge of Pseudo-Matthew.

A re-written entry in the York 'Ordo Paginarum' has for its characters: Mary, Joseph, the Midwife, the New-born Baby lying in a manger between the cow and the ass, and the Angel addressing the Shepherds.

28

We have already drawn attention in Chapter One to the possibility of the use of a Christmas Crib in the Burgh Church of St Nicholas of Aberdeen, in 1512/13 and the erection of a 'Goddis hous' at Ayr in 1549/50, and of a similar item in St Giles Church, Edinburgh in 1554/5. There are also three instances when a 'House of God' might possibly have been displayed in public pageantry, a) in the procession for the annual Aberdeen Candlemas Offerand; b) in the pageantry for the Joyful Entry of Margaret Tudor in Edinburgh in 1503 and c) in the pageantry for the same Margaret Tudor into Aberdeen in 1511. (See, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'A'. 2. POSSIBLE PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF A PAGEANT OF THE NATIVITY IN SCOTLAND.)

Dunbar wrote several poems on the Nativity. In *Of the Nativitie of Christ* he describes Christ as,

29

The lamp of joy, that chassis all dirckness,
and in another poem entitled, *Jerusalem Rejois For Joy*, he writes of the Infant Jesus,

30

... with angel licht, in legionis,
Thow art illumynit all about;...

Both quotations may possibly reflect a stage effect, or possibly such a scene as might have been witnessed at Aberdeen, Ayr or Edinburgh at Christmas, when candle-bearers stood around the 'House of God'. We know that at Aberdeen the craftsmen were ordered to provide torch-bearers for Yule.

31

Verse two of the same poem (lines 11-16) may possibly echo a

Pageant of the Three Kings which Dunbar may have seen at some time,³²

Three Kingis of strenge regionis
To the ar cumin with lusty rout,
All drest with dyamantis but dout,
Reverst with gold in every hem:
Sounding attonis with a schout,
Illuminare Jerusalem.

Succeeding lines may possibly reflect a representation of *Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents* which Dunbar had witnessed
when Herod raged,³³

The regeand tarrant that in the rang,
Herod, is exillit.....

These lines (17 and 18) serve to remind us of a rubric in the play on the same subject in the Coventry Cycle where after line 305 it is directed that,

Here Erode ragis in the pagond and in the strete also.³⁴

The sources behind the York Nativity Cycle may be regarded as typical for such cycles. (See the APPENDIX referred to above, Item 3. SOURCES OF THE NATIVITY CYCLE IN THE YORK CYCLE OF PLAYS.)

B) THE PASSION CYCLE.

There is rather more Scottish poetry and literature from Pre-Reformation times featuring the subjects of the Passion Cycle than subjects of the Nativity Cycle. This Passion literature reveals three distinct features which are not to be found in the Canonical or the Apocryphal Gospels. They are,

- i) The Pillar of Scourging.
- ii) Ropes to stretch the limbs of Christ to meet bore holes.
- iii) Nails to fix Christ to the cross where the bore holes were made.
- iv) Longinus (or, Longeus) named as the blind knight who pierced Christ's side with the spear.

Any literature which includes any of these features can be fairly stated as being at least partly dependent upon sources outside the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels.

The basic source of writers was normally the Latin Vulgate of St Jerome. Sometimes it may have been a Harmony of the Gospels, such as that attributed to Tatian. The Canonical Gospels, that is, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, in fact, provide little information about the manner of Christ's crucifixion.

It is not possible in the limited space available to us to make a lengthy study of the various other sources that lie behind the works of Scottish writers featuring aspects of the Passion-Resurrection Cycle. In this chapter we give examples of Scottish Pre-Reformation poetry which show dependence on the same sources as were used by the writers of medieval religious plays both in England and on the Continent. The York Cycle, which can be taken as a typical cycle of its time, has as its principal source for the Passion Cycle the Vulgate and the Gospel of Nicodemus but at least two other sources were also used. (For fuller details see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'.

1. THE LITERARY SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS PLAYS. i) Sources of the Passion, Resurrection and Assumption Cycles of The York Cycle of Mystery Plays).

Some Passion Cycles and other literature featuring the Passion may be directly dependent on Jacob of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (dated 1255-66),³⁵ a work there is reason to believe was readily available to scholarly clergy in Scotland. There is a record of it in the Inventory made by Magister Lychton, Chancellor of St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen, in 1463.³⁶ However, the part of the work

covering the Passion and Resurrection of Christ is heavily dependent on a wide variety of sources.³⁷ (See, the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'B'. 1., Item ii) Sources of the Passion and Resurrection in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob of Voragine.)

As an alternative to the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob of Voragine there was available in Scotland the late fourteenth century *Legends of the Saints* in the Scots vernacular, long attributed to John Barbour (b.1316, d.1395), one time Archdeacon of Aberdeen. ~~We understand~~ This attribution is now rejected. The work is a translation of Jacob of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.³⁸

The works so far referred to in the text and Appendices were not the only sources available as we shall see below, and often sources must have been used at second-hand, rather than by reference to the primary sources.

William of Tours was a Scot and a Franciscan Minorite Friar. His well-known poem *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris*³⁹ has survived in a number of different manuscripts. It reflects the author's reading and contemplation of the scriptures, the Fathers of the Church and other writers. He lived in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls, 2 August 1502, and records show that a 'Guilhelmus Tours' of the Diocese of St Andrews, was a student in Paris, 1470-72.⁴⁰

In his *Contemplacioun* Tours specifically states that he is referring to some words of St Bonaventura. In reality he is referring to a common source of the time now known as

Pseudo-Bonaventura.⁴¹

ffor as sayis the doctor sanct bonawentura
.....

(See APPENDIX 'B'. 1. THE LITERARY SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS PLAYS.

iii) References to the Passion in other Literature.

a) Some references in Scottish Medieval Literature.

The Contempacioun of Synnaris: Friar William of Tours of the Order of Friars Minor. Line 1161.)

The Friar's reference is to the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, long attributed to St Bonaventura, but no longer so, although the work is believed to be of Bonaventura's century, viz. the thirteenth. The work is said to be much under the influence of St Bernard of Clairvaux whose classical exposition of the theme of the Four Daughters of God, the Heavenly Virtues of Truth, Righteousness, Mercy and Peace, taken from Psalm 85, were to adorn and beautify a number of medieval dramas (see above,

A) THE NATIVITY CYCLE).

In the same work Tours also shows knowledge of the writings of St Bernard as shown in the following lines,⁴² (Asloan MS vol ii, p.233) Line 1329.

And gif sanct bernard that man of gret wertew
Sa fer affrayit was for thai feyndis fell
.....

Kenneth Kirk in his *Vision of God*⁴³ states that the apocryphal anecdotes of Pseudo-Bonaventura had an immediate influence on the mystery plays and religious art of the Middle Ages. He instances in particular the attempt of Mary the Mother of Jesus and Mary Magdalene to dissuade Christ from making the journey to Jerusalem that culminated in his Passion and Via Dolorosa.

These anecdotes were incorporated wholesale into the work of ²⁴⁷
Ludolph of Saxony.

The work of Pseudo-Bonaventura is also indebted to another anonymous composition, viz, the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de de Passione Domini*, which influenced the Passion Plays by supplying gruesome and sadistic details regarding the crucifixion and magnifying the role of Mary at the cross.

Walter Kennedy (1460?-1508?), a graduate of Glasgow University (MA, 1478; Examiner, 1481), and a rival of Dunbar, ⁴⁴ most of whose poems have been lost, is the author of *The Passioun of Christ Compilit be Maister Walter Kennedy*, ⁴⁵ which occurs only in MS Arundel 285. It is of undoubted Scottish origin. It speaks of Christ as a 'bony bairne', Pilate's Judgment Hall as a 'Tolbooth', and of fallen man in a distinctly Scottish phrase is 'put to the horn', and Christ says after the Last Supper, 'heir to duell it is na gannand tyme'. ⁴⁶ Kennedy writes in the exaggerated manner of the times, laying great emphasis on Christ's physical sufferings.

In his *The Passioun of Crist* Kennedy refers to Ludolphus of Saxony in support of his contention that Jesus spent his childhood with Mary and Joseph at Nazareth. The *Divinum Devotissimumque Vitae Christi Opus* of Ludolph of Saxony (1300-1378), a Carthusian monk, was probably the first attempt at a biography of Christ since the period of the apocryphal gospels. Most of these works lie between the late first and third centuries. Ludolph's *Vita* was translated into the vernacular throughout Western Europe. The work was first printed in 1474 and passed through many editions before 1500. However, it was in wide circulation before printed copies became available. ⁴⁷

For an extended discussion of source material for the Story of the Passion see, *The Northern Passion*, edited by Frances A.

Foster.⁴⁸ Scottish Pre-Reformation poetry is rich in allusions to the Passion. Many such are to be found in the *Northern Passion* (see the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'B'. 1., Item iii) Extracts from the Harleian Manuscript of the 'Northern Passion', etc.)

The Passion of Jesus Christ effectively commences with the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. William Stewart (1481?-1550?, licentiate of St Andrews, 1501),⁴⁹ in his *Exortationis of Chryst To All Synnaris To Repent* takes up some words of Christ in Luke, Ch.22, v.44,

and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood
falling down to the ground

Luke is the only canonical gospel with this particular detail.

Stewart expands and embellishes this detail as we see in the following extract,⁵⁰

Line 17. Remember man vpoun mont oleuit
Quhen I satt thair at my deuotion
That for the bayth blud and wattir salt^a
Our all my body in grit effusioun
ffor feir of deid^b wes lyk to suelt^c in swoun

a) Bitter. b) Death c) Die, he overcome with weakness.

In his *Passioun* Kennedy writes thus of the Agony in the Garden,

Line 1031. Quhen in the yard he enterit for to pray
His fair body with blud wes all ourerun
The ded of him put the in sic affray

There is an obvious affinity between lines 19,20 of Stewart's poem and line 1032 of Kennedy's which suggests a common ultimate extra-scriptural source.

Stewart in his *Exortationis* describes in terms of extreme brutality the handling of Jesus when he was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane. The likelihood is that he was writing in the terms of a literary tradition that had grown out of the writings to which we have referred above, and it is possible he was familiar with the writings of Pseudo-Bonaventura, Pseudo-Anselm, and others of the same kind.

51

- Line 25. Quhen Iudas me kist The Iowis but baid me band
 Wt raipis rud quhill that the blud brest out
 hurlit as ane their that durst thane no^t ganestand
 To annas hous(s) wt that fowll rousy rout
 Calland me fule wt mony ane cry and schout
30. Bloranda thair ene Cryand O bubo ba
 as blind feld best thay beft^b me all about
 Amend thy myss^c this plaig sall pass the fra.
 To pylet than thay presentit me in haist
 Be his decreit that I said some be deid
 Than he furt wt to herod some me chaist
 becaus he had galliands^d to leid
37. In habeit quhyt ffor hething^e he me cled
 In foull derisioun to him that I come fra
 Be my present endit wes thair feid^f
40. Amend thy myss this plaig sall pass the fre.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Weeping, wailing. | d) Tormentors. |
| b. Biffed, struck. | e) Contempt, mockery. |
| c. Wrong, wickedness. | f) Feud. |

The above should be compared with Luke 22,47-54.

The 'habeit quhyt' (l.37) corresponds with what is written in the Vulgate version of Luke, Ch.23, vv.11 & 12, where we are told that Herod sent Christ back to Pilate dressed in a white robe,

Spreuit autem illum Herodes cum exercitu
 suo et inlusit, indutum veste alba, et
 remisit ad Pilatum

This suggests that the basis for Stewart's poem is probably the Latin Vulgate.

The words 'O bubo ba' (line 30) could be taken for mere gibberish such as might be met with in any language. However, there is an old Anglo-Norman word, 'bu', which means 'ox'. We suggest 'O bubo ba' could be words shouted by an impatient cowman as he beat a stubborn beast to make it go in the desired direction. It is possible Stewart had heard them used in a Passion play.⁵²

The regular refrain 'Amend thy myss this plaig sall pass the fra' (line 40, etc, above) indicates that the author was writing the words at the time of a plague or for use at any such time. They may even indicate that the poem was addressed to an audience, either in church or out of doors.

Highly-coloured language typical of the extra-canonical literary sources occurs in the works of other Scottish authors when they feature the Passion. For example in Dunbar's 'Passion' which Kinsley² entitles with its first line, 'Amang thir freiris within ane cloister',⁵³

Line 17. Falslie condemnit befoir ane juge,
 Thai spittit in his visage fayr,
 And as lyounis with awful ruge,
 In yre thai hurlit him heir and thair
 And gaif him mony buffat sair
 That it wes sorrow to se;
 Of all his claythis thay tirvit him bair
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

Line 25. Thay terandis, to revenge thair tein,
 For scorne thai cled him in to quhyt,
 And hid his blythfull glorious ene,

Luke ch.22, v.64, says Christ was blindfolded.
 Mark ch.14, v.65, says his face was covered.

Lines 33-40 describe Christ being tied to the pillar and being scourged. See below.⁵⁴

Line 41. Nixt all in purpyr thay him cled,
 And syne^a with thornis scharp and keen
 His saikles blude agane thai sched
 Persing his heid with pykis grene;^b
 Unneis^c with lyf he nicht sustene

That croune, on thrungin with crueltie,
 Quhill flude of blude blindit his ene,
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

- a. 'syne' = then.
- b. 'pykis gren' = a reference to the crown of thorns.
 The Gospels give no colour for the thorns.
- c. 'unneis' = lit. 'unease', here 'scarcely'.

Having examined Jesus Pilate declares he can find no fault in him and decides that he will chastise him before releasing him (Luke 23, 16). Then follows the tying to a pillar, the crowning with thorns and the scourging. The crowning with thorns and the scourging both have a place in the Canonical Gospels but there is no mention of a pillar either in the Canonical or the Apocryphal Gospels.

In his *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris* Friar William of Tours⁵⁵
 writes thus of the binding to the pillar,

Line 985. His riall blude thai schrenkit nocht to sched
 ffra hed to fut of him was na part hale
 Thus was his body with boundans^a all our bled
 Bund at ane pillar as caytif criminale
 And syneb^b his cumly cors(s)^c Celestiale
 Thai cled with purpoure silk richt richt
 scornfully
 Inherdand^d to his blude Imperiale
 992. Syne raif It fra his ribbis richt rudlye.

- a. Abundance. c) Body.
- b. Then. d) Adhering, sticking.

The Scourging at the Pillar appears as follows in the anonymous
 item, *The Thre Rois Garlandis of The Glorius Virgin Mary*,
⁵⁶
Contenand the Life and Passioun Iesu Crist.

Line 117. The quhilke wes nakit bunden till ane pillar and ewill
 scourgit
 with thorny wandis and cnoppit scurggis, that thair wes
 neuer
 place left heill of all his blist body;.....

Dunbar in his 'Passion' (referred to above) writes of Christ
 being bound to a pillar for his scourging,⁵⁷

Line 33. In tene thai tirvit him agane,
 And till ane pillar thai him band;
 Quhill blude birst out of everie vane
 Thai scourgit him bayth fut and hand;
 At everie straik ran furth ane strand

Lyndsay refers to the pillar and scourges in his *The Fovrt*
Byke of the Monarchie.⁵⁸ Kennedy also has Christ bound to a pillar
 for the scourging in his *The Passioun of Crist*.⁵⁹ We have already
 written in Chapter Two of time spent by Lyndsay on the Continent.

Play XXII, 'The Scourging' of the *Towneley Plays* refers to Christ
 being bound to a 'pyllar' for his scourging.⁶⁰ The York Play
 XXXIII, *Christ Before Pilate 2: The Judgement* does not name a
 pillar but it may be inferred from the text that a pillar was used
 when the play was staged.⁶¹

Line 349. III Miles. Nowe knytte hym in this corde.
 II Miles. I am cant (keen) in this case.
 IV Miles. He is bun faste - nowe bete on
 withr bitter brasshis (blows).

When the scourging is concluded the text states,⁶²

Line 384. III Miles. Late vs louse hym lightly, do lay on
 your handes.
 IV Miles. Ya, for and he dye for this dede vndone
 ere we all.
 I Miles. Nowe vnbounde is this broll (wretch)
 and vnbraced his bandes.

In his poem *On Good Friday* Sir Richard Maitland (Lord Lethington, 1496-1586, lawyer and poet, educated St Andrews and Paris)⁶³ wrote,⁶⁴

The tormentaris were then so scant
Chryist for to scourge scairis found wer sax.

This reference to Six Tormentors for the scourging of Christ may be unique in Scottish poetry. We know of no other similar reference. It may possibly indicate that Maitland knew of the York Cycle or a source upon which its Passion scenes were based, for of all the Passion cycles we have examined, both English and continental, we have found none besides York which has a total of six tormentors for the scourging scene.⁶⁵

The *Northern Passion* is one of a number of poems written in the North of England at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries to instruct the laity in their religion.⁶⁶

Its narrative includes the scourging of Christ whilst bound to a pillar.⁶⁷ Most of the poem is said to be based on the *French Passion* made by an Anglo-French compiler and held at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS O. 2 14.). Its basic source is the *Vulgate*, interwoven with legendary and apocryphal incidents, some drawn from the great body of tradition common to all writers in the Middle Ages, such as are to be found in the works already quoted above and legends from Peter Comester's *Historia Scholastica* (12th c.), legends from the works of Johannes Belet, the vernacular Bible of Herman of Valenciennes, besides some legendary incidents which the poet probably drew from unidentified sources.⁶⁸ The *French Passion* shows Christ bound to a pillar with hands tied for his

scourging and crowning with thorns.⁶⁹

Line 1068. A une stache lunt lie
 A correies en funt noees

We have found it difficult to pinpoint the date of the first appearance of the scourging of Christ at a pillar. All four Gospels refer to the scourging without saying it took place at a pillar, which nevertheless seems a reasonable assumption. (See Matt. Ch.27, v.26; Mark Ch.15, v.15; Luke Ch.23, v.16 and John Ch.19, v.1.) One writer suggests 'The first portrayal of the flagellation at a pillar is in the *Codex Egberti*', where Christ fully clothed, is tied to a column by one soldier and beaten by a second.....⁷⁰ Unfortunately the writer does not provide a precise reference for the confirmation of this information. It is possible the reference is to an item in one of the theological or liturgical works of Egbert (d.766), Archbishop of York. His most important work was to found the cathedral school where he himself taught theology and numbered Alcuin among his pupils. Alcuin became an ecclesiastic of considerable influence in France as a mentor of Charlemagne. He accomplished much, including after he became Abbot of Tours in 796, the founding of an important school and library which produced several scholars of note, besides being author of a number of works of scholarship.⁷¹

The portrayal of the flagellation at a pillar in the *Codex Egberti* is not necessarily of the eighth century, as some of Egbert's work is believed to have been added to in the eleventh century.⁷² However it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the detail of the scourging at the pillar was introduced to the Continent by Alcuin.

We have already in Chapter Two written of Dunbar's sojourn on the Continent. In his *The Passioun* he writes as one familiar with the spiritual writings widely available to a churchman like himself. As a travelled man he was probably also familiar with works of art that portrayed scenes of the Passion and he would certainly have been familiar with the illuminations and illuminated initial letters which in colour and vivid detail brought to life the written word of the Office Books of the day.

Kennedy in his *The Passioun of Crist* also shows Christ fixed to the cross by means of nails.⁷⁹

The attaching of Christ to the cross by means of nails is not mentioned in either the Canonical Gospels or in the Apocryphal Gospels. The thirteenth century *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* gives the use of nails in the crucifixion.⁸⁰ This is a possible ultimate source for any later writer describing the crucifixion as taking place by nailing to the cross, although many will have obtained this information from later secondary sources, or been already familiar with a well-established literary tradition.

The *French Passion* (see above) contains the legend of the making of the three nails by the evil wife of the smith who refused to make them and whose (i.e. the smith's) hands were miraculously smitten with leprosy. This is the earliest known record of the story. It may, however, depend on an older tradition.⁸¹ The *Northern Passion*, largely dependent on the *French Passion*,

includes the making of the nails and, of course, their use in the crucifixion.⁸²

A common feature of Scottish and other Passion poetry is the detail that Christ was 'drawn upon the cross', meaning that his arms and legs were stretched to make his hands and feet meet the bore holes of the beams of the cross. Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* gives the detail that Christ's arms and legs were stretched and his hands and feet nailed to the cross.⁸³

In his *Contemplacioun of Synnaris* Friar William of Tours (already referred to above) wrote,

Thai drew him on the croce with violens

but he mentions neither ropes nor nails. Clerk, however, seems to be inferring the use of nails to pierce the veins of wrists (or hands) and feet when he writes,⁸⁴

My wofull hairt me stoundis (i.e. pains) throw the vanis.

'Stound', meaning causing pain is found in some words of Carlyle,⁸⁵

It does boom off, nevertheless sending a stound through
all hearts.

In his *Exortationis of Chryst to all Synnaris to repent thame*⁸⁶
of the same Stewart emphasises the 'stretching' with,

Line 76. They drew me lang & made me meit of force
Quhen thai wes don thay leit me fall deorse
renewed agane my pane fra top to ta.

We find the same kind of detail in the writings of Dunbar and Kennedy, but rather more drawn out. From Kennedy we also get the additional detail that the limbs were stretched to make hands and feet meet holes already bored in the wood of the cross, but he

does not say the soldiers used ropes to pull the arms and legs to reach the bore holes as we find it in the Passion plays of the cycles and in many other places, but the use of ropes may legitimately be understood. Kennedy wrote thus,⁸⁷

Line 785. Quhen thai had drawin his handis & his feit
 On lenth and breid to mak his body lang,
 To the boris thai maid his body meit
 788. Syne with gret force the nalis throw thai dang

He has already told us in an earlier verse,⁸⁸

Line 764. On lenth and breid with scharpe cordis thai tak^a
 That nobill corps quhill thai the banis twyn,^b

a. Tug.

b. Separate.

Dunbar does not actually name ropes or cords but their use may be inferred (see above, his 'Passion', lines 65-7). He uses strong words to describe the dropping of the cross into the hole in the ground with Jesus nailed to it,⁸⁹

Line 73. Quhen he was bendit so on breid
 Quhill all his vanis brist and brak,
 To gar his cruceill pane exceid
 Thai let him fall down with ane swak,
 Quhill cors and corps all did crak.
 Agane thai rasit him on hie,
 Reddie mair turmentis for to mak,
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

The *Dialogus* of Pseudo-Anselm describes the extension of Christ's body on the cross laid out flat on the ground and the stretching arms & legs with ropes but does not mention the drawing of these to reach holes already bored.⁹⁰ The *Northern Passion* has in its surviving manuscripts the stretching of the limbs on the cross with ropes to meet the bore holes.⁹¹ This work being of northern provenance would probably have been available to the authors of the York and Wakefield Cycles.

The speeches of the soldiers in the York *Crucifixion* supply the detail, very long drawn out, that Christ was laid upon the cross and his arms and legs pulled to make his hands and feet meet the holes made ready to receive the nails, and the cross is dropped into the mortise to increase the pain.⁹² The Wakefield *Crucifixion* is very similar, including the dropping of the cross into the hole but lacks the glee of the soldiery over the increasing of Christ's pain.⁹³

In the Chester *Christ's Passion* Christ is fixed to the cross and his arms and legs stretched so that his hands and feet can be nailed to the cross, but there is no reference to pre-bored holes and nothing is made of the dropping of the cross into its hole.⁹⁴

This stretching of the limbs of Christ to make hands and feet meet prepared bore holes was known in England and on the Continent as we learn from the English Mystery Cycles and the Passion Cycles of France, as for example we find in Greban's *Le Mystère de la Passion*.⁹⁵ Here we find Christ tightly tied to a post with cords for his scourging.⁹⁶ He is fixed to the cross with it lying on the ground. His limbs are drawn to the bore holes with ropes and are nailed to the cross with nails said to lack points.⁹⁷

In some of his lines Kennedy displays his familiarity with the legend of the blind knight Longeus (also known as Longinus) who wounded Christ's right side,⁹⁸

Line 1177. Bot fra thai saw that cristynnit kingis face
 All wan and paill, eik closit was his sycht,
 His bludy body stif in euery place,

Thai estimet that Ded had done his rycht.
 Throw the richt syd him woundit a blind knyght
 With a scharp speir, quhill blude & watter cleir
 Agane natour his ded hert woundit suith.
 The precius blud ran vnto Longeus hand
 And he his eyne anoyntit with it, thou cais.
 Off the tuiching of God sic grace he fand,
 With e and hert that he knew Cristis face.
 He left his office, resignit in that place,
 Als leuit lang in relyiosite,
 1190. Syne biscope maid, & marter deit he.

The piercing of Christ's side with a spear appears in St John's Gospel (Ch.19, v.34) alone of the four Canonical Gospels. No name is given to the Soldier said to have done this, neither is he described as being blind & healed as a result of Christ's blood anointing his eyes. The episode as featured by Kennedy is found in the *Northern Passion* (lines 1869-74), St Bernard's *Lamentations on Christ's Passion* (line 616), the *Southern Passion* (lines 1635, 6), and the *Cursor Mundi* (lines 16835-40). The episode is also featured in the York, Wakefield (Townely), Chester and Cornish Cycles as well as in the 'N' Town (Ludus Coventriae or Hegge) Cycle.

Kennedy's account of the Crucifixion could have been used for a representation, perhaps a 'tableau-vivant', performed on a static scaffold or stage, with gestures and short speeches by actors, and the narrative read by a Play-Director, who was ready to prompt actors who were slow to take up their lines, as was done in Cornwall and sometimes in France. Numerous lines could be quoted to illustrate the point of which the following is

one example,⁹⁹

Iudas said: Quhom that ye se me kis,
 Hald him fast, and ry(ch)t wraly him
 leid.

Kennedy's the *Passioun of Chryst* is something the illiterate craftsmen of Perth or any other Scottish burgh could have performed in mine with gestures and short speeches. (See further on this in Chapter Six.)

Had Scottish authors available the *Meditationes* of Pseudo-Bonaventura with which Friar William of Tours was familiar & the *Vitae Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony, known to Kennedy, together with the Vulgate, they could have composed a cycle of Passion Scenes much as they appear in the English and French Cycles. Pseudo-Bonaventura could have provided matter from the *Meditationes* of St Bernard and from the *Dialogus* of Pseudo-Anselm. Further there was the *Golden Legend* with its own account of the Passion, dependent in a wide range of sources and *The Legends of the Saints* once attributed to John Barbour.

C) POST-CRUCIFIXION EVENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION.

The debt of Pre-Reformation Scottish writers to the non-canonical sources commonly used by both English and continental writers is also found in poems and devotional literature featuring other events which form part of the christian faith and tradition. We now give our attention to these.

Some of the Scottish poems indicate that their authors had at some time been impressed by stage effects they had witnessed probably on the Continent, and possibly at home. Poems featuring the Harrowing of Hell, in particular, show evidence of this.

i) The Harrowing of Hell. In an anonymous 'Ballad of Our Lady' in the *Asloan Manuscript*¹⁰⁰ in the Section entitled 'Ballatis of Our Lady' there is a colourful account of an event which according to christian tradition took place between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, as we see in the following lines,

-
 Line 21. Princes of pess and palme Imperiale
 Our' wicht Invisable sampson sprang thee fra
 That with ane buffat bure dovne beliale^a
 O mater Ihesu Salue maria.
25. Thy blissit sydis bure the campioun
 Quhilk with mony bludy woundis to stowra
 Victoriously discomfit the dragoun
 That redy was his pepill to devoure
 At hellis yettis^b he gaf them no succour
 Syne brak the barmekyn^c of that bribour bla^e_f
 Quhill all the feyndis trymblit for raddoure
 O mater Ihesu salue maria.

- a. A minor demon often met with in the mystery plays.
 b. Gates. c. Battlement or battlement wall.
 d. Robber. e. Dark blue or black. f. Fear.

The ultimate source of the legend of the Harrowing of Hell is the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The scene was a popular feature in the Mystery Cycles, providing opportunities for 'knock-about' comedy with Belial and his associates. According to the legend Christ bears down the gates or doors of Hell and binds Satan. Adam and Eve, the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament, King David and King Solomon, who have been awaiting this day in a part of Hell known as Limbo, are set free.

The Harrowing of Hell, lacking the character of Belial, is the subject of an early Middle English dramatic fragment dated 1250. It is reproduced in A.W. Pollard's *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*.¹⁰¹ Scenes of The Harrowing of Hell also occur in the English Cycles, in the York Cycle (Play No XXXVII) and in the Wakefield (Towneley) Cycle (Play No XXV, The Deliverance

of Souls), the latter without Belial. The scene also occurs in the Chester Cycle (Play No XVIII) without Belial and with Belial in the 'N' Town Cycle (Plays Nos XXXIII, XXXV).

The National Library of Scotland now possesses a *Biblia Pauperum* with wood cuts, printed in the Netherlands about 1470. The centre-piece of Plate No 4 depicts the Harrowing of Hell. Christ with cross-bearing nimbus and carrying a two-barred cross, is seen welcoming the Patriarchs out of a dragon-headed Hell-mouth. (See NLS, *Notable Accessions Since 1925*, 1965.)

Dunbar's poem *Done is a battell on the dragon blak* describes the Harrowing of Hell in similar terms to those of the 'Ballad of Our Lady' referred to above,¹⁰²

Line 1. Done is battell on the dragon blak,
 Our campioun Chryst confoutet hes his force;
 The yettis of hell ar brokin with a crak,
 The signe triumphall rasit is of the croce,
 The divillis trymillis with hiddous voce
 The saulis ar borrowit and to the blis can go,

Line four refers to the 'Banner of the Cross' with which Christ was supposed to have led the souls out from Limbo as featured in plays of the 'Harrowing of Hell'. This line and the reference to the breaking down of the 'Gates of Hell' in line three makes one wonder whether Dunbar had witnessed such a scene when the breaking down of the gates was accompanied by the stage effect of a loud crack. Cannons were sometimes used in this scene as we learn from a French document known as *The Paris Resurrection*,¹⁰³

Icy tous les diables excepte Sathan portent cole-
vrynes^a et auitres ferremens^b en Enfer et ferment
leurs portes a gros correilz.

- a. Hand-held guns with large barrels which, no doubt,
made a lot of noise.
- b. Various items made of iron, no doubt, struck also
to make a lot of noise.

It is possible the author witnessed such a scene in France. Any
student at the University of Paris could have seen it.

There is reference to the breaking down of the gates of Hell in
Ierusalem Reiöss For Ioy also attributed to Dunbar,¹⁰⁴

Line 37. Nature him knew and had gret wundir
Quhen he of wirgyn wes borne but^a wemb^b
Hell wuhen thair yettis were broken a sundir
.....

- a. Apart from, except for. b. Possibly, belly.
The reference may be to the belly of the animal which
with its Hell Mouth represented Limbo and Hell as was
the manner of staging this scene in the medieval drama.

In a poem attributed to Dunbar which Kinsley entitles *Harry, harry,
hobbillschowe*, elsewhere entitled, *Ane Littill Interlud of the
Droichis Part of the Play*, are lines which possibly recall a play
which the author had witnessed in Scotland,¹⁰⁵

Line 33. My foregrantschir hecht Fyn McKowle
That dang the devill and gart him yowle;
.....

lines which remind one of the English morality of *The Castle of
Perseverance*.

Friar William in his *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris* tells us
that,¹⁰⁶

Hell Is a hole of horrible myrkness
.....

Following the Descent into Hell there followed on the third day
the Resurrection from the Dead. The words *Surrexit Dominus De*

*Sepulchro*¹⁰⁷ from Dunbar's 'Resurrection' ('Done is a battell on the dragon blak') are the opening words of the verse at the beginning of the Office of Easter Matins which embraces the ceremony of placing the cross retrieved from the Easter Sepulchre in the place already provided for it (see Chapter One). As the rubric says,

Quo facto dicatur:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.....

A verse normally requires a response. This has been omitted from the printed version of the *Breviarium Bothanum* from which we quoted above.¹⁰⁸ It is, however, included in the printed version of the *Breviarium Ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*,¹⁰⁹ thus,

R. Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Alleluya

These words occur in line 3 of verse one of Dunbar's poem and indicate that the Easter liturgical ceremonies were still being celebrated in Dunbar's time.

The Ascension of Christ into Heaven is featured in Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome*,¹¹⁰

Line 1.: And for caus that kingis
and princes: eftir victorie and battale:
enteris in thar realmez
and townis wt trumpat is: with honour and
glor: ihesus the
King of glor of man and angell eftir his
gret battale and triumphe
enterit in his hevinly realme wt gret myrth
and blithnes
with trumpatis and vthir maner of melody
befor him 'ascendit
deus in jubilacionem et dominus in voce
tube' And sene ihesus
for his noble and glorijs victorie had

that he^a stage and sete
 in eternaly prouidit for him: 'psalmus
 Parate sedes tua
 deus ex tunc a seculo tu es'.....

a. High.

In the above Ireland may be recalling a ceremonial or dramatic representation of the Ascension he had witnessed in a continental church. He had spent many years in France and during that time might have visited the Church of the Ascension in Florence where in 1439 Abramo, the Russian Bishop of Souzdal, witnessed such an event and recorded a description of it of which there now follows
 111
 a summary,

In the church is a 140ft long stone platform, standing on 28 columns, each a foot in height. On the left is a stone castle, with towers and bastions, representing Jerusalem. Opposite, against the wall, is a hill, representing the Mount of Olives, reached by a staircase. 56 feet above this is a wooden scaffold, 28ft square. On top of this is a round hole, 14ft wide, covered by a blue hanging, on which are painted the sun, the moon and the stars.

The Virgin and the Apostles are assembled on the Mount. At the appropriate moment the blue hanging is lifted to reveal God the Father, wearing a crown, looking down. After an exchange of farewells between the Apostles and Christ there is a clap of thunder, Christ is seen on top of the Mount, the heavens open, revealing God suspended in mid-air, enveloped in a great light, with small children all around him, while harmonious music and sweet singing are to be heard. A cloud descends on seven ropes and takes up Christ to a great height, the cloud is illuminated by lamps within it. As soon as he reaches the Father the music stops and it grows dark. The curtain is pulled back and the light returns.

A dramatic ceremony or representation of the Assumption and Coronation of our Lady may be reflected in the anonymous *The Assumption of our Lady: our Lady Queen of Heaven. A Ballad of our Lady*¹¹² from which we now quote,

Line 9. O sterne that blyndis phebus bemes bricht
 With courss abone the hevinnis circulyne
 Abone the speir' of saturn hie on hicht
 Surmounting all the angell ordouris nyne
 Haile lamp lemand^a befor the trone devyne
 Quhar' cherubim sweit syngis osanna
 with organe tympane^b harpe and symbalyne^c
 O mater Ihesu salue maria.

a. Gleaming. b. Timpani or kettledrums. c. Cymbals.

The foregoing pages show that the writers of Scottish literature in the Pre-Reformation era had access to the same devotional literature as was generally available to literate persons of the Western Church. Certain legendary and highly-exaggerated features of that corpus of literature evolved into a tradition made up of items gathered together from a variety of original sources. This tradition probably became common knowledge even amongst the illiterate unable to study the original sources for themselves.

Had Scottish authors been restricted to the *Meditationes* of Pseudo-Bonaventura and those of St Bernard with which Friar William of Tours was familiar and the *Vitae Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony, known to Kennedy, and the Gospels of the Vulgate known to all literate people, they would have had to hand the necessary materials to write the story of the Passion much as it appeared in the English and French Cycles. On its own the *Meditationes* of Pseudo-Bonaventura could have provided material from St Bernard and from the *Dialogus* of Pseudo-Anselm, and further there was the *Golden Legend* with its own account of the Passion, dependent on a wide range of sources, besides which there was also its translation into the Scots vernacular formerly attributed to Barbour.

When we turn to France we find that Greban used for his *Passion* some of the sources to which William of Tours and Walter Kennedy refer. Greban made extensive use of his predecessor Eustache Mercadé, whose work depended much on the *Dialogus* of Pseudo-Anselm, a text exploited in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventura, and in the *Passion* of 1398 written in French prose for Isabella of Bavaria, and in the *Passion* of Jean le Charlier de Gerson (1363-1429).¹¹³

Taken over all Greban's *Passion* also gives indication of ultimate indebtedness to the *Vitae Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comester, the *Summa* of St Thomas Aquinas, the *Postillae* of Nicolas of Lyre, the *Golden Legend* and perhaps the French version of the *Gospel of Gamaliel*.¹¹⁴

None of the extra-canonical sources which influenced Scottish Pre-Reformation literature in the way we have described was home-grown and it can be said with confidence that in origin they were continental. Any religious 'tableaux-vivants' or religious plays that might have been staged in Scotland before the Reformation can hardly have failed to have been influenced by the devotional literature that influenced the same phenomena on the Continent and in England. Any scripted plays there might have been would have been written in most cases by Notaries who were clerks in Holy Orders, many of whom received their education on the Continent and who would have been familiar either with the written sources we have discussed or with the legendary traditions that had grown out of them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.

1. John IRELAND *The Meroure of Wyssdome; Johannis de Irlandia* eds. Charles MACPHERSON and F. QUINN (STS NS 19, 2 vols. vol.1 ed. Macpherson; vol.2 ed. Quinn 1965) See vol.1, chapters 9 and 10. See also our vol.2, Chapter Three. APPENDICES, APPENDIX 'A'. THE DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF God. a) THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD FROM THE BANNATYNE MANUSCRIPT.
2. *The Heavenly Virtues: The Four Daughters of God* (Published for the Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature by Basil Blackwell Ltd., Oxford, 1973) 165, n.62.
3. See vol.2. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'A'. 1. THE DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD.
4. Samuel S. CHEW *The Virtues Reconciled: An Iconographic Study* (The University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1947) 39.
5. W. Tod RITCHIE ed. *The Bannatyne Manuscript Written In Tyme Of Pest 1568, by George Bannatyne* (STS 4 vols. 1928) vol.2, Poem xxxii, 68-71, lines 1-104. See lines 57-64. See also our APPENDIX 'A' as above.
6. IRELAND (see n.1) xiv-xxvi.
7. Jules Marie RICHARD ed. *Le Mystère de la Passion: Texte du MS 697 de la Bibliothèque d'Arras* (Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1976) vi, vii;
See also: Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1954) 179-89; L. Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, Les Mystères* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 400, 425.
8. de JULLEVILLE vol.2, 430,1. See also 425.
9. Peter MEREDITH and Lynette MUIR 'The Trial in Heaven in the 'eerste bliscap' and other European plays' *Dutch Crossing* 22, 1 (1984) Special Issue entitled: 'The Medieval Drama of the Low Countries', 84-92.
10. IRELAND. *The Meroure of Wyssdome* vol.1, 141, line 12.
11. THE OLD TESTAMENT, Micah, ch.4, v.4.
12. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.v, pt.2, 661.
13. Hardin CRAIG *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (OUP, 1955) 175, 186,7.
14. CRAIG *The Chester Nativity Cycle* comprises: The Annunciation, The Salutation of Elizabeth, The Suspicion of Joseph, The Nativity and The Conversion of Octavian.
15. IRELAND *The Meroure of Wyssdome etc.* (see n.1) vol.1, xvi.
16. IRELAND vol.1, xx.
17. IRELAND vol.1, xvi.

18. IRELAND vol.1, xvii.
19. IRELAND vol.1, xx.
20. IRELAND xx.
21. D.E.R. WATT ed. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638* (first draft, SRS NS 1, 1969) 308.
22. WATT 236.
23. IRELAND vol.1, xvi.
24. IRELAND vol.1, xv, xvi.
ALHT vol.2, 360.
25. DNB vol.7, 186.
26. J.A.W. BENNETT ed. *Devotional Pieces In Verse and Prose From MS ARUNDEL 285 and MS Harleian 6919* (STS Series 3, No.23, 1949) 323-4, 323, lines 26,7.
27. James ORR ed. *The New Testament Apocryphal Writings* (J.M.Dent, London, and J.B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1903 & 1923, xvi & xvii, and 121.
28. Richard BEADLE ed. *The York Plays* (Arnold, London, 1982) 426.
29. David LAING ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh, 1834, 2 vols.) vol.2, 55-6, line 5.
30. John SMALL ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (STS 1893, 2 vols.) vol.2, 322-3, lines 9 & 10.
31. See our Chapter One, 112 see also 56.
32. SMALL, vol.2, 322,3, lines 17-24, line 17.
33. As above, lines 11-16.
34. George THOMAS *Ten Miracle Plays* (Thomas Arnold, London, 1966) 85. See also Shakespeare's 'Hamlet', Act 3, Scene 2, Hamlet's opening speech to the players.
35. The *Legenda Aurea* (The Golden Legend) is dated 1255-66. It supplies the detail that Christ's arms and legs were stretched and his hands and feet nailed to the cross. See, *The Golden Legend or lives of the Saints as Englished by William CAXTON* (J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1931, 2 vols.) vol.1, 'The Passion of the Lord', 66-86, 72-78.
36. Daniel FORBES ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis: Ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis, etc.*, vol.2, 156.
37. *The Legenda Aurea* (see n.35) vol.1, 67-101.

38. Paul HARVEY ed. *The Oxford Companion to the History of English Literature* (OUP, 1946, 3rd. edition, reprint of 1955) 62.
39. 'frater William Towris' is mentioned in the Scottish Exchequer Rolls, under date 2 August 1502, and 'Dom Guilhelmus Tours, dyocesis Sancti Andree' was a student at Paris 1470-72. W. Moir BRYCE (*The Scottish Grey Friars*, William Green and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1909, 2 vols.) vol.1, 269, mentions the family of 'Tours' of Inverleith and Gariltoun, in his account of the Friars of Edinburgh. He also lists 'Friar Touris' among the Observantine Friars of Aberdeen (vol.1, 332) but gives no source for this information. The name 'Touris' does not appear in the Obit Book of the Friary dating from 1461.

40. BENNETT (see n.26) vi.

41. W.A. CRAIGIE ed. *The Asloan Manuscript. A Miscellany in Prose and Verse* (STS NS 126, 1925, 2 vols.) vol.2, 227, line 1161. See also the Preface, vii, No.X. Friar William's reference is to the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* long attributed to St Bonaventura, but no longer so, although the work is believed to be of Bonaventura's century, the thirteenth century. This author is now usually referred to as 'Pseudo-Bonaventura'. The work is said to be much under the influence of St Bernard of Clairvaux. Kenneth Kirk (*Vision of God*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1931, 364) states that its apocryphal anecdotes had an immediate effect both on the religious plays and on the art of the Middle Ages, and these anecdotes, he adds, were incorporated wholesale into the work of Ludolph of Saxony, referred to in the next *para.*

The work of Pseudo-Bonaventura is also indebted to another anonymous composition, viz, the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* which influenced the Passion Plays by supplying gruesome and sadistic details regarding the crucifixion and magnifying the role of Mary at the cross.

See also BENNETT *Devotional Pieces, etc.* (see n.26) v-vii, 64-169; and vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'. 1. iii) References to the Passion in other Literature. a) Some References in Scottish Medieval Literature. The Contemplacioun of Synnaris: Friar William of Tours of the Order of Friars Minor.

42. CRAIGIE *The Asloan Manuscript, etc.* (see above) vol.2, 233.
43. KIRK (see n.41) 364.
44. *DNB* vol.30, 435.
45. BENNETT (see n.26) 7-63 (1715 lines).
46. BENNETT iv.
47. The first attempt at a biography of Christ since the period of the apocrypha gospels was probably that of Ludolph of Saxony (1300-1378), a Carthusian monk, in his *Divinum Devotissimumque Vitae Christi Opus*, first printed in 1474 and passing through many editions before 1500. See KIRK, n.41 and J. SCHIPPER *Poems of Master Walter Kennedy* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1902, vol.48). The work

was in wide circulation even before printed copies became available.

48. Frances A. FOSTER *The Northern Passion* Part 1, The Four Parallel Texts (EETS OS 145, 1912); Part 2, Introduction, French Text, Variants, Fragments and Glossary (EETS, OS 147, 1913).
49. DNB vol.54, 361.
50. RITCHIE *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (see n.5) vol.2, 90-95, 90.
51. As above, vol.2, 90,1, lines 25-40.
52. James Orchard HALLIWELL *Dictionary of Archaic Words* (John Russell Smith, London, 1850, reprinted by: Bracken Books, London, 1989) 215.
53. William DUNBAR *POEMS* ed. James KINSLEY (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1958) Divine Poems, No.2, 'Amang thir freiris within ane cloister'. 2-7, 3.
54. As above, 4.
55. CRAIGIE *The Asloan Manuscript* (see n.41) vol.2, 187-241, 220,1.
56. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces, etc.* (see n.26) 299-321.
57. DUNBAR/KINSLEY (see n.53) 3.
58. John SMALL ed. *The Monarchie and Other Poems of Sir David Lyndsay* (Part I, 2nd. edition revised, EETS OS 11, 1883-first edition 1865) 143.
59. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces, etc.* (see n.26) 26, line 576.
60. George ENGLAND ed. *The Towneley Plays* With Side Notes and Introduction by Alfred W. POLLARD (EETS ES.71, 1897, reprint of 1966) 247, line 130.
61. BEADLE *York Plays* (see n.28) 302.
62. BEADLE 303.
63. DNB vol.35, 368.
64. W.A. CRAIGIE ed. *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript, Containing Poems By Sir Richard Maitland (1496-1586). Arbuthnott and Others* (STS, NS 9, 1920) 43, lines 33,4. See, vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'. 1. iii) References to the Passion in other Literature. a) Some References in Scottish Medieval Literature.
65. BEADLE 293-306. especially 305,6.
66. FOSTER *The Northern Passion* (see n.48) Pt.2, 1.
67. FOSTER Pt.1, 122-4, lines 1194-1216.

68. FOSTER Pt.2, 48,9, 59, 65.
69. FOSTER Pt.2, 117,8, lines 1068-1104.
70. Harold OSBORNE ed. *The Oxford Companion to Art* ((OUP, 1970) Essay, 'The Passion Cycle' 816-18, 817.
71. F.L. CROSS ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (OUP, London, 1957) 31.
72. As above, 441.
73. Juan AINAUD ed. *Romanesque Painting* (The Viking Press, New York, 1963) Plate 48 and Captions 47 & 48.
74. SMALL ed. *The Monarchie and Other Poems etc.* (see n.58) 127,8.
75. As above, 143.
76. RITCHIE *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (see .n.5) vol.2, 91,2, lines 57-64, lines 73-80.
77. Gustave COHEN *Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et les Comptes des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion Joué à Mons en 1501 publiés pour la première fois et précédés d'une Introduction* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1925) 355.
78. DUNBAR/KINSLEY *Poems of Dunbar* (see n.53) 4,5.
79. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces, etc.* (see n.26) 33, line 788.
80. FOSTER *The Northern Passion etc.* (see n.48) Pt.2, 66.
81. As above, 64; see also 119,20, lines 1227-60. For the use of the nails see 121, lines 1320-30.
82. FOSTER *The Northern Passion, etc.* Pt.1, 168-73, lines 1439-1502.
83. CAXTON *The Golden Legend* (see n.35) 72-8.
84. HALLIWELL *Dictionary of Archaic Words* (see n.52) 813,4. See also *The Concise Scots Dictionary* ed. Mairi ROBINSON 674,5.
85. Charles MACKAY ed. *The Lost Beauties of the English Language* (Bibliophile Books, London, 1987; originally published in 1874) 211, quoting Carlyle's *French Revolution*.
86. RITCHIE *The Bannatyne Manuscript, etc.* (see n.5) vol.2, 90-95, 92, lines 76-8.
87. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces, etc.* (see n.26) 33, lines 785-7.
88. As above 32, lines 764,5.
89. DUNBAR/KINSLEY (see n.53) 5.

90. J.P. MIGNE ed *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina* (J.P.Migne, Paris, 1844-64, 221 vols.) vol.99, columns 282,3.
91. FOSTER *The Northern Passion* (see n.48) Pt.1, 186-92, lines 1600-37.
92. BEADLE *The York Plays* 317-21 lines 85-228.
93. ENGLAND ed. *The Towneley Plays* (see n.60) 261-65, lines 119-220.
94. THOMAS *Ten Miracle Plays* (see n.34) 118-20, lines 117-90.
95. Arnoul GREBAN *Le Mystère de la Passion publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris avec une introduction et glossaire* par Gaston PARIS et Gaston RAYNARD, reprint of 'l'édition de Paris', 1878, (Slatkin Reprints, Geneva, 1970) lines 24562-24873, or see, GREBAN *Le Mystère de la Passion* ed. DE COMBARIEU DU GRÈS et SUBRENAT 353-58, 355-58.
96. COMBARIEU DU GRÈS 329.
97. As above 354-7.
98. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces, etc.* 45, lines 1177-90. See vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'. 1. iii) References to the Passion in other Literature. a) Some References in Scottish Medieval Literature.
99. BENNETT 19, lines 351,2.
100. CRAIGIE ed. *The Asloan Manuscript* (see n.41) vol.2, 'Ballatis of Our Lady', 271-278, 271,2, lines 21-32.
101. Alfred W. POLLARD ed. *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, first edition 1890, eighth edition, reprinted 1973) Appendix III, 'The Harrowing of Hell', 166-172.
102. DUNBAR/KINSLEY *Poems* (see n.53) 7,8.
103. *The Paris Resurrection Bibl.*, Nat. fonds français 972 (1491) 162, fol 34^v.
104. SMALL *The Poems of William Dunbar* (see n.30) vol.2, 322,3.
105. DUNBAR/KINSLEY 103.
106. CRAIGIE *The Asloan Manuscript* vol.2, 187-241, 229, line 1209.
107. DUNBAR/KINSLEY 7,8.
108. W.D.M. ed. *Breviarium Bothanum sive Portiforium Secundum Usum Ecclesiae Cujusdum in Scotia* (Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1900) 180.
109. PROCTOR AND WORDSWORTH ed. *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis ac Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum Fascisculus* (CUP 1882) Fascisculus I, 'In die Paschae', cols. docvii,viii,ix.

110. IRELAND *The Meroure of Wyssdome* (see n.1) vol.2, ed. QUINN, *Liber Tertius*, 'Ascendit ad celos sedet ad deteram dei patris omnipotens', 47-51, 50, lines 1-10.
111. Peter MEREDITH & John E. TAILBY *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, 4; Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Michigan, 1983 - subsequently quoted as 'Meredith and Tailby') Appendix No.5, 243-7.
112. CRAIGIE *The Asloan Manuscript* (see n.41) vol.2, 'Ballatis of Our Lady', 271-278, 271, lines 9-15.
113. GREBAN/de COMBARIEU du GRÈS *Le Mystère de la Passion* (see n.95) Notes, 521, n.58.
114. Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1954) 184.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEDIEVAL ICONOGRAPHY AS SEEN IN
SCOTTISH SURVIVALS FROM
PRE-REFORMATION TIMES

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this chapter is to make an assessment of the extent to which continental religious art and iconography influenced Scottish medieval religious manuscripts and books (PART I), as also church architecture, decoration and ornamentation and the artefacts used in worship (PART II). We do this to show a general artistic and iconographical unity in regard to representations in both fields throughout the Middle Ages, a unity which also embraced the religious pageants and plays of the same era.

In the sphere of religious manuscripts there are a few survivals from times before the Anglo-Normanisation of the Scottish Church. These do not concern the present dissertation which must concentrate on the 14th-16th century development of public religious pageantry and drama. Surviving evidence, however, shows that as early as the eleventh century manuscripts were entering Scotland which had been produced either in England or France.

A Gospel Book, probably that of Queen Margaret (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Lat. Lit. F5) was compiled in England about 1025-50 in a style typical of the late Anglo-Saxon illustration modelled on Carolingian book paintings.¹ Carolingian manuscripts are a group loosely associated with the Emperor Charlemagne and the revival of learning of the ninth century, deriving mainly from Northern France and Western Germany, from the late eighth to the early tenth centuries. The main schools of the tradition were located at Paris, Rheims, Tours, Bamberg, Trier, Metz, Vienna and St Gall. These artists took their models from christian antiquity.²

- c) 1400 - 1500: From France - 14 items.
 " The Low Countries - 6 items.
 " Italy - 2 items.
 " Germany - 3 items.

With regard to item b) 1400-1560, France - 43 items, this includes 34 items in the period 1500-1560, of which 27 items were printed either in Paris or Lyons. In view of the wholesale destruction of volumes belonging to religious houses and churches it is impossible to assess how many items were actually brought into the country from particular countries. As destruction was indiscriminate and not directed at products of any particular country it seems fair to say on the basis of the above figures that most volumes brought into the country must have come from France, and after France from the Low Countries.

Most of the religious books imported into Scotland from France are said to have been produced in Northern France, which probably means Rouen, although certainly a few were produced in Bourges in Central France, and printed books were later produced in Paris and Lyons, as well as in Rouen. For Scottish customers the system was to produce texts according to the Sarum rite as used in Scotland (and in England) and to illustrate them, in the case of Rouen, with the standard Rouen treatment of religious subjects, and, no doubt, the same system was used at Bourges, as probably anywhere else on the Continent where they may have produced manuscripts or books for Scottish customers.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century with an increasing interest in saints relevant to Scotland, Calendars and Litanies of

imported books on reaching Scotland were amended to include these, as for example, in the case of the Perth Psalter, probably a Flemish production of about 1475.⁶

Among such books were the *Yester Hours* written in the French style (Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys Library, MS 1576), the *Play-fair Hours* (see, item 8) (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, L.475-1918), Edinburgh University Library MS No.43, and the *Far-mor Hours* (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MS 133D16), all dating about 1480.⁷ A Psalter made in Paris, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 50, dated in the 1240's, has Scottish and Irish saints in its Calendar and Litany. It is thought it may have once belonged to the Valliscoulain Priory, founded in 1230, at Ardchattan, Argyllshire. It is very likely that these alterations were made in the fifteenth century.⁸

We think it fair to say on the basis of surviving documents that at least throughout the fifteenth century there was an input into Scotland of Books of Hours containing illuminations executed in the iconographic modes of France and the Low Countries and there were also books written in Scotland where the illuminated representations were painted in the French style, and probably in the Flemish style too. Regarding France Scottish intercourse with that country had been maintained right from the twelfth century, except when war prevented it. At the end of the thirteenth century Walter of Coventry wrote,⁹

the more recent Scots kings profess themselves to be rather Frenchmen, both in race and manners, language and culture; and, they admit only Frenchmen to their friendship and service.

No doubt Scottish churchmen when they were free to do so had con-

tact with Rouen, and the Diocese of Rouen, where the Scottish Sarum liturgy had its roots (see Chapter One)

Later in this chapter we show that the iconography of the illuminations in manuscript books in use in Scotland in significant respects matches that of continental manuscript books in use on the Continent (see PART I of this chapter). Further in PART II (again of this chapter) we show that the iconography of Scottish medieval ecclesiastical architecture, decoration and ornamentation, generally-speaking, matches that of the surviving illuminated manuscripts and books formerly in use in Scotland, more or less, irrespective of where they were produced. Our object is to demonstrate that in Scotland and on the Continent whatever the artistic medium, whether in manuscripts, or in church architecture, ornamentation, and decoration, the expression was generally speaking in terms of a common religious iconography which Scotland had derived from the Continent. Our ultimate aim is to show that in Pre-Reformation Scotland, because religious pageantry and plays, in costuming, scenery, attributes and properties, were presented in terms of a commonly held religious iconography, they must have closely resembled similar religious pageantry and plays on the Continent.

Despite the poverty of Scottish Pre-Reformation ecclesiastical architectural, decorative and ornamental remains, enough representations in wood, stone and metal, and in paintings, have survived to show that in these on the whole, age for age, the country followed the iconographic traditions of the Western Church.

Although much was imported from the Continent, especially from the Low Countries and from France, that is not to say there were

no native wood carvers, stone masons and painters, working albeit under the influence of skills many had acquired from their continental counterparts, in the commonly held iconographical tradition, so that whether the work was done in Scotland or on the Continent, it was executed, broadly speaking, in the common iconography of the Western Church.

Scottish craftsmen of all types in the medieval period made use of pattern books originating on the Continent. In the field of painting continental influence was paramount so that though the hand that held the brush was Scottish, the idiom, style and technique were those that had been learned from men of the Continent.¹⁰ Very little, however, is known about the craftsmen who executed the work we discuss below in PART II.

All the varied aspects of the christian religion are represented somewhere in what has survived but our researches show that in Scotland, as on the Continent, in the later medieval period, there was a greater concern with the events of the Passion than with those of the Birth of Christ. This became inevitable with the increasing emphasis on the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass as the years advanced. So in Scotland, as in the West generally, we find in visual art the stark realism of the Crucifixion, so vividly expressed by the Scottish writers of the period in terms of the devotional literature, mainly of the Continent, which we discussed in Chapter Three.

PART I.SOME SURVIVING LITURGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS
MAINLY OF CONTINENTAL PROVENANCE FORMERLY IN USE IN SCOTLAND
AND SOME PARALLEL EXAMPLES FROM BOOKS NOT IN USE IN SCOTLAND.

There are a few survivals from the early years of the Post-Celtic Church. A twelfth century glossed version of St Matthew's Gospel (St John's College, Oxford, James MSS, 144), probably of French provenance, once in use in the Isle of May Priory, has marginal but unfinished drawings of Christ on the cross. The Blantyre Psalter, twelfth-thirteenth century (Durham University Library, Bamburgh Castle Collection, Select 6) made for someone connected with a Scottish Augustinian House, has elaborate initial illuminations similar to those of manuscripts produced in England and France. A later thirteenth century Psalter, probably of Low Countries provenance, was once in use at the Augustinian Priory of Inchmahome in Perthshire. A volume known as the Ramsay Psalter was probably made in the Low Countries in the late thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century it was in use by the Ramsays of Colluthie in the Parish of Moonzie, near Coupar, Fife.¹¹

A Bible in three volumes, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, of either French or English origin, was once in use at Sweetheart Abbey, Kirkcudbrightshire.¹²

We know of no surviving illuminated devotional or liturgical book in use in a parish in Scotland before the fifteenth century of which it can categorically be said that its calligraphy and art

work are without doubt entirely Scottish, and devoid of continental influence. A surviving Missal, dated 1225-50 (NLS, Edinburgh, Acc. 2710) was made in Scotland for use in the Tironensian house of Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire. Two pages of illuminated decoration survive at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, which show that the volume conformed to the tradition that by the thirteenth century had become established in the Church of the West, in which a large miniature of the Crucifixion was placed immediately before the Canon of the Mass, followed by another large miniature of Christ in Majesty.¹³

The following are surviving fifteenth century books of continental, or probable continental provenance, once in use in Scotland, not discussed in this PART I, Sections A. and B. which follow, but which will be included in an assessment of the relative proportions of ecclesiastical books in use in Scotland showing continental provenance or influence in their illuminations.

- i) *Eliza Danielstoun's Book of Hours*, British Library, Addl MS 39761, about 1450, French.¹⁴
- ii) *Abbot Bothwell's Psalter*, MS 92, Municipal Library, Boulogne, made for Dunfermline Abbey, 1445-70, French.¹⁵
- iii) *The Perth Psalter*, NLS, Edinburgh, dated 1475, formerly in use in Perth Parish Church. May be of Low Countries origin. If not the rough style suggests the work of a Scottish hand using a Flemish model.¹⁶
- iv) *The Farmor Book of Hours* (see above), dated about 1480. In the French style.¹⁷
- v) *Robert Blackadder's Prayer Book*, NLS, Edinburgh, No. 10271, dated 1484-92. Northern France provenance. Commissioned especially for this Bishop of Glasgow.¹⁸
- vi) *The De horis canonicis* of Archbishop Scheves, St Andrew's University Library. Printed in Louvain in 1485.¹⁹

- vii) *The Crawford Breviary*, Edinburgh University Library. Printed in Rouen by M. Morin, 1496.²⁰
- viii) A fifteenth century Book of Hours, held in the British Library, London (Addl 39761). Probably made in France for a Scottish lady. Has many miniatures in the French style, of not very high quality.²¹
- ix) *The Drummond Book of Hours*, in Drummond Castle Library. French 15th century.²²
- x) *Memoriae Sanctorum*, Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge, MS 84. French, 15th century.²³

Books of Hours were normally only accessible to the wealthy and only of use to the literate, among whom were probably some literate merchants who traded with the Continent, and who were in a position to influence the pageantry and plays. This does not mean, however, that the imagery of the illustrations in books was unknown to the poorer and less literate classes. They saw it whenever they went to Mass in the wall-paintings and carved imagery of their churches as we show in PART II of this chapter.

A) The Creation, Temptation, Fall, Expulsion and Nativity Cycles, including the Enthroned Virgin and Child.

We have no details from surviving devotional and liturgical books once in use in Scotland of illuminations featuring the Creation, Temptation, Fall and Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise. The *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* (see below, item 9) contains none, possibly indicating that these subjects were not much featured in such books. They were, however, featured in some books.

1.a) Glasgow University has a mid-twelfth century copy of a York Psalter (MS Hunter 229) of North of England provenance with miniatures of the Creation of Adam (fol 7v), where Eve encouraged by the Serpent is tempting Adam (also fol 7v), showing also the Expulsion of the pair from the Earthly Paradise (fol 8r) and Eve at the Distaff as Adam works the soil. The portrayals are stylized and unnatural as opposed to the more natural portrayals found in some later manuscripts, as for example in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* of 1427 in the University Library of Würzburg (MS ch. fol 4).²⁴

b) Ludolph of Saxony (author of the *Vita Christi* referred to in Chapter Three) wrote the first *Speculum* probably in Strasbourg in 1324. No less than three hundred copies of this manuscript have survived, mostly without pictures. Most of the illustrated copies are either German or Flemish. The extensive influence of the illustrated copies can be judged from the fact that it was first issued as a Block Book & used in the production of stained glass, tapestry, sculpture & paintings throughout Europe. It is probable that copies of the Block Book reached Scotland and were used there after they became available (1450-70). The *Biblia Pauperum* was issued as a Block Book in 1450.

2.a) The *Murthly Book of Hours* (NLS, Edinburgh, MS 3239) is a small manuscript containing the Hours of Our Lady and a Calendar. It contains twenty-three full-page miniatures of scenes from the Old & New Testaments, illuminated in gold and colour. There are some texts in Gaelic on the fly-leaves thought to be of fourteenth

century date. One authority believes it was made for a lady of the Worcester area and that it had reached Scotland by about 1420.²⁵ However the presence of Gaelic texts of the fourteenth century seem to us to suggest the book reached Scotland not later than that century. Another authority noting that the shields of the soldiers guarding the sepulchre are emblazoned with the arms of Scottish families deduces a Scottish origin for the manuscript. McRoberts suggested the illuminations were those of a Scottish hand. There is said to be a close resemblance between illuminations in the manuscript & sculptures in the Salisbury Cathedral Chapter House. This, however, should not be taken as indicating any necessary immediate dependence of the Murthly Book upon the Salisbury sculptures in view of the common iconography that prevailed throughout the christian West. In truth there is no certainty about the manuscript's origins, although it can be said that the book is illuminated in the style of Master Honoré, the great Parisian artist of the late thirteenth century, which suggests a French origin, at least for the art work.²⁵

The full-page illuminations include,

- | | |
|---|--|
| i) The putting of Joseph down the well by his brothers. | |
| ii) The Annunciation to the Virgin. | iii) The Annunciation to the Shepherds. |
| iv) The Adoration of the Magi. | v) The Last Supper. |
| vi) The Scourging of Jesus. | vii) The Anointing of Jesus at the tomb by Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome. |

Illuminated initials include,

- i) The Annunciation to the Virgin. ii) The Annunciation to the Shepherds.
- iii) The Adoration of the Magi.

All these are represented in accordance with what had now become the traditional iconography of the West with customary easily recognisable attributes and scenes reflecting the manners and fashions of the contemporary West with no attempt at absolute accuracy to portray scenes in their original setting ('Sitz im Leben').

Scenes featuring the Blessed Virgin Mary normally show her wearing a blue cloak or robe (see further on this below, item 3.a), sometimes a blue hood or veil, and occasionally with a white veil (unless shown enthroned when she wears a crown) as in scenes of the Annunciation, where she is usually shown in a pillared vaulted room with a tiled floor. Here she is shown kneeling in prayer mostly at a prayer desk on which there is an open book. Sometimes she is seen kneeling on the floor with an open book on a cushion before her. The Angel is shown facing her from one side. Sometimes he carries a wand in his right hand, sometimes a scroll with the words of the Annunciation, and the other hand is raised in greeting, "Ave Maria, gratia plena.." There is always a Pot of Lilies, symbolising purity, between the Virgin and the Angel, and a Dove, representing the Holy Spirit, hovering above them.

- b) A full-page illumination of the Annunciation in an early fourteenth century manuscript (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 79, fol 2r) shows the Angel standing on the floor on the left with the

Virgin on the right. There is no scroll and no prayer desk, but a Pot of Lilies stands between the two. The Virgin is dressed in mauvish pink, with a blue shawl. The Angel wears a bright red tunic and grey cloak and his wings are tipped with pink.

c) In Annunciations to the Shepherds the Angel hovers somewhere above them in the open as seen in both Annunciation to the Shepherd scenes in the manuscript we are discussing. These scenes usually feature a scroll in the Angel's left hand as he hails the Shepherds with the other, as in the case of this manuscript. The illuminated initial which features the scene in this manuscript shows a sheep dog, the use of which is a western custom, in which the dog guides the sheep, and the shepherd follows, in opposition to references in scripture where the shepherd leads the flock. Annunciation to the Virgin scenes, with all the conventional attributes, occur often and an especially good example can be seen in the fifteenth century *Les Très Riches Heures Du Duc De Berry*.²⁶ See also the Flemish Breviary dated 1494, Glasgow University Library (Hunterian MS 25 - S.2.15, fol 10v), Edinburgh University Library's fifteenth century Book of Hours, Use of Troyes, MS 307, and the Scottish *Andrew Lundy's Primer*, of about 1500 (NLS, Edinburgh, Dep.221/5 - B.Coll.5).

d) In the *Murthly Book of Hours* the representation of the Adoration of the Three Kings shows each King wearing a crown as it likewise shows the Virgin wearing a royal crown. This is to be understood in the abstract and prophetic of her future Coronation as Queen of Heaven, as likewise representations of the Virgin and Child

Enthroned, which for this reason we place in the Nativity Cycle.

A kneeling King is being blessed by the Holy Child as he presents
²⁷
 his gift.

e) In the scene of the Holy Women at the tomb in the last mentioned Book of Hours the body is shown lying in a typical contemporary western style Gothic tomb or sarcophagus and the Last Supper takes place at a typical conventional western style table instead of at a very low level table from low 'chaises longues'. This became normal in western art as seen in the Last Suppers of Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer.

A good fairly up-to-date account of this manuscript is contained in *Rarer Gifts than Gold*, published by University of Glasgow, Department of History and Art, 1988 (see, Item 20, pages 26-8.)

f) A fifteenth century Book of Hours in Edinburgh University Library (MS 305), probably of French origin, and not known to have been in use in Scotland, shows three Shepherds grazing their sheep startled as the Angel appears in the sky. A town in the background is, no doubt, intended to be Bethlehem. The surrounds are foliated in the French manner.

g) Another fifteenth century manuscript Book of Hours of the Use of Rouen, also not known to have been in use in Scotland, has a miniature of the 'Annunciation to the Shepherds' shown grazing their sheep (NLS, Adv MS 18.7.12, fol 28), and who are startled by the appearance of the 'Angel of Salutation' looking down from a narrow band of cloud. A town in the background

is, no doubt, Bethlehem. There are similarities between this scene and that in item c, above. Each has three Shepherds, similarly dressed. In both the sheep have long thin bodies and pointed faces. The surrounds of this illumination are also foliated in the French manner. This book also has illuminations of the rest of the Nativity Cycle, the Coronation of the Virgin, David in Prayer, Job and his Friends and the Virgin and Child Enthroned, with a woman at prayer.

h) The Adoration of the Magi from the English fifteenth century *Talbot Book of Hours* deposited with the National Library of Scotland (Dep.221/1. fol 53v) shows Our Lady sitting, in blue cloak edged with gold (no dress is visible), holding the child on her knees, as the Magi present their gifts in front of the verandah or porch of light wooden construction as seen in other examples of Nativity scenes.

i) A fifteenth century *Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany* (Queen of France) in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (MS.45) has an illumination of the Adoration of the Magi, showing Our Lady in a blue gold-embroidered cloak, nursing the naked Child, with Joseph standing behind as the Magi, one of whom is black, adore and present their gifts. The scene takes place in front of a light wooden building almost identical with those already described.

j) A National Library of Scotland manuscript of St Augustine's *City of God* (Adv MS 1.1.2) was written (with miniatures by Jean Pichore) in Paris in 1503 for Cardinal d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen. It includes a miniature of the Visitation of the Shepherds

where the scene is set in a porch which forms an extension to a light timber-framed building, a barn or stable, very much like those already described. A naked Child, with nimbus, his body already surrounded by rays of glory, lies in front on the ground, before his blue-gowned, kneeling Mother whose head is backed by a nimbus. A kneeling, adoring Shepherd holds a gift in his left hand. Other Shepherds wait outside and look in over a fence. An ox and an ass stand and look in from a small adjoining roofed compound.

The Gospel account (Luke Ch.2, vv.8-20) of the Visit of the Shepherds does not say they brought gifts, but this is featured in the cyclic plays, e.g. York XV, The Shepherds, lines 96-131, and Wakefield, Play XII, Shepherds' Play I, lines 458-84, Play XIII, Shepherds' Play II, lines 710-27.²⁸ The Shepherds also bring gifts to the Infant Jesus in Greban's *Le Mystère de la Passion, Première Journée, Adoration des Bergers*.²⁹ However, the Canonical Christian Gospels make no mention of the Shepherds bringing gifts with them and it does not feature in the Rouen *Officium Pastorum*. This non-scriptural presentation of gifts by the Shepherds in pictorial art and in dramatic literature suggests some dependence of one upon the other.

Most of the details of the Nativity scenes found in pictorial arts are derived from later sources than the Gospels. The Ox and the Ass are known from as early as a Roman sarcophagus A.D. 343 (now lost). No written source from this time is known, but there is a fourth century christian sarcophagus in the Lateran

Museum showing the Virgin seated while the Child lies in a manger with the Ox and the Ass beside it, under a barn-like structure. In fact a barn-like structure for the place of the Nativity was normal in the West outside Italy. There is no reason to think that Scotland did not conform to this custom.

30

k) A Flemish Psalter of the thirteenth century held in Edinburgh University Library (MS 62) uncomplicated by superfluous detail has an illumination of the Visit of the Magi, showing one of them kneeling beside an ordinary conventional western style bed on which Mary is sitting upright, wearing a golden brown cloak over a blue dress, as she nurses her Child. In the background an ox and an ass are eating from a trough in front of them. No details of the building can be seen and a covering above the bed is provided by pleated white cloths held from above.

l) Edinburgh University Library has a Book of Hours (Use of Sens, MS 44) written about 1400, containing a fine miniature of the Nativity. It shows the Virgin wearing a gold-coloured voluminous dress, leaning over to her left, from an ordinary contemporary pillowed-bed covered in red, to take her Child from a wicker cot. Lying near the cot an ox and an ass gaze at the Child whilst on the other side, Joseph, sitting on a three-legged stool, appears to be cooking over a small stove.

The descriptions of scenes from the Nativity Cycle in this section should be compared with similar scenes executed in wood and stone.

There are striking similarities in the treatment of the same subject in the different media (see PART II. THE CHURCH: ITS ORNAMENTATION AND FURNISHINGS. A) The Creation, Temptation, Fall, Expulsion and Nativity Cycles, including the Enthroned Virgin and Child. a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal.

3.a) The *Aberdeen Greyfriars Book of Hours* (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Reid 53) ³¹ was probably made in the Low Countries in the middle of the fifteenth century. Its illuminations include a miniature of the Virgin and Child Enthroned. Internal evidence ³² shows that it was in use in Scotland before the Reformation. A similar Virgin and Child Enthroned is found in the English made Bohun Psalter of about 1385-99 (NLS, E/B, Advocates' MS 18.6.5, fol 16r). ³³

b) The French *Hours of Marie de Rieux* dated sometime before 1466, on loan at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (Dep.221/10), from the Trustees of Blair's College, Fort Augustus, has a miniature of the Enthroned Virgin and Child (fol 9), showing the Virgin wearing an elaborate crown and the almost universally conventional blue gown, in this instance edged with gold, a feature very frequently, if not always encountered. Some times the Infant Jesus, no longer a baby, but now a small boy, is seen wearing a red dress. It appears the Virgin always wears a blue outer garment of some sort, either a blue robe or blue cloak, sometimes with a blue veil or hood. Blue probably represents faithfulness and red royalty.

c) The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, has an oil-painting on canvas of the Virgin and Child by Lorenzo Monaco, the Florentine artist (before 1372-1422/4), dated about 1418-20, showing the Virgin wearing a dark-blue hooded cloak, lined with gold, over a light blue dress with a light blue head-scarf. The Child, looking about age two years, is wearing a red dress.

4) Glasgow University Hunterian MS 36 is an end of the fifteenth century French version of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, a work with which Scottish medieval writers were familiar, as we have shown in Chapter Three. The Glasgow book has a fine illuminated miniature of the Adoration of the Magi. Joseph is not present and no cattle are to be seen. The Virgin is wearing a blue cloak over a blue dress with a white veil over the head. Mother and Child are both nimbed as more or less usual. The Child is naked and held by Mary on her lap. They are seated under the extended porch of a well-made thatched barn. One King kneels before the Child, his crown on the ground, as he presents his gift. A second King is close behind holding his crown in one hand, his gift at the ready in the other. The third King, holding up his gift, is still wearing his crown. None of the Kings is black.³⁴

The book is not of Scottish origin, but volumes like it were obviously accessible to Scottish writers (see Chapter Three). It is quite possible that an illuminated copy of Ludolph's *Vita Christi* was also accessible for consultation by those charged with responsibility for setting up a Christmas Crib as at St Giles, Edinburgh, the Burgh Church at Ayr and possibly St Nicholas, Aberdeen (see Chapter One), or for creating scenes of the Nativity, Visit of the Shepherds or Adoration of the Magi for a tableau or play.

5.a) The group of books known as the *Arbuthnott Books*, written between 1471 and 1484 by James Sybbald (died, 1507), Vicar of the Parish of Arbuthnott, for use in his parish, consists of a Psalter, the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a Missal. The Office of the Virgin has six full-page illuminations, including one of the Annunciation of the conventional type which always includes a Pot of Lilies and the Dove representing the Holy Spirit (see example above, item 2.A, the *Murthly Book of Hours*) and further example below (see, item 8). Another illumination is of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, the Mother wearing a crown as she holds the Child wearing a chaplet. All three Arbuthnott books are held by the Museums and Art Galleries of Paisley.

b) A comparison of the art work of these manuscripts with the three illuminated pages of the fifteenth century *Aberdeen Psalter and Book of Hours* (see next item) shows that the style of the art work is the same. The principal feature of their border illuminations is the ivy foliation, which originated in France early in the fifteenth century and which can also be seen in the *Bedford Missal* (completed in 1430) in the British Library. The flowers on the borders are also of the same style in these manuscripts. The art work of the Arbuthnott manuscript is probably that of more than one hand working under the influence of the French tradition of manuscript illumination, although the hands that held the brushes may have been Scottish. In fact the drawing is not up to ³⁵ standard of most French work.

6) *The Aberdeen Psalter and Book of Hours* (NLS, Edinburgh, Advocates' Collection, 18.8.14) is thought to have been written in Scotland in the late fifteenth century and later in use in Bishop Dunbar's Hospital, founded in 1531. It has three illuminated pages thought to be the work of a Scottish painter trained by someone who worked in the French tradition, rather than the work of a French painter.³⁶

7) *Dean Brown's Book of Hours* (NLS, Edinburgh, MS Acc.4228) was written about 1498 for Master James Brown (abt.1456-1505), Dean of Aberdeen, during the last decade of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is outstanding for its perfect condition and for the extremely high quality of its illumination in the Ghent/Bruges style. Brown spent several months in the Low Countries in 1498 (see Chapter Two) when he probably commissioned this Book of Hours.³⁷

The first illumination (fol 17v) shows the owner of the book kneeling in prayer before an Altar of Our Lady, with a Patron Saint, who may be St Machar, Patron Saint of the Cathedral. The Dean is wearing a pink alb and a rich cloth of gold cope. His grey furred almuce with tails of dark brown fur hang over his left arm, on his head a large black biretta. From his hands, joined in prayer, rises towards a coloured statue of the Virgin and Child in a niche behind an altar, a pink scroll on which is inscribed in letters of gold the words 'Misericordias domini in eternum cantabo'.

The Madonna is represented in a blue robe. Mother and Child are without crowns. The Bishop, a colourful figure, standing behind the Dean, holds a long golden crozier and wears a blue mitre and red cope over a green alb.³⁸ All is very conventional. (Compare with the Annunciation of the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* (see below, item 10).³⁹

8) The late fifteenth century *Playfair Book of Hours* (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, L.475-1918) from Northern France was probably made in Rouen for a Scottish customer. In decoration it closely resembles one in Edinburgh University Library MS 43) (see the following entry). Amongst the Playfair illuminations is one of the Annunciation, covering two thirds of a page, showing the Virgin kneeling before a canopied seat or stall at a prayer desk on which rests an open book. Nearby is what had become the traditional Pot of Lilies. The Angel, shown kneeling before the Virgin, is dressed in an ecclesiastical cope over an alb and holds a wand in his left hand. He is not holding a scroll as in many other representations of the Annunciation. Smaller representations on the same page show the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth the expectant mother of John the Baptist, and the Nativity. In this latter scene Mary is shown sitting up in a contemporary style western type bed with an open prayer book before her. On the right a midwife is seen handing her the Infant wrapped tightly in swaddling clothes. Beside the bed on the right is a rocking cradle.⁴⁰

This same Book of Hours also contains a full-page portrayal of a half-length Madonna wearing a blue robe and holding the Child in

her arms. The style is conventional. The Virgin does not wear a crown nor the Child a chaplet. The picture is set within a gold arched gothic frame (a common feature of the times), surrounded by a border of gold scrolls, on a pink background.⁴¹

9) A late fifteenth century Book of Hours held in Edinburgh University Library, MS 43, is of Northern France provenance, very possibly made in Rouen for Scottish use. It is closely akin to the *Playfair Book of Hours* (see above, item 8) the illuminations being executed in a similar style. The best miniatures include the Shepherds watching their flock and a spectacular representation of the 'Beata Maria in Sole', the image of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, standing on a crescent moon, surrounded by rays of light as she is crowned by two Angels (fol 25v).⁴² This is to be understood prophetically. In scenes of the Coronation of the Virgin after her Assumption she is crowned either by the Holy Trinity, i.e. by God the Father and the Son with the Dove above them representing the Holy Spirit, or sometimes by God the Father, or by God the Son, and not by Angels.

10) The *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor*⁴³ held at the Österreichische National Bibliothek, Vienna (Codex Lat.1897), is believed to be the gift of James IV to his bride, Margaret Tudor, on their marriage in 1503, or it may have been the gift of her father, Henry VII. The manuscript is the work of a Flemish scribe, perhaps John Bomal, who probably worked for a group of artists at Ghent or Bruges. Two artists are thought to have been responsible for the art work, one of whom was under the influence of Van Der Goes, and the other may have been under the influence of the Master

Mary of Burgundy, that is, Alexander Bening, a distinguished illuminator of Scottish ancestry and Flemish citizenship, through his apprentice son, Simon. Both calligraphy and artistry are of the highest standard.

Among the illuminations is one of the Annunciation which demonstrates the conventions of the time in representations of this scene. The Virgin is depicted sitting on the tiled floor of a marble-columned room, a book of devotions open before her resting on a red cushion, with a work-basket at her feet. She is wearing a deep blue gown and cloak trimmed with gold as she gazes before her with wrapt attention. On a table to the rear is a blue and white Pot of Lilies. The Angel clothed in a white and gold robe, is shown with his right hand raised towards Mary in salutation. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovers near the vaulted ceiling. Several other Annunciations which appear to be by the same artist are held in the British Library.⁴⁴ It also resembles very closely the Annunciation in a fifteenth century French Book of Hours (Use of Troyes) held in Edinburgh University Library (MS 307)

Another illumination portrays the Visitation of Our Lady to Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist. Their meeting takes place in open country, near a large house. Elizabeth dressed in dark blue, with green mantle and hood, kneels to kiss the hand of the Virgin. An identical Visitation appears in a manuscript held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS 219).

The same Book of Hours has a miniature of the Flight into Egypt, showing Our Lady nursing her Son by a stream, while nearby, to the left, St Joseph scoops up a jug of water. By the water's edge a simple meal is laid out on a napkin, as their donkey grazes close-by. Behind the Holy Family Herod's spies descend a steep slope, earnestly enquiring of a labourer, cutting corn in a field, the whereabouts of the Child and his parents. In the remote distance, to the right, is a village scene, showing the Massacre of the Holy Innocents.⁴⁵

This illumination portrays an old legend according to which the cutting of the corn, the meal at the water's edge, and the Slaughter of the Innocents, are significant of Christ's death and the Eucharist. The explanation is that before man can have bread seed must be sown, the corn grow and be cut down, and before man can feed on the Bread of Heaven, which is Christ's Eucharistic Body, Christ must be born, grow up, and as the Perfect Innocent be slain.⁴⁶

Other fifteenth century illuminations of The Flight into Egypt, in Scottish libraries are, in a manuscript of *The Mirror of the Life of Christ*, probably French, in the Advocates' Collection of the National Library of Scotland (Adv MS 18.1.7); another in the same collection, in a Book of Hours, definitely French (Adv MS 18.13, fol 91); and in the Edinburgh University Library, in a Book of Hours, probably French, MS 37. In all three Mary wears a blue cloak edged with gold, over dresses that are probably red.

Some international conventions are evident from the above, for example, the Virgin Mary was traditionally shown wearing a blue outer garment as in the French *Hours of Marie de Rieux* (see item 3.b, above) in the representation of the Virgin and Child Enthroned the Mother wears a blue gown edged with gold, over a red dress. In the painting of the Virgin and Child by the Italian Lorenzo Monaco (see above, item 3.c) the Virgin wears a dark blue hooded cloak, lined with gold. In Glasgow University's French copy of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (see above, item 4) the illumination of the Adoration of the Magi shows the Virgin wearing a blue cloak. An illumination in *Dean Brown's Book of Hours* (see above, item 7) made in the Low Countries, in the illumination of the owner at prayer the statue of the Virgin shows her wearing a blue robe.

In representations of the Annunciation of the Virgin there are a number of constants which appear regularly apart from the blue cloak or gown, irrespective of country of origin. The *Playfair Book of Hours* (see item 8, above) from Northern France (probably Rouen), in an illumination of the Annunciation, shows the Virgin kneeling at prayer, in this case at a prayer desk on which rests an open book, near a Pot of Lilies. The constants (in addition to the blue cloak or gown) irrespective of place of origin, are the kneeling in prayer before an open book, and the Pot of Lilies (an ancient Greek symbol of purity), with the Angel kneeling facing the Virgin. Again in the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* (see item 10, above) the Virgin is shown kneeling in prayer, this time on the floor, an open prayer book before her on a red

cushion, wearing as so often, a blue gown and cloak, in this instance trimmed with gold, and nearby is the ever-present Pot of Lilies. The *Arbuthnott Office of the Virgin Mary* (see item 5.a, above) has a full page illumination of her Annunciation which includes the traditional Pot of Lilies.

Representations of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, from whatever quarter, tend to be very similar, as seen above in item 3.a, the *Aberdeen Greyfriars Book of Hours* of Low Countries origin, and the *English Bohun Psalter* (also 3.a), and also in item 3.b, the French *Hours of Marie de Rieux*.

B) The Passion and Resurrection Cycles.

1) The *Herdmanstone Breviary* (referred to in Chapter One)

(NLS, Edinburgh, Advocates MS 18.2.13A), made in England about 1300, with Scottish drawings added, was once in use in St Clair's Chapel, Herdmanstone, Midlothian. Most of the features of the Passion Cycle and figures of saints and other details, by various hands, which fill many of the borders, can be dated about 1350, and reflect the art of the West of Scotland. Included in the representations are,

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|--|--|
| i) Christ on the Cross
(fol 103r). | ii) The grieving Virgin
and St John (fol 104v). |
| iii) A man with a lance
(fol 254v). | iv) The Mocking of Christ
(fol 258v) and Christ at
the Pillar of Scourging
(fol 23r). |
| v) A grotesque Pilate or
Herod, ordering one
of these episodes
(fols 145v, 159v). | |

These are virtually the only such representations known in Scotland from this century. Few of them are likely to be by a professional artist and they probably indicate the existence of models which could be copied by an unprofessional hand probably rather later than the date of the Breviary, from some such illuminated book as Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* or his *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, adapted to the West of Scotland tradition.⁴⁷

See further on the above items as follows: item i, para 3, iv, below; for item ii, see same para, item xiv and para 7.a; for item iv, see para 7.a, and for item v see para 3, item i.

2.a) A mid-fifteenth century Scottish Book of Hours in Edinburgh University Library (MS No.42) has several full-page miniatures, including not only one of St Ninian, but also one like the Mass of St Gregory but without St Gregory and his companions. It shows a raised tomb or sarcophagus behind an altar with Christ standing in front of a cross, as Lord of Pity, rising up out of it as he is supported by two angels. Round about are the Instruments of the Passion. The miniatures are surrounded by floriated border decorations. The art work is said to be executed in a rough style, characteristic of much Scottish painting of the period.⁴⁸

See further on the Mass of St Gregory as follows: paras 4, 5.a and 5.b.

b) A mid-fifteenth century Book of Hours, probably of French origin, in the Library of Blairs College (MS 23),

has a miniature of Our Lady of Pity, enclosed in a fine narrow floriated border with excellent floriated surrounds. It shows the Virgin in a blue cloak and veil with the crucified Christ lying across her lap as three angels tend his wounds. In conception the archaeological find at Banff would have resembled this miniature, possibly without the ministering angels. For more details of the Banff find see PART II which follows this PART I.

3) *The Book of Hours of Ross Dhu Church*⁴⁹ is a well preserved manuscript written about the middle of the fifteenth century, being A Sarum Prymer adapted for use in West Scotland. The manuscript is now in the Central Library, Auckland, New Zealand, as MS 48 in the Sir George Grey Collection. The Calendar contains the names of SS Bavo and Lieven whose cultus is centred on Ghent which suggests the manuscript or its prototype was written for use by someone in the Low Countries. However, McRoberts thinks that as St Ninian is entered in the Calendar in the original hand this is evidence the book was written in Scotland. W.J.Anderson suggests the book is a page by page copy, possibly made in Scotland, of a de-luxe original, possibly imported from abroad. In view of the fact that the miniatures are said not to be up to the usual Flemish standard this may be the best answer to the problem of the volume's origins.⁵⁰

The contents of the manuscript are normal for its date with the usual late medieval emphasis on devotion to the Holy Eucharist and the Passion. It contains a number of miniatures in which the

events of the Passion are strongly represented in miniatures as follows,

- | | |
|---|---|
| i) Christ Before Pilate. | ii) The Flagellation. |
| iii) Christ Carrying the Cross. | iv) The Crucifixion. |
| v) The Descent from the Cross. | vi) Entombment. |
| vii) Our Lady of Pity. | viii) The Nailing to the Cross. |
| ix) The Three Crosses. | x) The Head of Christ. |
| xi) The Wounded Hands of Christ. | xii) The Five Wounds, known as The Arma Christi. |
| xiii) The Wounded Feet of Christ. | xiv) Our Lady and St John at the foot of the Cross. |
| xv) Christ crucified between the Two Thieves. | xvi) Our Lord of Pity surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion. |

Re item xv above see further on the Crucifixion, para 7.a.

See further regarding Our Lord of Pity in paras 4, 5.a, and 6.

For the Instruments of the Passion see paras 8.a and 8.b.

4) The *Yester Book of Hours*, among the manuscripts of Samuel Pepys at Magdalene College, Cambridge, was written about 1480 in the French style according to the Sarum Use. It has a Calendar which includes many Scottish saints and an interesting collection of miscellaneous devotions, as well as an Obit to Lord John Hay of Yester, a Lord of Parliament in 1487.⁵¹

This book includes illuminations of both the Image of Pity of the Lord and the Mass of St Gregory.⁵² One reason for the great popularity of these particular devotional representations, which Scotland shared with the rest of Europe, was the belief that the Seven

Prayers of St Gregory recited before them gave an enormous indulgence. This book includes the Seven Indulgenced Prayers.⁵³ See further on the Image of the Lord of Pity in para 3, item xvi, and paras 5.a and 6.

The Mass of St Gregory was a popular subject in the Middle Ages, becoming especially popular in the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when papal indulgences were offered to those illustrating it. When in 1511 Albrecht Dürer planned a series of woodcuts on the theme of the 'salus animae' he turned to the Mass of St Gregory and produced what must be the most striking and famous of all illustrations of the theme.⁵⁴

The legend on which these illustrations is based appears in the *Legenda Aurea (Golden Legend)* (1255-66) which relates how during a Mass at St Peter's, a Roman matron scoffed at the idea of the Host being changed into the body of Christ at the moment of consecration. Appalled at her scepticism St Gregory placed the consecrated Host on the altar and prayed devoutly. Suddenly the Host was transformed. According to a later story which places the event in the Church of Santa Croce, the risen Christ appeared, displaying the stigmata and surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion. At once the sceptic was converted and received Holy Communion and the Mass concluded in the usual way.

5.a) The *Arbuthnott Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, probably written about 1482, contains six full-page illuminations. One of

these represents the Mass of St Gregory, crudely painted, found in Office Books all over Europe.⁵⁵ The background to illuminations of the Mass of St Gregory normally portrays the Image of the Lord of Pity, rising from a sarcophagus, surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion. An excellent example of The Mass of St Gregory with a display of the Instruments is in the Sarum Missal, *J. Notary, Westminster*, held in the National Library of Scotland. The illumination is reproduced as item No.19 in *Advocates' Library: Notable Accessions Up to 1925*, Edinburgh, 1965. See further on the Lord of Pity in para 3, item xvi, and paras 5.a and 6. See further on the Mass of St Gregory in paras 4 and 6.

b) A Rouen Book of Hours of the late fifteenth century, in the Edinburgh University Library (MS 43), has a fine illumination of the Mass of St Gregory (fol 117r), showing Christ standing on an altar with an angel in the background, where the only Emblems of the Passion to be clearly seen are three dice. Scottish saints in the Calendar indicate that the manuscript was produced for a Scottish customer. The illumination to which we refer is reproduced in *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* (see, item No.11, 28). The Rijksmuseum Het Catharijne- convent, Utrecht, possesses a particularly fine painting of the Mass of St Gregory (*Gregoriusmis*, ref No.ABM.s.33) by Meester van Sippe, dated 1486, painted in a realistic and life-like style, having a background showing not only the material Instruments of the Passion, but also the 'human instruments', such as Herod, the Tormentors, etc, together with Mary and John the Beloved Disciple.⁵⁶

6) The *Greenlaw-Watson Breviary* is a copy of the revised (Quignonian Roman Breviary. It was printed at Lyons in 1546 and was bought in Paris by John Greenlaw, Prebendary of Corstorphine, in 1553. He later presented it to John Watson, a Canon of Aberdeen. On its title page it bears an Image of the Lord with the body of Christ covered with hand-applied red dots to represent wounds.⁵⁷

There are strong resemblances between this Image of Pity and that portrayed in the Arbuthnott Mass of St Gregory. Devotional books depicting the Image of Pity showing Christ surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion, as in illustrations of the Mass of St Gregory, were popular in devotional books of the period 1450-1550, in Scotland as elsewhere. An alternative title for the term Image of Pity is Our Lord of Pity. Both terms may be confused with the term Image of Piety for which an alternative title is Our Lady of Pity. This is an image of the dead Christ just taken down from the cross and lying across his mother's knees, which is based on legend. Such images are still to be widely seen on the Continent especially in the Rhineland and other parts of the catholic German speaking world. The most famous such image is that by Michelangelo in St Peter's, Rome.

See further on the Image of Pity of the Lord, paras 5.a and 5.b, and for the Instruments of the Passion, paras 8.a and 8.b, and for the Image of Pity of Our Lady see paras 2.b, and 3, item vii.

7.a) The *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* (already referred to above in Section A. The Creation, Temptation, Fall, etc., Cycles, item 10) has a number of miniatures showing incidents of

the Passion, including an illuminated initial capital showing the incident known as the Mocking of Christ, where he is seen sitting down before three Tormentors, one mocking him as the other two press a Crown of Thorns down upon his head.⁵⁸ See further on the Mocking of Christ para 1, item iv.

Other Passion scenes on a full-page are the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Disciples' Feet, and the Agony in the Garden.⁵⁹

The manuscript also has a full-page illumination of the Crucifixion giving the minimum of detail with a formalised dying Christ on the cross. The Virgin stands on the left bowed in grief and the sorrowing John stands erect to the right. No other figures are shown. Dramatic intensity is given by the desolation of the scene with its darkening sky. It is thought this illumination was executed by the artist (probably Simon Bening, twenty years later) who painted a Crucifixion for the Dixmude Missal.⁶⁰ We suspect it is very similar to the Crucifixion in the Missale Romanum. *J. Emericus de Spira*, Venice, 1496, held by the National Library of Scotland which has at the top against a darkening sky the sun and the moon which had become traditional from an early period and recall the eclipse which was believed to have accompanied Christ's death on a cross (Matt. Ch.27, v.45; Luke Ch.23, v.44).⁶¹ See also on the Agony in the Garden, para. 7.c, below, and on the Crucifixion see, para.1, items i, ii and iii, and para. 3, items iv to xvi.

The Crucifixion was not portrayed in christian art in the first three centuries. The manner of representing it changed as the Church's doctrine of salvation evolved. In the thirteenth century the subject began to be portrayed realistically, showing Christ suffering and degraded by his ordeal, nailed to the cross through the hands, the feet crossed and nailed with one nail through the crossed-over feet (the earlier custom was each foot nailed separately) his agony being conceived as the price paid for man's redemption.⁶²

The manuscript also contains a full-page illumination of the Resurrection. Here Christ, fully-clothed, is shown standing on a hillock, right hand raised in blessing, as he clutches a long-shafted cross with the other, outside what is clearly intended to be a realistic representation of the outside of a garden tomb and looks somewhat like the entrance to a cave, at the end of Joseph of Aramathea's garden, the door of which is closed. There is no angel at the entrance and three soldiers appear to have been aroused by the appearance of the Risen Lord in their midst. This seems to be a portrat of the scene standing apart from the conventions of the time. Naturalism is said to be a mark of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, probably Alexander Bening. The most common convention was to show Christ stepping out of a contemporary western style stone sarcophagus or coffin of the kind illustrated in the illumination of the Mass of St Gregory in the *Arbuthnott Book of Hours*. A fine example of resurrection from this sort of tomb is an illuminated initial in the *Zisterzienser-Lektionar* from Mainz, dated about 1260, which is held in the Staats

and Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg. This shows Christ stepping out of a conventional western style stone-sided tomb, his right leg on the outside about to touch the ground, his right hand raised in blessing, the other holding a long-shafted cross, the head backed by a crossed nimbus. Outside the tomb two soldiers cower in fear and amazement. Another convention was to show Christ rising heavenwards in a blaze of light.⁶³

b) We may compare the above with the Resurrection represented on an illuminated initial capital in the *Abingdon Missal*, dated 1461, which shows Christ naked except for the narrowest of loin cloths, stepping out of a conventional burial tomb, with banner held in his left hand as he blesses with his right (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Digby, 227, fol 13).

c) An illuminated initial capital of the Agony in the Garden appears in a fifteenth century Book of Hours of the Sarum Use held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Rawl. liturg.d.1. (S.C.15827), fol 11v). It shows Christ kneeling, hands held up in prayer, before a chalice, illuminated by rays coming down from heaven. His disciples are asleep nearby.

8.a) A Missal of the Sarum Rite formerly possessed by St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, is held in the library of Blairs College, near Aberdeen. It was printed in black letter by Martin Morin in Rouen in 1506. The two stamped leather centre pieces of the leather binding represent the Tree of Jesse and the Instruments of the Passion, with St George and the Dragon.⁶⁴

b) A miniature of the Instruments of the Passion occurs in the Spanish (Seville) *Retablo dela vida de Christo*, dated 1530, the work of Juan de Padilla. As regards the Instruments it lacks a hammer and pinchers, and there is no Pillar of Scourging.⁶⁵

C. THE CORONATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

The *Taymouth Book of Hours* (British Library, Yates Thomson 13), dated 1323-40, was made in England, probably for Joan, daughter of Edward II of England (1307-27, bn.1284) and wife of David II of Scotland (1329-71, bn 1324). It is established the book was in Scotland by the sixteenth century, but clearly it must have been there much earlier. It has a miniature which shows a crowned, robed Virgin Mary kneeling on the left as she faces an uncrowned kneeling, robed bearded man, who might possibly be God the Father, or God the Son. In the centre, above them is a dove, representing God the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶

A Summation of Liturgical and Devotional Books of French and Flemish Provenance formerly in Use in Scotland.

Of eighteen books referred to in PART 1, Section A (i.e. items i to x and eight items 1 to 10) and a further three books mentioned in Section B, all known to have been in use in Scotland, the artwork of fifteen of them is of French origin or style and the artwork of the other six is of Low Countries provenance. The following eleven items having been discussed in Sections A and B, Section A:

- 2.a) The *Murthly Book of Hours*, French.
- 3.a) The *Aberdeen Greyfriars Book of Hours*, Flemish.
- 5.a) The *Arbuthnott Books*, art work in the Flemish tradition.
- b) The *Aberdeen Psalter and Book of Hours*, art work in the French tradition.

- 7) *Dean Brown's Book of Hours*, Flemish.
- 8) *The Playfair Book of Hours*, French.
- 9) Edinburgh University Library, MS 43, French.
- 10) *The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor*, Flemish.
(counting as in the late fifteenth century).

Section B:

- 3) *The Book of Hours of Ross Dhu Church*, Flemish art work.
- 4) *The Yester Book of Hours*, French provenance.
- 6) *The Greenlaw-Watson Breviary*, French provenance.

There was probably little to choose between the two traditions, with a large measure of iconographical unity, and with differences probably shown more in border and surround decoration than in the style and content of the representations. The evidence from manuscripts is certainly not extensive, almost certainly due to destruction and loss, but sufficient to serve as an indication that it was principally from France and to a lesser extent the Low Countries that artistic religious influence entered Scotland.

PART II.

THE CHURCH: ITS ORNAMENTATION AND FURNISHINGS.

Scottish religious iconography and ecclesiastical art generally were much influenced by that of the Continent and in many ways brought before the eyes of Scots who had never been abroad scenes from the mysteries of the christian faith, expressed in colourful and often stark and grotesque realism, scenes that were reminiscent of those portrayed in the religious representations of the Continent and we suggest of those that could be seen on the streets or in the playfields of the larger burghs of their own country.

The common iconography of the Christian West found its expression in Scottish church architecture, ornamentation and decoration. In this field French influence was the strongest. The Augustinian Abbey of Holyrood was founded in 1128 by King David I (bn.1084, 1124-53) who established there Canons Regular from the Priory of St Andrews. Bellenden's 'Boece' tells us that David 'sent to France and Flanders and brought back crafty masons to build the Abbey', and 'the first (Cathedral of Whitherne) was built by French masons, who came from St Martin's Abbey at Tours'.⁶⁷

The choir, west doorway and windows at St Michael's, Linlithgow, all show traces of the workmanship of the French craftsmen employed by James IV (b.1473, 1488-1513).⁶⁸ At Melrose Abbey an inscription in the South Transept records that the Master Mason, Jean Moreau who was born in Paris, had worked as a mason on St Andrews 'hyc kirk', and at 'Glasgow, Melros, Pasley, Nyddysdayll and Galway'.⁶⁹ This inscription is probably of the late

fourteenth century, certainly post the destruction of the Abbey in 1385 by Richard II of England.⁷⁰

French craftsmen probably continued to be employed in Scotland throughout the fifteenth century. From the end of that century into the sixteenth century their number increased. James IV and John Stewart, fourth Duke of Albany (1484-1536), employed French experts. Albany was a French educated cousin of James IV and in 1515 was chosen as Governor of Scotland during James V's minority. James V (bn.1512, 1513-42) married Madeleine of France and was much influenced by French architecture. He brought many French craftsmen to work in Scotland, for example, in 1536 appointing Moses Martin, Frenchman, as Master Mason to the Crown.⁷¹ In 1532 Edinburgh Burgh Council commissioned John Mayser and Bartrahame Foliot, Frenchmen, to pave the streets of their city.⁷²

Whilst French masons may have been imported to work in Scotland the country was not without its own native sculptors and carvers many of whom learnt their craft in Antwerp. Some of the names inscribed in the Register of the Carvers' Guild of that City could be Scottish, for example, in 1495, Thomas Adam; in 1513, Jan Wraghes, Gillesone; and in 1520, Mattheus Boentyn, 'tailleur de pierres'.⁷³

Whilst Scotland had its Incorporations of Hammermen, which embraced craftsmen in precious metals, including Goldsmiths it was dependent on France for the more elaborate forms of work in precious metals. Silverware was imported into Scotland from France in the fifteenth century, some for secular and some for religious uses. The great number of altars that proliferated

throughout Scotland in the fifteenth century seem to have been principally furnished with imports from the Low Countries, but there is evidence of the importation of elaborate maces from France. Two such maces belong to the University of St Andrews and another to the University of Glasgow. The mace of the Faculty of Arts of St Andrews is the earliest of the group and was made in France between 1414 and 1418.⁷⁴ The mace of the College of St Salvator of St Andrews was made, according to the inscription on the foot, in 1461, by John Mayelle of Paris, who was one of the six Wardens of the Guild of Goldsmiths of Paris and did work for the Dauphin.⁷⁵ The mace of Glasgow University is similar to that of the Faculty of Arts of St Andrews University. This mace was made in France in 1465, probably in Paris, a city with which Glasgow had strong connections.⁷⁶

When we come to consider the question of artefacts which are in the nature of tools of worship, whether portable or fixed, whether fashioned of wood, or of metal, base or precious, we find that very little survived the Reformation or has been uncovered since that event. *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* is our guide here.⁷⁷ Of the sort of item that concerns this study details are given of five items of French origin and one of German origin. These are the only continental items of this kind. Most of the items in the publication are actually of Scottish origin. Of four items whose place of origin can be named with reasonable certainty all are said to be from Limoges and are of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Limoges was a famous centre in the Middle Ages for the crafting of religious artefacts. There is one item, the Whithorn Crozier, which could be either of French or of English

origin, and is dated 1175-1200.⁷⁸ A thirteenth century bronze figure of Christ from a crucifix may be of German origin.⁷⁹

Although the items of Limoges origin mentioned above can tell us nothing about any possible effect of French artistic traditions and conventions upon Scottish representations of religious pageantry and plays they may indicate possible contact between Limoges and Scotland at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, a time when liturgical drama was flourishing there, not much more than a hundred years after the *Regularis Concordia* was written by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester in the reign of King Edgar (959-79). As we saw in Chapter One the earliest liturgical drama was that of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries on Easter Morning. This drama grew out of a trope inserted into the Easter Day Mass, subsequently transferred to the Office of Matins. The oldest extant text of such a trope is found in a manuscript written at the Monastery of St Martial, Limoges, in the period 923-34, although the simplest form, and Young believes the original one, exists in a manuscript at St Gall, Switzerland. What effect, if any, the liturgical dramas developed at Limoges may have had on liturgical drama in Scotland it is impossible to say.⁸⁰

Little has survived in Scotland which could be said to exhibit distinctive and uniquely German characteristics. It has been suggested that a fraternity of German stone-masons may have been brought over from Cologne to build Kilwinning Abbey at the end of the twelfth century.⁸¹ Thirty-five Sacrament Houses have been identified from remains.⁸² These have sometimes been equated

with items of the same name and used for the same purpose which are associated with Germany and the Low Counties.⁸³ The Sacrament Houses of these latter regions often developed into lofty ornamental towers, decorated with reliefs and figures of saints and with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. In Northern Europe devotion to the Blessed Sacrament required that the Holy Sacrament should be frequently exposed for veneration. The shrine for the reservation of the Sacrament was customarily built on the floor of the North Side of the church, conveniently placed in relation to the High Altar. The Sacrament was kept in a cupboard or aumbry built within the shrine and in Northern Europe a consecrated Host was exposed for popular devotion in a monstrance standing outside the aumbry which could be seen through a protective lattice grill. This distinctively German style of Sacrament House has no remains in Scotland.⁸⁴ The so-called Sacrament Houses of Scotland were no more than aumbries or cupboards built into the north wall of the chancel⁸⁵ usually with a highly-ornamented surround and again conveniently situated in relation to the High Altar.

The decorative features of Scottish Sacrament Houses could have been inspired by influences coming from any part of the Continent, North Germany, Flanders, France or Italy. Some Sacrament Houses were very probably imported ready-made from the Continent, perhaps from Bruges or even from Lübeck, and perhaps even marble or terracotta specimens in renaissance style from Italy. The favourite decoration for Scottish Sacrament Houses seems to have been the Emblems of the Passion, for example, the fragmentary Sacrament House that survives at Airlie shows the Five Wounds and the Cross

entwined with the Crown of Thorns in the spandrels of the ogee arch. The cornice, which lies in the churchyard has the Instruments of the Passion - the Column of Flagellation, Scourges, Cross and Crown of Thorns, the Pincers, the Five Wounds, the Spear, the Seamless Robe, the Dice, the Thirty Pieces of Silver and a number of other unidentifiable objects.⁸⁶ Such things were the common property of Western Christendom, and the only distinction that can be made as between one country and another is one of emphasis. It is probably true to say that the emphasis on passion iconography was greater in Germany and the Low Countries than in other parts of Europe.

There is the same dearth of survivals of items of German origin in the field of religious or devotional artefacts. There are but three possible examples in *Angels, Nobles & Unicorns*. There is a bronze Christ of the thirteenth century from a crucifix said to have been found at Islay. It was once part of an altar or processional crucifix to which it was fixed by nails through the hands and by a bronze tang at the back of the feet. The figure has long hair and a beard, and is wearing a loin-cloth decorated with zig-zag lines and a long tied 'belt'. The garment may once have been decorated with enamel.⁸⁷

Another item possibly of German origin is the fragment of a bronze dish of the twelfth century, found close to the moat around the castle mound at Leuchars, Fife. An incised decoration in the central part of the bowl shows a man in armour attacking a monster. Five similar figures are placed around the central zone. It may have been a domestic vessel or a Lavabo Dish for use at

Mass. Many such items are said to have been made in the area of the Lower Rhine and the Meuse.⁸⁸

A fifteenth century plaque found on the site of the Chapel of St Mary, Markle, East Lothian, shows the Virgin and Child seated in a garden. The design closely resembles a mid-fifteenth century engraving of the South German print-maker, the Master ES. The plaque was a matrix for making impressions possibly in 'papier-maché' for devotional purposes.⁸⁹

There now follow further details of ecclesiastical artistic remains in Scotland. The subject is dealt with in four sections: A. The Creation, Temptation, Fall, Expulsion and Nativity Cycles; B. The Passion, Resurrection and Post-Resurrection Cycle; C. The Last Judgement and D. The Coronation of the Virgin Mary. Each of these sections is treated in two parts: a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, and b) Paintings on Walls, Panels and Ceilings. Items already specifically described above are not repeated. The paintings in Provost Skene's House are quoted for information only and are not used to develop any argument. They are thought to be of late sixteenth or early seventeenth century date, but nevertheless reflect the style of the fifteenth century.

A. The Creation, Temptation, Fall, Expulsion and Nativity Cycles.

a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal.

1) A statue of the Madonna and Child which before the Reformation stood in the Cathedral of St Machar, Old Aberdeen, was subsequently placed over the altar of a chapel in the Parish Church of Finistère, Brussels. It is still there today and is known as Notre Dame Du Bon Succès. The Virgin wearing a tall, open silver crown, holds a silver sceptre in her right hand and the Child on her right

arm wears a closed Imperial Crown. The crowns and the sceptre may not be the original ones and although it is fairly certain the statue came to Brussels from Aberdeen it may not be of Scottish origin, possibly being of Flemish craftsmanship, or it may possibly have been produced in Scotland by craftsmen trained in the Flemish tradition.⁹⁰ The crowns are to be understood as prophetic of the future glory of the Mother and Son after his triumph over death.

2) Eight carved oak panels almost certainly of continental origin, commissioned for Arbroath Abbey by Cardinal David Beaton (1494-1546), known as The Beaton Panels, once behind the dais of the Refectory, are now at Newton Don, Nenthorn, Berwickshire. The editors of *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, etc.*, suggest about 1530 for their date. The style suggests Flemish workmanship but the authors of *French Connections*, think they were made in France.⁹¹ Some think they are either of Scottish or Low Countries origin. We suggest Bruges as a likely place of manufacture. Stalls were made there in 1441 for Melrose Abbey (see *Annales de la Société D'Émulations, etc.*, Série 2, Tome iii, Bruges, 1841, 317, referring to the Groenen Bouck in the Stad-Archiv, Bruges). Amongst the panels is one which illustrates the Annunciation. Another represents the Tree of Jesse with Christ at the top in the arms of the Virgin represented as the 'Beata Maria in Sole'. This image relates to words in the Book of the Revelation of St John the Divine (Ch.12, vv.1,2),

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; And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

The image of the 'Beata Maria in Sole' should also be understood as prophetic of the future glory of Mother and Son.

Other Beaton panels are considered below in Section B. The Passion, Resurrection and Post Resurrection Cycles.

a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, item 2.⁹²

3) A fifteenth century font from the churchyard of St Maelrubhha, Borline, Skye, is carved from stone quarried in the Isle of Harris. It has figure subjects and other designs in high relief on its exterior. These include a representation of the Virgin and Child, the Crucifixion (see below, Section B. The Passion, etc. Cycles. a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, No.5) and St Michael slaying the dragon.⁹³

4) One of the two surviving late fifteenth century carved wooden panels from Edzell Castle, now in the Summer House, also portrays the Virgin as the 'Beata Maria in Sole'. She wears an open Crown, as in No.1, above, and is holding the naked infant with both hands as he rests on her lap. She is set against a background of the Rays of the Sun and rests upon a Crescent of the Moon.⁹⁴

Whilst presented in the authentic iconographic tradition of the time the two panels lack the refinement and developed skills of good class fifteenth century Flemish work. Perhaps they were made by a local craftsman who had not the advantage of an apprenticeship in one of the continental centres.

5) The church at Foulis Easter was founded in 1453. Certain stone-work has survived on the remains of its Sacrament House.⁹⁵ Over it there is a sculptured Annunciation scene with on the left the Angel writing the Scroll of Salutation, on the right the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in the centre is the Pot of Lilies,⁹⁶ the symbol normally associated with this scene throughout the Western Church, as seen,

for example in the illumination of the Annunciation in the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* (see PART I. SOME SURVIVING

LITURGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS MAINLY OF

CONTINENTAL PROVENANCE FORMERLY IN USE IN SCOTLAND AND SOME

PARALLEL EXAMPLES FROM BOOKS NOT IN USE IN SCOTLAND. Section A,

a) The Creation, Temptation, etc, Nativity Cycles. Item 10.

6) At the Iona Abbey Church there are stone-carvings which may be of the middle of the 15th century and the work of a native school of stone carvers.⁹⁷ On the West Respond of the North Arch of the Crossing on the principal capital of the above there is a representation of the Temptation of Adam and Eve. Muscular figures of Adam and Eve flank a tree with straggling branches and a complex root system, while a large serpent encircles the trunk and extends its head (not a human head) towards Eve's ear. She holds a dangling branch with one hand as if about to pluck a fruit while grasping two other branches with the other. The Garden of Eden is represented by individual trees of differing form on the north and south face of the capital.

The Fall is portrayed on the North Respond of the arch between the South Transept and the South Choir Aisle on the south-east half of the capital, carved on a separate block of stone. Adam and Eve are clasping leafy aprons that conceal their private parts as they stand beneath the spreading branches of a tree bearing leaves and fruit, while the serpent encircles its trunk.⁹⁸ The Expulsion is a part of this scene and shows the Archangel Michael standing behind Adam, clad in a long-quilted robe with waist-belt, as he wields a two-handed sword.⁹⁹

On the right side of a carved capital of the South Choir Arcade, in the same church, are portrayed the Virgin and Child Enthroned between two Angels, one of whom plays a harp, while the other holds a long scroll which at one time must have extended as a canopy over the Virgin's head. The figure of the Child has almost completely disappeared but he appears to have been seated frontally.¹⁰⁰

7) The lower order of the Rood Screen dating about 1470 at the entrance to the Chancel of Lincluden Convent and College in the Parish of Terregles, Dumfriesshire,¹⁰¹ contains figures illustrating scenes from the Nativity Cycle. Beginning from the North End of the screen the following scenes are depicted,¹⁰²

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| a) The Annunciation. | b) The Nativity. | c) The Adoration
of the Magi. |
| d) The Visit of the
Shepherds. | e) The Meeting of
Simeon and Anna
in The Temple,
i.e. The Pre-
sentation of Jesus. | f) The Boy Jesus
with the
Rabbis in The
Temple. |

8) In Mains Churchyard, near Dundee, the fragment of an altar retable probably of late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries depicts the Annunciation with Our Lady wearing a long robe and mantle, standing with hands in prayer. On her right are the remains of a prayer desk. The Angel, wearing a girdled-alb, is genuflecting as he presents the scroll on which had been painted the words of the Salutation. On a heraldic shield, set between the two figures, is the Pot of Lilies¹⁰³ as at Foulis Easter (see above).

9) At Melrose Abbey the Virgin holding her Child are depicted in an elaborate niche of the westernmost high buttress - the Virgin defaced, the Child headless. She is veiled and crowned (as the

Child had probably been) and stands in the swaying pose popular in the fourteenth century in the Low Countries, France and Germany. The Mother holds up a flower to the Child with her right hand as she holds him in her left arm. It is suggested that the statue is¹⁰⁴ probably an enlarged copy of a wooden image of continental origin.

10) Four carved oak panels in high relief of the mid-sixteenth century from the chapel in the Nunnery at Overgate, Dundee, are in a good state of preservation. Three of the panels portray scenes of the Judgment of Solomon, the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi. The Annunciation panel is particularly fine. It shows a nimbed Virgin kneeling at a prayer desk besides which is a Pot of Lilies. A prayer-book is open before her as she faces the Angel on her right. He carries a long knobbed-wand bearing a scroll on which no written words can be seen. Behind his head is a rayed-sun and behind that are long rays beaming down at the Virgin from the sky. The panels are medieval in style but have some renaissance detail. The costumes reflect sixteenth century dress.¹⁰⁵

11) The Virgin represented as 'Beata Maria in Sole' is the dominating feature of a fifteenth century Low Countries multiple branch brass chandelier which formerly hung at the Skinners' Altar in the North Transept of St John's Church, Perth. This is the only survival in Scotland of many that were imported into Britain from Flanders in great numbers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, is known to have possessed four until the beginning of the nineteenth century¹⁰⁶

12) Fragments of two carved stone retables in high relief have survived at St Salvator's College Church, St Andrews, founded in

1450. One depicts the Annunciation with on the right Our Lady, wearing a gown and mantle, seated on a stool set at a prayer desk, on which lies an open book. She faces outwards and her hands are crossed. On the left, facing the Virgin, is the Angel clothed in a long alb and mantle. The other fragment depicts the Rite of Circumcision of Jesus on the lower part of the retable, the infant Jesus in the middle upon a plain altar, supported by his Mother, who stands at the side wearing a mantle falling down in well-arranged folds. On the other side is the High Priest, vested in alb and dalmatic, performing the rite.¹⁰⁷

13) A fifteenth century oak misericord from a choir stall from the South of Scotland is carved with a representation of the Adoration of the Magi at the centre of which the Virgin is seated with the Infant on her lap. The head of an ass is behind her to the left and the head of an ox is to the right. One of the Kings kneels before the Virgin with a cup from which he removes the lid with the assistance of the Child. The principal figures are supported by a moulded base. They would have been accompanied by representations of St Joseph and the third King on either side of the bracket.¹⁰⁸

14) At Wemyss Castle, Fife, there is a badly-weathered stone-carving for which we have no positive date and its place of origin is unknown. It may possibly date from the late fifteenth century. It depicts the Flight into Egypt and shows the Holy Mother seated on an ass with the Infant in her arms, following Joseph who is carrying the baggage. Carvings of this subject are said to be rare. Another badly-weathered carving at the same site depicts the Circumcision. In this scene the nimbed figure of Our Lady stands

behind a low altar on which she supports the Infant Saviour, whilst on the left the High Priest, vested in cope and mitre, performs the rite. Behind the High Priest stands a Clerk in a rochet with raised left hand, as he holds a torch in the other hand. To the right of Our Lady is a woman carrying the customary Offering of Young Pigeons in a boat-shaped basket. On her left stands St Joseph with raised hand.

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b) Paintings on Walls, Panels and Ceilings.

To conserve space our treatment has to be highly selective, Thus there are paintings featuring the ministry of Jesus which we do not consider here. As elsewhere we concentrate on such representations as are also to be found in the cycles of religious plays. We have regretfully found no paintings illustrating the Creation, Temptation, Fall and Expulsion Cycle and we have found but a few items illustrative of the Nativity Cycle. There are rather more that illustrate the Passion-Resurrection Cycles.

1) The ceiling of the Upper Chamber of the West Wing of Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen, has a series of highly interesting paintings illustrative of medieval religion and piety, which however, it is thought may not have been painted at the earliest until late in the sixteenth century. The paintings have only been revealed in recent times, having been concealed for over three hundred years.

On the West Side of the ceiling the Nativity Cycle is represented by paintings of the Annunciation and Adoration of the Shepherds. The same area also bears traces of representations of the Finding of Jesus in the Temple and the Baptism of Jesus.

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2) On the walls of St Marnock's Church, Foulis Easter, there hang a number of painted panels of which the style is described as Flemish, which is what we might expect (or they could have been in the French tradition) even if the work was done by Scottish painters. It has been suggested that the paintings at Guthrie, discussed below (No.3) may be by the same hand. Both sets of paintings show a similarity of technique. Both buildings are in the same area and are contemporary collegiate foundations.¹¹¹

On the North Wall is what Apted and Robertson designate a Trinity Panel. Among the subjects that can be identified are the Blessed Virgin holding her Child and John the Baptist holding a lamb.¹¹²

3) The Guthrie Aisle, near Arbroath, Angus, stands beside a modern church. It is all that remains of the medieval Collegiate Church of Guthrie erected about 1475 as an addition to the church already standing on the site. There are paintings on the vault of the Aisle, each occupying the area from the wall-head to the crown of the roof arch. There are no known references to these paintings in contemporary records and the earliest known reference to them occurs in 1790. It is known from a detailed description of the paintings made in 1817 that the scenes once included the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt.¹¹³ For details of further paintings see below, Section B. The Passion, Resurrection and Post-Resurrection Cycles. b) Painting on Walls, Panels and Ceilings. Item 3.

B) The Passion, Resurrection and Post-Resurrection Cycles.

a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal.

1a) The Burgh Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, possessed what is described as,¹¹⁴

Item, a chalice of our Lady of Pitie in the vault,
19 ounces.

Unfortunately we have no date for this item. It is probably of the fifteenth century. The Image of Pity of Our Lady is the portrayal of the scene of the Blessed Virgin Mary seated as she embraces her Son lying across her knees after his deposition from the cross. Sometimes a cross may be seen in the background.

There was an Altar of Our Lady of Pity in St Nicholas. Its foundation date is uncertain but it is thought to have been there before 1528, and it has been suggested it was as old as the crypt.¹¹⁵

1b) Inventories of St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen, show the following details,¹¹⁶

a) The Inventory of 1436 details the following item,

Item, vnum jocale de auro cum ymaginis pietatis
datum per dominum Johannem Forstare militem.

As the next item shows this was a pyx, that is , a vessel to contain eucharistic wafers, in this case made of gold-plated silver, with a cover ornamented with a representation of Our Lady of Pity.¹¹⁷

b) Item, vnum jocale eukaristie de argento deaurato
ad modum castri cum le barillo datum per dominum
Henricum de Lychton Aberdonensem in cuius summitate
ponitur jocale aurem cum ymaginis pietatis datum
per dominum Johannem Frostar de Cyrstorfyn.

The words 'cum le barillo' may possibly mean there was a separate compartment for wine.

The Inventory of 1499 shows a Processional Image of Our Lady of Pity to be processed around the church at Festivals in her honour on which occasions all who walked with devotion before or after her in the procession would earn an Indulgence of forty days,¹¹⁸

- c) Ymago domine nostre de pietate ponderis centum viginti vncearum argenti cum maiore donata per venerabilem et egregium virum magistrum Andream Lyell thesaurium Aberdonensem per eundem oblata magno altari in die visitatione beate Marie Virginis anno Domini M.CCCC.XCIX. Et ibidem reuerendus in Christo pater et dominus Guilelmus Episcopus Aberdonensis ordinavit dictam Ymaginem honorifice deferri circa ecclesiam Cathedralem Aberdonensem singulis solemnibus festis gloriose virginis, et omnibus precedentibus in processione dictis diebus seu eandem deuote sequentibus singulis diebus quadraginta dies indulgentiarum perpetuis temporibus duratur.

The following item in the Inventory of 1549 may relate to the above,¹¹⁹

- d) Item, Ymago di'ne virginis Marie de pietatis inscripta argenti cum ymaginem filij sui crucifixi cum clausura infra septem librarum decem vnciarum cum dimediata...

2) The sixteenth century carved oak panels from Abbot's Lodging of Arbroath Abbey (see above, Section A. The Creation, Fall, etc., Cycles, a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, No.2) bear heraldically the most highly developed treatment of the theme of the Arma Christi to be found in Scotland.¹²⁰ Two angels act as supporters of a shield on which in the centre there is a cross of the 'Tau' type, with a heart in the middle of the shaft. The wounded hands and feet are placed cornerwise with the nails and the dice box. Above the cross is a helm bearing the crown of thorns as a wreath, and the column with the whip and the scourge, surmounted by a cock (see, PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION. The Arma Christi, The Emblems or Instruments of the Passion and the Image of Pity of the Lord.

3) In 1860 a typical medieval Pietà of the fifteenth century was dug up in the church-yard of the Parish Church of Banff. It shows Christ's body resting across the lap of his Mother as she supports the left arm of her Son with her left hand. Such Pietàs are still a common sight in the catholic churches of the Continent. Unfortunately the heads of both the Holy Mother and her dead Son were damaged beyond repair at the time of excavation.¹²¹

4) Five early sixteenth century fragments of a wooden altar retable or retables in the Bell Collection depicting the Passion derive from Scotland and the Low Countries. Four of the fragments in the group appear to be by the same sculptor. They show part of an Entombment, part of a Descent into Limbo, Christ as the Gardener, and the Resurrection. The fragment showing the Taking down from the Cross (also known as the Deposition) was made in the Low Countries. The tomb, which is not clearly discernable, is probably meant to represent an ordinary every-day contemporary coffin or sarcophagus, and not the cave-like tomb of the Gospels. The sarcophagus, or stone coffin, was the usual place for Christ's burial in the medieval artistic tradition.¹²²

See item 17, d. below re Christ as the Gardener (or the fragment of a retable) appearing to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection. Many of the retables in Scotland were imported from the Low Countries.

5) We have already referred above to a fifteenth century font at Borline, Skye, made from stone quarried in the Isle of Harris,

on which there is a panel bearing a carving of the Crucifixion in high relief (see, Section A. The Creation, Temptation, etc, Cycles.

a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal item 3).

6) A plaque depicting the Crucifixion was discovered during repairs to Dunkeld Cathedral in 1818. It is of enamel on copper and of French provenance, dated about 1325, it shows a hanging Christ with both feet nailed together (Duke of Atholl's Collection, Blair Castle).¹²³

7) In the South Compartment of the North Transept Aisle of Dryburgh Abbey, in the South of Scotland, near Melrose, is a carved boss, somewhat decayed, representing Christ in Majesty. The shoulders are draped in a flowing gown. His hair is long and his right hand is raised in blessing. He holds a book in his left hand, presumably the Book of Life with the names of the redeemed. The abbey was founded in the thirteenth century and from the fourteenth century on subject to ravaging followed by restoration. The boss in question could be fourteenth-fifteenth century.¹²⁴

8a) On 5 September 1517 the Candlemakers' Craft of Edinburgh were granted a Seal of Cause but were not at that time granted, like other incorporated crafts, an altar of their own in the Burgh Collegiate Church of St Giles, probably because none was available. Instead they were given permission to support any altar of their own choice. Ultimately they were gifted, by William Bell, the Altar of Our Lady of Pity, on the North Side of the Entrance to the Choir of the church.¹²⁵

8b) A banner, known as The Fetternear Banner, is probably correctly associated with the Edinburgh Guild Merchant and its Aisle of the Holy Blood, in St Giles Collegiate Church, Edinburgh. It has embroidered representations of the Arma Christi, the Instruments of the Passion and the Image of the Lord of Pity (see below, PART III: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION. The Arma Christi, etc.)

9) The second panel at Edzell Castle (see item A. a), 4 above) depicts the Crucifixion showing Christ wearing a loin-cloth, hanging from the cross, head drooping slightly towards his right arm, arms stretched with body hanging down. The feet are crossed over and fixed to the cross with one nail. He appears to be wearing a crown of thorns and has well-groomed shoulder-length hair and a beard. The posture, emphasising an agonising sacrificial death, is typical for the whole of the West for the later medieval period. The Virgin Mother stands on Christ's right with St John on his left, both facing the front, the customary positions for this scene all over the West. There is a super-
¹²⁶
 scription over the cross which stands on a symbolic Hill of Calvary.

10) The screen dividing the Nave from the Choir of the former fifteenth century Elgin Cathedral formerly portrayed an illuminated Crucifixion with stars of bright gold. There was also a representation of the Last Judgment or Doom. The central moulded pillar of the Chapter House has survived. The moulded cap of this pillar bears shields showing,

- a) The Arma Christ. i.e. The Five Wounds. (See below, PART III.)
- b) The Cross with The Crown of Thorns.

The vaulting of the above Chapter House is of stellar pattern and contains twenty-four carved bosses, one showing all the then traditional Emblems of the Passion¹²⁷ (see, PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION. The Arma Christi, The Emblems or Instruments of The Passion and The Image of Pity of the Lord.

11) At Foulis Easter the Sacrament House,¹²⁸ (see, Section A. The Creation, Temptation, etc., Cycles, a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, item 5) is decorated with a fifteenth century bust of Christ in carved stone relief, with two supporting angels, one holding the cross and the other what may be the Pillar of Scourging. At the back of this church is a finely carved octagonal font dated 1508. The bowl is badly defaced but the side panels are easily decipherable. Apart from the portrayal of the Lord's Baptism there are illustrations of the Passion as follows,¹²⁹

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| a) The Arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane. | b) The Trial before Pilate. |
| c) The Scourging. | d) The Bearing of the Cross. |
| e) The Crucifixion. | f) The Harrowing of Hell. |
| g) The Resurrection. | |

12) A late fifteenth century stone carving from Haddington shows Christ centrally beneath a canopy with both hands tied to a pillar behind his head, and his naked body being lashed by two soldiers,

one on either side. It probably formed part of an altar retable depicting the Passion. It may possibly have come from St Mary's Church, Haddington.¹³⁰

13) A carved capital of the South Choir Arcade of Iona Abbey Church (see above, item A. a), 6) shows on its west face a representation of the Crucifixion with Christ's arms extended horizontally with head slightly inclined to the left. On either side of the cross are the Virgin and St John, each with one hand raised to support their head in the conventional gesture of grief.¹³¹ The same column shows what is almost certainly an episode in the event of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas. The scene shows a group of four men, three of whom wear knee-length pleated tunics, belted at the waist. The first figure is striking towards the right side of the head of the next man with a two-handed sword. This is probably Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus.¹³²

14) Part of an early sixteenth century oak panel formerly in Kirkwall Cathedral, Orkney, has a carving of the Arma Christi, the Five Wounds of Christ shown with the Emblems of the Passion. A hand and foot are shown pierced; the heart at the centre is surrounded by the crown of thorns, and the nails and the dice are carved at the side. The missing part of the panel would have shown the other pierced hand and foot.¹³³

15) The Parish Church of St Michael the Archangel, Linlithgow, has besides a stone-carving of the Slaying of the Dragon a number of

passion scenes from an altar retable of the late fifteenth century, probably of Flemish provenance, depicted on four sculptured sandstone slabs, of which two are fragments and one is partially mutilated. The following scenes are illustrated,

- a) The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, Christ kneeling in prayer, with a large Eucharistic Chalice before him, while his disciples sleep. John is behind, Peter and James in front. A rock and a tree suggest the Mount of Olives.¹³⁴
- b) The Betrayal shows Judas about to kiss Christ as soldiers prepare to arrest him. Peter is sheathing his sword as Christ touches the ear of Malchus with his right hand.¹³⁵
- c) The Mocking of Christ shows him seated with hands crossed in front, surrounded by mockers in fifteenth century dress.¹³⁶
- d) The Scourging of Jesus can be deduced from the fragment of a panel showing a soldier holding a scourge.¹³⁷
- e) The Crucifixion can possibly be deduced on a fragment of a panel showing the lower portions of two figures, one of whom is kneeling, while the other is being supported. They may represent the Virgin Mary and John the Apostle at the foot of the cross.¹³⁸

An important item relevant to our present study is the 'large Eucharistic Chalice' which appeared before Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane referred to in item a. above. According to Hildburgh stone carvings of the scene of the Agony in the Garden were comparatively rare. He knew only of three that have survived and they are all of French origin. Their composition, with the Saviour kneeling in prayer while Peter, James and John sleep, follows in general the Gospel narratives of Matthew Ch.26, Mark Ch.14 & Luke Ch.22. However the representation of the scene in the altar-piece at Ecaquelon includes in the scene a nimbed communion chalice and wafer, an illusion to Christ's prayer that the 'cup' be taken

from him. The same feature also appears in the second of the scenes referred to by Hildburgh which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and which he suggests may be of French origin. Although the Gospels do not say that a cup actually appeared nor speak of the presence of an angel at the Agony, in the *Ludus Coventriae*, now generally known as the *N-Town Play*, a stage instruction says, 'here An Aungel descendyth to jhesus and brygyth to hym A chalys with An host ther in'. Hildburgh believes that representations of the Agony in the Garden scene which include the chalice were adapted from the stage. Thus there exists the possibility that the feature of the Eucharistic Chalice at Linlithgow was inspired not only by a French source but by one influenced by stage performances.¹³⁹

16) The Crucifixion is depicted on a panel which forms part of a burial vault in the Parish of Mordington, Berwickshire, which has survived although the church has been raised to the ground. The panel bears an incised inscription IHUS MARIA and the crucified Christ hangs by the arms with feet separated, this representing a very early convention, which could give a date sometime well before the fifteenth century for its crafting. The placing of one foot over the other being subsequent to the twelfth century.¹⁴⁰ Christ has nothing on his head and is portrayed with a neatly groomed head of hair. The upper part of the body is chubby. His loins are girt with what looks like a pair of breeks. There is no appearance of agony or suffering in the face, which again indicates an early date. Flanking the cross on the right hand side

is a figure of the Virgin with hands clasped in prayer and above is a carved lily. On the left hand side of the cross St John, the Beloved Disciple, is shown carrying a book with a thistle carved above. A roundel on either side of the cross symbolises the sun and the moon as seen in an illumination of the Crucifixion in the Missale Romanum J. Emericus de Spira produced in Venice in 1496 held by the National Library of Scotland. The tradition, however, was a very old and widespread one, which continued into the Post-Tridentine era, with Missals having the same representation in the same position. Thus we have another example showing that western iconographical traditions knew no boundaries of space, and in this case, as in others, no boundaries of time either (see above, PART I, Section B. The Passion, Resurrection and Post-Resurrection Cycles, item 7.a), the Crucifixion in the Missale Romanum, J. Emericus de Spira: Venice, 1496).

17) The National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, holds a collection of fragments of wooden retables of late medieval date¹⁴¹. The collection embraces the following items,

- a) The Entombment. b) The Harrowing of Hell.
- c) The Resurrection, showing Christ in a loose robe stepping out of the tomb, right arm and chest bare, hand raised in blessing. The Banner of Victory must originally have been held in the left hand. Three sleeping soldiers also appear in the scene.
- d) Christ, as the Gardener, appearing to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection.

See item 4 above re the fragment of a retable showing Christ as the Gardener after his Resurrection.

18) The fragment of a stone retable from Paisley Abbey, perhaps of the late fifteenth century, shows the lower right-hand part only of a scene of the Crucifixion. The right foot is placed over the left and nailed to a low cross, at the base of which lies a small open book. To the right and close up is the Centurion in plate-armour and wearing a long mantle, terminating in conventional folds and fastened at the neck with a clasp. A man wearing a cap and a quilted doublet with a small sword at his side stands behind the Centurion, whom he is touching on the right arm. The attitude of the Centurion is similar to one depicted on a fragment of a French wood-block of the end of the fourteenth century, which indicates not only French influence but also that fashions in this subject changed at a very slow pace. A fragment of a carving of the Entombment has also survived at Paisley showing the naked upper part of the dead Christ, laid on a shroud which partly drapes the front of the tomb in which he is being laid. The front of the tomb is panelled with a Gothic window-like design.¹⁴²

The two panels are carved on one slab at the base of which is carved the coat of arms of Prior George Shaw, 1472-1498, so that the panels may be dated late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries.

19) The East Respond by the door on the South Side of the fifteenth century Roslin Chapel, near Edinburgh (formerly St Matthew's Collegiate Church), has a carving of Christ before Pilate. It shows a soldier in armour, sitting holding a halberd as another, kneeling, supports Christ with his left hand. Christ himself is seated with hands crossed on chest. A third soldier kneels

as he pours water from a pitcher into a basin while Pilate washes his hands. Pilate seated on a chair wears a girdled tunic with long sleeves, a scimitar hanging from his belt.

The West Respond by the same door portrays the Bearing of the Cross. A soldier carries a scourge in his right hand while Christ in a long white robe holds the crown of thorns as Simon of Cyrene carries the cross. Nearby Veronica displays the kerchief or sudarium showing the imprint of Christ's face.¹⁴³ Veronica was a woman of Jerusalem who according to legend (probably of French origin), first found in its present form in the fourteenth century, offered her head-cloth to Christ to wipe the sweat and the blood from his face on his way to Calvary. He returned it with his features impressed upon it.¹⁴⁴

The West Respond by the door on the North Side portrays the Crucifixion and the Deposition from the Cross. In the centre of the scene Christ is shown crucified on a low headless, i.e. 'Tau', cross. Below its arms are four figures representing St John, the Virgin, and the Holy Women, i.e. Mary Magdalene and Mary Salome. On the East respond of the same door on either side of the cross a man mounted on a ladder holds Christ with one hand while holding a clawed hammer with the other. On the left a figure in cowl, tunic and tight hose, is holding a spear held at the same time by a gowned figure, wearing a loose crowned cap as he steadies the right arm of the other with his right hand. This is the arm of the legendary blind knight Longinus (or Longeus) being guided to pierce Christ's side. On the right of the scene Joseph of Aramathea,

wearing a cowl, is shown holding a linen cloth or sudarium for the entombment.¹⁴⁵

The same Respond also portrays the scene of the Resurrection.

Christ in grave-clothes is shown stepping out of the tomb with his right foot, while holding a Banner of Victory in his left hand. At either end of the tomb is a huddled soldier, one of whom holds a halberd.¹⁴⁶ There were many such representations and many have survived. The one in Roslin Chapel resembles one referred to above in Part I, Section B. The Passion, Resurrection and Post-Resurrection Cycles, item 7.a, illuminated initial from Mainz or the surrounding area, showing the Resurrection of Christ, dated about 1260, in the Zisterzienser-Lektionar, held at the Staats- u. Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg (Cod. 1 in scrib.). Here is yet another example of medieval western traditions in christian art and iconography knowing no national frontiers.

20) At Rowdil, Harris, The Outer Hebrides, the space between an arch and the triangular gable at the end of the ridged roof of the church, is filled with figures of various kinds and culminates at the apex of the gable with a representation of the Crucifixion of which, unfortunately we have no details. The church also contains a representation of the Last Judgment (see below, Section C, The Last Judgment, a) Reps. in Wood, Stone and Metal. item 3). It has been suggested that these remains may be either of Celtic or Nordic origin.¹⁴⁷

21) A space on a sixteenth century oak panel from Seton Collegiate Church, East Lothian, has a carving of the Arma Christi over a pierced heart within a Crown of Thorns.¹⁴⁸

22) In addition to a painted table with a representation of Our Lady of Pity (see below, b) Paintings on Walls, Ceilings and Panels, item 4) The Chapel Royal, Stirling, once possessed the following item also portraying the theme of Our Lady of Pity,¹⁴⁹

Also a great and precious jewel of pure gold bearing the Image of Our Lady of Pity carrying her dead Son upon her knees, and various other images, and this jewel has the image of the Crucified on the top, and is skilfully made; it also bears many gems of various (kinds) and pearls, and it is kept in a box of wood for keeping it.

23) In Wemyss Castle (see above, Section, A. The Creation, Temptation, Fall, etc, Cycles, a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, item 14) there is a stone-carving representing Christ bearing the cross in the midst of a group as he stumbles under the weight of the cross which is being forced down by one of the Tormentors to make it heavier. On the left is another Tormentor with hand ready to strike with a scourge as with his other he holds a rope attached to Christ's waist. On the right are two nimbed figures, the Virgin Mother and St John the Beloved Disciple. Behind the cross is another Tormentor, arm raised as if about to throw something, but what has not been identified. The Tormentors wear hose and girdled tunics with serrated hems. Two wear cowls, and have bitter, scornful, mocking expressions.¹⁵⁰

b) Paintings on Walls, Panels and Ceilings.

1) The painted ceiling decorations of Provost Skene's House in

Aberdeen (see, Section A. The Creation, Temptation, etc, Cycles.
 b) Paintings on Ceilings, Walls and Panels, item 1) include the
 Arma Christi (i.e. the Five Wounds) within a Crown of Thorns which
 is surrounded by a laurel wreath with roses at the four compass
 points, and another two roses and a female head.¹⁵¹

Panels on the West Side of the Upper Chamber of the house
 illustrate,

- a) The Crucifixion. b) The Entombment.
- c) The Resurrection, and partially,
- d) The Last Supper. e) The Ascension.

Spaces between the panels illustrate Instruments of The Passion,
 mainly associated with The Betrayal and The Trial before Pilate,

- a) The Thirty Pieces of Silver b) The Torch and the Lantern.
- c) Peter's Sword. d) Malchus's Ear.
- e) The Cock crowing at Peter's Denial.
- f) The Ewer and the Basin of Pilate's Hand-washing.
- g) The Pillar of Scourging. h) The Cross.

It was probably intended that vacant spaces that follow the above
 should be occupied by,¹⁵²

- i) The Crown of Thorns. ii) The Nails.
- iii) The Superscription. iv) The Sponge and the Spear.
- v) The Dice and the Seamless Robe.
- vi) The Ladder and the Winding-sheet.

The ceiling decorations also include The Arma Christi (i.e. The
 Five Wounds) within a Crown of Thorns which is surrounded by a

laurel wreath with roses at the four compass points, and another two roses and a female head.¹⁵³

In the central space of the above-mentioned ceiling there is a portrayal of the Ascension of the Lord, a subject which is not much found in surviving artefacts.

2) A representation of the scene of the Crucifixion, measuring thirteen feet by five feet, painted in tempera on oak boards, hangs on the North Wall of the Church of St Marnock, Foulis Easter (see above, Section B. The Passion, etc, Cycle, a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, item 11. It shows Christ and the Two Thieves dying on the cross and contains over twenty figures, including,

- a) A King, probably Herod, and a Jester. b) A High Priest.
- c) The Centurion and the Soldiers, the Centurion pointing to a scroll on which are the words, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' ¹⁵⁴
- d) The Virgin and St John at the foot of the Cross with Three Women.
- e) A Soldier piercing Christ's side.
- f) The souls of the Two Thieves are shown issuing from their mouths.

This painting is accounted to be of continental origin and reputed to date from about 1480.

The large painting hanging on the same wall further to the East includes a representation of Christ being lowered into the tomb. A noteworthy feature of these two paintings is the large numbers of mounted horses present.

3) In the Guthrie Aisle (see above, Section A. The Creation, Temptation, etc, Cycles, b) Paintings on Walls, Panels and Ceilings, item 3), a painting of the Crucifixion occupies the West Side of the roof-crown. It is portrayed in the iconography customary in the fifteenth century. The hanging, dying Christ is shown with upstretched arms, bowed head, and straightened crossed-over legs, from which it is evident the feet were secured to the cross with one nail which was the later tradition. Longinus, the Blind Centurion of legend, can be seen with spear in right hand directed to Christ's right side. The Virgin Mary, Mary Cleophas and St John the Apostle, are in the foreground at the Foot of the Cross on Christ's right.

Areas to the left and right of the Crucifixion are quartered and depict associated features which cannot be interpreted because of scanty detail. Both quarters appear to have portrayed one scene, which we believe to have been that of Our Lady of Pity. The eyes of haloed figures are all directed towards what looks like the dead Christ, resting across the knees or lap of the sitting Virgin Mary, the scene that according to legend took place after the Deposition from the Cross and widely known as the Pietà, which is said to be a thirteenth century German conception (see also, this PART II, Section B.a, item 3) Banff). A medieval Pietà forms part of the Burrell Collection at the Art Gallery in Pollok Country Park, Glasgow.¹⁵⁵ (See below, PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION. The Arma Christi, the Emblems or Instruments of the Passion and the Image of Pity of the Lord).

The Entombment of Christ can be seen taking place in an arcaded tomb-chest, in the quarter next to the kneeling figure, on the right. Traces of Christ's arms and hands are still to be seen.

The quarter next to the Resurrection (see below) shows an identical figure to that seen in this scene, and probably portrays Christ knocking at the Gates of Hell, known as the Harrowing of Hell, an event which according to tradition was believed to have taken place before Christ's Resurrection from the Dead.¹⁵⁶ The Resurrection is portrayed in the lower left hand quarter. In accordance with the tradition that prevailed throughout the West as he steps from the tomb he holds the Banner of Victory in his left hand as he holds up his right hand in blessing and so giving further evidence of the uniformity of the western iconographical tradition that knew no boundaries. The details of the other quarters are so poor that no suggestions can be made as to what they might have portrayed.

4) An Inventory of the Chapel Royal, Stirling, dated 1505, includes an item which was decorated with a painting of Our Lady of Pity,¹⁵⁷

A table of three leaves on which are painted the
Image of Our Lady carrying her Son in her arms and two
bearing musical instruments.

On the subject of the 'Arma Christi' to which a number of references are made in the above section of PART II see below, PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION. The Arma Christi, the Emblems or Instruments of the Passion and the Image of Pity of the Lord.

(C) The Last Judgment.

a) Representations in Stone, Wood and Metal.

1) The final scene on a column in the South Choir Arcade of Iona Abbey (see, Section A. The Creation, Temptation, etc., Cycles,
a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, item 6) shows the weighing of souls. St Michael is clad in a long quilted garment, set in what appears to be a kneeling posture, although probably intended to show him in flight. In his right hand St Michael holds a Balance, each pan of which appears to contain a small human head. The Archangel's left hand, now badly weathered, probably held a sword with which to ward off a monstrous demon with distended belly, serrated crest and scaly spine, who is advancing in a crouching position. One of the monster's clawed feet is stretched towards the hand in which the Archangel holds the Balance, while the other is attempting to pull down the pan containing the evil deeds of the departed soul. A long-beaked bird, resembling an Ibis or a Curlew, is perching on the demon's back, pecking at the base of its spine.

2) Roslin Chapel (see, Section B. The Passion, etc., Cycles.

a) Representations in Wood, Stone and Metal, item 19) contains representation of The Dance of Death; The Seven Virtuous Acts, with at the end of the series St Peter standing with a key at the open door of a Gothic Heaven; The Seven Deadly Sins, with at the end of the series a Hell Mouth, like the mouth of a whale, with a devil inside holding a prong. ¹⁵⁸

3) In the church at Rowdill (see, Section B. The Passion, etc.,

Cycles. a) Representations in Stone, Wood and Metal, item 20) the inside wall beneath the arch at the East End Gable is entirely carved with incised panels featuring Angels, hunting scenes, and The Last Judgment. Unfortunately we have no details of these. They may be of Celtic or Nordic origin.¹⁵⁹

b) Paintings on Walls, Panels and Ceilings.

In the Guthrie Aisle (see, Section A. The Creation, Temptation, Fall, etc, Cycles. b) Paintings on Walls, Panels and Ceilings,

item 3) the Last Judgment, also known as the Doom, was portrayed on the panel on the other side of the vault, where the Crucifixion is located, that scene and that of the Doom usually being found in juxtaposition. The Doom panel has been re-erected in Guthrie Castle. The central and dominant figure of the Doom is Christ, seated on a Rainbow, the landscape on both sides of which shows growing plants with small red flowers dotted about. The Wounds of the nails are shown on Christ's uplifted hands, as also in his feet, visible beneath the robe which he is wearing, parted to show the wound in his right side, inflicted by the spear of the Centurion. Christ's head is encircled by a halo, containing a floriated cross and flanked by two swords pointing inwards, their points touching the sides of the head. To the right, on the inside of the foot of the rainbow, is St John the Baptist, hands held up in prayer, and in the corresponding position on the left, is the Blessed Virgin Mary. Only the hands and shoulders of these figures have survived. The left side of the painting shows the Walls of Heaven, resembling the walls of a castle, in juxtaposition to a church with a tower and spire. Four winged angels look down from

the walls, whilst a fifth stands on the parapet of the tower. Another angel has descended to the top of the hill below, whilst keeping hold of the parapet of the tower with his right hand and beckoning to the Redeemer with his left. A rather larger angel with outstretched wings can be seen on the right of the spire, sounding a large trumpet. St Peter is standing on the ground at the foot of the tower on the left, facing the front with upheld hands, clutching a large key, no doubt, the Key to the Gates of the Heavenly City. The figures to be seen on Peter's left are probably redeemed souls on their way to this city.

Near the bottom of the composition is what looks like the remains of a Hell Mouth, formed by the widely-separated jaws of a large Dragon. Damned souls suffering torment can be seen struggling in the flames, whilst a claw-footed, long-eared demon, probably with a long tail, and armed with a large cosh, is preventing their escape.

D. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

At Melrose Abbey on the east gable of the presbytery (the East End of the Chancel) above the window are seated figures of the Virgin with her Risen Son. Both appear at one time to have worn crowns of which remnants can still be seen. On either side is a censing Angel. The coronation must be assumed to have already taken place as the Son is not shown placing a crown on his Mother's head as can be seen in some other representations, as for example in a *Life of the Virgin*, Bodleian Library MS Douce 79, fol 3v and in a Peterborough Abbey Psalter, Bodleian MS Barlow 22, (S.C.6461),

fol 13. See also, PART I, Section C., The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Taymouth Book of Hours.

Sometimes the Coronation is shown being performed by the Holy Trinity, with a Dove representing the Holy Spirit, hovering between the Father and the Son as seen for example in an illumination in the *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, Love's translation of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* in the Advocates' Collection of the National Library of Scotland.¹⁶⁰

PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION.

The Arma Christi, The Emblems or Instruments of the Passion and The Image of Pity of the Lord.

The Arma Christi are the Five Wounds of Christ, the one in the heart from the Centurion's spear, and the wounds in the hands and feet. Representations of them are usually combined with the Emblems or Instruments of the Passion, the latter being especially associated with the Image of Pity of the Lord and the Mass of St Gregory, showing his body covered with wounds inflicted by his scourging and crucifixion.

Devotion to the Five Wounds, in Scotland as much as elsewhere, is well illustrated by The Mass of the Five Wounds contained in the Sarum Missal in use in Scotland, attendance at which gained an Indulgence.

There still survive in Scotland at least twenty-nine buildings, mostly churches, but also some castles and houses, where The Arma

Christi can still be seen, some in simple form, others more elaborate, and all in varying degrees of preservation. This imagery was a product of late medieval piety with its great emphasis on the Suffering Christ as found in the devotional literature of the Continent and the religious poetry of Scotland as we have attempted to demonstrate in our Chapter Three. Three quarters of The Arma Christi remains are dated in the first half of the sixteenth century.

With two exceptions the imagery is found at or near the East Coast of the country, where there were important trade links with the Low Countries and Northern Germany (see our Chapter Two). In these areas Passion symbolism was particularly popular. The growth in the use of this imagery was co-extensive with the literature of Dunbar, Kennedy and Lindsay, and with at first the increasing dissemination of illuminated scripted Books of Hours from the Scriptoria of such places as Rouen, followed by an even wider dissemination when printed books became increasingly available in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The use of such imagery owes much to leading ecclesiastics such as Bishop Kennedy, James and David Beaton, and the Hepburns of St Andrews; Bishop Andrew Stewart, at Elgin and Bishop Robert Blackadder, at Glasgow; and at Aberdeen, Bishop Elphinstone, the liturgical pioneer and initiator of building works at St Machar's Cathedral as well as founder of King's College; and Alexander Galloway, Rector of Kinkell. As we have shown in our Chapter Two those in Scotland holding higher ecclesiastic office were familiar

with the Continent as were the many graduates of continental universities, many of those at Court, Conservators of Scottish Privileges and many of the Merchants.

The 'Arma Christi' is the theme embroidered on the Fetternear Banner, dated about 1520, and the sole surviving example of a Pre-Reformation ecclesiastical banner in the whole of Great Britain. It is now held in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

The principal subject of the banner's central panel is an embroidered Image of Pity of the Lord, showing a full-length standing figure of Christ, wearing a loin cloth, his body covered with wounds from which drops of blood exude. In his left hand is the reed given him by Pilate's soldiers as a 'Royal Sceptre'. In accordance with the tradition of these images his right hand points to the gaping wound in his right side from which blood trickles down to his right thigh. On his head is a Crown of Thorns embroidered in green. These probably represented the botanical species 'collecta cruciata', which has an abundance of large green thorns. Behind is a halo with a golden foliaceous cross on a blue background.¹⁶¹

A border surrounding the central panel portrays a large Rosary with the beads arranged in fives, perhaps as an illusion to the Lord's Five Wounds, i.e. The Arma Christi. These do not appear on the banner, but a vacant space on it may have been intended for them.¹⁶²

Around the figure of Christ are traditional Instruments of the Passion, i.e. the ladder; the spear, rising up over the cross, its blue blade adorned with a red tassel, probably representing blood; the reed and the sponge; the hammer and the pincers; and a brightly coloured cock standing upon a pillar.

At Christ's feet is the sepulchre, its lid raised, embroidered in grey with two bands of yellow. Over this lies the seamless robe upon which are superimposed the dice. To the right stands a lantern. Close to Christ's left leg is a stave sewn with bronze thread with golden knobs. This may be the handle of a scourge, of which three or four thongs were never embroidered.

Three nails embroidered in blue and white are shown fixed into the 'Tau' shaped cross, embroidered in dark green, which stands behind Christ. Above the cross-bar, embroidered in black thread, appear the initials INRI.¹⁶³ Above the cross is Peter's sword, identified by the letter 'P' on the blade.

In this part of the design there are two heads, unknown in other surviving examples of Scottish Instruments of the Passion, but quite common in German and Flemish wood-cuts and paintings. The head on the left-hand side of the banner is that of Judas Iscariot with a purse, parti-coloured in red and gold, and hanging by a blue cord from his neck. The head on the right-hand side is that of a mocking or spitting Jew, an item appearing regularly in passion symbolism. It has all the conventional features assigned to Jews by medieval artists, heavy eye-brows, staring eyes,

grotesque nose, protuberant lips. This latter symbol, however, is unfinished, for the spittal usually shown issuing from the mouth has not been embroidered.

Forty embroidered, interlinked cordeliers (resembling the thrice knotted girdles worn by Franciscans) that form a second border around the central panel suggest that the banner was made for a pious brotherhood, the Rosary of the Five Wounds, representing their special devotional exercise with the central figure of the banner illustrating the particular theme of their devotions which was the Holy Blood.

This proposition is further supported by the prominence given in the banner to the blood issuing from Christ's wounds, suggesting the possibility that the particular aspect of the passion devotion it was intended to serve was devotion to the Holy Blood, a devotion already explained, of which the most popular centre was Bruges.¹⁶⁴ Hence there is a distinct possibility that this uncompleted banner was intended for the Edinburgh Guild Merchant, a confraternity under the Patronage of the Holy Blood.¹⁶⁵

Dunkeld Cathedral has also been suggested as a possible place for which the unfinished banner was intended, and it has to be said that an Altar of the Holy Blood was installed in the cathedral together with a retable, in 1514-15.¹⁶⁶ Dunkeld, however, does not seem near enough to the sea for it ever to have been a busy trading centre and we know of no records that demonstrate this. Furthermore there is no known charter for a Guild Merchant in the town.¹⁶⁷

The evidence we have produced of portrayals of the Arma Christi, of the Instruments of the Passion, of the Images of the Pity of the Lord and of the Images of Pity of Our Lady, in their various artistic media, and our evidence for the devotion of the Guilds Merchant to the Holy Blood (a devotion parallel to that of Corpus Christi) show the extent to which Scotland shared with the countries of continental Europe, and for that matter with England, the late medieval pre-occupation with the sufferings of Christ which we know as the Passion.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore we suggest that this, taken together with the evidence offered in our previous chapters, demonstrates clearly the interdependence of the various parts of the Western Church in its religio-cultural and devotional life. This was a situation brought about by the free movement of literate christians from one country to another, by the travels of many of the Merchants to the centres of trade and the great Trade Fairs and the Religious Festivities associated with them, as also by those who had the opportunity to go on pilgrimage to the great continental shrines, such as those at Amiens and Compostela.

Again when we compare the iconography of the manuscripts and printed books of PART I with that of the artistic representations presented in this PART II we find that the same artistic idiom is employed in both instances. In other words whatever the medium, whatever the place, or source, broadly speaking at least, the visitor to a foreign country would have no difficulty in recognising for himself the visual images of the elements of the christian faith which he found there represented in the various artistic media. For they would be very much like those to which he was already accustomed at home.

The space at our disposal does not permit of a detailed item by item comparison of the representations from manuscripts as set out in PART I with all the representations in stone, wood and metal, and on painted walls and panels, as detailed in PART II. Neither have we space to make comparisons directly with continental architecture. We suggest the iconographic unity found in illuminated manuscripts (reflected in Scottish architecture and painting) in use in Scotland with those in use on the Continent sufficiently demonstrates uniformity with the iconographic traditions of the Continent in the various other media. We concentrate mainly on examples of representations taken from PART I and relate them to examples of the same representations as given in PART II.

We have no knowledge of illuminations from books in use in Scotland giving representations of the Creation, Temptation, Fall and Expulsion Cycle. The fifteenth century representations of the Temptation, Fall and Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise at Iona Abbey (see, PART II, A. a., item 6) are much more akin to the more natural ones in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (1427) held in the University Library of Würzburg (M ch.fol 4) than to the more stylized ones in the mid-twelfth century York Psalter, of North of England provenance, held by Glasgow University (MS Hunter 229, fols 2r, 7v and 8r).

In the Nativity Cycle the most noticeable example of a common iconographic tradition in the various media from the various sources, whether Scottish, French or Flemish, and so on, is that

of representations of the Annunciation of the Angel to the Virgin. In such representations whether in stone, wood or metal, or in paintings on walls, ceilings and panels, we normally find the following,

- a) The Angel confronting Mary in her room, holding a scroll on which are written the words of the Salutation, "Ave Maria, etc..."
- b) The Virgin kneeling in prayer more often than not at a prayer desk on which there is an open book.
- c) In the middle of the scene, or near at hand, a Pot of Lilies, representing purity.
- d) Hovering above, a dove, representing the Holy Spirit.
- e) The Virgin wearing a blue cloak, and veil or hood, and often a red dress, representing faithfulness. (Where carvings, etc, were once coloured, as often indoor carvings were, surviving items have mostly lost their colours.)

These features are to be seen, amongst numerous others, for example, in the *Murthly Book of Hours* - French style; in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 79, fol 2r - English provenance (PART I, Section A, items 2.a. and 2.b.); in the *Talbot Book of Hours* - English provenance (item 2.h); in the *Arbuthnott Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* - Scottish in the French style (item 5.a); in the *Playfair Book of Hours* - Northern France provenance (item 8), and in the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* - Flemish (item 10).

These can be compared with representations of the Annunciation in PART II, Section A. a.; one of the Beaton panels from Arbroath Abbey - probably of Low Countries origin (item 2); a sculptured

Annunciation scene over a Sacrament House at Foulis Easter (item 5); on a fragmented altar retable in Mains Churchyard, near Dundee (item 8) - possibly of Low Countries origin from whence most retables were imported into Scotland - on these see below; on the lower order of the rood screen at the entrance to the Chancel of Lincluden Convent and College (item 7); on a wooden panel from the chapel in the Nunnery at Overgate, Dundee (item 10); on fragments of two carved stone retables at St Salvator's College Church, St Andrews (item 12) - possibly of Low Countries origin.

Representation of the 'Virgin Mother and Child Enthroned' that very closely resemble each other are also found in the various media whatever the source, showing common distinctive features, the Virgin Mother (wearing a blue gown or cloak) and the Child, both crowned, sitting beside each other on a throne. In PART I, A. we gave examples from manuscripts and books in use in Scotland and from continental sources, the *Aberdeen Greyfriars Book of Hours* - probably made in the Low Countries, the *Bohun Psalter* - English, the *Hours of Marie de Rieux* - French (items, 3.a and b; the *Arbuthnott Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* - Scottish/French (items 5a and b). A corresponding representation is found in a stone carving at Iona Abbey (PART II, A. a., item 6).

Representations of 'Beata Maria in Sole', representing the Virgin with the Child in her arms, standing on a crescent moon, surrounded by the rays of the sun, are found in illuminations, as for example in a Book of Hours, MS 43, in Edinburgh University Library - of

(*Past I.A.*,
 Northern France provenance (item 9). Corresponding representations
 are also found in other media, as for example, one of the Beaton
 Panels from Arbroath Abbey - Flemish (PART II. A. a., item 2); a
 wooden panel from Edzell Castle - probably locally made (item 4)
 and the candelabra in St John's Church, Perth - Flemish (item 11).

Parallels in the various media from the various sources also exist
 in representations from the Passion, Resurrection and Post-
 Resurrection Cycle. Again we can do no more than quote examples.

The illumination of the Agony in the Garden in the Bodleian
 Library Book of Hours of the Sarum Use (MS Rawl.liturg.d.1 (S.C.
 15827), fol 11v) showing Christ kneeling, hands held up in prayer
 before a chalice (PART I. E., item 7.c) has a parallel in a carving on
 a stone altar retable at Linlithgow - probably imported from the
 Low Countries (PART II. B. a., item 15).

The *Book of Hours of Ross Dhu Church* has a miniature of Christ
 Carrying the Cross - ultimate source Flemish (PART I. B., item
 3, iii); the font at Foulis Easter has a carved panel showing the
 Bearing of the Cross (PART II. B. a., item 11); at Roslin Chapel
 a stone carving of the Bearing of the Cross features the legend of
 St Veronica. This legend in its later form took shape in France in
 the thirteenth century (B.a., item 19).¹⁶⁹

Close parallels also exist in representations of the Arma Christi.
 They occur in the *Book of Hours of Ross Dhu Church* - ultimate

source Flemish (PART I. B., item 3, xii); on the Beaton Panels from Arbroath Abbey - probably of Low Countries origin (PART II. B. a., item 2; on the Fetternear Banner - Scottish made (item 8b); at Elgin Cathedral - possibly the work of local craftsmen (item 10); on an oak panel formerly in Kirkwall Cathedral (item 14) and on an oak panel from Seton Collegiate Church (item 21). The panels at Kirkwall and Seton are of high quality. That at Kirkwall may have formed a bench end in the Cathedral. These panels may have been imported from the Low Countries.

A widespread convention in portrayals of the Crucifixion was to show the Virgin Mary and St John, the Beloved Disciple, standing on either side of the cross. This is seen in the *Herdmanstone Breviary* - made in England (1300) with Scottish drawings added (PART I, B., item 1, ii); in the *Book of Hours of Ross Dhu Church* - ultimate source of the illuminations is probably Flemish (item 3, xiv); and in the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* - Flemish (item 7.a). A very similar representation is found in the English *Abingdon Missal* (1461) where a full-page illumination of the Crucifixion shows the Virgin, standing on the left of the cross, and the Beloved Disciple on the right. (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Digby 227, fol 113v).

A parallel to the above occurs on a carved wooden panel at Edzell Castle - probably Scottish (PART II, B. a., item 9); on a burial vault in the Parish of Mordington, with the addition of a lily above the Virgin and a book with a carved thistle being carried by St John and roundels of the sun and moon on either side of the

cross, a convention widely found in all Western Missals (item 16); at Foulis Easter a large painting shows Mary and John at the foot of the cross with three women - Flemish tradition ^{Part II,} (B., b., item 2); the Guthrie Aisle has a painting on the ceiling of the Crucifixion showing the Virgin and St John at the foot of the cross with the added figure of Mary Cleophas - Flemish (item 3) and in Iona Abbey, a stone carving, portrays the two each supporting their head in conventional gestures of grief (PART II, B., a., item 13).

Representations of the Image of Our Lady of Pity, showing the dead Christ lying across his Mother's lap, are found in the Book of Hours (MS 23) formerly at Blairs College (now closed), near Aberdeen - probably of French origin (PART I, B., item 2.b) and in the *Book of Hours of Ross Dhu Church*, whose illuminations are probably of Flemish origin (item 3, vii). Parallels were in the 'chalice of our Ladie of Pitie' in St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen (PART II, B. a, item 1a); the ornamented pyx and the Processional Image at St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen (item 1b) - these items could have been made locally, for Aberdeen had its Goldsmiths who formed part of the Incorporation of Hammermen as in other Scottish burghs. However they could have been bought in Paris whence we are told silver artefacts were imported into Scotland by the Church in the fifteenth century;¹⁷⁰ other parallels are the Pietà unearthed at Banff (a, item 3); the 'precious jewel of pure gold bearing the Image of Our Lady of Pity...' at Stirling - again possibly of French origin (item 22); also at Stirling the table decorated with an Image of Our Lady of Pity (b, item 4) and in the Guthrie Aisle - in the Flemish style (b, item 3).

The manner of representing the Resurrection as from a cave-like Garden Tomb in the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor* - Flemish (PART I, B., item 7.a) is less frequently met with than those which show Christ stepping out of a sarcophagus, tomb or coffin, usually with his left foot, holding a Banner of Victory in his left hand as he raises his right hand in blessing as seen in the *Abingdon Missal* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS 227, fol 13).

In many such scenes Christ is seen fully clothed as in the illuminated capital in the *Zisterziener-Lektionar* (about 1260) from Mainz or the Mainz area (University Library, Hamburg, Cod.1 in scriin).

A parallel to the latter representation is found in the fragment of a wooden retable of late medieval date held in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh (the Banner of Victory, however, is missing from the left hand). It was almost certainly once part of a complete retable installed in a Scottish church, and probably imported from the Low Countries (PART II, B., a., item 17); the Guthrie Aisle (Flemish style) has a painting of the Resurrection showing Christ stepping from the tomb holding a Banner of Victory in his left hand as he blesses with his raised right hand (see, PART II, B., b., item 3) and in the Roslin Chapel a stone carving shows a clothed Christ stepping out of a tomb with his right leg as he holds a Banner of Victory in his left hand ^{PART II, B., a.,} (item 19).

Flemish retables were regularly imported into Scotland in the fifteenth century. Their vivid, highly coloured and gilded representations of scenes, illustrating in the received western iconography of the time the birth, death and resurrection of Christ, must have been very impressive. For example, in 1439 William Knox of Edinburgh purchased a gilded altar-piece complete with images from Jan van Battele of Malines (Mechelen);¹⁷¹ in 1505 Bishop George Brown imported two tabernacles, one for the Altar of the Three Kings at St Mary's, the Burgh Church of Dundee, and the other for an altar in Dunkeld Cathedral.¹⁷² Two Flemish tabernacles¹⁷³ are known to have been at the Pluscarden Priory in 1508.

Other very close parallels in the various media relating to religious representations in Scotland and ^{on} the Continent, mainly France and the Low Countries, could be quoted. We believe those we have already cited are sufficient to show that Scotland was fully integrated into the Western iconographic and artistic tradition of the rest of the West. It would be strange if there was not the same parallelism in the field of religious pageantry and plays, particularly as in both fields the subject matter and characters involved were the same.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

1. D.H. CALDWELL ed. *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns - Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland* (National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1982) 17.
This volume was published as a handbook for an exhibition held at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, 12 August - 26 September 1982. It forms a basic illustrated guide to the productions of the 'higher' culture of medieval Scotland from ca.1100 to 1560, demonstrating the great range of material held by the Museum and also gathering together a large number of items that were dispersed outside Scotland at and after the Reformation.
2. Harold OSBORNE ed. *The Oxford Companion to Art* (OUP, 1970) 205, 6, 557-60.
3. CALDWELL 34; David McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1953) 6, Item No.23.
4. See n.3, McROBERTS.
5. " n.1, CALDWELL
6. *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* (The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1985) 27, 8.
Francis C. EELES ed. 'The Perth Psalter' *PSAS* vol.66 (1932) 426-41, 426.
7. *French Connections, etc.*, 27, 8.
8. " " " 15.
9. " " " 13, 14.
10. Michael R. APTED & Susan Hannabuss ed. *Painters In Scotland 1301-1700 A Biographical Dictionary* (SRS NS 7, Edinburgh 1978) 10-11.
11. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* (see n.1) 19, 33, 4.
12. CALDWELL 33.
13. OSBORNE *The Oxford Companion to Art* 727, 8.
14. McROBERTS (see n.3) 11, Item No.58.
15. " " " 11, Item No.59.
16. " " " 12, Item No.64;
CALDWELL 84, E55.
17. *French Connections, etc.* (see n.6) 28.
18. CALDWELL (see n.1) 86, E62.
19. McROBERTS 13, Item No.70.

20. McRoberts 13, Item No.74.
21. CALDWELL 85, E59.
22. McROBERTS 10 (see n.3) Item No.52.
23. " 10, Item 54a.
24. *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1427, University of Würzburg MS ch., fol.4
25. *Annual Report, 1986-7*, The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 8.
26. Edmond POGNON ed. *Les Très Riches Heures Du Duc De Berry* (Productions Liber SA and Éditions Minerva SA, Fribourg-Genève, 1979/1983) 51.
27. *Rarer Gifts Than Gold Fourteenth-Century Art In Scottish Collections* (Guide Book for an Exhibition mounted by The Department of History of Art of the University of Glasgow at The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Pollok Country Park, 28 April - 26 June 1988) 26, Item No.20 and Plate opposite.
28. BEADLE *York Plays* 132,3; George ENGLAND and Alfred W. POLLARD ed. *The Towneley Plays* (EETS ES 71 [1897/1965]) 114,5, 139.
29. GREBAN *Le Mystère de la Passion* ed. Micheline de COMBARIEU etc. 131.
30. OSBORNE *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art* 766.
31. McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books etc.* 11, Item No.67.
32. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* (see n.1) 83,4.
33. *Rarer Gifts Than Gold, etc.* (see n.27) 33,4, Item No.24.
34. William BEATTIE ed. *Trésors Des Bibliothèques D'Écosse* (Bibliothèque Albert I^{er}, Bruxelles, 1963) 24, Item No.41 and Planche 22.
35. William MacGILLIVRAY 'Notices of the Arbuthnott Missal, Psalter and Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary' *PSAS* vol.26 (1892) 89-104, 92,8,9, 100,2,3.
36. McROBERTS (see n.31) 8, Item No.40; McGILLIVRAY 99.
37. David McROBERTS 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours' *IR* 19,2 (1968) 144-66. The book is now in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh under reference, MS Acc.4118. The MS was almost certainly made in the Low Countries to Dean Brown's requirements. The miniatures may have been made by Scots resident in Ghent or Bruges. (See Chapter Two, THE SCOTS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES.) Dean Brown probably commissioned the Book when he was in the

Low Countries in 1498. Its Calendar shows it was intended for use by someone connected with Aberdeen Cathedral at a time when Aberdeen scholars were focussing attention on the popularising of Scottish saints. McRoberts speculates that the volume may have been produced in the Atelier of Alexander Bening, known as the Master Mary of Burgundy, an illustrious miniaturist of Scottish antecedents, with whom a Book of Hours was commissioned by James IV in 1503. See McROBERTS 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours', 159, 164-6.

38. McROBERTS 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours' 159, and Plate No.2, opposite 153.
 39. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* (see n.1) 84.
 40. " 85 and Item No. E61.
 41. " 86.
 42. " 86 and Item No. E63.
 43. Leslie MACFARLANE 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor' *IR* 11, 1 (Burns, Glasgow, 1960) 3-21. The MS is held at the Österreichische National Bibliothek, Vienna, under reference Codex Lat. 1897. The Book is believed to have been the gift of James IV to Margaret Tudor upon their marriage in 1503, or it is possible it was the gift of her father, Henry VII of England. The MS is the work of a Flemish scribe, probably John Bomal of Flanders, who may have worked for a group of artists at Ghent and Bruges.
- Two artists are thought to have been responsible for the art work, one of whom was under the influence of Van Der Goes and the other may have been under the influence of Alexander Bening, mentioned above (see n.37) through his son, Simon. See McFARLANE 4-8, 15 & 16 and 16-20.
- This MS demonstrates the very high standard of calligraphy and artistry that prevailed in the Low Countries, a standard to which Scottish apprentices in the ateliers of Bruges and Ghent would need aspire.
44. MACFARLANE 11, fol 59^v; description of full plate, 'The Annunciation'. A similar 'Annunciation' by the same artist appears in the 'Hortulus Animae', See MACFARLANE 11, n.31.
 45. MACFARLANE 11 & 12.
 46. For an explanation of the legend behind this episode see, H.O. HASSALL *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London 1954) 93,4.
 47. *Rarer Gifts Than Gold*, etc. (see n.27) Item 23, 32,3; McROBERTS *Catalogue of Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* 6, Item 25; CALDWELL (see n.1) *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, Item No. E24, 75,6.
 48. CALDWELL (see n.1) 77, Item No. E28.

49. George HAY and David McROBERTS 'Ross Dhu Church and its Book of Hours' *IR* vol.16, 1 (Spring 1965) 3-17, 3-7. The author of the section on the Book of Hours, 6-17, is David McROBERTS. Ross Dhu Church of St Mary is situated in the parish of Luss, Loch Lomond. The building is now roofless. It was the manorial chapel of the Colquhons. The MS contains twenty-five large illuminations surrounded by borders of leaves, fruit and flowers, illuminated in gold and colour. There are also many large illuminated initial letters.
50. HAY & McROBERTS 15.
51. McROBERTS *Catalogue, etc.* 12, Item 65.
52. On the 'Image of Pity' and the Mass of St Gregory see David McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner: A Scottish Medieval Banner* (John S. Burns, Glasgow, 1957) 15.
53. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* 15.
54. See plate at beginning of: O.B. HARRISON Jr. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1965).
55. For a reproduction of this illumination, which was found in Office Books all over Europe, see: *The Fetternear Banner: A Scottish Medieval Banner* 15, illustration No.8, or the same author's *A Catalogue of Medieval Liturgical Books, etc.* plate opposite page 7. Regarding this Book of Hours see also: *Trésors des Bibliothèques d'Écosse* 20, Item No.34. The MSS of the Missal and the Book of Hours are held by the Paisley Museum and Art Galleries. See also MACGILLIVRAY 'Notices of the Arbuthnott Missal, etc.' (see n.35) 99-102.
56. The Rijksmuseum Het Catherijne-convent, Utrecht, The Netherlands, *Edukatieve-dienst Blaadje*, No.1, 1987.
57. McROBERTS *Catalogue etc.* 20 Item No.127. See also *IR* 3 (1952) 33-39.
58. MACFARLANE *The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor etc.* (see n.43) Plate No.IV.
59. MACFARLANE 13.
60. MACFARLANE 11. OSBORNE 128.
61. Wm.PARK, D.M. LLOYD, J.H.LOUDON and E.F.D.ROBERTS ed. *The National Library of Scotland: Notable Accessions Since 1925 - A Book of Illustrations* (NLS, Edinburgh, 1965) Plate No.11.
62. Osborne *The Oxford Companion to Art* 291,2.
63. MACFARLANE Plate V. MacROBERTS *Catalogue, etc.* 12, Item No.68 and reproduction opposite page 7.

64. Francis C. EELES 'Notes on a Missal formerly Used in St Nicholas, Aberdeen' *PSAS* 33 (1898/9) 440-60, 440,1.
65. PARK, LLOYD, LOUDON & ROBERTS ed. *The National Library of Scotland Advocates' Library Notable Accessions up to 1925 - a book of illustrations* (NLS, Edinburgh, 1965) Plate No.30.
66. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* (see n.1) 35, C27.
67. C.G. COULTON *Scottish Abbeys and Scocial Life* (CUP, 1933) 193;
M.E. C. WALCOT *Scoti-Monasticon: The Ancient Church of Scotland - A History of the Cathedrals, Conventual Foundations, Collegiate Churches and Hospitals of Scotland*, (Virtue, Spalding and Dalby, London, 1874)
68. WALCOT 337.
69. J.S. RICHARDSON and Marguerite WOOD *Melrose Abbey* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1949) 12:

John Morow sum tym callit
was I and born in parysse
certainly and had in kepyng
al masoun werk of Santan
droys, ye hye kirk of glas
gw, melros and paslay of
nyddysdayall and of galway
I pray to God and mari bathe
& swete sanct Johne to kepe
this haly kyrk fra skathe.

See further on John Morow in: *French Connections*
(see n.6) 23.

70. Stewart CRUDEN *Scottish Abbeys* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1960) 65.
71. *French Connections, etc.* 31.
72. As above.
73. Jean de BOSSCHERE *La Sculpture Anversoise aux xv^e et XVI^e Siècles* 179 (*Collection des grands artistes des Pays-Bas*, 1907-14). Quoted by RICHARDSON [see n.103 below] 203, n.2.
74. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, etc* (see n.1) 88, Item E69.
75. As above, 88 and 89.
76. " " 89. See also, *French Connections, etc.* 25,6.
77. CALDWELL: *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, etc.* (see n.1).

a) A bronze pricket candlestick of ca.1100 said to be a typical example of candlesticks produced in Limoges in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and used throughout Europe. 116, Item No.F24.

b) Enamelled bronze plaque, decorated with the figure of Christ with head in a cruciform nimbus. It originally decorated an altar crucifix - late 12th. - 13th. century. 43, Item C45.

c) Bronze pricket candlestick, 13th. century. 44, Item C47.

d) Enamelled figure of Christ from a 13th. century crucifix, resembling figures of Christ made in Limoges in that century, and belonging to a type known as 'Christ the King'. 25, 6, Item No. B37.

78. CALDWELL 20, Item No. B26.

79. " 25, Item No. B36. The figure was originally attached either to an altar cross or to a processional cross.

80. Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, 1933, 2 vols.) vol. 1, 204, 5.

81. James CRUIKSHANK *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons; and The Lodge of Glasgow St John* (W.M. Ferguson, Glasgow, 1879) 44.

82. David McROBERTS 'Scottish Sacrament Houses' *SES* 15 (1964) Appendix, 56, and map 43.

83. J.S. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (The Sheldon Press, London, 1936) 70.

84. McROBERTS (see n.80) 36.
See also, Archdale A. KING *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (A.R. Mowbray and Co. Ltd., London, 1965) 98-105.

85. McROBERTS (see n.80) 35, 6.

86. " " " 40-2.

87. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns. etc.* 25, Item No. B36.

88. " 26, Item No. B39.

89. " 97, Item No. E94.

90. David McROBERTS 'A Scottish Madonna in Brussels' *The Scottish Art Review* 13, 2 (1971) 11-14 and figure. The statue is approximately three feet in height and is of carved wood in the Flemish style. See vol. 2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'E'. The Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

91. *French Connections, etc.* (see n.6) 34. The eight panels were on loan to the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, for an exhibition held there in 1982. They incorporate some

Renaissance forms and details and were originally part of a larger section of panelling which has been cut down. The 'Tree of Jesse' shows Christ at the top in the arms of the Virgin represented as 'Beata Maria in Sole'. The 'Arma Christi' are portrayed on a shield supported by angels, below which is a reed, and above, as a crest, are other symbols of the Passion and the Crown of Thorns as a wreath. See also, CALDWELL, *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, etc.* 108,9, Item No.F10. It is thought the panels were first taken from Arbroath Abbey to Balfour House, Fife.

92. CALDWELL The panels were made for David Beaton (1494-1546) when he was Abbot of Arbroath, before becoming Archbishop of St Andrews. See 108,9, F10.
93. CALDWELL 105, F1.
94. W. Douglas SIMPSON *Sumptuous Tastes* revised by Richard FAWCETT (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1952/87) 9 and figure. The two carvings are not likely to be earlier than the late fifteenth century although they do give the impression of being somewhat earlier, say from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

See vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'B'. CARVINGS IN WOOD AND STONE. 6) EDZELL CASTLE, ANGUS. b) OUR LADY AND THE HOLY CHILD.

The image of the 'Beata Maria in Sole' relates to words in the Book of Revelation of St John the Apostle (Chap.12, 1,2):

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; And she being with child cried, travailling in birth, and pained to be delivered.

This image should be understood as prophetic of the future glory of the Holy Mother and her Divine Son.

95. See vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'B'. CARVINGS IN WOOD AND STONE. 8) FOULIS EASTER, THE SACRAMENT HOUSE.
96. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (see n.83) 63,4, 210,11, At Mains in Kirkcudbrightshire there was a similar scene very much worn. It is now in the Dudhope Museum. There was an 'Annunciation' at Linlithgow Palace, above the South Entrance to the Courtyard. The Angel has gone, but the Virgin and the Pot of Lilies remain in corbels under canopies. Here the Virgin is a very regal figure. At Foulis Easter she is a pretty curly-haired girl.

For illustrations of the Sacrament House see, M.R. APTED and W. Norman ROBERTSON, 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' *PSAS* vol.95 (1961-2) Plate XLIV, No.2, and Plate XLV, Nos. 1 and 2. See also, David MacGIBBON and Thomas ROSS *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1896/7, 3 vols.) vol.3 (1897) 194 and figures 113 and 114.

97. *Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments* (The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1982) vol.4, Iona, 103,4. Note - the Abbey Church was rebuilt ca.the middle of the fifteenth century. See, this volume, 24. The authors suggest the existence at the time of a native school of stone-carvers. According to the inscription on one of the capitals one of the carvers was Donald O'Brolchàn, one of a family originally from Donegal, but domiciled in the West Highlands. See *An Inventory, etc.* 107.
98. *Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments, etc.* vol.4, 106,7.
99. As n.96.
100. As n.96, 102.
101. *Fifth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway* (The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, HMSO, 1914) vol.2, 'The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright - The Parish of Terregles', 242- 58, Item 431, Lincluden Convent and College,
102. As n.99, 246,7.
103. J.S. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Medieval Date in Scotland' *PSAS* vol.2, Sixth Series (1927-8) 197-224, 218, figure 23.
104. RICHARDSON and WOOD *Melrose Abbey* (see n.67) 15. The canopy over the Virgin is elaborate, being hollowed out and with pierced fenestrations, the whole design being symbolic of the Celestial Jerusalem.
105. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns, etc.* (see n.1) 110,11.
106. CALDWELL 116, Item No.F23.
107. RICHARDSON (see n.103) 215,6.
108. CALDWELL 112,3.
109. RICHARDSON (see n.105) 217,8 and figure 22. The carving is badly weathered.
110. David McROBERTS 'Provost Skene's House In Aberdeen and Its Catholic Chapel' *IR* 5, 2 (1954) 119-24, 119-121.
See also, Charles CARTER 'The Arma Christi in Scotland' *PSAS* vol.90 (1959) 116-29, 123,4.
111. M.R. APTED and W. Norman ROBERTSON 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' *PSAS* vol.95 (1961-2) 262-79, 273-76
112. APTED and ROBERTSON 274 and Plate No.XLI.
113. " " " 273.

114. Daniel FORBES ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis: Ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis Regesta Que extant in unum Collecta* (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1845, 2 vols.) vol.1, Appendix to the Preface, xci.
115. James COOPER ed. *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis* (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1888, 2 vols.) vol.2, lvi.
116. FORBES (see n.112) vol.2, 143.
117. FORBES vol.2, 160.
118. FORBES vol.2, 169.
119. FORBES vol.2, 179.
120. Charles CARTER 'The Arma Christi in Scotland' *PSAS* vol.90 (1959) 116-29, 124 and Plate XIIId.
121. Alexander RAMSAY 'Notice of a Pietà from the Old Church of Banff' *PSAS* vol.20 (1885-6) 356-7.
122. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns etc.* (see n.1) 114.
123. *French Connections etc.* (see n.6) 21.
124. *Sixth Report and Inventory of the Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick* (The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, Revised Issue, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1915) 'The Parish of Mertoun', 132-52, 134.
125. J. Cameron LEES *St Giles, Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral* (W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London, 1889) 79.
David LAING *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1859) 238.
126. SIMPSON *Sumptuous Tastes* (see n.92) 9 and figure.
127. J.S. RICHARDSON and H.B. MACKINTOSH *The Cathedral Kirk of Elgin, Moray* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1950) 16, 17.
128. See vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'B'. CARVINGS IN WOOD AND STONE. 8) FOULIS EASTER, THE SACRAMENT HOUSE.
129. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture etc.* (see n.94) 207.
130. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns etc.* (see n.1) 70, Item No.E16.
131. *Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments, etc.* (see n.95) vol.4, 'Iona', 101,2.
132. As n.129, 103,4. The Abbey Church was rebuilt about the middle of the fifteenth century. See 24.

133. CALDWELL 107, Item No.F7.
134. *Tenth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions: Midlothian and West Lothian* (The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1929) 213 and figure 259.
135. As n.132.
136. As n.132 and figure 260.
137. As n.132. 216 and figure 256.
138. As n.132. 217 and figure 257. The authors of the Report suggest two female figures. A more detailed description of the above is to be found in RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables' (see n.103) 209-15.
139. W.L. HILDBURGH 'English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Drama' *Archaeologia* London vol.93 Second Series (1949) 51-101 and Plates XI-XXI. 74,5.
140. *Sixth Report and Inventory.....the County of Berwick* (see, n.122) 152.
141. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables' (see n.103) 197-224, 219-22, and figures 24, 25 and 26.
142. As n.139. 208,9.
143. As n.139. 222-4 and figure 30, Nos.1,2 and 3.
See also *Tenth Report (1929) Mid Lothian and West Lothian* (see, n.130) 98, Item 130; 106, col.2 and 104, col.1.
The report speaks of 'Christ carrying the Cross, behind a figure carrying the Crown of Thorns', without mention of Simon of Cyrene
144. F.L. CROSS *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (OUP, London, 1957) 1414.
145. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables' (see n.103) 222-4.
146. RICHARDSON 224.
147. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (see n.81) 68.
148. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns* (see n.1) 107,8 and Item No.F8.
149. Francis C. EELES 'The Inventory of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, 1505' *SES* vol.3 (1912) 310-25, 324.
150. RICHARDSON (see n.103) 216 and 217, figure 20.

151. McROBERTS 'Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen, etc.' (see n.108) 121; CARTER 'The 'Arma Christi' in Scotland' (see n.108) 116-29, 124 and Plate XV, a. and b.
See below: PART III. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PASSION. The Arma Christi, The Emblems or Instruments of the Passion and The Image of Pity of the Lord.
See also, vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'E'. THE ARMA CHRISTI AND THE EMBLEMS OR INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION.
152. McROBERTS 'Provost Skene's House, etc.' (see, n.108, n.149) 119-24, 119,20. See also, CARTER 'The 'Arma Christi' in Scotland' (see n.108) 123,4.
153. See n.149.
154. The painting was exhibited in the 'Exhibition of Medieval Art' in London in 1923.
See COLTART (n.81) 208.
155. APTED and ROBERTSON 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' (see n.109) 264-7.

The 'Pietà' is still a common sight in the Catholic Churches of German-speaking parts of the Continent. It is said to have come to perfection in Italy as witnessed by the 'Pietà' of Michael Angelo in St Peter's, Rome. A medieval 'Pietà' forms part of the Burrell Collection in the Art Gallery in Pollok Country Park, Glasgow.
156. APTED and ROBERTSON 264-7.
157. EELES 'The Inventory of the Chapel Royal Stirling, 1505' (see n.149) 323.
See also, vol.2, CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'F'. The Image of Pity and Our Lady of Pity (the 'Pietà').
158. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (see n.81) 61.
159. COLTART 68.
160. *Advocates' Library Notable Accessions up to 1925* (see n.63) Plate No.11.
161. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* (see n.52) 5,6. A painting of the subject in the Hamburg Kunsthalle by Meister Francke (ca.1385-1436) named 'Christus als Schmerzenmann' (ca.1435) has no Instruments of the Passion. See *Hamburger Kunsthalle Bilderführer* (Prestel Verlag, Munich, 1989) 19, Item No.7 - in the Alte Meister Gemäldegalerie.
See also, McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Books, etc.* 20, Item No.127 and Plate opposite 23 - The Greenlaw Watson Breviary.
162. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner* 9.
See also, CARTER 'The Armas Christi in Scotland' (see n.108) 125.

163. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* 9.
164. As n.161, 16. See also, vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. i) DAMHOUDERS'S DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.
165. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* 18, 21, 23.
166. R.K. HANNAY ed. *Rentale Dunkeldense: Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517) with Mylne's 'Lives of the Bishops' (A.D. 1483-1517)* (SHS Second Series No.10, 1915) 238,9: 'Accounts of the Granitar of the Bishop of Dunkeld at Perth, delivered to Sir William Moncur'. This may be an indication that there was no Guild Merchant at Dunkeld.
167. Charles GROSS *The Gild Merchant, A Contribution to British Municipal History* (OUP, 1890, 2 vols.) vol.1, Appendix 'D', 203-7. Gross's list of Scottish towns where Guild Merchant Charters are on record, does not include Dunkeld.
168. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDICES 'A' to 'G'. See also, CARTER 'The 'Arma Christi' in Scotland' (see n.108) 118, 128.
169. CROSS *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (see n.142) 1414.
170. *French Connections, etc.* (see n.6) 23.
171. G. ASAERT 'Documenten voor de geschiedenis van de beeldhouwkunst te Antwerpen in de XV^e eeuw' *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp, 1972) 43-86, 48.
172. HANNAY *Rentale Dunkeldense, etc.* (see n.162) 2,3,4 and 311.
173. Denis MACPHAIL *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn* (Oliphant, Glasgow, 1881) 236.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGIOUS PAGEANTS AND PLAYS
OF THE CONTINENT

In this chapter our main concern is to survey country by country continental religious pageantry and drama mainly of the fifteenth century with which Scottish visitors to the Continent might have become acquainted and who as a result of this contact might have influenced such activities in their homeland. It will be quickly perceived that the subject matter of continental pageantry and drama was precisely that of the religious imagery which was given expression in illuminated manuscripts, representations in stone, wood and metal, and in paintings on walls, ceilings and panels, which we discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore these various representations were expressed in an iconography common to Western Europe. Had stained-glass windows survived in Scotland there is little doubt that these would have shown the same subject matter expressed in the same iconography.

By translating from continental language sources (mostly archaic) we have accumulated a considerable amount of information but restrictions on space make it impossible to detail information relative to our subject from every place where Scots might at sometime have been. The Scots were great travellers, then as now, and penetrated the Continent far and wide. Of necessity we confine ourselves to those places detailed in Chapter Two where were to be found numbers of Scots who came from circles of influence or who would eventually be joining such circles. Furthermore for the most part we concern ourselves only with such pageantry and plays as were intended to set before the eyes of the common man the facts which formed the basis of the christian religion.

Our next chapter will be concerned with the public religious

pageantry and plays of the Scottish Burghs when we shall endeavour to relate it to the continental religious pageantry and plays of which details are given in this chapter.

A. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

1) BRUGES (BRUGGE).

What were termed 'Processiën Generael' were a frequent feature of Bruges public life from the year 1420. A large amount of information about them up to 1530 was assembled by Edward Gailliard.¹ The advent of such a procession was publicly proclaimed in what were known as 'Halle geboden' (lit. 'Town Hall Edicts'). These need not detain us for long.

All residents, both male and female, were required to process, including foreigners. Such processions were held to gain divine favour in a variety of occurring causes, for example, in warding off plague or pest, in keeping the town's enemies away, in gaining divine favour for the 'Prince' (i.e. the Duke) in his endeavours on behalf of his people, and so on, and if the intention of the procession was achieved there might in due time be another procession of thanksgiving.

Sometimes the procession was presided over by the Diocesan Bishop, the Bishop of Tournai (Doornik), and was accompanied by relics of the saints, often the Blessed Sacrament, and sometimes the Holy Blood.

In this type of procession 'tableaux' and plays with 'personnagaen' were ruled out, as were stops for refreshment and

calling at taverns.² The great annual event in Bruges was the Procession of the Holy Blood which from the beginning of the fifteenth century included religious 'tableaux-vivants'.

From at least 1390 distinguished ecclesiastics, Bishops and Abbots, came from all over Europe to take part in the annual 'Processions of the Holy Blood'. Gailliard, the Bruges historian, compiled a list of these. Unfortunately it details only first appearances, and not return visits, and furthermore omits Bishops from what Gailliard names 'obscure places' whom he thinks may not be known to his Flemish readers, which probably excludes a number of Scottish Bishops. Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews walked in the Procession in 1451. Besides Scottish Bishops, Abbots and Clergy, walking in the Procession, it is more than likely that at least as spectators there were present Scottish Merchants, Factors and Agents, the current Conservator of Scottish Privileges, resident Scottish artisans, and those attending music and singing courses, or studying art at one of the ateliers.

Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews took part in the Procession of 1451, as he probably did in other years, but besides him the following are on record as attending the Procession,

- i) Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, 1492-1508, dying on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.
- ii) George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1483-1515.
- iii) James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, 1487-1526.
- iv) William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1483-1514, effectively from 1488.
- v) William Schevez, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1478-1497.93

Full details of the more developed form of this procession will be found in VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. Item i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.

When Bishop Kennedy took part in the Procession, according to the Bruges archives, it would probably have included 'tableaux-vivants' of,³

- i) The Twelve Apostles and the Four Evangelists.
- ii) The Garden of Gethsemane.
- iii) The City of Jerusalem.
- iv) The Annunciation of Our Lady.
- v) The Tree of Jesse.
- vi) The Three Kings.
- vii) The Child Bed of Our Lady.
- viii) King Herod.

In the earlier days of the procession there were no 'tableaux' nevertheless in the end of the first half ^{of the} fourteenth century large numbers of people were processing 'solemnly', wearing gloves. An archival account of 1345-46 shows that one thousand and fifty-six gloves were purchased for the solemnity, which means that at least five hundred and twenty-eight people walked in the processional column.⁴

From 1350 'La Ghilde Des Menestrels De Bruges' possessed a portion of the celebrated 'Chandelle d'Arras' which the Virgin was believed to have carried to heaven. Annually on the afternoon of the Saturday before the Feast of the Assumption, the minstrels processed to the Church of St Basil (the Shrine of the Holy Blood) carrying the 'miraculous candle'. There they made music and next day attended Mass after which they processed back to their Chapel on the Wulfhaghe-brugge. From there they visited the nearby

lepers who were given a drink of water in which a little of the 'miraculous candle' had been allowed to drip.⁵

Similar processions had been made every year by the young minstrels of Valenciennes since the thirteenth century. A number of other towns also possessed portions of the miraculous 'Chandelle d'Arras'.⁶

The Procession of the Holy Blood, the General Processions and the above procession seem to account for at least the principal processions through the town of Bruges. There were, however, also processions in the various parish churches as part of the liturgy, according to the Calendar, and sometimes in the streets of the parishes.

RELIGIOUS PLAYS.

There appears to have been no publicly performed spoken scripture-based drama performed under the auspices of the town authorities. Dramatic religious plays were performed in the parishes under the auspices of the church authorities. There were no cosmic-cycles, but individual plays performed according to the Church Calendar (see, however, section headed The Burg, below). Records of 1457 show a Dominican monk of Bruges, by name Jan Bouts (also known as, Jan Bonds), as a writer of religious plays.⁷

The Collegiate Parish Church of St Donaas.

This is the church where the Scot, Alexander Fotheringham, was for many years a Canon, in the first part of the sixteenth century. The liturgy of the 'Boy Bishop' is thought to have been performed

there from 1304.⁸ A play of the 'Three Kings' was being played from the year 1346.⁹ A play of the 'Resurrection' was being performed from 1365 (possibly even from 1306). That year a new 'libellus de ludo resurrectionis ad opus puerorum' was acquired.¹⁰ A play of the 'Nativity' was performed from 1375.¹¹

The Church Accounts of St Donaas for the year 1375 show a 'Sacrament Procession' with '8 kinderen met toorstsen ... mee opstanden'. Unfortunately 'opstanden' can bear a number of different meanings, for example, elevations, insurrections, fixtures. 'Insurrections' can obviously be ruled out. Without more information it would be unsafe to associate 'opstanden' with 'tableaux' of any sort such as were to come later in the Holy Blood Procession, where the Apostles and the Evangelists appeared for the first time in 1395-61¹² when they walked immediately in front of the sacred relic. 'Opstanden' is plural and so cannot relate to a canopy over the Sacrament. It may refer to nothing more than devices to shield candles from wind.

From 1380 the Golden Mass (commonly known as the 'Missus') was introduced, when the story of the 'Annunciation of the Virgin Mary' was presented in a musical drama. This representation was popular all over Europe, but we have discovered no records of it in Scotland. This does not mean it was unknown there. The performance was given on the Wednesday of the Advent Ember Days.¹³ The fact is that so far no church accounts such as exist in Bruges (and in England) have come to light in Scotland and we have no play texts.

The 'Missus' ceremony or drama was also performed in the Churches of Our Lady, St Salvator, St Jacob and St Gillis (i.e. St Giles) where the Scottish artisans had their altar of St Andrew.¹⁴

At St Donaas' a 'ludus Sacramento' was performed from 1458. A Passion Play in Flemish, written by the Succentor, Aliamus de Groote, was performed from 1476. In 1483 it was taken into the streets and performed by boys on a cart, 'super carum per vicos'. In 1485 the Easter Play was directed by the musician, Jean Cordier, who took the part of Jesus.¹⁵

The Collegiate Church of Our Lady.

This church had considerable resources of talent, especially in music. A 'Mysterium Trium Regum' was performed from 1330 at Epiphany, the three Kings being represented by boys who offered gifts at the High Altar, singing the Antiphon, 'Hoc Signum...', the choir responding with 'Tria sunt munera...',¹⁶

It is possible a 'Mysterium Resurrectionis' already existed in 1350. There is a record of 1432 showing that in that year it was made up of scenes of,

- i) A Visitatio Sepulchri of the Three Maries and a meeting with the two Angels and the Risen Lord.
- ii) The Harrowing of Hell.
- iii) The Walk to Emmaus.

These possibly account for the following,¹⁷

Jesus, Mary Magdalene, two other women, two Angels, Adam and Eve, John the Baptist, Murderer, Physician, two Pilgrims, and St Thomas. This leaves Pilate and three Jews unaccounted for. These may have appeared in a scene of a Post-Resurrection appearance of Jesus to Pilate and the Three Tormentors.

The play took place at the end of Matins on Easter Sunday and it may reasonably be assumed to have been an unusually elaborate liturgical performance. All the participants and the Succentor who organised and produced the play were financially rewarded.

The 'Missus' ceremony is known to have existed from 1475 when it was endowed by Judocus Berthilde, a curate. It possibly existed earlier.¹⁸

The Church of Our Lady was the home of the 'Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow', with many illustrious members. It existed to foster music. The Scot Alexander Bonkil was numbered among its members.¹⁹

The Church of St. Salvator.

According to legend this church was founded in 640 A.D. by St Eloy (or Eloi), Bishop of Noyon, and he with the Saviour (Salvator) and St Wulfram are patrons of the church. St Eloi is of significance for Scotland for he was Patron Saint of the various Incorporations of Hammermen, as he was in Bruges.²⁰

A Golden Mass or 'Missus' was endowed in this church in 1425. It may possibly, however, have existed earlier.²¹ We know of no other records concerning religious drama associated with this church, which after becoming a collegiate church built up a considerable musical tradition.

On Corpus Christi Day 1518 the Hammermen of Perth featured a 'tableau' of 'Sanct eloy' in the procession through the streets to the Burg Playfield where they may have performed a play based on some incident in his life.²² We discuss this in our next chapter. It is probable that members of the Confraternity visiting Bruges would have made a point of paying their devotions to the Saint's relics at St Salvator's and perhaps joining in the procession of the relics on either 25 June or 1 December, feast days of the saint.

The Church of St Jacob (i.e. St James).

At this church there was a play of the 'Three Kings', the liturgy of the 'Boy Bishop' from 1443, and at Pentecost there was a ceremony featuring a representation of the 'Descent of the Holy Spirit' in the form of a Dove from 1464.²³ From 1498 there is record of a play of the 'Purification of Our Lady' when players received a reward of ij s.²⁴ The Feast of the Purification (when the Virgin went to the Temple to give thanks for the birth of her Child) was (and is) also known as Candlemas. From at least 1442 the Incorporated Crafts of Aberdeen were required by the Burgh authorities to provide annually at Candlemas what the records call 'the offerand of oure lady'. This subject is discussed in our next chapter.

At St Jacobs from 1519 the 'Missus' ceremony became an elaborate mystery play with polyphonic music.²⁵

The Burg.

This is the historic heart of Bruges. It is a large public square

in which was formerly situated the original Parish Collegiate Church of St Donaas (destroyed in Napoleonic times). Today the square remains the site of the historic Church of St Basil in which is located the Shrine of the Holy Blood. The Burg is also the site of the historic Stad Halle, or Town Hall.

A Chamber of Rhetoric (Rederijker Kamer) was founded in Bruges in 1428 and at first was given the name 'Pensee', soon changed to 'Heilig geest Kamer'. The number of such Chambers in the Low Countries (and in Northern France) grew and eventually nation-wide competitions were held with a prize for the best performance of a play by competing Chambers. Such a competition was known as a 'Landjuweel'. One of the first of these took place in the Burg in 1441 as shown by an item of expenditure of 11 July 1441 incurred when the Burgomasters and Council Members gathered at the Assembly Rooms, to watch the performances from a balcony as they took refreshments.²⁶

Visiting companies of players sometimes performed on the Burg, as for example that of 'Jacob de Muenic' (probably from Munich, Bavaria) who gave a play there in 1458-9, entitled 'sinte Silvester', when their building of a stage for the performance was subsidised by the Burgh Council..²⁷

As early as 1413, the magistrates of Oudenaarde (Audenarde) gave two prizes for a 'Juweel' for the most artistic and best plays in honour of the Holy Sacrament.²⁸

2) DAMME.

Bruges is a short distance from Damme. The prosperity of the one depended on the other. All cargoes from across the sea destined for handling in Bruges of necessity had to come through Damme and vice-versa with exports from Bruges. It is likely that at Damme the cargoes of larger vessels were transferred either to smaller vessels or to barges before proceeding to Bruges via canal.²⁹

A play was performed here in the Church of Our Lady in 1400. Unfortunately we know neither its name nor any details about it. Many performances of the 'Resurrection' were given in later years, first by clergy and 'young men from the church', and later by laity alone, which is probably an indication that the play of 1400 was a liturgical play of the resurrection, as opposed to the 'all-laity' plays which were non-liturgical, and hence likely to be more realistic performances.³⁰

In 1432 there took place at Damme 'les solennités de l'Independence' when the burgh authorities met the expenses for 'joyeux esbatements', which comprised a performance of 'Our Lord's Passion and Resurrection' by priests and 'other young men', who also gave a play of the 'Twelve Tribes of Israel'.³¹ There is also report of a performance of the 'Passion' there in 1433. There are records of twenty-four Passion Plays in eight other³² towns in the Low Countries between 1394 and 1560, to which has to

be added a report of frequent performances in the town of Loo in the years 1428-1561.³³

Performances of the 'Resurrection' were rather more popular. There were such performances in Damme in 1411, 1417, 1421, 1433, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1455 and 1456. There were more than thirty-seven performances of the same mystery in ten other towns between 1400 and 1561. The earliest performance on record was that of 1400 at Deinze. Most of these plays were given during the days of Easter.³⁴ These are likely to have embraced not only the scene of the 'Resurrection', but also at least the 'Harrowing of Hell', the 'Walk to Emmaus', and possibly the 'Ascension'.

In 1411 and subsequent years no less than ten stages were employed at Damme in the presentation of the play, which obviously means this was an elaborate simultancously staged play with at least ten different scenes. Priests and young men were rewarded with wine for their participation.³⁵

On Shrove Tuesday (Vastenavond) 1438 'young men' ('ghesellen'-probably craft apprentices or journeymen) from Bruges and Damme, received payments for performing a 'waghenspel' (that is, a play on a pageant-waggon) in Damme and likewise 1450 'young men' of the town, i.e. Damme, performed a 'moraliteit' upon a pageant-waggon.

No details of these plays are known, and Worp wonders whether the plays had a comic content, as is probably inferred by the words 'uter goeder ghenouchten' in connection with the 1438 performance, and is to be expected on Shrove Tuesday.³⁶

On 4 June 1450 'young men' from the church performed a play in connection with the Corpus Christi celebrations of that day.³⁷ We have no details of the performance.

According to the Town Accounts of Damme performances of a play of the 'Three Kings' were given annually in church in the years 1400-1455.³⁸

3) MIDDELBURG.

Scotland had a Staple arrangement with Middelburg from 12 November 1347 at least on a temporary basis at the time of a quarrel with the Flemings (which in the context must mean Bruges) because of an order of banishment against all Scots (See, Chapter Two).³⁹ We have very little information regarding the performance of plays in this town. We know they had a Chamber of Rhetoric in respect of which we reproduce Ordinances setting out its duties and responsibilities. Its name was 'het Bloemken Jesse' ('Bloemken' is related to flower, perhaps the meaning is 'little flower', but the item is usually named 'the Tree of Jesse'). This Chamber was founded in 1483.⁴⁰ They did not send an entry to the Ghent 'Fête de Rhetorique' in 1539, but that year they produced on 1 August in their own town a play entitled, 'Den boom der Schrifteuren' ('The Tree of the Scriptures').⁴¹

A record of 1365/6 shows expenses for Sunday evening, 10 January, i.e. in the Octave of the Epiphany, rewarding the schoolmaster for 'ringing' and for 'playing a play', the name of which is not given. It is unlikely to be anything other than a play of the 'Three Kings'. No doubt, the performers were his pupils.⁴²

THE PLAYS AND PAGEANTRY OF THE TOWN GUILDS.

We now look at the various Town Ordinances governing the activities of the Town Guilds. They shed a certain amount of light on the pageantry and plays performed in Middelburg. The information that follows is based on extracts from Town Ordinances.

a) The Procession of the Holy Cross.

Presumably this took place on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 3 May. By an Ordinance of the Town of 10 June 1462 the 'twenty year-olds' of the Guild of Hand-bowmen are required to process wearing their armoured suits and carrying their bows.⁴³

An Expense Account of the Guild of Hawkers for 1499 shows expenses relating to Holy Cross day in respect of St Nicholas, Trumpeters, an elephant and the schoolmaster. In the next chapter we suggest the possibility of an annual procession in Aberdeen in celebration of the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, on 2 May.

b) The Processions on Corpus Christi Day and the Day of the Annual Ommegang.

On 'Sacrament Day' (i.e. Corpus Christi Day) the members of the Guild of Hand-bowmen are required by the authorities to process with their candles between the Winemasters and the Wine-tappers.⁴⁴ The members of the Guild of Rederijkers are required to 'play' in the 'Ommegang' on Sacrament Day (Corpus Christi), 'which they are bound to help organize and maintain'.⁴⁵

On the day of the Annual Ommegang, in the Octave of the Feast of

the Apostles, Peter and Paul (29 June - 6 July) the members of the Guild of Rederijkers by a Town Ordinance of 9 January 1484/5 are required on the day to 'go and make their offering carrying their swords like the other crafts do'. This probably means that like all the other Guilds they were required to attend Mass before the festivities of the day began.⁴⁶ The members of the Guild of St Luke are also required to take part in the processions on Sacrament and 'Ommegang Days'... 'under their torches' and when ordered by their Deacon are required to 'play' in them or arrange for someone else to do so at their own expense, 'to the end that the play in the (foresaid) 'Ommegangs' shall be fully performed'.⁴⁷ It is not clear what type of guild that of St Luke was. We suggest it may have been a guild of artists.

When a play was to be performed 'whether stage play or 'esbatement'...' All 'those who have been nominated to play with the guild brethren (i.e. of the Guild of Rederijkers) on the orders of the deacon' are to attend a familiarisation meeting on the Town Square, 'where the young men are to speak, so that the play or 'esbatement' can be tried out'. Absentees without good reason are to be fined.⁴⁸ This suggests that members of the Rederijkers Guild taking part in the play were assisted by the members of other guilds, who for the most part would have been illiterate craftsmen or journeymen

c) The Guild of Rederijkers.

By an Order of 9 January 1484/5 the Guild of Rederijkers were required to provide members to take part in the 'esbatements' or stage plays (and pay their own expenses), subject to penalty for

failing to do so when ordered. ⁴⁹ These performances were called 'waggon-plays', so presumably the 'plays' were performed on pageant-waggons. ⁵⁰ By an Order of 17 March 1514/15 the Town undertook to service the Guild's pageant-waggons free of charge. ⁵¹ The Town also agreed to pay the Guild a monthly subsidy of 5 sc. gr. on condition that whenever the Town celebrates a 'Victory' or 'Triumph' members of the Guild are to perform either 'esbatements' or 'stage plays'. Furthermore the Guild is to provide thirteen stage plays annually, and in addition are to perform every Sunday and Holy Day in the 'Jaremarct' and whenever the Marksmen have a shooting contest, as well as on St George's Day, St Sebastian's Day and when the Gunners hold their Festival of the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady.

It is required that these plays shall be 'entertaining'. A further requirement is that the Guild play at the Town House on New Year's Eve and on the Thirteenth Evening (we take this to be on the Octave Day of the Feast of the Epiphany) and as we have seen above they were required to play the leading role in the 'Ommegangs' and the 'play' at the Feast of Corpus Christi. ⁵²

d) Craft Guild Accounts.

We now consider such records of Middelburg Craft Guild Accounts as have survived and been published. Extracts of items relevant to our particular study are set out in vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. Item ii) EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CRAFT GUILDS OF MIDDELBURG. - to which reference should be made.

In point of fact the accounts do not name any of the plays where

Deacons of the Guilds detailed some of their members to assist the Guild of Rhetoricians in producing plays for public entertainment. They do show that each guild provided a horse-drawn waggon which they apparently turned into a 'pageant-waggon', equipped with staging for use in the 'Ommegangs' that took place from time to time and give a little information about the properties which they also used, but little of this information enables us to say what scene or play was mounted on the waggons. The Guild of Hawkers paraded an elephant (no doubt a man-made animal with men walking inside) not only on Holy Cross Day of 1499, but did so once again the same month on Sacrament Day (i.e. Corpus Christi). This suggests that whatever the occasion they produced the same 'tableau', probably one featuring their Patron Saint. The accounts of the Carpenters' Guild for 1518 show an item for 'the book', but this is probably a cash book, rather than a book containing a play text. Whatever 'tableau' the Coopers paraded on Sacrament Day of 1518 the fact that two horses appear to have been required to pull the waggon suggests it was a sizeable and weighty one. It featured 'the Hubert', which may have been St Hubert. The only properties referred to are 'two habits' one of which was emblazoned with a sewn-on painted heart. St Hubert is associated with the forests of the Ardennes Mountains on the borders of what we know as the Low Countries.

c) The Barbers' Guild.

The Barbers' Guild is of special interest in as much as a Scot by name 'Willem Hil' was its Treasurer at least in the year 1518. The only information we gain from his account is that a waggon was greased and fitted out and copes were apparently borrowed for use on Corpus Christi day that year. The use of copes often indicates

a scene in which High Priests appear, and more than one cope might suggest a passion scene such as the Trial of Jesus with Annas and Caiaphas.

f) The Bricklayers' Guild.

The Bricklayer Guild Accounts for Corpus Christi 1518 show the use of a waggon, fitted out for use as a pageant-waggon, and what was probably a 'tableau-vivant' required the use of a crown and costumes. The payment to players may relate to craftsmen who helped the Rhetoricians in a play on the Market Square after the completion of the parade of pageant-waggon. The 'three giants' walked in the street. 'Giants' were a common feature in the processions of the Low Countries at this time and normally had no part in any play. They merely walked.

g) The Smiths' Guild.

The Smiths of Middelburg had St Eloi as their Patron Saint, as normally did the Hammermen (i.e. the Smiths) Incorporations of Scotland. The accounts for 'Omgangsdach' of 1546 show 'props' of an 'Emperor's crown' and a 'Herald's tunic with the world embellished on it'. This suggests to us a 'tableau-vivant' of the martyrdom of St Eloi, possibly performed in the procession with mime and gestures. Similarly 'St Hubert's chest' and possibly a reliquary of the Saint in the Bakers' Accounts for 1550 suggest the possibility of a 'tableau-vivant', featuring that Saint. Again in the same year Herod riding on a horse is featured by the same Guild on the 'Ommeganckdach'. We suggest in our next chapter that St Eloi, St Obert (the local name for St Hubert), and Herod riding on a horse were once featured in the 'tableaux' of the City of Perth.

It is not possible to be positive about what took place in the form of representation on the days when 'Ommevangs' were held in Middelburg. We suggest the processions were probably in the nature of 'monstres'. Each procession was made up of pageant-waggons carrying 'tableaux-vivants' which after the procession had ended at the Market Square became active scenes with dialogue in which the actors from the Guild of Rhetoricians took leading parts. The 'tableaux-vivant' of the the Guild of Coopers featuring 'the Hubert' and that of the Smiths featuring 'St Eloi' may have been parked and served merely as show-pieces.

The use of copes by the Barbers, of a crown and costumes by the Bricklayers and of Herod by the Smiths may indicate that the play performed on the Market Square in which the Rhetoricians took the leading roles was either a Passion Cycle or part of one, perhaps the Trials of Jesus before Herod and before Pilate. The problem with representations in which both Crafts and Rhetoricians are involved is that the accounts of the latter are not normally available. Another problem is that when Crafts paraded in a 'monstre' with a play after the procession they did so according to craft precedence and not according to the logical chronological position of their 'tableaux-vivant', chronological positioning being arranged at the playing-place in accordance with the requirements of simultaneous staging.

As we have shown, in one way or another religious pageantry and plays was a strong element in the life of the Port of Middelburg, involving members of the Guilds of Bowmen and Craftsmen, as well as members of the Guild of Rederijkers (i.e Rhetoricians). After the Scottish Staple at Bruges was wound up in 1468 displaced Scottish Merchants moved to Middelburg, Antwerp and Campvere (see Chapter Two). Although Middelburg failed, despite great efforts, to gain the permanent Scottish Staple, it is

significant that Sir Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of Scottish Privileges from 1500 to 1508, made his normal residence there, whilst maintaining one in Bruges. Thus it is possible that some influence over Scottish religious pageantry and plays came from Middelburg via the Scots Merchants who traded there.

4) ANTWERP.

During the period May-October 1498 when in Antwerp Dean Brown of Aberdeen (see Chapter Two) could have witnessed plays or pageants in the Low Countries in celebration of the following feasts,

- a) The Invention of the Cross, 3 May.
- b) Corpus Christi, 14 June.
- c) SS Peter and Paul, 29 June.
- d) St James, the Apostle, 25 July.
- e) The Assumption of Our Lady, 15 August.
- f) The Beheading of St John the Baptist, 29 August.
- g) The Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14 September.

If he had been in Bruges on 3 May he could have taken part in the Procession of the Holy Blood. In Antwerp in October he may possibly have witnessed plays performed by the Brethren of the Guild of St Luke on their Feast of Patron, St Luke, 10 October, perhaps a play about St Luke, or a play of the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady, if that had not been performed on the feast day, 15 September. It is possible it was even performed twice. Such a play may have been performed twice in 1495. (On this see below.)

We have already mentioned in our Introduction the 'Ommegang' held in Antwerp 15 August 1398 in honour of Our Lady's Assumption, which became an annual event and was witnessed by Albrecht Dürer in 1520, and recorded by him in his diary.⁵³ We have also given details of the 'Besnijdenis Ommegang' (Circumcision Procession) of Trinity Sunday, 2 June 1398. De Burbure gives details of similar processions held in 1420-59 when the order of procession of the floats and the subjects they represented were the same for both the 'Circumcision' and 'Sacrament' processions, a procession of

the latter with the floats having been instituted by 1420.⁵⁴ It is obvious that as Corpus Christi came but a few days after the Circumcision Procession it was convenient to process the same floats as before. On both occasions the circumcision relic was processed at the head of the procession, but on Corpus Christi Day the procession was joined by the Blessed Sacrament at the end of the procession.⁵⁵ There are also accounts of the Circumcision Processions of 1470 and 1494,⁵⁶ these seemingly being repeated on the following Thursday, but from 1494 prelates invited to the former were not expected to remain to the Thursday.⁵⁷

De Burbure gives another description of the Procession of Our Lady on the Feast of the Assumption, to which no firm date is assigned but it seems to be of the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ De Burbure completes his work with an account of the first Ommegang van St Joris (i.e. St George), 1485.⁵⁹

We do not propose to give translations of all the above processions. We give instead below a summary translation of the processions of 1420-1459, which covers a period when Scots ecclesiastics might have been gathering ideas for the institution of Corpus Christi Processions associated with 'tableaux-vivants' and/or plays on religious subjects.

The Processions of the Circumcision Relic (the Prepuce) and the Blessed Sacrament, Antwerp, 1420 - 1459. (Summary translation.)

All the scenes detailed were mounted on floats, a term we use designedly as being the best translation of the Flemish 'een poynt', a wheeled vehicle with a flat top, used as a pageant waggon,⁶⁰

- i) The Relic of the Holy Prepuce.
- ii) Our Lord being circumcised.
- iii) The Virgin with the Three Maries.

- iv) Christmas with the Three Kings.
- v) The Ten Virgins with lamps.
- vi) The Holy Sepulchre with the Three Maries.
- vii) The Emperor Constantine bringing the cross into Jerusalem, accompanied by his horsemen.
- viii) The Emperor Constantine walking naked with the cross.
- ix) The revelation to the Emperor Constantine on the (battle)field that he would overcome his enemies.^a

a. i.e. 'In hoc signo vinces'.

- x) The 'Holy of Holies' with David making his offering with the maidens of Jerusalem.
- xi) Paradise when Alexander arrived and tribute was paid to him by the angel. (Introduced in 1459.)
- xii-xiv) Male and female saints of Brabant.
- xv) St George with the Dragon, a new-made float.
- xvi) The clergy of the Collegiate Parish Church of Our Lady.
- xvii) On Corpus Christi Day, the Blessed Sacrament.

The following quotation from a 'Compte d'Anvers de 1398' provides much useful information on the care with which the Antwerp processions were organized at what is a comparatively early date for these events,⁶¹

Faire préparer les chars et les costumes des personnages qui devaient y figurer; instruire chacun de son rôle muet; expliquer l'attitude à garder la mimique à observer; distribuer leurs attributs et leur insigne à tous ces hommes et enfants, acteurs improvisés et placés, qui à cheval, qui sur les chars à gradins (i.e. 'punten' or 'floats), ou s'avancant à pied entre la halle (column) formée par les corporations de métiers; donner, enfin, à la cavalcade le signal du départ ...

Dürer identified the following in the 'Ommeegang of Our Lady' he witnessed on Sunday, 18 August 1520, in the Octave of the Assumption,

- i) Prophets.
- ii) New Testament scenes such as,
 - a) The Annunciation.
 - b) The Three Kings on large camels 'and other rare beasts'.
 - c) The Flight into Egypt.
 - d) 'And many other things which for shortness I omit'.
 - e) St Margaret and her maidens leading a Dragon by a Girdle.
 - f) St George with his squire.
 - g) Boys and girls representing saints.

- iii) Twenty persons bearing the image of the Virgin Mary with the Lord Jesus.

In the procession was a great concourse of people of every rank, craftsmen, civic dignitaries, ecclesiastics, men at arms, musicians, drummers, trumpeters, monks and nuns, widows, guildsmen wearing their insignia, and (others carrying) candles and staves between the various groups.

The procession as described by Dürer lacks the representation of 'Our Lady's Death', 'Our Lady being carried to the grave', the 'Assumption and Coronation', 'Saint Anna', and the 'Sorrowing of Our Lady', as detailed by De Burbure.

None of the items detailed above under item ii were in the 1398 procession. The new items of 1520 were evidently taken over from the Circumcision Procession. The missing scenes may in fact have been in the procession Dürer saw. They may have been amongst those covered by the words, 'and many other things, which for shortness I omit', and 'so many things were there that I could never write them all in a book'. A procession in honour of the Assumption must be regarded as incomplete without some representations of it.

David Lyndsay (1490-1550) poet, playwright, Lyon King of Arms, may have witnessed a similar Procession in 1531,⁶² a year we know he was there on the 23 August, for on that date he addressed a letter from Antwerp, whither he had come after a seven week stay in Brussels. That year the procession would have taken place on Sunday, 20 August, within the Octave.

He returned to Scotland in October, having spent more than three months in the Low Countries.⁶³ If the dates we have are correct it means that Lyndsay would have missed the annual 'Groote Ommegang' in Brussels which concluded with a play of one of the 'Seven Joys of Mary' ('Zeven Bliscapen van Sint-Maria'). The procession and play took place on Pentecost Sunday, which in 1531 occurred on the 28 May.

We have no details of any festivities that might have taken place at the Imperial Court of Charles V in Brussels in 1531. Lyndsay refers in his letter (that of 23 August 1531), addressed to the Lord Secretary to 'the triwmpphis that I haiff sein', defining these as 'triwmpchand Justynis', 'terribull turnements', and 'fetchtyn on fut in barras'.⁶⁴

Besides the possibility that Lyndsay witnessed the 'Assumption Ommegang' in Antwerp, there is the further possibility that he may have witnessed performances given by one of the local Rederijkers Kamers, not only in Antwerp, but elsewhere, for such Chambers were universal in the Low Countries, perhaps one of the 'Possenspels' of Cornelius Eversaert, featuring matrimonial life, written between 1512-28.⁶⁵

Painters and the Plays.

Antwerp was noted for its painters, who belonged to the Guild of St Luke. Among other things members played an important role in the artistic aspects of the various town processions. There were some members who also performed plays, mostly religious in character. In 1484 under the umbrella of the Guild of St Luke a Rederijkers Kamer was established, taking the name of the 'Violet'. There remained a Dean common to both painters and rhetoricians, but the latter had their own Prince, and a special Ordinance regulating their affairs and responsibilities was drawn up by the City Council, as was done at Middelburg. Failure to attend meetings, banquets, appointed Masses, and processions, were all subject to disciplinary provisions.

About 1490 the 'Violet' spawned another Chamber, viz. the 'Goudesbloem', i.e. the 'Marigold'. Both Chambers received a generous annual subsidy from the City Council in return for their services in connection with the public festivities. Yet another Chamber, the 'Olijftack', i.e. the 'Olive Branch', was founded in 1511.⁶⁶

In 1495 the Guild of St Luke obtained a Papal Bull giving them leave to establish the 'Brotherhood of the Seven Sorrows of Mary' in their chapel in the town Collegiate Church of Our Lady. They celebrated this with the performance of a play of 2,800 verses, which was greeted with such applause that they gave a repeat performance. In May that same year the City Council decided that the following year a 'Landjuweel' should be held in the city. Chambers of Rhetoric from all over the Low Countries, except

Bruges, entered plays. Louvain (Leuven) was represented by Chambers named, 'de Lelie', 'de Kersauwe', 'de Pensee', and 'de Roose'. Brussels was represented by, 'het Boeck', 'de Violet', and 'de Lelie'.⁶⁷

5) BERGEN-OP-ZOOM.

Processions.

An annual procession was instituted in Bergen on the Feast of the Holy Trinity in 1349. Unfortunately we have no details of it.⁶⁸

Waggons were first used in the Corpus Christi Ommegang in 1413. Again we have no details.⁶⁹

Fortunately a detailed eye-witness account has survived of an 'Ommegang' that took place in Bergen on 4 May 1533, the third Sunday after Easter, the Feast of St Florian, and the Sunday after the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. It was made by Hieronymus Köler, a merchant from Nuremberg, Bavaria. It is long and detailed. We give a summary below. Besides this procession there were two other processions in Bergen in 1533, that on Corpus Christi Day, 12 June, described as 'large', and another on 16 June, described as 'very large'. Presumably these took place annually.

The Procession of Sunday, 4 May 1533.⁷⁰

- 1) Tradesmen grouped in their Craft Guilds.
- 2) Twenty young men on horses, each holding something, 'special'.
- 3) Eight floats (i.e. pageant-waggons) on which were mounted:
 - a) The Brazen Serpent as a type of the Cross of Christ.
 - b) Solomon, ancestor of the Lord, and Queen Sheba, whose visit pointed to the Coming of the Three

- Kings and their Adoration.
- c) David who in the Messianic Psalms prophesied the Coming of Christ.
- d) Mary with the Child.
- e) The Angel and Shepherds at the Crib.
- f) The Three Holy Kings.
- g) Various 'Squires'.
- h) A King with closed Visor (?Herod) who is being assaulted by a Knight.

4) Representations of,

- a) The King of Cappadocia, father of St Margaret.
- b) St Margaret being attacked by the Dragon.
- c) St George coming to her rescue.

This group was accompanied by a team of Sword Dancers.

- 5) Scenes of warlike figures and their heroic deeds taken from the Bible: Philistines on horses, who were defeated by David and Saul, and David who slew the giant Goliath.
- 6) A scene mounted on a float, showing a Pope seated on a throne, subduing a Dragon with a Cross.
- 7) A captured devil, and on a float a tomb with a dead man, whose soul Köler suggested had been saved by prayer and the offering of Masses.
- 8) A float with an Emperor and the representation of a castle, followed on foot by a group of penitents with a huge cross, surrounded by dancing cutlers.
- 9) The Walk to Calvary, Christ being led to his crucifixion, accompanied by numerous armed guards, not on floats, but with all characters walking along the street.
- 10) Following the cross-bearer was Mary, the Mother of Jesus, John the Beloved Disciple and other Apostles, and behind followed a large band of devils.
- 11) Various Orders of Monks; priests with relics; people carrying lighted candles; various musicians.
- 12) The Holy Sacrament.
- 13) Citizens carrying staves and flags.
- 14) 'Ordens Leute' (i.e. nobles), and many people.

Köler may be taken as an example of how a peripatetic merchant would be able to influence the pageantry and staging of plays in his own town, where being a merchant, he would be a member of the Guild Merchant and very probably also a member of the Town Council. When public pageantry and festivities came up for discussion, as from time to time, no doubt, they did, he would have been able to make a valuable contribution and bring his influence to bear. It seems reasonable to assume that the same kind of thing happened in Scotland. We must remember too, that as merchants were concerned for their own earthly prosperity, so they were even more concerned for their eternal reward, and the public display of the facts of the christian religion, and the way to avoid the consequences of sin, would be a matter of great interest wherever they happened to be.

Plays.

Bergen had a Rederijkers Kamer. It was known as the 'Vreudghenbloeme' - the 'Flowers of Gladness', a typical name for a Chamber of Rhetoric. We do not know when they began, but by 1472 they were all-powerful in regard to the public performance of drama. In that year they succeeded in getting a ban imposed on the 'Voetboogschutter's' (Guild of Foot Bowmen's) performance of a play.⁷¹ In 1496 they entered a play in the Antwerp 'Landjuweel', competing against twenty-seven other Chambers from other parts of the Low Countries. The prize went to the 'Ongheleerde Kamer' from Lier with a 'Spel Van Zinne', i.e. a 'play with a purpose' - a morality.⁷²

6) GHENT.Plays.

Ghent does not appear in Worp's comprehensive list of 'Passion and Resurrection Plays' known to have been presented in the Low Countries. Not much information seems to have survived from Ghent regarding the presentation of individual religious plays either in church or out of doors, apart from those which involved Chambers of Rhetoric.

Ghent records of 1442 have an entry as follows concerning the performance of a religious play by a group of men called the 'ghesellen vander conste' whom we take to be a brotherhood of artists, where art should probably be taken in the broadest sense: ⁷³

By bevele van scepenen den ghesellen vander conste, die trokken ter Nieuwerpoort, aengaende den esbatements, den croenemente, dat ons Here ghecrust was up den goeden Vridach, te hulpen haren costen, 2 £ gr.

That is,

By order of the magistrates paid to the Brethren of the Arts who went to Nieuwpoort, in connection with the play,^a the Lamentation for the Crucifixion of Our Lord on Good Friday, to help with their expenses, 2 £ gr.

a. 'Esbatement' is sometimes used in the Flemish of this period in connection with mystery plays.

We have no details of the play but it was evidently a Passion Play or part of such a play. The words 'the Lamentation of Our Lord on Good Friday' suggest two possible scenes, perhaps rendered consecutively, viz. the 'Taking Down from the Cross' and the 'Pietà', when having been taken down from the Cross Christ is laid across his Mother's knees, a theme popular in christian art. The Dutch scholar Worp does not mention it in his list of 'Passiespellen'. It is possible the 'ghesellen van den consten' was an early 'Rederijker Kamer'.

Processions.

The oldest record of a religious procession organized in Ghent is of one which took place in 1007 in honour of St Lieven when a procession was made to nearby Houthem and back again. A Guild of St Lieven already existed in Ghent in 1007. It was refounded in 1039 by Abbot Folbert on firmer foundations. Members of both sexes bound themselves to process every year in dignified costume on the feast of the Saint and to accompany him to Houthem and back again to Ghent. Houthem was the scene of a miracle attributed to the saint.⁷⁴

The Procession from Ghent to Houthem of 1007.

All those going in the procession on 27 June gathered at midnight in the Abbey Church of St Baff where High Mass was sung. That concluded, the procession moved off to the singing of hymns and litanies. Monks from St Baff's walked in front in pairs, each with a 'flambeau' in his hand. Then came the relic shrine, of silver, with some parts in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, carried on a litter under a trellis of iron-work. Next came the Abbot, in mitre, carrying a staff, followed by other dignitaries and ordinary folk. Some of the dignitaries dropped out of the procession after going a short distance. The honour of carrying the mortal remains of the town's patron was passed down from father to son. Each pilgrim carried a torch or branch of foliage, or a white ceremonial staff, decorated with tendrils from vineyards, and girt about with other greenery. As the procession went through the town people stood outside their houses holding lighted torches.

The custom was for the procession to reach Houthem at seven o'clock next morning, where monks from St Baff's waiting at the

edge of the village took over the litter and carried it into the church.⁷⁵ The inquisitive wandered about the town, where a great feast was held.

Next day, St Peter's Day, 29 June, at about noon, the bells of St Lieven's signalled it was time to begin the journey back to Ghent by the shortest route, which took only three hours.⁷⁶

In 1467 Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was installed as Count of Flanders, and that year ordered that the litter with the relics of St Lieven should no longer be carried but must be transported to Houthem and back on an ornamentally embellished waggon.⁷⁷ The shrine was renewed in 1469 and placed upon an expensively made waggon, decorated with gold paint in front and behind. Two young clerks sat on the waggon and sang the song of St Lieven, and the same year the Captain of Ghent with one hundred and sixty armed horsemen accompanied the shrine to Houthem and back to Ghent.

An equally famous procession was that at Tournai (Doornik) held since 1092 on the day of the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, 3 May, in honour of Our Lady's 'Uitgang'⁷⁸ (lit. departure), referring to Our Lady's Death, in her case associated with her Assumption and Coronation, but that feast occurs on 15 August.

Every year a large number of people from Ghent took part with waggons, banners, candles, torches, players, and so on. The procession was splendid and rich in artistry. The most famous painters and woodcarvers from Ghent were entrusted with the

ornamentation of the baldachin and the safeguarding of the images (or, pictures, paintings), which were borne in the procession by representatives of the community and by citizens.

The canopy (i.e. the baldachin) for the shrine of Our Lady made its first appearance in the town accounts of 1322.⁷⁹ They show that it was made of red velvet with silken fringes and supported by wood.⁸⁰ The following year (as in 1466) the canopy was made of cloth of gold; in 1330 from yellow and black velvet, the colours of Flanders; in 1336 from black and red velvet, with the arms of the town of Ghent (then they still used medallions portraying weapons, later changed to religious symbols). There was ornamentation in wooden relief, small gilded and decorated images of wood ornamented the corners of the canopy and the four great artistic torches.⁸¹

This honouring of the Mother-maid by the town of Ghent took place every year, apart from in time of war. The canopy was conveyed to Tournai (Doornik) on a waggon pulled by four horses. Each time, as in 1466, the painters went with them on a waggon pulled by two horses. The account for 1372 records the presence of no less than forty-four horses which took part in the procession of the people of Ghent.⁸²

The Image of Our Lady of Tournai (Doornik), honoured with such splendour, known as 'Notre Dame Flamenge' stood behind the choir in the Collegiate Church. The annual shrine canopy (the gift of Ghent) was not the only gift which she received. Sometimes the Counts of this region honoured her with a gown of cloth of gold,

or with a velvet cloak.⁸³ As was customary elsewhere these processions were followed by great banquets.⁸⁴

A Tournament Drama.

The 'Pas d'Armes de la Sauvage Dame', a tournament-drama, took place in Ghent in 1469, when a knightly challenger fought on behalf of a wild woman who it was supposed had saved his life. The 'pas' the knight had to defend was a gateway leading to a mountain where there was an artificial forest where a cave gave shelter to the 'Dame Sauvage', who was attended by wild men and women. She was,

covered in a life-like manner on every part of her body with long hairs, the loveliest and most blond that one might see, with no other clothing, having on her head a most beautiful crown of little flowery twigs.

At the feast that followed this wild woman distributed prizes to the winning jousts, a ceremony accompanied by courtly revels.⁸⁵

The 'Tournament-drama' became an occasional feature of Scottish court life. Tournaments featuring the Wild Knight and the Black Lady took place in Edinburgh in June 1507 and May 1508, and probably there were others. Pitscottie says the latter tournament lasted for forty days. The tournaments drew many visitors from the Continent and especially from France.

The basic idea in both cases is the same, viz. a knight exercising his powers on behalf of a lady. The Court of Burgundy had a reputation for setting the standard in such matters and the staging of the events in Edinburgh may have owed something to what was done in Ghent. The Edinburgh records give the impression that

they were staged as magnificently as anything on the Continent.⁸⁶

Ghent and the Feast of the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady at Tournai (Doornik), 15 September 1342 (the day after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross).

An archival record at Ghent of 1342 (not referred to by De Potter) shows that on 15 September 1342 (or the eve thereof), on the feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the day after the 'Exaltation of the Holy Cross', Ghent's baldichin or canopy appeared in the Procession of Our Lady held in Tournai (Doornik).⁸⁷

Immediately before the item referred to above there is an item of expenditure in respect of wine and food for sheriffs who took part in the festivities on the eve of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross at Oudenaarde (Audenarde), 13 September. There is no mention of the canopy which would not have been needed for this particular occasion. Those who were conveying the canopy of Tournai by horse-drawn waggon, with other items for use in the procession there, e.g. candles, harness (armoured suiting), stayed two nights at Oudenaarde (Audenarde), as did the trumpeters who were going to Tournai. When the 'Procession of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows' took place at Tournai that year the Ghent contribution consisted of the canopy, and trumpeters, with distinguished citizens, e.g. the two baillies, tax-collectors, sheriffs, and aldermen and deacons of Crafts. Ghent also provided five horses, four of which probably pulled the waggon that carried the canopy, under which had been placed 'Our Lady of Tournai', as in the procession on the day of the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross (see above).

Corpus Christi.

In Ghent the annual Corpus Christi Procession was known as 'de processie van al de neringen', that is, 'the procession of all the trades'. De Potter provides a large amount of detail of the event, most of which is not relevant to our task purpose. There was no cosmic cycle of pageants or plays in connection with the event. There were nevertheless some interesting features which could be unique to Ghent. We offer an outline of the composition of the procession with a minimum of detail. Any Scots having business in the area are more likely to have witnessed this event than Ghent's participation in the Tournai and Oudenaarde (Audenarde) processions.

Participants in the procession were required to wear a regulation form of dress, subject to a fine for failure to do so, and likewise all those bound to take part, such as tradesmen, were subject to a similar fine for absence, except in the case of sickness.

Each group of tradesmen was headed by bearers of emblematic banners and torches, the latter like the gowns of distinctive design to the group, so heavy that helpers were on hand to render help, as others were to offer them jars of wine. With the banner and torch-bearers were other young men who carried the guild's escutcheon, or a representation of its patron saint.

The boatman carried a small-rigged ship named the 'Maid of Ghent', and the painters carried painted torches of great artistry. Each trade presented a model workshop in which their particular craft was being carried on, and this apparently included the

painters.⁸⁸

Then followed parties of girls and boys, walking in pairs, the girls from a school for the poor, and the boys from a school for orphans; the members of small religious guilds; the parish priests, followed by the monks St Peter's Abbey, who walked on the left, and the Canons of St Baaf's, who walked on the right of the Sacrament. These were surrounded by twelve noblemen.⁸⁹

Six town shawm-players walked in front of the canopy over the Sacrament, and after the Sacrament came members of the Council of Flanders in white tabards, carrying white 'flambeaux'; lawyers, bailiffs and officers of the royal household; Sheriffs of Ghent; the 'King of the Moors', beside whom walked on the right, the 'Amman' of the town (i.e. the Town Clerk); finally the tax-collectors, clerks and other servants of the community; the halberdiers, the High Bailiff of Ghent, the four Guilds of Marksmen and the Investigators.⁹⁰

A great event in the dramatic life of Ghent was the 'Fête de Rhétorique' of 1539. Chambers of Rhetoric were invited from all parts of Flanders, from Brabant, Holland and Zealand, from Hainault and from as far away as Artois, by Ghent's Chamber of 'l'emblème de la Fontaine', and were invited to submit a play for the fête to be held 12-23 June, that year.

By the end of the fifteenth century there existed in Ghent six other Chambers but 'La Fontaine' was by far the most prestigious. By a decree of Charles the Bold of 1476 they were to be given

preference over the other Chambers, 'à jouer esbatements, mistères et histoires, qui se feront en nostre dicte ville de Gand...' By 1517 it was regarded as 'la principale Chambre de Rhétorique dans le pays et comté de Flandre'.⁹¹

Events similar to the 1539 Fête event in Ghent had been held for more than a hundred years in the Low Countries, the earliest on record being a 'Concours' held at Dunkirk in 1426. 'Concours' held at Hulst in 1463, and at Antwerp in 1496, are said to have been particularly brilliant events. 'Concours' gave place to similar events on a grander and more ambitious scale known as 'Landjuwijken', the first of which was held at Malines (Mechelen) in 1515. Such events were held regularly until the final one at Antwerp in 1561.⁹²

Nineteen Chambers accepted the invitation of 'La Fontaine', fifteen coming from West and East Flanders, including Bruges, and there were three entries from Brabant, including Antwerp, and one from Brussels. The plays were performed in the open-air on the stage of a semicircular theatre equipped with necessary annexes and entrances.⁹³

In accordance with the usual custom the entrants to the competition (a prize was awarded for the best play and performance) were required to prepare a performance giving their answer in drama to a common question. That at Ghent in 1539 was, 'Quelle chose est le plus grand soulas du chrétien mourant?'.⁹⁴

The prize was won by the Antwerp entry for a play with the theme,

'The fulfilment of the first promise to the serpent - The Risen Christ triumphant over the serpent and death'.⁹⁵

Worp says that the themes of the plays of the Chambers of Rhetoric were almost always derived from the Bible, not to say that there was not some importation from the classics.⁹⁶

7) LOUVAIN (LEUVEN).

Public Processions.

A public procession through the streets of Louvain was a regular annual feature in the life of the town. It was held in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary on or about the Feast of her Nativity, 8 September, as an act of thanksgiving for her deliverance of the town from its enemies.

Costumed Prophets and Apostles walked in the procession in 1394,⁹⁷ as they were beginning to do elsewhere in the Low Countries at about this time. The image of the Virgin Mary carried in the procession was probably from the Parish Church, carried on a litter. Floats joined in the procession in 1401,⁹⁸ as they also did that year at Malines (Mechelen).⁹⁹

Among the first floats would have been 'tableaux' representing the 'Nativity of the Virgin', and the 'Nativity of Our Lord'.
Shepherds walked behind 'Bethlehem' and sang songs as they went.¹⁰⁰
They were rewarded with wine.

At the same time there was added a 'tableau' of the 'Tree of Jesse' which was renewed in 1446 and completely remade in 1466,

with iron branches, and thirteen Prophets and Kings in open flowers, with gilt-bronze crowns and wooden sceptres. The Virgin was impersonated by a live maiden sitting at the top in a crescent moon. In 1495 it was 'Berbele', the daughter of the host of the 'Star'. Van Even suggests that the 'Kings' may also have been live children.¹⁰¹

The number of floats in the procession increased throughout the fifteenth century and by 1502 they numbered sixteen, with the addition of a number of fantastic animals.¹⁰²

From 1398 to 1681 Louvain had a continual succession of Pageant Masters, professional painters and sculptors, who designed and made the pageant waggons, and repaired and re-painted older waggons.¹⁰³ One of the first Louvain pageant waggons represented the 'Martyrdom of St Peter',¹⁰⁴ played by a live actor, possibly bound to a cross upside-down. In 1437 there was a representation of the 'Crucifixion' with a living person on the Cross.¹⁰⁵

About 1450 the procession included a pageant of 'Daniel in the Lions' Den',¹⁰⁶ the lions being played by four dogs. There was also a pageant of the 'Temptation of St Anthony'.

Town Accounts for 1464 show payments relating to the pageant of the 'Nine Orders of Angels'.¹⁰⁷ Four men who helped in the 'Ommegang' by holding the 'Nine Orders of Angels' with cords, so that 'no mishap should come to it', were rewarded for their services.

Three camels were introduced into the procession in 1482.¹⁰⁸ They were made of wicker-work suitably draped, and were intended for the 'Three Kings' to ride on. They were carried by two men per camel.

In 1484 a coach-house was built to house the cars and figures. It was known as the 'Reuzenpoort' (i.e. Giants' Gate) and had very large doors.¹⁰⁹

In 1531 Adam and Eve wore doublet and hose, whereas later they are shown in Boonen's drawings without clothing.¹¹⁰

The authorities had a new pageant book made in 1505,¹¹¹ and it was used by William Boonen as the basis of his description of the 'Leuven Ommegang' made in 1594, and may have been used by van Even, who also made use of Boonen's sketches, but as van Even's book shows he also delved into the older records. Kernodle's account¹¹² is derived from that of van Even, as at the time he did his work Boonen's work was still missing.

The last complete revision of the 'Ommegang' appears to have taken place immediately after 1548 when Jan Van Rillaert was Pageant Master. His designs may be those featured in Boonen's drawings of the 'Ommegang'.¹¹³

In the sixteenth century the date of the 'Ommegang' was changed to the first Sunday in September. Originally it preceded the week-long annual 'Kermis', or 'Fair', but in time the 'Kermis' was extended to the week before the 'Ommegang'. It is said to have been the most popular of all those held in the Low Countries.¹¹⁴

With the rise of the 'Rederijker Kamers' at the conclusion of the procession a play such as the 'Judgement of Solomon' was presented on the public square.¹¹⁵

Louvain had four Chambers of Rhetoric, 'de Lelie', 'Kersauwe', 'de Pensee', and 'de Roose', which in 1496 took part in the 'Landjuweel' at Antwerp.¹¹⁶

Now follows a summary description of the 'Ommegang' as recorded by van Even (referred to above) based on the 'Liber Boonen' of 1594, accepting Kernodie's assurance that 'Although by 1594 the wagons of the traditional procession had been rebuilt with Renaissance and even Baroque details, we may be sure that they followed the basic patterns that had been used for at least two centuries before'.¹¹⁷

The Louvain 'Ommegang of Our Lady' according to Boonen. A Brief Account of the Pageants and Characters.¹¹⁸

- 1) The Procession was headed by 29 Trade Guilds, each led by livered Guildsmen carrying lights, followed by two costumed figures representing St Michael and the Devil.

Then followed representations mostly on pageant-waggons, but some walking, interspersed with walking Guildsmen and Dignitaries.

- 2) The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise by an angel with flaming sword.
- 3) Behind which there rode 34 Old Testament Heroines with support characters from their stories. Each Heroine represented a particular virtue of the Virgin, each sponsored by one of the guilds.
- 4) Seven animals, each borne by a man walking inside, representing the Vices, each ridden by a 'lady' representing a Virtue, who with the help of the Blessed Virgin kept the Vices under control.
- 5) The 'Tree of Jesse', with Our Lady portrayed by a maiden, sitting on top of a huge wrought iron tree, portrayed as issuing from an actor representing Jesse, and decked with 'flowers' holding 30

living children, symbolizing Kings and Prophets. At the corners of the platform sat four Sybils, holding identifying standards, predicting the birth of Christ from a virgin.

- 6) The 'Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple'.
- 7) The 'Annunciation'.
- 8) The 'Visitation', the Virgin and Elizabeth.
- 9) The 'Nativity', the roof symbolizing the heavens, with an image of God on top.
- 10) 'King Jasper' riding on a camel, preceded by a negro slave.
- 11) The 'Three Kings' mounted on 'camels', and accompanied by other 'animals'. All 'animals' were of wicker-work, with men inside, concealed by draping skirts.
- 12) 'The Resurrection', possibly a 'Resurrection Appearance' to the Virgin.
- 13) 'Pentecost', with effects machine.
- 14) The 'Assumption of Our Lady', with elevator.
- 15) The 'Nine Choirs of Angels', a tower of four storeys, portraying the 'Paradise' in store for the redeemed.
- 16) Ecclesiastical Dignitaries.
- 17) The statue of Our Lady, borne on a litter, preceded by minstrels.
- 18) The University contingent.
- 19) Further wicker-work creations: the Four Sons of Aymon (the Bastard sons of Charlemagne) riding on Bayard, a giant horse; a giant Hercules with his wife Megera.
- 20) Four Guilds of Arms, i.e. a Guild of Shooters and three separate Guilds of Bowmen.
- 21) The Civic Dignitaries.
- 22) Burgomasters, perhaps a Chief Burgomaster and Deputies.
- 23) St George and the Dragon, and St Margaret represented as a Princess. The Dragon vomited flames and fireworks. 119

The last of Boonen's drawings shows a stage-play of 'The Judgement of Solomon', played by 'Rederijkers' on the Market Square.

By 1505 four of the earlier pageants have disappeared, viz., 'The Martyrdom of St. Peter', the 'Crucifixion', 'Daniel in the Lions' Den', and the 'Temptation of St Anthony'.

There are close parallels between the Louvain 'Ommegang' and the 'Ommegang of Our Lady' in Brussels and Antwerp.

Succeeding generations of Scottish students, including James Kennedy and William Turnbull (see Chapter Two), would have walked in the Louvain 'Ommegang' at some stage in its history. The main part of the original content was probably maintained throughout, the principal changes being in the style of the vehicles, from Gothic to Renaissance and Baroque.

Both James Kennedy and William Turnbull may have walked in the procession of 1432, when the total number of Scottish students processing could have been eighteen. In 1465 and 1468 the numbers could have been as many as twenty-six, these being the years of highest Scottish matriculation numbers at Louvain. Our figures are based on an assumption of a three year minimum stay.

Louvain - Performances of Plays in Church and Town.

A play of the 'Resurrection of Our Blessed Lord' was performed here in 1458,¹²⁰ and a play of the 'Annunciation of Mary' was given in church in 1531.¹²¹ Plays of St James were performed in

Saint Jacobs-kerk on his feast-day, 25 July 1483, 1485 and 1486.

Wybrands says that in 1484-86 the play was performed there by the 'Kamer de Pensée', and that in 1487 it was performed by the clergy. A stage was probably erected in each case,¹²² In 1533 and 1558 there were performances of a 'Play of St Trudo', written by a monk who lived in Louvain.¹²³

In the Louvain 'Annunciation' of 1531 (referred to above) a carpenter was paid for a windlass with which the Angel was let down to convey the message, and a furniture-maker was paid for making a 'stool'^a for the Angel to sit on.¹²⁴

a. Sometimes the Flemish word 'stoel' can mean a throne.

The play of St Trudo begins with a monologue given by Lucifer sitting in Hell, and ends with the 'wachter' singing above Hell. We take these to be Angels, as 'watchers' can be so understood in English. Some 'machinery' is used in the play. When St Trudo presses a stick into the ground in an orchard a fountain at once begins to sprinkle water.¹²⁵

We believe the evidence presented above is sufficient to show that throughout the fifteenth century and up to the Scottish Reformation of 1559/60 Scots were sufficiently exposed to or willing spectators of the pageantry and plays of the Low Countries for there to have been at the time some influence on what was done in Scotland in the parallel fields. The principal channels through which such influence would have entered would have been via: Scottish merchants, factors and agents, and Conservators of

Scottish Privileges who visited the trade centres of the Low Countries in the course of their business & attended Trade Fairs, in such places as Bruges and Damme, Middelburg, Campvere, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Brussels and Ghent; those who had studied at Louvain University, including those who later returned to attend religious festivities such as the Annual Procession of the Holy Blood in Bruges and any who had attended the University of Louvain who had spent time in the Low Countries and returned home, often to occupy positions of great influence in the life of the nation; in the field of the arts there were men who attended the minstrels schools in Bruges, the ateliers in Bruges and Ghent, and wood carvers who learned their craft in Antwerp; and there were men of culture and letters, and courtiers who found their way to Antwerp, Brussels and Ghent. While saying this it must also be remembered that the Low Countries were themselves influenced by other European countries. In this connection it is appropriate to quote the words of no less an authority than Heinz Kindermann written in 1957,¹²⁶

The rich, cultured and well-informed merchants from Antwerp, Ghent or Bruges, roamed all over the Continent and brought back with them all sorts of stimulation, and side by side, German, French, English and Italian influences were to be seen in the medieval religious theatrical life of the Low Countries.

Similar words were repeated by Kindermann in 1980,¹²⁷

The merchants and business people of the Low Countries roved over the various parts of the Continent, here they saw this, there they saw that kind of representational activity in a foreign land, brought the experience back with them and were moved to try out at home what they had seen abroad. Or foreign merchants coming to the Netherlands spoke of the representational activities of their native lands so that in

the Low Countries we are confronted with a variety of different forms of representational activity.

- a. We take the term 'representational activity' as covering all forms of pageantry and drama in which live characters play a representational role.

B. FRANCE.

We now survey the religious representations of France, mainly of the fifteenth century. Based on the information set out in Chapter Two the emphasis is on towns most frequented by Scots or towns where they were most likely to be influenced provided there is some evidence for representations. We consider both mimed and dramatic representation under the heading of individual towns.

From the end of the fourteenth century there were in the larger French towns associations, known as 'confréries', i.e. confraternities or brotherhoods, variously, partly clerical and partly lay, sometimes wholly lay. They were committed to the regular performance of plays. The earliest record of such an association is of one founded in Nantes in 1371. The most famous association of this kind, however, is the Confrérie de la Passion et Résurrection of Paris, already active in the capital in 1371 and which in 1402 was granted Letters Patent by Charles VI, giving the association the right without further permission to,

jouer quelque mistere que ce soit, soit la dicte
Passion, et Resurrection, ou autre quelconque
tant de saints comme et saintes.

They were given the right to stage such performances both in Paris and its suburbs, and anywhere else they pleased, and to wear their costumes wherever they chose to go without molestation. They continued to perform religious plays until forbidden to do so by the French Parliament in 1548.¹²⁸ There were also literary societies known as 'puys', recruited from patrician families, who organized feasts, tournaments, literary competitions and the production of plays.¹²⁹ Like the Confréries they contained both clerical and lay members. It is possible the name 'puys' is

derived from 'appuyer', denoting mutual support.

Confréries akin to that of Paris are known to have existed in Rouen and Amiens, in addition to Chartres and Limoges, and in some other places, and there is evidence of drama-playing 'puys' in Amiens, Dieppe, Rouen and Caen.¹³⁰ The vernacular 'mystère' made its first appearance in 1374 when a Confrérie in Rouen was obliged to play every year 'aucun vrai mistere ou miracle'.¹³¹

There were also 'Sociétés Joyeuses' in which students and law clerks played a prominent part. In Paris two famous such groups were the 'Basochiens' whose repertoire included farces and moralities.¹³² Another performing group in Paris were the 'Enfants-sans-Souci', who were probably an off-shoot of the 'Basochiens'. Apart, however, from the dramatic performances given by such groups as these, there were performances given in mime by the less articulate, in particular craftsmen.

Miming was most extensively employed in connection with the 'tableaux-vivants' which normally formed an important part of the pageantry at 'Royal Entries' and the 'Entries' of other distinguished persons, principally into Paris, but also into other cities and towns. Unfortunately lack of available space does not allow us to pursue this particular aspect of representation. However below will be found some examples of the use of 'mystères mimés'.

1) AMIENS.

The statutes of the 'Puy' at Amiens show that the society held an annual banquet at Candlemas which was the occasion of the performance of a 'mistère',

et durant iceluy disner fera le maistre jouer ung
jeu de mistère.¹³³

Dramatic representations of plays were given at Amiens as follows,

- 1413. La Passion et la Résurrection.¹³⁴
The performance was given at Pentecost by the
'Confrères du Saint Sacrement', the equivalent in
Amiens of the 'Confrères de la Passion' of Paris.
- 1427. La Passion.¹³⁵
This time the record refers to 'Confrères et
Compagnons de la Confrérie du Saint-Sacrement'.
- 1445. La Passion et la Résurrection.¹³⁶
The performance lasted three days in the period, 17-20
May. On each of these days the Mayor and Councillors
feasted on a stage.
- 1446. La Vengeance de nôtre Seigneur.
- 1448. Sainte Barbe.
- 1455. La Passion.¹³⁷
The performance was given at Pentecost and the
Councillors watched the spectacle from a box.
- 1459. Saint Firmin.
- 1482. Les Dix Milles Martyrs.
- 1496. Joseph.
- 1500. La Passion.
- 1501. La Passion.¹³⁸
The performance appears to have lasted four days.
- 1533. Joseph.
- 1560. L'Apocalypse.

Copies of Greban's 'Passion' (despite its name, in fact a Cosmic Cycle) were available after 1452, the year it was written and the year Abbeville requested a copy.¹³⁹ It is possible that the text used at Amiens in 1455 was that of Greban. We know that by 1501 Amiens was using a 'Passion' text which was that of Arnoul Greban

to which had been added some elements of Jean Michel's 'Passion'. This was the text Aniens sent to Mons in 1501. The Director's copies, or, 'Abrégiés', have survived and are printed in Gustave Cohen's, *Le Livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501*, Paris, 1925. Fifteen copies of 'Michel' appeared between 1490-1542.¹⁴⁰

There is a distinct possibility that some Scottish pilgrims to the Shrine at Amiens (see Chapter Two) may have witnessed Greban's 'Passion', with the additions from Michel.

2) DIEPPE, 1443.

Like Orléans (see below) Dieppe celebrated its deliverance from the English. Here it took the form of an annual commemoration on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 15 August. A procession commemorative of the siege was followed by a performance of the 'Assumption' on the Market Place in front of 'l'Hôtel de Ville'. De Julleville classifies the performance as 'mystère mimé'. Next day a morality was performed. This custom continued yearly until 1684. In addition on the same day they also performed 'mitouries de la mi août' in the Parish Church of St Jacques when a large number of priests and laity operated mechanical figures by means of which 'they marvellously accomplished' the Assumption of the Virgin. This has been described thus,¹⁴¹

Dans 'les Mitouries' de Dieppe....Dieu le Père siégeait, comme dans tous les Mystères, au haut d'une tribune dont les portants montaient jusqu' à la voûte de l'église et tendus étaient d'étoffe bleue, parsemée d'étoiles d'or. Autour de lui, des anges marionette faisaient des prodiges d'agilité, voltigeant et agitant leurs ailes; la Vierge,

autre marionette, était étendue sur un lit mortuaire, et au commencement de la cérémonie des anges venaient la prendre et la transportaient à la côte de Dieu le Père, dans le Paradis. Mais cette assumption était longue, et pendant qu'elle s'exécutait la Vierge levait continuellement les bras au ciel, comme pour représenter le désir qu'elle avait d'y arriver plus tôt.

There is also record of a Franciscan preacher who at the beginning of the sixteenth century roamed through the eastern parts of France accompanied by a puppet theatre which he used to illustrate his sermons.¹⁴²

It is possible that Scottish traders in this important French seaport (see Chapter Two) sometimes witnessed the performances in the Market Place. More devout Scots who may have been in the port on the 15th August may also have witnessed the puppet spectacle in church. We know of no Scottish parallel to this representation with puppets, but we believe there was probably an annual Play of the Assumption in Edinburgh (see next chapter) preceded by a 'monstre' (see below section headed, Monstres.)

We have no evidence for the performance of dramatic representations in Dieppe unless the 'Assumption' on the Market Place was of this kind rather than a 'mystère mimé' as De Julleville regarded it (see above). According to Tydeman Dieppe

had a drama-performing 'Puys', if they did perform a representation of the 'Assumption' they would probably have performed it dramatically.¹⁴³

3) ORLÉANS.

Every year on the 8 May Orléans commemorated the raising of the siege of the town by French forces inspired by Joan of Arc, 3 May 1429, and had done so from the first years following the event. It is said to have taken the form of a military pantomime in procession, but in 1435 a 'certain mistaire' was played on a bridge in the course of the procession. Unfortunately we have no details of this. The event recorded for 13 April 1439 was of a similar military nature but more elaborate, and included a mock battle, simulating the one being commemorated, but we still have no details of the 'mistaire'. The details of other aspects of this event need not detain us.¹⁴⁴

Records of dramatic performances in Orléans have survived as follows,

1400. La Passion.¹⁴⁵

1446. St Etienne (i.e. St Stephen).

1447. Comedies.¹⁴⁶

Before 1447 students at the University had been accustomed to perform comedies under the cloak of performing moralities. In 1447 statutes forbade students of the various Nations to give comedies, 'etiam sub forma moralitatum'.

1507. 'L'Homme Pécheur' - a morality.¹⁴⁷

1550. Le Jugement dernier.

4) PARIS.

On Friday, 15 May 1444 (that year Corpus Christ was on the 8 June) there was a solemn procession in commemoration of the 'Miracle

of the Sacred Host' when the Blessed Sacrament was carried through the streets on the shoulders of the Bishops of Paris and of Beauvais and two Abbots (or parish priests). Behind there followed a 'Relic of the True Cross' and other 'relics without number' and after that 'tout le mystere' of the Jew, the central character in the so-called 'Legend of the Miracle of the Host'. The Jew was tied up in a 'charette' (small waggon) tormented (?) by thorns. Then followed other carts with 'Justice', and the Jew's wife and children, and in the streets there were two scaffolds representing 'two very sorrowful mysteries'. De Julleville classifies these as mimed performances.¹⁴⁸

Below are some of the surviving records of dramatic performances given in Paris,

1380. La Passion.¹⁴⁹
By this time the performance of the 'Passion' was an annual event in Paris. 3 June 1398 the Provost of Paris forbade unauthorised performance of farces.
1389. Le Pas Saladin.¹⁵⁰
1390. La Résurrection.¹⁵¹
The performance took place on Easter Day, 3 April, before the King, Charles VI, and was given by the Chaplains and Clerks of the Sainte Chapelle. De Julleville suggests it may have been a Latin liturgical drama.
1395. Griseldis.
- 1398-1402. La Passion - La Résurrection.¹⁵²
In the early days of their foundation the Confrères of the Confrérie de la Passion specialized in the performance of plays of the 'Passion' and of the 'Resurrection', but they also performed other 'mysteries' and plays featuring the lives of the saints. From 1411 the Confrérie took to acting their plays indoors in 'l'Hôpital de la Trinité', having tired of acting in inclement weather. Later they emigrated to 'l'Hôtel de Flandres'.
1422. St George.¹⁵³
This performance was given in honour of King Henry V

of England and Queen Catherine of France and nobles of their countries at the Feast of Pentecost in 'l'Hôtel de Nelle'.

1443. SS Crépin et Crépinien.

1458. " " " "

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1472. St Louis.

The play was written before 1472 and played by the Confrérie de la Passion. Over two hundred and eighty characters were involved.

1473. La Passion. 155

The text was that of Arnoul Greban's 'Passion'. It had been written for performance in Paris and was performed there at least three times before 1473, perhaps by the Confrérie de la Passion, possibly for some celebration of the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame by members of that community. See i) Amiens above.

1490. La Passion. 156

The text used was the 'Passion' of Jean Michel which was heavily dependent on that of Arnoul Gréban.

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1491. La Résurrection.

The manuscript of this 'Paris Resurrection' has survived. It has, amongst others, scenes of the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, a Post-Resurrection Appearance to the Virgin Mary, an Appearance to Joseph of Aramathea imprisoned in a tower, the Appearance to Mary Magdalene in the Garden near the empty tomb.

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1498. La Passion.

The text used was once again that of Jean Michel.

1500. Le Vieux Testament.

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1507. La Passion.

Once again the text of Jean Michel was used.

1539. La Passion.

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1539. Le Sacrifice d'Abraham.

Performed before King Francis I at 'l'Hôtel de Flandre', with a cast of eight. It lasted one day. Performances in Paris were never as long as many of those of the provinces. Bapst suggests that in accordance with the usual custom there would have been a 'monstre' through the most frequented streets of the city. See below section headed, Monstres.

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1541. Les Actes des Apôtres.

This play had been performed at Bourges in 1536. The Paris Confrères de la Passion not wishing to be outdone by Bourges decided they would also perform this play and did so in 1541 with great splendour

and success. It was played over a period of six or seven months, on Sundays only, and not on solemn feast days. Overall it required performances on twenty-five to thirty days.

1541. Le Vieux Testament.¹⁶²
 Played out of doors before the Duke of Cleves at l'Hôtel de Flandres.
1542. Le Vieux Testament.¹⁶³
 Performed by the Confrérie on the orders of Parliament before the Duke of Vendôme in l'Hôtel de Flandres.

v) Rouen.

The vernacular 'mystère', appears at Rouen in 1374 (linked with 'miracle' when a Confrérie is obliged to play each year 'aucun vrai mistere ou miracle'. This probably refers to the Confrérie de la Passion of the Parish Church of St Patrice. A 'Mystère de la Passion' is recorded from Orléans in 1400, and, of course, in 1402, in the letters patent granting permission to the Confrérie de la Passion of Paris to play 'misteres, tant de saints, comme de saintes et mesmement de la Passion'.¹⁶⁴

The following plays are on record as having been performed at Rouen,

1410. Mystère de la Pentecôte.¹⁶⁵
 It is not certainly clear that a play of this title was actually performed this year. It had been hoped to perform the 'Passion', but this was called off because of the prospect of civil war and council debts.
1445. La Passion.¹⁶⁶
 It had been hoped ever since 1410 to perform a Passion Play at Pentecost. It was finally performed this year.
1451. La Nativité.
1452. La Passion.¹⁶⁷
 It was played in the cemetery of the Jacobins, that is, the Dominicans, 'avec une grande magnificence', but there is no mention of it in the town records. It is supposed that it was performed

by the Confrérie de la Passion of Paris.

1454. Sainte Catherine. ¹⁶⁸
The performance was subsidised by the Town Council and given by four Confréries on 'le marche aux veaux', on 2 June.
1474. L'Incarnation et la Nativité. ¹⁶⁹
This was a very elaborate play performed in the open-air at Christmas 'sur le Marché neuf' (that is, the New Market). There were twenty-four playing places for twenty-four different scenes, which were distributed around the four sides of the square, representing the four towns, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Rome. The Shepherds are said to have sung elaborate musical numbers. The parish church loaned an Archbishop's Crozier and ornaments, and tunics for the Angels.
1474. La Passion. ¹⁷⁰
Performed at the Convent of the Dominicans.
1476. Saint Romain.
1492. La Passion. ¹⁷¹
Performed in the Cemetery of the Dominicans by the Confrérie de la Passion of St Patrice Church. This is said to be the first Passion Play produced for fourteen years. If so there must have been such a play in 1478 not noted by De Julleville. There had been plans to produce a Passion Play in 1491 before Charles VIII, but it appears not to have materialised.***Cohen,Mise en Scène,175.
1498. La Passion. ¹⁷²
Performed by the Confrérie de la Passion de Rouen in the cemetery of St Patrice. Said not to have been as magnificent as the one performed in the Convent of the Dominicans in 1492. The Confrérie played the same mystery on several further occasions in the cemetery of St Patrice, but the dates are not known.
1502. La Passion. ¹⁷³
This year the Passion was performed not by the Confrérie but by amateurs.
1520. La Passion. ¹⁷⁴
Said to have been performed in the Convent of the Dominicans.
1530. La Vie de Judas. ¹⁷⁵
Performed on 7 August by a society of amateurs. It is said the play was extracted from the Rouen Passion. The same society organized two plays called 'Jeux de Sotteville'.
1543. La Passion. ¹⁷⁶

This year the Confrérie decided that in future they would perform the Passion every Good Friday.

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1550. La Passion.

It was arranged with the local Confrérie that the Paris Confrérie should perform their Passion in Rouen. This was probably a consequence of the ban on their performing such plays in Paris.

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1556. La Vie de Job.

Performed by a company of strolling players. This is the first recorded notice of such a company visiting Rouen. It consisted of five actors and 'trois petits enfants chantres'. There was no woman in the company. They played for three days.

It would be possible to compile lists of performances in other towns which over the years may have been frequented by a few Scots but limitations of space require us to confine ourselves to the above which we consider those places most likely to have influenced the greater number of Scots.

Corpus Christi Processions.

On the basis of presently known records Corpus Christi Processions in France did not include pageant-waggons on which were mounted cycles of scenes based on the scriptures or scenes illustrating the Lives of the Saints, nor was it the general custom for plays to be performed dramatically at Corpus Christi along the processional route. The great fully dramatic cosmic cycles of Greban and Michel, or conflation of the two, were performed on other festival days, often at the Feast of Pentecost, and then were only processional in as much as it was normal to precede the performance with what was termed a 'monstre' when there may have been some miming. This verdict remains true even in the light of the latest research on the subject.¹⁷⁹ We suggest in the following chapter that the normal French model was that

adopted in Scotland. In France, however, there are two places where things may have been done somewhat differently, viz. Béthune and Draguignan.

A record of 1544 shows that at Béthune at Corpus Christi that year the Sacrament was processed past a 'remonstrance' (probably meaning, re-enactment) given by 'voisins de la rue de la Croix' which portrayed in 'dumb-show' four different aspects of the Passion, the 'Robe of our Saviour' and St Etienne (i.e. St Stephen). 'Voisins' should probably be understood as 'confrères' rather than 'neighbours'. So here we are probably concerned with 'tableaux-vivants' presented by craftsmen in the road where they lived or had their workshops, viz. 'la rue de la Croix'. They were rewarded with gifts of wine which sometimes they preferred to convert into money. It would seem that probably on the same occasion the 'voisins' of other streets were making their own particular contributions to the celebrations. That the participants mimed their 'remonstrance' is shown by the fact that they are described as 'figurants'. This system of presentation was also used on occasions other than Corpus Christi. The scenes were mounted on stationary scaffolds and in 1549 there were no less than twenty-eight of them, presented by the various Confréries, with six scenes from the Nativity Cycle and the rest mainly from the Passion and Resurrection Cycle.

A 'jeu' (it normally means a vernacular play as opposed to 'ludus', which might denote either a Latin or a vernacular play) at Corpus Christi, was already customary at Draguignan in Southern France, by 1437 when the town council awarded the producer,

un florin d'encouragement - à cause du jeu que chaque année il a coutume de faire à la fête du corps du Christ, et qu'il ne peut faire sans aucun subside.

From 1532 evidence of this kind occurs more and more frequently up to 1615. On the 10 June 1532 the town gave ten florins to the actors who played 'the Old and New Testament' on Corpus Christi Day. On 6 June 1533 ten florins were laid out to repair costumes of the Old Testament which was played every Corpus Christi Day.

A record of 11 May 1551 shows a payment of twenty florins to Maitres Boniface Textoris, notary, and Balthesar Gaudin, for having produced for five years the Old and New Testament (scenes) 'par personnages'. This reference to a notary usually implies the use of a written script, but if so the records do not show how it was used. However, De Julleville classifies the performances given at Draguignan at the Corpus Christi celebrations as 'mystères mimés', but says they were semi-dramatic. It is probable the actors made short speeches with gestures. There is no mention of pageant waggons or scaffolds in surviving records.

A record of 1553 tells us that all those taking part as 'figurants' were to meet, already costumed, before five o'clock in the morning, at the Convent of the Friars Preacher (i.e the Dominicans) and to move off with the rest of the procession. We are told that all the 'accessoires de "jeu" étaient gardés à la "maison commune"'. It was also forbidden on this day for anyone not in the 'jeu' to go through the town in 'mimickry' or disguise. The word 'figurants' suggests the players mimed their parts, probably with short speeches and gestures.

Further light is shed on the Corpus Christi customs at Draguignan by a document of 1558 which says,

Le dit jeu jora avec la procession comme auparadvant et le plus d'istoeres et le plus brieves que puront estre seront et se dira tout en cheminant sans ce que personne du jeu s'aresté pour éviter prolixité et confusion tant de ladite procession que jeu, et que les estrangiers le voient aisement.

That is,

The said play shall be played with the procession as heretofore with as many as possible, both of scenes and episodes and it shall be declaimed as the procession moves along without any player stopping, so as to avoid overmuch speaking and confusion in both play and procession so that visitors may be able to witness it without distraction.

There is no mention of pageant-waggons nor of scaffolds, neither of the performance of a play at the conclusion of the procession. A record of 23 May 1578 orders,

Défense d'ouvrir les boutiques tandis que le jeu passera, sous poyne de dix florins.

The implication is that the side-walks are to be left uncluttered so that spectators can line the streets and get a good view of the procession and its play.

There is no mention or suggestion of a playing-place until 1602. when a sum of money appears in the accounts,

pour faire la 'ramade' (sale de verdure) dressée à la place du marché pour y faire jouer la feste de Dieu.

This might suggest the performance of a play after the procession through the streets. Unfortunately we do not know when a 'ramade' was first set up in the Market Place. It may have been an innovation in 1602 but it is possible this was an older custom which has never surfaced in the records before, and there could have been plays on the Market Place without the facility of a

changing-room. It is possible that the records of processions which included a 'jeu' may in fact have related to a fuller play with longer speeches due to take place on the Market Place at the conclusion of the procession so that the processions were in effect 'monstres' (see below section headed, Monstres).¹⁸⁰ If craftsmen were employed as actors on the Market Place to perform a stationary play they may have performed under the direction of a Play Director standing with the play text in some inconspicuous position as he read in a loud whisper and with the use of a baton indicated which actor was to speak as shown in the fifteenth century illumination of 'The Martyrdom of St Apollonia' by Jean Fouquet in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*.¹⁸¹

The Crying of the Play.

It was the custom in France for representations requiring large numbers of players to be preceded by a public proclamation known as 'Le Cry', the purpose being to gather together all those amateurs interested in taking part in the mystery, which in the case of 'Les Actes des Apôtres' (Bourges 1536 and Paris 1541) had no less than five hundred speaking-parts. The 'Cry' was written in verse. As we suggest below there is some evidence that 'The Crying of the Play' was also observed in Scotland.

In preparation for the play of 'Les Actes des Apôtres' to be played at Paris in the course of 1541 the 'Confrères de la Passion' held their cry', or 'Proclamation Solenelles' on 16 December 1540, setting out from 'l'Hôtel de Flandre'¹⁸²

En tête sept trompettes à cheval; le crieur juré
de la ville, un gros de sergent~~s~~ et d'archers à

cheval, 'pour donner ordre et et conduicte et
 empescher l'oppression du peuple', et 'nombre
 d'officiers et sergens de la ville'. Les deux
 hérauts qui devaient proclamer le cry, vêtus de
 velours noir, avec manches de satin gris, jaune et
 bleu. Après marchoyent les deux directeurs du dict
 mistere, rhetoriciens, assavoir ung homme
 ecclesiastique et l'autre lay, vestuz honnestement
 et bien montez selon leur estat. Suivaient les quatre
 entrepreneurs du mystere, à cheval; quatre
 commissaires au Châtelet, 'montez sur mulles'
 enfin 'nombre de bourgeois, marchans et aultres
 gens de ville (probablement tous les confrères)
 tant de longue robe que de courte; tous bien montez selon
 leur estat et capacité.'

In the Asloa Manuscript there is an anonymous poem entitled, 'The
 Maner of the Crying of ane Play'. There is another version of
 the poem in the Scottish Text Society's collection of the poems
 of William Dunbar, under the title, 'Ane Littell Interlud of the
 Droichis Part of the Play', in a section entitled, 'Poems
 Attributed to Dunbar'.¹⁸³ The poem purports to be spoken by a
 'Soldane out of Seriland land', that is, the Sultan of Syria,
 a high-ranking Moor, a Prince from the ranks of the enemies of the
 Crusaders. Moors featured in some of the Edinburgh 'Royal Entry'
 pageantry and citizens of Edinburgh would have been familiar with
 them. We may presume that suitably attired and with blackened
 face, our Sultan took up his place at the Town Cross and addressed
 the town thus,¹⁸⁴

Prowest ballies officeris
 and honorable Induellaris
 Merchandis and familiaris
 Of all this fair' towne.

and then after much vaunting about his remarkable ancestry the
 Sultan comes to the main point of his harangue,¹⁸⁵

Ye noble merchandis ever ilkane
 Address you furth with bow and flane (arrow)
 In lusty grene lufraie; (livery)
 And follow furth on Robyn Hude,
 with harts coragiouss and gud,

The 'Cry' is thus an appeal to all in the town to join in the traditional May festivities of the folk, which does not necessarily exclude religious festivities. The Feast of the Invention of the Cross occurs on the 3 May and much was made of that feast in some parts of Scotland and sometimes Corpus Christi was not far removed from the beginning of May.

There is at least one reference to the 'Cry' to what must have been a highly ribald, and, no doubt, entertaining scene featuring the devil, recalled by the writer from a religious play he had witnessed,¹⁸⁶

My foregrantschir' hecht fynn Mckowle
That dang the devill and gart him yowle.

References to Hercules and Gog and Magog may recall for the writer some features of a novel nature interpolated into a traditional biblical cycle, as became a widespread practice at the end of the fifteenth century and continued into the next, although in many places they were to suffer their demise, especially in France.

This is the only poem of which we are aware that tells us that the custom of the pre-play 'Crying of the Play' was practised in Scotland.

The town concerned appears to be Edinburgh. There are regular references to a Robert Hud, sometimes coupled with that of Little John, in the Edinburgh records from the end of the fifteenth century. He was only suppressed with some difficulty at the time

of the Reformation. He fulfilled the same role as the Abbot of Unreason, sometime referred to as the Abbot of Narent. His principal task was to organize the May Games and the Bringing in of Summer.

The subject of the 'Crying' of the Robin Hood Play received some attention from John Hayward in his *Folk Drama in Scotland* (2 vols, Glasgow University Thesis No.6878, 1983, vol.i, 190-94).

Monstres.

In France there were three separate occasions when the organizers might draw the attention of the general public to a forthcoming dramatic performance to arouse their interest. There was the 'Crying of the Play' mentioned above, in a few instances as much as several months before the intended date of performance, to recruit the cast so that rehearsals could begin in good time. There was also the 'Monstre' or procession which like the proclamations and banns in England, advertised the plays perhaps a few days before the performance, or in the morning before an afternoon performance. On these occasions costumed actors, grouped according to the scene they were to perform, processed through the town, some on foot, some of these carrying small 'props', some on horses and some on floats. As we show in the next chapter in Perth, at Corpus Christi, 1518, their 'monstre' took place as they processed through the streets from the Market Place where they assembled to the Playfield on the edge of the town. This 'Monstre' shortly before the performance might have the nature of a solemn religious festival, as when the 'monstre' took place on Corpus Christi Day, when besides actors the procession included

clergy, civic dignitaries, guild officials and members, together with musicians.

The performance of the forty day long 'Actes des Apôtres' (by Arnoul and Simon Greban) in the Roman amphitheatre at Bourges in 1536 was preceded by a 'Monstre' on Sunday, 30 April, the first part of which set out at 6 am.

The following are the opening paragraphs of an eye-witness account of the 1536 Bourges 'Monstre' made by Jacques Thilboust and reproduced in *The Staging of Religious Drama in the Later Middle Ages, etc.*¹⁸⁷ The account unfortunately omits certain interesting information.

About six o'clock in the morning the Mayor and Councillors of the said town, accompanied by the officers thereof to the number of thirty-six, wearing their red and green gowns.....(that is, the said Mayor and Councillors on their mules, with saddle-cloths, and the said officers on foot, each having a white staff in his hand to keep order and protect the throng of people)... made their way to the Abbey and Monastery of St Sulpice of Bourges in which were already the greater part of the townsmen who were to portray the characters of the said mystery; all of whom ,....,after having heard Mass, withdrew, each one to the rooms and other places prepared for them, to dress and array themselves, in which place they were all, according to their rank, welcomed honourably and with goodwill, by the religious of the said monastery who offered them all food and wine in abundance.

Then at about nine o'clock there also came to the said Abbey the members of the Judiciary to give help and support to the organizers of the mystery and oversee the ordering of the procession. To this end they had the trumpets, drums and pipes sounded, as the signal for everyone to present themselves in readiness to be placed in his proper order. On which, each of them, as his duty was, immediately came to the place ordained, a great open space surrounded by walls in which there were three large gates, by one of which, on the side by the church, all these people entered; and at the second of these gates, giving on to the grounds and gardens of the said Abbey, surrounded and enclosed by water-filled ditches, to prevent entry except through the said gate.

Someone appointed for the task, was positioned in a high place, holding in his hands the order for the procession, with the number, names and surnames, of the members of the Judiciary, Mayor and Councillors. He led and guided them to the third gate of the area, around a lake in the meadow and gardens, so that it was possible to see the whole of the procession, except the horses and triumphal cars, Paradise and Hell, which had remained in the great court in front, which looks on to the district of the said town called St Sulpice, and whose gates were wide open. Then at eleven o'clock they began to emerge from the said Abbey in the following order,

First, there walked five trumpeters and a bugler with four Swiss drummers and two fifes, followed by two furies from Hell, naked men with here and there, long hair on their bodies, and covered with wounds. They were heavily bearded, with eyebrows reaching down to their chins and with gaping mouths which spewed out tongues of fire.

Next came the devils and the Hell-cart, and after them groups of various people, good and bad, some on foot, some on horseback, some on floats, concluding with the float of Herod Antipas.

After the archers of Herod Antipas processed a number of small children, dressed and arrayed like the above, some of whom carried harps, lutes, rebecs and bagpipes, which they played very skilfully; others sang. And on a triumphal car with blue and gold hangings on which were arrays of armorial bearings of the said Antipas, was a throne adorned with flowers on which sat two small children wearing blue taffeta tunics, with bare arms and feet, bareheaded with laurel wreaths; in front of these on this same cart was a small table on which stood a spinet on which they played very well, each with one hand only, as with the other they held a triumphal wreath, in the middle of which, attached by blue silk ribbons, were two small pennons on which was written in gold, on one,

Dignitas in plures diffusa valescit,

and on the other,

Honores non dignitati sed meritis tribuendum est.

This car was guided and pushed by four other archers dressed as above.....

and so the description continues in some detail.

The role-playing characters who processed in the above procession with their varied properties would have been,

- a) The Twelve Apostles and St Paul.
- b) Mechanical animals - a camel and a dromedary (large and well-made), a lion, a leopard, a wild boar. The

dromedary was able to move its head, open its mouth and stick its tongue in and out.

- c) A pagan.
- d) A vessel full of every species of animal.
- e) Paradise.
- f) Caligula in a chariot yoked to several horses.
- g) Various devils.
- h) A cat.
- i) Herod Antipas and Herod Agrippa.
- j) A Serpent.
- k) Dragons, including one twelve feet in length, able to move head, eyes, tail and a fiery tongue.
- l) A Monster with the head of a goat and of a hare, with the body of an ox.
- m) Various dogs.
- n) The Virgin.
- o) Two tigers who changed into sheep in the play..
- p) Simon Magus.
- q) The Eunuch, four Ethiopians and Coridonb.
- r) Nero and eight Captive Kings.
- s) Moses.
- t) SS Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael.
- u) Cherubim and Seraphim.¹⁸⁸

Animals that were not mechanically motivated would have been actors wearing appropriate skins.

French Influence On Religious Pageantry and Plays in Scotland.

Paris is the most likely principal base from which French influence in the field of religious representations reached Scotland. As we have shown in Chapter Two the University of Paris was one much used by Scots. By 1380 the performance of the Passion had become an annual event there and continued year by year until the performance was banned by the authorities in 1550, although a year to year record of each performance has not survived. Of the considerable number of different religious plays Scots might have seen the most likely one for them to have seen is one known as the 'Passion'.

The collection of plays in MS 1131 of the Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève are associated with Paris. They conform so closely to the repertoire ascribed to the Paris Confrérie de la Passion that

we are probably correct in suggesting that here we have the plays used by the Confrérie in their public appearances, some of which may have been witnessed by Scots.

The collection in MS 1131 includes plays as follows,¹⁸⁹

- i) The 'Nativité'
embracing, Creation and the Fall; conversation between the Prophets, referring to the Coming of the Redeemer; the Annunciation; apocryphal scenes such as the Marriage of the Virgin; the Fall of the Idols; the Doubting of Joseph and the Miraculous Coals that become roses in Joseph's tunic; Birth of Jesus; Visit of the Shepherds, etc.
- ii) The 'Trois Roys',
of which the principal scenes are, the Adoration of the Magi; the Slaughter of the Innocents; the Flight into Egypt with the apocryphal legend of the Sower and other unusual details.
- iii) The Resurrection,
embracing, the Creation and the Fall; the Setting of the Watch of Soldiers at the Tomb; the Harrowing of Hell; the Lamentation of the Virgin; the Three Marys and St John; the Visit of the Three Marys to the Empty Tomb with ointments, concluding with the Appearances to Mary Magdalene and the other Marys.
- v) A long and independent Passion Play, thought to be a revision and expansion of much earlier text. Fragments of it are found in Greban's 'Passion'; it includes the scene in which Maragone, the smith's wife, forges nails for the Crucifixion, a scene featuring the legend of Veronica and it includes a 'Harrowing of Hell' scene which closely follows its ultimate source, the Gospel of Nicodemus.

The 'Passions' of Eustache Mercadé, Arnoul Greban and Jean Michel, are cyclic dramas of great length. The 'Passion' attributed to Mercadé is known as the 'Passion d'Arras' and is much longer than the 'Passion de Semur'. Mercadé, who eventually became Dean of the Faculty of Law in Paris, was a notable rhetorician, with a

considerable reputation as a theologian and poet. His four day long 'Passion' covers only the Life of Jesus, embracing the Nativity, Public Life, the Passion and the Resurrection to the Ascension. A particularly interesting character in Mercadé's 'Passion' is that of Mary Magdalen portrayed, as a 'fille de joie', who closely resembles the folk-lore character of the wanton Bele Aelis whom we discuss in our next chapter.¹⁹⁰ A similar Mary Magdalen also occurs in the fourteenth cventury 'Wiener Ludus Paschalis', on which see below C. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

7) VIENNA.

Greban's text was used for a 'Passion' performed in Paris in 1473, as it had been on three previous occasions, but the dates of these are not certainly known. The text was written a little before 1450.⁴³⁶ These Passion Plays are much more than their name indicates, normally embracing, as in the case of Greban's 'Passion',¹⁹¹

- i) A Prologue featuring the Revolt of Lucifer, the Earthly Paradise, the Creation of Man, the Fall, the Crime of Cain, the Death of Adam followed by the Death of Eve.
- ii) The Debate in Heaven, followed by a very full Nativity Cycle.
- iii) A Cycle on the Public Ministry of Jesus, from the Sojourn in the Desert to the Arrest in the Garden.
- iv) A full Passion Cycle featuring, The Trials of Jesus, Condemnation, Crucifixion, Burial, the Harrowing of Hell, Post-Resurrection Appearances, the Walk to Emmaus, Ascension, and Pentecost.

Michel's 'Passion' was given in Paris in 1490, 1498 and 1507.¹⁹² It was also performed in Angers in 1486.¹⁹³ At Amiens in 1500 and 1501, and in Mons in 1501, 'Passions' which were indebted to both Gréban and Mercadé were performed.¹⁹⁴

These plays were dependent on other 'Passions' that had preceded them. The earliest of these is the 'Passion de Semur', relatively short in comparison with the later French 'Passions'. It has survived in a manuscript dated 1488. It resembles the 'Passion du Palatinus' and the 'Passion d'Autun', and like them seems to have originated in Burgundy. Although shorter than these two latter 'Passions' that of Semur includes more Old Testament material than either of these. Its text embraces the Creation with God the Father enthroned among his angels in heaven, saying, 'Let there be light!', with the Archangels Michael and Gabriel and their angelic cohorts routing Lucifer and his devils, and extending the story of Man's Salvation through the Nativity and Life of Christ to his Death, Resurrection, Appearances and Ascension.

This 'Passion' is of some special significance for our study because of its stark realism and its introduction of a strong element of pathos, characteristics which we noted in our Chapter Three are to be found in Scottish medieval poetry. The emotional sufferings of the Virgin Mary portrayed in the 'Semur Passion' probably derive from the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi* which in turn had a great influence on the *Meditationes* of Pseudo-Bonaventura, works which we had occasion to refer to in our Chapter Three.

The total number of performances of what were called 'Passions' given by De Julleville for the period 1398-1560 is eighty-five. This can by no means represent the actual number performed in that period of one hundred and sixty-two years. The many of which we have no record were probably versions of some existing text edited by a local Notary Public to suit local needs and capabilities, perhaps using the text of Mercadé, Greban or later that of Michel, restricting it to telling the story of the the Passion and perhaps

the Resurrection so that it could be performed in a day or less. Gréban's play was designed to be played over a period of four days.

The great period for the performance of the 'mystères' in France was 1450-1548. By about 1445 when Scottish students began to reappear at Paris University the Confrérie de la Passion was well established and after about 1452 there was the possibility of seeing a public performance of Gréban's 'Passion'. It must surely be possible that some of the two hundred and thirty-four Scots who took their 'baccalaureate' in the years 1450-94 witnessed a performance by the Confrérie and possibly performances of Gréban's 'Passion'.

Other French universities where at times there might have been the occasional Scottish student are Angers (founded 1305), Bordeaux (founding date unknown), Bourges (founded 1465), Montpellier (founded 1289), Poitiers (founded 1431) and Toulouse (founded about 1230 (see Chapter Two). We have no statistics for Scottish attendances at these universities.

At Angers in 1486 there was a performance of what was described as, 'L'édition princeps de la 'Passion' révisée par Jean Michel'. It was presented 'sur la place des Halles'. Jean Michel himself played the part of Lazarus. The part of God was played by 'Pierre Taupin, doyen de Montaigu et chanoine de Saint Martin'. The play lasted four days. Eighty-seven actors played on the first day, one hundred on the second, eighty-seven on the third day and one hundred and five on the last day, not counting those who had non-speaking parts. The Nation of Anjou of the University of Anjou helped to finance the play performances (Anjou is the name of the province in which Angers is situated). Over the years there were various other performances in Angers. 'Mystères' were performed in

1454, 1455 and 1458 but details of these are not known. Plays of the 'Résurrection' were performed in 1456 and 1471. This latter was attributed to Jean Michel but according to Grace Frank Michel did not write such a play. Other plays on record all feature the lives of saints. ¹⁹⁵

We know of no dramatic representations in Montpellier or Toulouse.

In Bordeaux on the Feast of the Beheading of St John Baptist on 29 August 1525 there were to be performed on scaffolds erected around a public area (near the rampart of St Eloi) representations of, ¹⁹⁶

The Baptism of Jesus.
The Beheading of St John Baptist.
The Conversion of Mary Magdalene.
The Death and Resurrection of Lazarus.

There was trade between Bordeaux and the East Coast ports of Scotland, and in particular with Dundee (see Chapter Two).

In Bourges in 1536 there were representations of 'La Passion' and 'Les Actes des Apôtres' to which reference has already been made under the heading, Monstres. ¹⁹⁷ There were performances of 'La Passion' in Poitiers in 1486, 1508 and 1534. The play of 1486 embraced also the 'Nativité' and the 'Résurrection' and was played on the Market Place, but by whom the record does not say.

All that seems to be known about the 1508 performance is that it lasted nine days. The 'Passion' of 1534 was played on the Market Place from 19 to 29 July. 'en un theatre fait en rond, fort triumpphant, avec très bons joueurs et richement accoutrés'. It included scenes of the Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension and the 'Mission du Saint Esprit'. ¹⁹⁸

There were also universities at Avignon (founded 1303) and Caen (founded 1437) where the occasional Scot may have studied. The only play performances at Avignon of which we know are performances of 'La Présentation de Marie au Temple', given in 1372 and 1385.¹⁹⁹ De Julleville makes no mention of these, but they are discussed by Frank.²⁰⁰

From 1309 until 1377 Avignon was the residence of the Popes which means that a Scottish ecclesiastic in Avignon in 1372 on diplomatic business probably saw the performance.²⁰¹

We know from records that Gilbert Fleming, Dean of Aberdeen, was appointed Auditor of Causes at Avignon in 1340, and it seems most likely that other Scots followed in his footsteps once he had left the scene.²⁰²

In Aberdeen for many years there was an annual performance of what was called the 'Candlemass Offerand' which we suggest in the next chapter probably included the performance in church of a representation of the 'Presentation of Jesus in the Temple'. The earliest known record is dated 1442/3.

From Caen there are records of plays on the lives of certain saints given in 1422, 1518 and 1520 and a Play of Abraham and Isaac given in the same year.²⁰³

Having passed in review the likely sources of French influence on religious pageantry and drama in Scotland we conclude that Paris and the regular productions of the Confrérie de la Passion et Résurrection, and in particular that of 'La Passion', is the one

which is most likely to have had most influence. There still remains, however, the possibility of the penetration of Scotland by other French sources of religious representation.

C. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

This section will be dealt with in the same selective way as set out in the opening paragraph of Section B. FRANCE and for the same reasons.

1) COLOGNE.

As shown in Chapter Two in Pre-Reformation times Scottish students attended the University of Cologne, some achieving positions of importance on its staff and there was a Scottish trade connection with the Rhineland from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century as recorded in the Exchequer Rolls. At the German end this trade would probably have been handled by Agents based in Cologne. Unfortunately there are no surviving manuscripts relating to religious representations which can definitely be said to have had their origin in Cologne or be concerned with such activities in that city. It is extremely unlikely, however, that a great cathedral centre such as Cologne did not have its outdoor religious pageantry and plays in medieval times and indeed there are a few strands of information which suggest that this was probably so. Cologne is situated in the Niederrhein region, an area where in earlier times of teutonic settlement the ripuarisch dialect was spoken. This is the version of the teutonic language in which was written the Maastricht Passion Play, one of the oldest of such plays in the ²⁰⁴the vernacular.

The MS 'Berliner (niederrheinisches) Passionsspiel Fragment' is described as part of a religious poem featuring 'Jesus Before Pilate', and the 'Release of Barrabas'. Here it has to be

explained that it is the common German custom to name manuscripts according to the place where they are preserved and not according to their place of origin. The German scholar Degering suggests this fragment could be a scene from a Passion Play, and surely he is probably right. We have, however, found no author who identifies this fragment in any way with Cologne.²⁰⁵

The only other surviving evidence of a 'riparisch' Passion Play are the 'Kreuzensteiner (riparisches) Passionsspiel Fragmente', which are dated in the middle of the fourteenth century, and Aachen, no great distance from Cologne, has been suggested as its place of origin. It consists of three hundred and sixty-one 'versen' portraying a series of scenes from the childhood of Jesus, from his public life, and scenes with John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene. It is believed that originally the 'Conversion of Mary Magdalene' led into portrayals of the events of the Passion. The play is said to show a number of agreements with the 'Maastrichter (riparisches) Passionsspiel'.²⁰⁶

Although there is no positive evidence the possibility that Scots who spent time in Cologne witnessed a Passion Play of the 'riparisch' breed cannot be ruled out. Apart from that it is more than likely that some Scots witnessed performances of liturgical drama in the Cathedral at Cologne.²⁰⁷

Many Palm Sunday Processions must have taken place in Cologne where a late carved gothic Palm Sunday Donkey has survived.²⁰⁸ Excellent Christ Child Cradles have also survived in Cologne from the fifteenth century,²⁰⁹ as also has evidence of a former

liturgical drama, which in most places in the fifteenth century, or earlier, prompted the growth of outdoor religious pageantry and plays in the vernacular. It is not likely to have been different in Cologne.

Evidence that Cologne did not drag its feet in new observances is the fact that the Feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated there in 1306, very soon after its institution.²¹⁰ In many places this festival became associated with religious pageantry and plays as was so in Scotland. However, the only evidence that has survived from Cologne of the performance of a play in connection with a procession of the Blessed Sacrament at Corpus Christi comes from the year 1558 when a Cologne 'Ratsprotokoll' of 22 April 1558, records,²¹¹

With regard to the 'Bearing of the Venerable Sacrament', Heinrich Wirre, a citizen of Solothorn in Switzerland, applied for permission to perform a Play of the Passion of Our Lord Christ, and because he produced certified documents from a variety of important towns, that it was his custom to base his play on the stories and content of the Gospel, he was granted permission to perform his play.

This is unusual in as much as the custom in most places was for such a play to be performed under the patronage of the town authorities with participation by members of the various craft guilds, and perhaps, as in the Low Countries, with assistance from the local Guild of Rhetoricians.

After 1558 there is no record of the performance in Cologne of a religious play in the strict sense until the play of St Laurence was performed there in 1581. Plays of this saint were performed much earlier in England and France. It has, however, been

suggested that this play found as much favour in German-speaking countries between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries as elsewhere.²¹² The stage and set for the 1581 play is so elaborate as to suggest that it had evolved over a period of time from a much simpler form.²¹³

The Three Kings of Cologne.

An Entry in the Aberdeen Burgh Records of 1442 setting out details of the procession of the annual Candlemas Offerand details,

the smythez and hammirmen sal fynd
the three kingis of Culane and alsmony honeste
squiarez as thai may.

The formula 'iij (three) kingis of cullane' is repeated again in 1505/6.²¹⁴ We shall return to this subject in the following chapter when we come to discuss representations in Aberdeen.

Karneval.

In the fifteenth century in the season of Lent the Lower Rhineland and probably Cologne in particular indulged heavily in feasting and dancing, and in 'Spottumzüge' (lit. 'mockery-processions') and 'Vermummungen' (masking and disguising) in the habits of monks and nuns. Similar customs were observed in Flemish towns, as we see in the paintings of Pieter Brueghel, and in the German Hanse Cities of the North.²¹⁵

For further information relevant to Cologne see, VOL. TWO.

APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

Section iii) SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES RELATIVE TO GERMAN RELIGIOUS PLAYS. 1) Cologne. The Three Kings.

2) DANZIG (now known as Gdansk).

We showed in Chapter Two that Scotland had trade links with this Hanse City and furthermore that Scots settled there in large numbers. We have no contemporary archival information regarding religious representations in Danzig before Martin Luther began his reforming activities with the affixing of the Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg in Saxony on 31 October 1517.

Nevertheless the German writer Wilhelm Kosch asserts that Danzig went through the same course of theatrical development as that experienced by most other German towns. In amplification of this, however, he says no more than,²¹⁶

...Auf die Darbietungen der jungen Bürger und Handwerksgesellen folgten solche der Schüler und solche Stadtfremder Berufsschauspieler, Englische Komödianten traten am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts auf....

That is,

...After the performances of the young burgesses and craft-journeymen followed those of the scholars (or, school-boys) and of actors from out of town. English actors appeared at the end of the sixteenth century...

Records show that from 1521 any tradition there might once have been of the regular performance during the course of the year of religious presentations based on the Old and New Testaments and the Lives of the Saints had ceased. For Danzig, the Baltic area and other parts of Germany, this was a time of turmoil in which opposing sides used dramatic representations to support their cause and condemn that of the other side, a sure indication that until the spread of Lutheranism, there were in Danzig and in that area generally, representations of a kind common on the Continent

before the rise of the Reformers. Interesting records of these performances have survived but are not relevant to this thesis and are accordingly not included in this Volume One. However, as they may be of interest to some scholars and have been translated by us from the archaic German we have included them in the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section iii. 2) Danzig.

3a) HAMBURG.

As shown in Chapter Two there was a regular trade between Scottish ports and this great Hanseatic Port. There is evidence from the Town Accounts of the performance in Hamburg of Passion Plays in the years 1466, 1480 and 1481. The general public were required to assist with the expenses for the 1466 and 1480 plays by means of 'voluntary' subscriptions. Members of the guilds were made responsible for the provision of costumes and for the very artistic scenes.²¹⁷ The accounts of 1466 show that the actor who played Christ on the Cross was provided with a 'skin', a practice which seems to have been universal. As we shall see in the next chapter those few places for which we have records show this was a practice followed in Scotland, as for example, at Dundee, Lanark and Perth. (For Extracts of Accounts and further additional information see the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section iii. 3) Hamburg.

There is also record of another performance on the Market Place in 1517, described as follows by a Chronicler who wrote his account in Latin,

The Whole Market was built about with many tall palaces (i.e. 'loca'), constructed out of fir tree boards. The

Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem took place on Palm Sunday at 12 noon. On Maundy Thursday Jesus came once again to Jerusalem with his Apostles at the time of Vespers and ate the Paschal Lamb. On Good Friday after one o'clock the whole town and the players gathered together; then Jesus went with his Apostles - they were priests wearing black vestments - into the Garden, where he was betrayed by Judas and brought before the High Priests, Herod and Pilate, condemned, crucified and buried.

Here with the Market Place surrounded with 'many tall palaces' we have an example of simultaneous staging for a play which took place over at least six days. Many similar reports are extant regarding Passion performances in Dortmund, Hamelen, Lüneberg, Nordhausen, Stolberg, Wittenberg and many other north German towns.²¹⁸

The Hamburger Jüngstes Gericht.

There is preserved at Hamburg a fragment of a poem on the above subject, which is thought to date before the middle of the twelfth century. Its source is given as 'im südlichen Rheinfranken'. The poem is about the appearance of the crucified Christ and the Angel at the Last Judgment, the Opening of the Book of Sins, the Judgment, and the fate of the Saved and the Damned. The beginning and the end of the poem are missing. The fragment has a hundred and twenty-one short verses. The poem smacks strongly of the style of a sermon seeking penitence and conversion, perhaps to prepare a congregation to make their confessions. There is no evidence so far to connect the poem with Hamburg. The only reason for the current name of the fragment seems to be that it is preserved at Hamburg.²¹⁹ This is not drama but it is the sort of material out of which drama could be constructed.

3b) STADE.

The above is an ancient town and seaport on the South Bank of the River Elbe, a short distance down river from Hamburg, and a port where ships often make calls of short duration before proceeding up river to Hamburg. There can be little doubt that precisely the same has been done for centuries. It is possible that in medieval times Stade had at least a cycle of Nativity Plays. Discussing the formation of such cycles from individual plays the German scholar Michael suggests that the 'Stadesche Weihnachtsspiel' (the fragment of a Prophet Play) may have been united with other Christmas Plays to make a united Nativity Cycle, as happened elsewhere, as for example, in the case of the Benediktbeuer and St Gall 'Weihnachtsspiele'.²²⁰

4) LÜBECK.

This is another Hanseatic Port with which Scotland had trade links (see Chapter Two). Between the years 1430-1515 performances of 'Fastnachtspiele' (that is, Shrove Tuesday Plays) were presented by the Patriziergesellschaft der Zirkelbrüder. They were different from such seasonal plays given elsewhere, as for example in Nuremberg, where the earlier Shrove Tuesday Plays were of a coarseness without parallel.²²¹ At Lübeck the performances were given in costume true to character type, with appropriate attributes and suitable gestures.²²² A wheeled stage was employed, pulled through the town by beasts of burden.²²³ The evidence we have gathered would enable us to expand considerably on this subject but as our brief is representations based on scripture and there is no tangible evidence to show any penetration of Scotland by the Lübeck 'Fastnachtspiele' the

subject is not pursued further. There was at the time that concerns us no university in Lübeck which Scottish students might have attended. Another type of play that took root in Lübeck was the morality with its own distinctive characteristics yet revealing close kinship with such plays of this type which had their origin in the Low Countries. Again we do not propose to pursue this subject further. Lübeck does appear to be a place which on account of its international trade links was affected by literary influences coming from its trading partners.

The 'Lübeck Totentanz' ('Dance of Death') of 1463.

The Chronicler of Lübeck recorded that in 1462-3 a wave of pest moved across the land from the Middle Rhine to the North East Coast. A certain Bernt Notke produced a performance of the 'Dance of Death' in the Marien Kirche at Lübeck to encourage penitence and perhaps in the hope that by divine intervention the pest might be stayed from the city. Nevertheless it arrived there at Pentecost in 1464. A programme of Notke's performance has survived with an incomplete text. It is clear, however, that it is based on the French 'Danse Macabre'.²²⁴ Texts of Totentänze dated 1489 and 1520 have survived. The 1489 text is said to reflect the 1486 text of Marchant's 'Danse Macabre' entitled *Miroir salulaire*, and the 1520 text is said to be based on that of 1489. A copy of the 1520 text is held by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.²²⁵ The 'Danse Macabre' had its origin in France about 1424 and thus here we have an example of the transmission of ideas across frontiers by those whose business took them from one country to another.

The 'Redentiner-Lübeck Osterspiel'.

Although this play may or may not have had its disputed origin in Lübeck in 1464 it was almost certainly influenced by the Lübeck 'Totentanz' of 1463 as shown by the inclusion in it of a ring-dance scene with demons led by Lucifer in which sinners are dragged off to Hell. The 'Osterspiel' (i.e. Easter or Resurrection Play) known as the 'Redentiner Osterspiel', dated 1464, has been described as the most significant of all the Easter Plays in the German vernacular of the Middle Ages by reason of its content, quality, and in one part, identification with a particular locality and time, a feature which has determined the latest scholarship to say that the play originated in Lübeck and not in Redentin.²²⁶

The play consists of almost two equal halves. The first half is a Resurrection Play with scenes both of the Resurrection and of the Descent into Hell, embodied in a two part 'Watch at the Tomb' play, and the second half is a 'Devil Play', concerned with the Devil's missionary endeavours and his consigning of those whom he ensnares to eternal punishment in Hell.

The germ and kernel of the complete traditional Easter Cycle, viz. the 'Visitatio Sepulchri', which is absent from no other German Easter Play, is not scenically portrayed in this play, receiving but a very brief mention in a report given by the Fourth Soldier of the Watch. There is, however, a scene with the Ointment Merchants. A happy feature is the complete absence of the portrayal of anti-Jewish emotions,²²⁷ which mar the texts of other plays of the same kind. It contains strong humorous touches which

in no way lessen the excellent quality of the first half of the play. The text of the Resurrection play, and especially the Descent into Hell scene, is threaded through with many traditional Latin anthems, but the text of the second half is entirely in the German vernacular.²²⁸

The intention of the second half of the play was to make a great impression on the spectators by means of a variety of amazing devices. One such device was to show the resurrection taking place on the German East Coast, in the immediate neighbourhood of a seaport town. The Resurrection Angels approach this town over the sea lanes between the Islands of Hiddensee and Moen and past the Island of Poel which lies off Wismar. (These facts are stated in the play itself, lines 206-12.) Meanwhile the Devils are busily occupied filling up the Hell recently vacated by the Risen Souls with souls they are dragging away from Lübeck where very recently death had reigned on account of the wave of pest that had reached the city (see, lines 1296-98).²²⁹

Research has shown that the pest wave reached the East Coast (i.e. Schleswig-Holstein) in 1450-1, and again in 1463-4, and that coupled with the activity of the Devils at Lübeck and the inclusion of the 'Dance of Death' ²³⁰ persuades us that wherever the play may have been written it was intended for performance in Lübeck in the pest year of 1463-4.

The MS as it has come down to us indicates that the play was written in 1464 in Redentin, between Rostock and Wismar, in a daughter house of the convent at nearby Doberan. Some have

suggested that the first performance of the play was given at Wismar in 1464.²³¹

The MS Redentiner Osterspiel includes as a significant item a Ring Dance scene with the Demons and Lucifer, as seen in the Lübeck Totentanz of 1463 and believed to have been derived from it.²³² The subject of the birthplace of the Redentiner play has been discussed by several authors. Steinbach on the basis of the play's 'Ostelbische Sprache' favours a town in the region of the east of the Elbe, that is, somewhere in Schleswig-Holstein, '...die Erwähnung von Lübeck, Poel, Hiddensee und Moen abgegrenzt; die Ostelbische Sprache entspricht dieser Festlegung'. Rosenfeld seeks 'Lübeck als Entstehungsort zu erweisen'. On the other hand Krogmann, says Steinbach, 'beharrt sich mit unrecht, bei Wismar als die Heimat des. Rd. O.'. Perhaps the answer to the documentary evidence for writing in Redentin is that the play was indeed written there but by an author from the Lübeck area in response to the pest crisis in that city, and intended for performance at that time.²³³ It is just possible that the Redentin-Lübeck play was witnessed by a Scottish mariner or merchant, although it is highly problematic as to whether or not the play could have affected such parallel representations in Scotland. If it tells us nothing else it at least shows that in almost every place to which Scottish merchants went in pursuit of trade, they stood a good chance of witnessing the performance of a religious play, if they were there at the right time.

For further information on representations in Lübeck see the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C', Section iii. 4) Lübeck.

5) REGENSBURG (RATISBON).

The subject of the late medieval immigration of large numbers of Scots into Regensburg an important trading-post across the Danube and at the cross-roads of Europe, has already been discussed (see Chapter Two). Records also show that some Scots stopped over at Regensburg when travelling to and from the Shrine at Compostela (see below F. SPAIN). In view of the presence of a strong Scottish trading colony in Regensburg it is highly likely that there would have been a regular exchange of visits between families who wished to keep in touch and it is quite likely that before Scots became Abbots of the several Bavarian Abbeys these already had colonies of Scottish monks who kept in touch with home.

Regensburg and Its Religious Representations.

The manuscript of the 'Regensburg Latin Spielfragmente' ²³⁴ which originated at St Emmeram, Regensburg, is held in Munich. It is dated 1167/8-1216. It is the Notizbuch of the Regensburg Canon Hugo von Lerchenfeld and besides various other matters contains fragments of three medieval Latin religious plays, together with a Costume List and evidence of performance. The plays are,

- i) A Play of Gideon, c.1188.
- ii) A Play of Salomo, 1184-89.
- iii) A fragmentary Christmas Play, 1184-89.

Brief details regarding the Plays of Gideon and Salomo will be found in the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Item iii.

5) Regensburg. The Regensburg Spielfragmente - A Miscellany of Short Plays.

The fragmentary Christmas Play features scenes of Augustinus (i.e. the Emperor Augustus) calling upon the Archangel Gabriel, the Annunciation, the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, the Homage of Augustinus paid to Mary, and the unbelieving 'Synagoga'. This

fragmentary play has affinities with the 'Ordines Prophetarum' of Limoges, Laon and Rouen and in construction with the Benediktbeuer Weihnachtsspiel and some features common with the Aberdeen Candlemas Play.

The Costume List is dated 1184-89, and covers the Apostles, Aaron, Moses, Synagoga, Ecclesia, John the Baptist and the Saviour and probably relates to one or more plays, including the above mentioned fragmentary Christmas Play.

A play featuring the Creation of the World, the Fall of the Angels, the Fall of Mankind and the Prophets was performed at Regensburg on 7 February 1194/5, Septuagesima.²³⁵ Such a series of scenes could later have formed the Prologue to a complete cycle of religious plays if one was not already in existence at that time. It was France that led the way with Prophet Plays, as, for example, at Limoges. These were soon followed by similar plays in German-speaking areas with their own independent texts.²³⁶

A seventeenth century manuscript of the 'Regensburg Osterspiel' has survived in a 'Processional' held in the Regensburg Diocesan Central Library. The use of both Latin and German in the text gives good reason for believing that the play is in fact rather older than the surviving manuscript.

The play is preceded by Latin anthems of praise and penitence from a Good Friday Office of the Stations of the Cross, an indication of the context in which the play was originally performed. Included are a number of German 'Lieder', such as 'O du armer Judas', said to be a well-known feature of German Passion Plays.

The play proper does not begin until fol 24v. It consists only of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri', that is, by the Maries, and a very short 'Jungerlauf', the running of the Apostles to inspect the empty tomb (John Ch.20, vv.3,4, especially v.4). At the 'Visitatio' anthems were sung in Latin and repeated in German. The following scene of the 'Jungerlauf' is entirely in German.

Parts of the play are said to be very much like the parallel parts of the Freiburg 'Fronleichnamsspiele' (Corpus Christi Plays) of 1599, so much so that a German author has suggested a common source for the two plays, probably somewhere in Bavaria or in the Tyrol.²³⁷ To this mute, Old and New Testament Freiburg-im-Breisgau group of twenty-two 'tableaux' was added in 1599 a continuous play covering the passion, death and burial of Christ.

The Regensburg 'Osterspiel' was probably performed in church. The bilingual nature of the text suggests not later than the early fifteenth century for the date of the original text, at a transitional period, preceding the taking of religious plays out into the open-air, to the streets, market places and playing fields.

Two twelfth century manuscripts of the Latin text of the 'Tres Filiae' (i.e. the 'Three Daughters') of the St Nicholas legends have survived and are held in Munich. They dramatize the well-known legend of the impoverished father whose three daughters were saved from prostitution by the gift of gold made by St Nicholas. The text is accounted as an 'Ur-text' of the St Nicholas legend.²³⁸

It is to be noted that Regensburg is very near Ingolstadt where records of religious representations have also survived. For further information see the above mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section iii. 5) Regensburg. For Ingolstadt see Section ii) GERMAN CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS. Ingolstadt, near Regensburg, Bavaria, 1507.

6) STRALSUND.

A record has survived of rowdy scenes and boisterous behaviour in this town at the Midnight (Christmas) Mass in St Paul's Cathedral during the reading of the Christmas Gospel of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Perhaps this indicates that a certain amount of license was permitted at the Midnight Mass, and there may possibly have been something like it at St Nicholas, the Burgh Church of Aberdeen, and if there, probably elsewhere in Scotland (see Chapter One). There is also a record of the use of puppets to enact scenes from the Passion in the course of a sermon at the Church of St John's, Stralsund, which must remind us of the performance of the scene of the Assumption with puppets at Dieppe (see above, this chapter, B. FRANCE, ii) Dieppe, 1443).

For further information on the events at Stralsund see, the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section iii. 6) Stralsund.

7) VIENNA.

As far as we know Scottish merchants did not have much in the way of trading links with this city and for that reason the subject was not considered in our Chapter Two. Nevertheless as we show below there is reason to believe that Scottish travelling salemen found there way to Vienna in numbers and that some settled there.

As we showed in Chapter Two but few Scottish students studied at the University of Vienna in Pre-Reformation times. The few who did are listed below,²³⁹

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| i) Andrew of Scotland, 1455. | ii) James Frissel of Inverness, 1456. |
| iii) Master John Gray of St Andrews' University, 1494. | iv) Alexander Kymte, 1498. |
| v) Master George Ryethart, 1507. | vi) Patrick Fort, 1515-16. |
| vii) William Barer of St Andrews' University and Dominus Andrew Helm of Glasgow, 1516-17. | |
| viii) George Barclay of Montrose, 1521-2. | |

The dates are years of matriculation.

An institution that existed in Vienna in the late Middle Ages was one known as the 'Schottenstift', which was in fact a school. A 'stift' is a charitable institution and it seems likely that Scots who had settled in the city founded a school for their sons, some of whom sang in Wilhelm Rollinger's 'Passion Play'. See the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section iii. 7) Vienna. Wilhelm Rollinger's Corpus Christi Day Passion Play and the Gottleichnams-Bruderschaft of Vienna. To what extent, if any, this Scottish community maintained links with Scotland we cannot say. As we have already shown Scots readily settled in other German-speaking parts of the Empire, in particular in the coastal towns of the Baltic, where in Danzig (Gdansk) they became an influential part of the community.

The City of Vienna holds a special place in the development of Passion Plays in German speech. From the middle of the fourteenth century passion solemnities were held in the Rathaus Chapel and from the beginning of the fifteenth century there is evidence of fully-staged plays at the Ducal Court. From the same date there is

evidence for the regular performance of plays in St Stephan's Cathedral. A partly preserved 'Wiener Ludus Paschalis' from the fourteenth century is the earliest evidence for the introduction of the use of the vernacular, the play being partly in Latin and partly in the German vernacular. It is said to be 'Mittelrheinisch' in origin, but reshaped in Vienna. The play stages the whole 'salvation-history' of mankind in three phases, viz. the Fall, the Death of Christ on the Cross and the Resurrection. The first phase begins with the rebellion of the Angel Lucifer, his Fall and alliance with the Devil, and the seduction of Adam and Eve. Their Expulsion from Paradise is followed by a scene in which poor souls from the several estates of life are shown borne down by a wide variety of burdens. Helpers of the Devil lead the first ones into Hell, and then four souls, a usurer, a lascivious preacher, a witch and a teacher, are dragged along and by their ensuing punishment demonstrate the consequences of sin.

In the Magdalene scene there is a theme song very reminiscent of romantic rustic poetry with its lust for life, its sheer joy at being alive, its delight in dancing and the pleasures of love, all freely and wantonly expressed, all of which calls to mind how the role of Mary Magdalene is portrayed in the Benediktbeuer Passion Play,²⁴⁰ and which may lie behind a possible Aberdeen scene or play of 'Bele Aelis', if we read from the records that name rather than that of the demon 'Belial', played in Aberdeen at Corpus Christi 1471 (see next chapter).

A particularly interesting record shows that on 4 April 1432 the

Faculty of Arts of the University were assembled to hear a report from their Dean, in which an official rebuke was given to Master Johannes Zeller of Augsburg because in spite of warnings from the Dean he and his students had publicly performed plays on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Easter Day in the Ducal Castle in which the Last Supper, the Passion and the Resurrection had been enacted. The Faculty ordered that under pain of expulsion none of their Masters should in future organize such plays without prior express permission. This suggests that subject to permission being obtained students could and did perform plays. There is thus the possibility that in due course some Scottish students either took part in such plays as actors or were at least spectators of them.

The following year (1433) Zeller sought permission to organize a student performance of the Passion, including the 'Lamentations of Our Lady', by which we should probably understand a scene featuring Our Lady of Pity (i.e. the Pietà) preceded by a scene of the Taking Down from the Cross. However, despite the support of Duke Albert V the Faculty refused permission, 'propter multas rationabiles causas in facultate factas'. The attitude of the Faculty is understandable if Zeller's play contained anything like the grotesque sottie scenes of the so-called 'Wiener Rubinus', which went well beyond the tolerable limits for a religious play.²⁴¹ Johannes Zeller, who matriculated in 1430 in the 'Rheinischen Nation', is the first Play Director known by name in Vienna. He subsequently took a doctorate in medicine, dying in Belgrade in 1456.²⁴²

Records show that many Passion Plays were performed in Vienna

between 1431 and 1505, which means that such Scots as came to study in Vienna after 1455 almost certainly would have witnessed or participated in one or more performances.²⁴³ Both the court and the civil authorities of Vienna were eager in the first half of the fifteenth century that religious plays should be performed in their city. Thus it was that in 1433, the year that Zeller was refused permission to perform his play, these same authorities and the Church took the matter in hand. Records of donations made in the years 1481 and 1486 show that every year on Good Friday a Passion Play was performed at St Stephan's when the 'Bearing of the Cross' and the 'Crucifixion' were performed in the burial grounds of the Cathedral and the same performances were repeated at Corpus Christi in connection with the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament. The Director on both occasion was for decades Meister Wilhelm Rollinger, the wood-carver who made the Cathedral's Palmesel, and the cathedral's famous 'chorgestuhl' (pulpit). This latter was richly carved by Rollinger and his craftsmen to illustrate scenes from the Passion, almost certainly reflecting the scenes of the Passion Plays which he produced. Unfortunately it was lost for ever when the now restored Cathedral was partly destroyed by fire bombs in 1945. Sadly the pulpit has not been replaced.²⁴⁴

Rollinger's Passion Play consisted of twenty-one scenes from The Meeting of the Jewish Council where the death of Jesus was agreed upon to the Piercing of his side with the Sword and his Taking Down from the Cross.

On the 'Palmesel' see the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section
 iii. 7) Vienna. The Annual Palmesel Ceremony on Palm Sunday at
St. Stephan's Cathedral, Vienna. There is much evidence from 1437
 for the existence of an Easter Sepulchre mounted on wheels, made
 by artists and used for the Passion and Easter Plays until 1637,
 when it was replaced by another in the baroque style.²⁴⁵

Shortly before 1505 Rollinger arranged for the Gottleichnams-
 Bruderschaft to take under its wing the Passion Play he had
 directed on Good Fridays and at Corpus Christi on behalf of the
 church authorities. Rollinger remained as Artistic Director.²⁴⁶

Besides the Passion Play there were also in Vienna in the late
 Middle Ages Nativity and Saints Plays, a Play of the Holy
 Innocents and up to 1460 at the Cathedral they performed the
 'Episcopus Puerorum' from the Benediktbeuern 'Weihnachtsspiel',
 and not the least of these plays was the play of the 'Ascension of
 Christ' which continued to be played until the middle of the
 seventeenth century.²⁴⁷

Another Passion Play of some interest also from Vienna is the so-
 called 'Wiener-Osterspiel' of 1472 accredited to the Augustiner-
 Eremiten-Kloster. It contains ten scenes to be performed at eight
 different 'loca' and required more than forty players.²⁴⁸ In the
 'Resurrection' as the Risen Christ stepped from the tomb he was
 handed a light by the Archangel Gabriel and a banner by the
 Archangel Raphael. The 'Descent into Hell' scene was played with

great realism, no more so than when the Gates of Hell were blown open by a mighty explosion.²⁴⁹

The Mercator (Merchant) scenes portraying the purchase of the ointments for the anointing of the body of Christ are farsically and coarsely portrayed, and are reminiscent of some of the cruder Fastnacht plays, rather than religious plays.²⁵⁰ Kindermann quotes a good example of the rough language used by the Mercator when he rebukes his wife.²⁵¹

From 1502-3 onwards Konrad Celtus presented plays of Terence and Plautus with student casts in the Hall of the University.²⁵²

In 1542 Wolfgang Schmetzl, the Schoolmaster and 'Spielleiter' in the Schottenstift, produced an eschatological play and a play of the 'Sending Forth of the Apostles' combined with scenes from the 'Last Judgment'.²⁵³

8) BASLE (BASEL).

We know of no evidence to suggest a close *connection* between Scotland and this German-speaking city of Switzerland. However, the Council of Basle (1431-49) was attended by a number of Scottish Churchmen (for details see above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C', Section iii. 8) Basle (Basel).

There is a paucity of information regarding religious

representations in this city. Evidence from the first half of the fifteenth century shows that at Christmas Boy Bishops made a nuisance of themselves. On Sunday after the Feast of the Epiphany 1519 the 'History of the Three Kings' was produced by a priest-schoolmaster. The cast included not only the Three Kings, and the Virgin Mary, but also Herod and his Courtiers, and Scribes and Pharisees.

A manuscript fragment of the second half of the fifteenth century, known as the 'Basler Bruchstück' of which the principal characters appear to be devils, was thought by Creizenach to be part of an 'Osterspiel'. Other scholars take different views. That there was a tradition of liturgical drama in Basle in the first half of the sixteenth century is shown by the text of a liturgical 'Visitatio sepulchri' contained in a surviving Basle Breviary dated 1515.²⁵⁴

Basle is in easy reach of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden-Württemberg, from which records have survived from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries of elaborate 'Fronleichnamsspiele' (Corpus Christi Plays). In the unlikely event of there being no such observance in Basle the pious and the curious visitor would probably make his way to Freiburg.

For further details of the above see the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section ii) GERMAN CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS. Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden-Württemberg, late 15th, early 16th century.

Having passed in review some of the available evidence for

religious representations in German-speaking countries it seems to us that Cologne is the one German-speaking city which because of its university's popularity with Scottish students and scholars might have influenced religious representations in Scotland. Unfortunately very little evidence has survived of such representations in the relevant period. It is now more fully appreciated that the plays that have survived present a misleading picture of the situation as it actually was, both as regards their number and their distribution. This was made clear by the publication in 1987 of archival records of religious drama compiled by Bernd Neumann,²⁵⁵ the first Inventory of its kind. It shows that religious plays of one kind or another were staged in almost every town and certainly in many regions for which no text has survived. This means that as many Scots congregated in German towns where trade prospects were good, there must have been many who witnessed religious plays for which it is impossible to provide any data.

France and the Low Countries, because of their comparatively good surviving records coupled with their undoubted links with Scotland at different levels of society, remain so far in this study, those parts of the Continent to which we can look for parallels and possible influence in the field of religious representations.

Further information on the subject of German religious plays which may not have been referred to in this chapter can be found in the above-mentioned APPENDIX 'C'. Section i) GERMAN RELIGIOUS PLAYS - TEXTS AND PERFORMANCES.

D. ITALY.

There is a real possibility that Scottish religious representations were influenced by what some Scots must have witnessed down the years in Italy, especially in Rome, which when the Papal Court was there, would have been visited from time to time by Scottish ecclesiastics, in particular by Bishops going to give an account of their stewardship (see, VOL. ONE. CHAPTER TWO. d) ECCLESIASTICS AND OTHER MEN OF SIGNIFICANCE IN SCOTTISH LIFE ON THE CONTINENT). The Passion Plays performed annually in the Colosseum cannot have failed to make an impression on Scottish visitors. To what extent this influenced the Clerk and Pasch plays of Scotland it would be difficult to say in the absence of any play texts. We have already written in Chapter Two of the presence of Scottish students at the Universities of Bologna, Padua and Pavia.

Some Scottish ecclesiastics probably attended sessions of the Council of Florence (1438-45), which met successively in three cities, viz. Ferrara (1438-9),²⁵⁶ and Florence (1439-42), which was probably attended by Prior David Ramsay who we know from records was in Florence in c.1440.²⁵⁷ The concluding sessions were held in Rome (1442-5).²⁵⁸

An Italian who may have had more than a little influence in Scotland in matters dramatic is Giovanni Ferrerius who was probably native to Ferrara, a city which he left as a consequence of becoming a Cistercian Monk. He seems to have settled at Kinloss Abbey where he probably taught. He may have arrived in Scotland in 1507 when it is recorded that a 'frere of Ferrara' brought a gift of must to James IV.²⁵⁹ In 1531 Giovanni Ferrerius presented a

'Customary' to James Pont, a monk of Kinloss Abbey.²⁶⁰ As a humanist Ferrerius quite possibly promoted a revival of classical drama, such as the plays of Plautus and others, conceivably at the Grammar School and the University in Aberdeen. Classical drama is no part of our brief and so we do not pursue the subject. Records show that there were also entertainers from Italy at the Scottish Court. Some are known to have come from Lucca. Others referred to as 'Italians' may also have come from that place. This subject has already been dealt with in Chapter Two and much detail will be found in VOL. TWO. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. Item v) THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC. MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY.

As we have shown in Chapter Two Scottish contact with the peoples of Italy was not restricted to meeting them in their own native places. Scottish merchants and others had contact with Bankers in Bruges and they were able to witness Italian religious pageantry through the 'tableaux' provided by Italian merchants which in common with other foreign merchants they were bound to provide on the occasion of the frequent 'Joyful' and 'Triumphant Entries' into the city.

After an Introduction to the subject of religious drama in Italy we give now details of some of the religious representations that Scots might have seen when in Italy in some of the cities and towns referred to in our Chapter Two. There is no shortage of material and restrictions on space mean that much of the detailed information we have gathered only appears in VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. REPRESENTATIONS GIVEN IN CERTAIN ITALIAN CITIES BEFORE THE REFORMATION. We have already

briefly referred to the subject in our Introduction. Italy shared the common European inheritance of liturgical drama, with, of course, variations in detail. Many texts of liturgical dramas have survived in Italy dating from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, originating from Benedictine monasteries, cathedral schools, and liturgical centres, such as Montecassino, Ivrea, Nanantola, Cremona, Aquila, Cividale, Parma, Sutri, Padua, Bari, Barletta, Sulmona, Venice, Verceill, and from other locations in Abruzzi and Sicily.

The 'Laudi'.

In the middle of the thirteenth century there occurred in certain northern regions of the country a new and distinctively Italian development. It arose out of the penitential movement of the Flagellanti, who inserted into their services 'Laudi', items that were primarily devotional and lyrical in form, evolving into narrative based on the Gospel records. Recitation led to dialogue and then to dramatic impersonation. Considerable progress had been made in 1339 as illustrated by a list of properties in the possession of the 'Disciplati' of Perugia. The 'Laudi' varied according to the Church's Calendar. Manuscripts of the sixteenth century from the districts of Umbria and the Abruzzi have survived, and it is known that 'Laudi' were in use in Tuscany. Out of the 'Laudi' through a series of stages there eventually evolved religious drama in the fullest sense in the form of the 'Sacre Rappresentazioni', i.e. realistic drama with impersonation, action and dialogue, with live characters, supported by appropriate costuming and effects.²⁶¹ For the most part the authors of the 'Laudi' are unknown. Some, however, are the work of one of the greatest religious poets of the period, Jacopone da

Todi (1230-1306), composer of 'Stabat Mater'.²⁶² The Laudi spread to many parts of Italy, e.g., in Bologna fraternities of 'Laudesi' sang in praise of the Virgin Mary and Christ's sufferings.

In Florence there was a lay association named 'Laudesi della beata Vergine', which drew its members from the upper classes, whose principal activity was the singing of 'Laudi' in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Sung dramatic 'Laudi' were also performed in Orvieto, Rome, Siena and in many other Italian towns, and the repertoire included 'Laudi' for Advent and Christmas.²⁶³

Contemporary painters and architects helped in the production of the scenery.²⁶⁴

Despite the advent and advance of the 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' 'Laudi' were still being sung in the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1461 a festival was held in Siena in honour of St Katherine of Siena, mystic. It seems to have taken the form of a simple 'Laudē', with chants or choruses, and rhymed verses. There were no musical instruments, 'Cantis atque rithmis nec non musicis instrumenti adhibititis'.²⁶⁵

The Devozioni.

Despite elaboration into dramatic forms the 'Laudi' remained essentially choral in character. The next development was a form of presentation of the historic facts of the Christian faith known as 'Devozioni', given in conjunction with the preaching of a sermon. As preachers have always done, little stories were inserted into sermons to bring out the meaning of dogma and the significance of commandments, and so there developed, especially in the Abruzzi, the practice of inserting illustrations into

sermons in the form of 'living pictures' or 'tableaux-vivants'. Soon these were provided with miming and gestures, as the preacher spoke the text of the dialogue from the pulpit. The scenes were given in church upon a boarded scaffold fitted with curtains. As a kind of praecursor the preacher began by introducing his theme, and then followed with his exposition, which he illustrated by means of 'living pictures', one after the other. When he called 'Ostendatis', the curtain was drawn up and a new picture became visible. Up to as many as forty such 'living pictures' might be shown each time, always rich in colour, with a new background, properties and lighting effects. Obviously these presentations required that spectators and stage should face each other.

The 1375 manuscript of a Director's Book for the production of a 'Devozione' for Good Friday in conjunction with a sermon showing Umbrian and Venetian characteristics has survived. It was performed from an elevated stage set up in the middle of the church. That the play was well established before 1375 is shown by the prefacing of rubrical instructions with the formula, 'As is the custom', followed by some such instruction as, 'The Jews offer Him vinegar and gall', or 'Longinus pierces Christ's side', and so on. The action of the play commenced as soon as the preacher began to speak of Christ's scourging when the actor taking the part of Christ was led by Tormentors to the pillar where they scourged him. This was not, however, portrayed with the stark realism customary in France, but as it says in the stage direction, only 'un poco, devotamente'. Next Christ turned to John and commended his Mother to him. Then followed a representation of the Passion of Christ and the Taking Down from

the Cross. From time to time the action was interrupted by further explanations from the preacher.²⁶⁶ The pain of the Mother of God was so movingly portrayed that the spectators were stirred to their depths. Now the Archangel Gabriel appeared to console Mary, and God the Father sent angels down to earth to be with his Son in the hour of his death. The Devil appeared on the scene and attempted to persuade Christ to come down from the cross. Meanwhile the dead stood up from their graves - an uncannily effective scene, as they hurried to the stage from all the dark corners of the church - and reported to Jesus that the Patriarchs were expecting him.²⁶⁷

Besides the above mentioned fourteenth century text a number of 'Devozioni' texts have survived from the fifteenth century.²⁶⁸ Maundy Thursday and Christmas 'Devozioni' have survived from Siena. Many of these 'Devozioni' accord in the pictorial character of their staging with their equivalent subjects in the paintings of Botticelli and Fra Bartolommeo.²⁶⁹

The 'Sacre Rappresentazioni'.

A new form of religious drama developed in the fifteenth century, which supremely was cultivated in Florence. They almost always commence with an 'Angel Prologue' and conclude with an 'Angel Epilogue'. About one hundred of these dramas have survived.²⁷⁰

The rest of the Italian cities did not wish to be left behind and thus 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' almost as good as those of Florence were held in Siena, Pistoia and Modena, not to mention Naples where the King gave express orders to surpass the Florentine plays

in splendour, in refinement of technique and in equipment (i.e. properties).²⁷¹

The 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' were a kind of synthesis of the various forms that had preceded them. 'Devozioni' dialogue, now more developed, and processional play forms were combined with extraordinary festival processional splendour and staging effects. The pantomimic and the poetic joined in one, in the shape of the cooperation of famous picture painters, and texts written by famous writers, such as Feo Balcari (the earliest known date for a performance of his 'Abraham and Isaac' is 1448), Lorenzo di Magnifico and Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, both from the house of Medici, Bernardo Pulci and with his wife Antonia, and Castellano Castellani, a lawyer from Pisa.²⁷² A distinctive feature of these Rappresentazioni is that they were intended to be performed by youths who were members of pious brotherhoods.²⁷³

1) FLORENCE.

In 1439 and 1454 there were in Florence processional plays in celebration of St John the Baptist, in which all classes of the community took part. Not less than twenty-two pageant-waggon with groups of scenes mounted on them were led along the processional route. They illustrated the whole history of the world from the Fall of Lucifer to the Last Judgement. In other words they portrayed a complete Cosmic Cycle. Each pageant-waggon halted before the platform where the City Fathers were stationed. Here were given explanatory dialogues relevant to the various groups of scenes. After making their stop the twenty-two waggons continued on their way through the town where they could be seen by the

thousands of spectators and impress them with their colour and magnificence of presentation. There were no other stops than that before the City Fathers, and Creizenach suggests that even here no more than a few lines could have been spoken.

An impressive representation of the 'Annunciation to the Virgin' took place in the Church of the Annunciation, Florence, in 1439, of which a vivid description was written by the Russian Bishop Abraham of Souzdal, who was attending a session of the Florence Council referred to above. He relates how God the Father, ringed about by a Choir of Angels, was seated on a throne up in the dome of the church, surrounded by more than five hundred burning lamps, which revolved continually as they went up and down, and

After some time, the angel sent by God descends on the two ropes.....to announce the conception of the Son....

This was a performance staged with considerable magnificence and which can only be really appreciated by reading Bishop Abraham's account. ²⁷⁴

There was an equally splendid representation of the Ascension of Our Lord in the same church in the same year, witnessed by the same Bishop, who also wrote down a description of this event. God the Father suspended in the air was illuminated by dazzling light and surrounded by a Choir of Angels and, ²⁷⁵

Beneath stood Jesus with Mary and the Apostles. Jesus distributed symbolic gifts to the Apostles, then took leave from them and soared up to the Father. Meanwhile a bright cloud descended and enveloped Jesus as two Angels with golden wings soared on either side.

Kindermann (*Das Theater Publikum, etc.*, 213,4) gives 1438 for performances a. and b. Meredith and Tailby, *The Staging of*

Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages (243-7) give 1439 for the year of performance, which seems to be the generally accepted date. As Kindermann gives 1438 in various places we are probably not concerned with a printer's error. If the performance took place on the Eve of the Annunciation, that is, 24 March, then Kindermann would be correct according to the Old Style of reckoning, 25 March being the first day of 1439, O.S. Kindermann and Meredith and Tailby agree on 1439 for the representation of the Ascension.²⁷⁶

Prior Ramsay (referred to above) was probably in Florence to attend the Council, and he was unlikely to be the sole Scot present. If he had not already arrived in 1439 he probably saw a repeat performance in 1440, as they were probably given annually.

There is also report of a performance of an Ascension Play being given in a Carmelite Convent in which the actor who took the part of Jesus floated up to the roof of the church by means of a rope. He was, however, so slow in going up that a spectator is said to have commented, 'If Christ did not go up quicker then he must still be on his way'.²⁷⁷ (Creizenach & Kindermann give no date for this event.)

For further references to Florentiners and play performances see Padua and Rome below.

Plays based on the Lives of the Saints are found in the second half of the fourteenth century and are more or less contemporary with the earliest records of Corpus Christi plays. There are many

records in Italy of 'Compagnie' responsible for the performance of 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' of particular saints. Such a fraternity existed in Florence for plays of St Agnese.²⁷⁸ Similar fraternities existed in Aquila for plays of St Leonard and in Modena for plays of St Pietro.

As leading experts in the field of 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' Florentiners undertook visits to other towns as guest players, as for example, to Rome (see Rome below for details).

2) PADUA.

A 'Repraesentatio Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi' was performed at Easter at Padua in the open-air in either 1243 or 1244. It was probably given in Latin. It is said to be the oldest datable play of its kind. Unfortunately we have no details of the play other than that it was staged 'solemniter et ordinate in Prato Vallis', that is, in a solemn and orderly manner in the Valley Meadow.²⁷⁹

Dramatic ceremonies of the Annunciation and the Purification of the Virgin (or Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple, also known as Candlemas) were performed in the fourteenth century in the South Transept of Padua Cathedral. The text of both ceremonies have survived. They are liturgical in form, in Latin, and have some impersonation of characters. They are separate entities, and do not form part of the Mass or of the Liturgical Divine Office. Both were to take place 'post prandium', that is, after the midday meal taken about twelve noon. The impersonated characters of the Annunciation ceremony are Mary, Elizabeth,

Joseph, Joachim and Gabriel. It includes a visit to Mary's cousin Elizabeth. 280

The characters impersonated in the Purification ceremony are Mary with the Holy Child in her arms, Joseph bearing a basket on his shoulders (no doubt containing the customary Offering of two doves), Simeon, Anna the prophetess with a large sheet of parchment in her hand, four prophets and three angels. The principal action takes place at a mock-up of the Temple set up behind the Altar of SS Fabian & Sebastian. When Mary processes from the baptistry into the church towards the Temple, two choristers stationed there sing the antiphon, 'Ave, gratia plena, Dei genetrix Virgo'. Then Mary offers the Child and two doves to Simeon as choristers sing, 'Obtulerunt pro eo..'. Taking the doves, Simeon inspects them, 'to see if they are in good condition'. An angel near the choir sings the antiphon, 'Ecce positus est', which is followed by two angels at the Temple singing another antiphon, and the singing of a verse by two choir-boys. Finally Simeon sings the 'Nunc Dimittis' after which all return to the sacristy. In the ceremony for the Annunciation, at appropriate places in the reading of the Gospel, both Gabriel and Mary utter their own speeches with suitable gestures. In the Purification, however, we have an elaborate dumb-show with action accompanied by singing of relevant liturgical items. Both items can be said to be working towards realistic drama of speech dialogue and impersonation with relevant actions. The baptistry at Padua is outside the main church building. In both ceremonies Gabriel makes an impressive entry into the church (he is not actually named in the Purification) carried on a portable throne

or 'cathedra', born by four bearers, suitably costumed, as are the other characters, making his entrance at the door on the South Side of the Nave.

The Padua Purification is of special interest to us in view of the Aberdeen Candlemas Offerand when after the procession through the streets the 'tableaux' were taken into the the Burgh Church of St Nicholas where as we suggest in the following chapter a representation of some sort was given.

The Ordinal from Padua from which Young quotes the texts of the Annunciation and Purification ceremonies is a product of the fourteenth century. There is, however, another Ordinal dated in the thirteenth century, c.1261/3, which contains scenes from the Easter Cycle and also scenes of the 'Visitation to Elizabeth', the 'Flight into Egypt' and the scene of the 'Boy Jesus debating with the Doctors in the Temple'.²⁸¹ Axton referring to the 'Uffici Drammatica Padovan' expresses the opinion that the Passion Week Offices of Padua in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remained without impersonated action during several centuries.²⁸² We presume that the scenes of the thirteenth century Ordinal were performed, if not originally, then from the next century, with speeches and gestures, if not with dramatic action.

A 'Compagnia' like the one at Florence and elsewhere (see Florence above) was established in Padua for the performance of plays of St Antonio. We have no information regarding the performance in Padua of 'Sacre Rappresentazioni'. It is, however, hard to believe that the 'Repraesentatio Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi' of 1243

or 1244 was never performed again or that when the 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' came on the scene it was not up-dated and produced in that form.

3) ROME.

Rome played its part in the developement of the 'Sacre Rappresentazioni', although not the leading part. From there a play of the 'Birth and Beheading of John the Baptist', written c.1400, has survived. The beheading of John took place while stretching his head out of his prison window and a stage direction directs that at the moment of death the blood shall stream forth.²⁸³

In 1417 'Jocutores' gave a performance of a play of the 'Martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul', about which nothing is known, upon the 'Scherben' Hill - possibly either the Celian or the Esquiline Hill.²⁸⁴

For the festivities organized to entertain Leonarda of Aragon in Rome in 1473, three items were performed, with the help of Florentiners. These were a 'Susanna', a 'Host Miracle' and a 'John the Baptist'. These were undoubtedly representations in traditional form, but because of the festive nature of the occasion they were noteworthy more for their tasteful presentation than for the quality of their texts.²⁸⁵

In 1484 during the season of the Carnival a play featuring the Emperor Constantine was performed in one of the Court-yards of the Vatican in the Florentine manner.²⁸⁶ As guests in Rome in

1490 Florentiners performed a 'Play of the Life of Jesus' (his Nativity, Death and Resurrection) with such great magnificence, that the text took second place to the staging. In the evening there followed a firework-display and a performance of the 'Rape of Prosperine' ²⁸⁷ In February 1491 they gave a representation of 'St John and St Paul' in the presence of Lorenzo di Medici, who probably wrote the script and assisted with the staging, in the Garden of the Compagnia de Vangelista. Here they erected an angular scaffold (the shape of a carpenter's set square), about fifteen metres in depth, nestling against a small natural mound. The numerous youths of the Compagnia del Vangelista were employed as extras and a large number of them took the parts of soldiers of Gallicanus, whose successful battles took place on the smaller arm of the scaffold, and on whose extremity perhaps lay the city, while the King's palace was mounted on the principal arm, where the greater part of the action took place. To this Compagnia Vangelista belonged members of the Medici family who were temporarily accommodated in the castle. ²⁸⁸

The most famous of all the performances given in Rome were the Passion Plays of the Compagnia del Gonfalone given every Good Friday from 1489/90 to 1539 in the Colosseum. In fact they had been giving public performances of such plays from the end of the fourteenth century. Their foundation in 1260 was probably a consequence of the religious movement which spread out from Umbria in that year. Their earliest performances were of the kind classified as 'Laudi' and 'Devozioni', types which we have already described above. ²⁸⁹ The play when later presented in the Colosseum is described as a deeply moving, well-appointed play with

magnificent individual scenes and powerful machinery. It was not played in the centre of the arena. A part of the seating area of the amphitheatre was built over with a large flat stage on which the Gonfalone players erected a row of sets ('loca'), representing for example, Paradise, the Mount of Olives, and so on. In view of the wide distances separating spectators and players no expense was spared in providing costumes rich in magnificent colour symbolism. On the rest of the circular seating area sat, just as in heathen antiquity, tens of thousands of spectators. Here was a religious theatre for the masses, rich with theatrical pomp, coupled with meaningful and moving dramatic action. From time to time a 'Play of the Resurrection' was also performed. All the performances of the Compagnia del Gonfalone are said to have attracted thousands of foreigners. Surely at times there must have been some Scots among them. The 'rappresentazioni' of the Gonfalone included some choral insertions. These were probably well-known to the spectators and it is possible they joined in singing them.²⁹⁰

For the Passion performances of 1492 and 1493 large sums of money were spent on a machine to effect the appearance of angels and for Pilate's tribunal. The text which formed the basis of the play appeared in print towards the end of the fifteenth century. It originated with Giuliano Dati. However this text is clearly the result of one, and possibly more, reworkings. It has an Angel Epilogue and the play proper begins with the treachery of Judas and continues through all the incidents of the Passion to the 'Taking Down of Jesus from the Cross'. On the whole the play is traditionally reverent but in the scene of the Thirty Pieces of

Silver there is a touch of comedy. The play reveals ⁱ_A Guliano Dati's classical nurturing. One of the executioners is named Geta and in four places choruses are inserted in imitation of ancient tragedy. ²⁹¹

On Maundy Thursday, 1497, the Passion was witnessed by the German nobleman, Arnold van Harff. Unfortunately he tells us nothing more than that the players were the sons of wealthy people, that everything went off orderly and well, and confirms that the performances took place not in the arena, but...upon a raised place above the rows of seats, and as was reported by Novidio Fracco in 1547, at night time. ²⁹²

In 1513 Plautus's 'Poenulus' was presented for the Medici Festival. Tommaso Inghirami mounted the piece on a temporary wooden stage, twenty-seven metres in length and six metres in depth, backed by a scenic facade divided by columns into five compartments, each screened off at the front by a golden curtain, according with the woodcuts of 1493 and the 1502 description in Badius Ascensius's editions of Terence. Inghirami had directed earlier performances of Plautus in the 1490's. ²⁹³

4) SIENA.

There is record of the staging of a Passion Play in Siena in 1200. It was presented on Good Friday by decree of the Council and the actors were rewarded out of public funds. No details are known. ²⁹⁴ On Good Friday, 6 April 1257, there was a performance of the Crucifixion. The next day the Council discussed what should be given to the boy who was placed on the cross in place of Our

Lord. ²⁹⁵

The famous Siena Nativity Play which has survived with some other plays in a fifteenth century manuscript was performed in conjunction with the celebration of Mass in which an Angel appears and sings the 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo' which traditionally comes near the beginning of the service. At the end of Mass another Angel appears as Speaker of the Prologue and the play proper commences. It includes the 'Nativity of Jesus', and 'the Adoration of the Shepherds', who bring gifts of cheese and a small barrel of wine. Then follows the 'Adoration of the Magi' and the play concludes with an Epilogue given by an Angel. It took place in the middle of the church, at the Transept Crossing, in front of the High Altar, where a stable was set up.²⁹⁶ We have already drawn attention to 'God's Houses' which were probably 'stables' set up in the Burgh Church of Ayr and in St Giles Church, Edinburgh, and the possibility of the same having been done in St Nicholas, the Burgh Church of Aberdeen. The Siena play is a conflation of two others both of which appear in the same manuscript.

This manuscript includes 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' of the 'Forlorn (Prodigal) Son' and of 'St Katherine of Alexandria, Virgin and Martyr'. This latter was for performance over three days with Angel scenes that are no less spectacular than the Angel scenes at Florence.²⁹⁷ On 9 June 1446 a festival was held in Siena in honour of St Katherine, Virgin and Martyr. It is said to have been 'personati et vestibus interpolati regalibus'. It was very probably the 'Rappresentazione' of the fifteenth century manuscript referred to above.²⁹⁸

In August 1458 after the singing of Mass on the Piazza there was a 'Rappresentazione' of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin Mary when the various Brotherhoods produced a wide variety of Mary Plays.²⁹⁹

5) VENICE.

From 1143 there was an annual representation of the play of the 'Salutation of the Virgin Mary by the Archangel Gabriel' on St Mark's Square when,³⁰⁰

a procession made its way to the piazza singing the responsorio 'Gaude Maria Virgo'. When they had reached the middle, the cortege came to a halt. The choir intoned 'Gloria Patri' and the Deacon read the Gospel. Then followed 'Ludo dell angelo e di Maria': subito cantatur Evangelium cum Ludo et fit Repraesentatio Angeli ad Mariam'. That ended the clergy returned to the church singing the 'Te Deum'.

The above represents the substance of the matter as far as it concerns a representation of the 'Salutation' on St Mark's Square. A not particularly helpful eye-witness account of 1267 in French by Martino Da Canale shows that the above ceremonies were still being repeated year by year.³⁰¹ See the next section for an eye-witness account of Corpus Christi celebrations at St Mark's, Venice.

Corpus Christi Processions.

Great Corpus Christi Processions were held in some Italian cities and records of such processions have survived from Vicenza (1379), Milan (1336), Florence (1454), and elsewhere. Some reveal the full scope of the traditional Corpus Christi Cycle. Creizenach believed that in Italy the Corpus Christi processions were not associated at any point with acted drama. Craig does not concur. There were certainly at least 'tableaux-vivants'. A brief record

of the Bolognese Chronicler, Brusellis/Borseli, tells us of a Corpus Christi Procession of 1492 which included

'Rappreazazioni', 302

In festa corporis Christi in processione multa repraesentata sunt, tam de Veteri quam de Novo Testamento. Spectacula adeo fuerunt digna, et multi dicerent antiquitatem romanum revivisse.

According to the Chronicler Girolamo Maria of Ferrara on Corpus Christi Day, 18 June 1489, there was presented in Ferrara a solemn Passion, 303

in accordance with the usual custom of the city....and the Body of Christ was accompanied by our most illustrious Lady of Ferrara, with sons and daughters and women.....the Duke was not there because he was away from the city.....

The following is an account of the Corpus Christi celebrations witnessed in Venice on 3 June 1516 by the English priest Sir Richard Torkington of Mulberton, Norfolk, passing through on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 304

.....the other ffest ws oon Corpis Xpiday wher ws the most solemn pcession that evr I saw. Ther went Pagents of the old Law and the new Law Joyning togedyr, The ffggmyes (?) of the blyssyd sacrement in such mowmbre abnd so apt and convenient for that ffest that it wold mak ony man joyus to se it. And over that it ws a grett merveylye to se the grett nowmbre of Religius ffolkis and of Scolys that we call Bacherlers or ffelachippys Clothed all in wt garments wt dvrse Bags (i.e. Badges) on ther brestis which bar all lights of wondyr goodly facion. And be twyne of the pagents went lytyll children of bothe kynds gloriously and rechely dressed beryng in ther handys ryche Cuppes or otther vessales of gold and silver Rychely inamelyd and gylt fful of pleassaunt fflowers and well smellyng which Chlydern kest the flowers upon the lords and pylgrymes. They wer dresd as Aungellis wt clothe of gold and crymsyn velvet to order the syd pcession. The dforme and manr therof ecxcydyd all other that evr I saw so myche that I canne notte wryte it. The Duke (i.e. the Doge) satt in Seynt Markes Church in ryght hye astate in Qwer on the ryght syd wt senyorte which they call lords in Riche aparell as purpyll velvet cremsyn velvet ffyne Scarlet.....

The last two paragraphs of the account describe the procession entering St Mark's and another procession when each lord took a

pilgrim by the hand as they processed to the Doge's Palace (next door to the church) and then returned to St Mark's.

The splendour of the Corpus Christi Processions of St Mark's, Venice, is well illustrated by a painting of Gentile Bellini, dated 1496, entitled, 'Procession in St Mark's Square'. The canopy supported by four poles held by clerks over a golden eucharistic monstrance indicates that this is a Corpus Christi Procession.

See the above-mentioned VOL. TWO. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'D'. for further information regarding the Cities of: Bologna, Ferrara, Lucca, Padua, Pavia, Ravenna and Siena.

E. SCANDINAVIA.

a) DENMARK.

We know of no surviving records either of liturgical drama or vernacular drama specifically connected either with Elsinore or Copenhagen where so many Scots settled.

b) NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

We know nothing of substance that might indicate that these countries had any influence on religious representations in Scotland.

Regarding Scotland's trade connections with the Scandinavian Countries, see CHAPTER TWO. a) THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR MERCHANDISE. E. SCANDINAVIA. For details of representations in Scandinavia see, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'E'.
a) Drama in Denmark, and b) Drama in Sweden.

F. SPAIN.

The principal contact that Scotland had with this country was through the many pilgrims who came to the Shrine of Santiago (St James) at Compostela in the Province of Galicia in North- West Spain. Those taking the pilgrims' overland route after the short Channel crossing might have seen representations in Bruges, Amiens and Paris (see this chapter, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. and B. FRANCE. See also, VOL. TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDICES 'A' and 'B'.) Some might possibly have witnessed representations as follows,

- i) Chartres. 305
 - a. 1491, SS Lazare, Marthe et Magdalene.
 - b. 1505, Le Sacrifice d'Abraham.
 - c. 1506. La Passion.
- ii) Tours. 306
 - a. 1485, La Passion.
 - b. 1490, Saint Genouph.
 - c. 1494. 'L'Homme Pecheur' (a morality).
- iii) Poitiers. 307
 - a. 1486, La Passion.
 - b. 1508, " "
 - c. 1534, " "
- iv) Xantes. 308

A breviary of the fourteenth century contains a liturgical 'Peregrinus Play' with choral parts and Gospel readings, with costumed players miming actions with the use of appropriate stage properties.
- v) Bordeaux. 309
 - a. 1525, The Baptism of Jesus.
 - b. " , The Beheading of John the Baptist.
 - c. " , The Conversion of Mary Magdalene.
 - d. " , The Death & Resurrection of Lazarus.

We have no information on representations in Dax, Panplona, Astorga and Coruna, other places en route.

Speaking generally we know rather less about religious representations in medieval Spain than we do about the subject in the other principal countries of Europe, apart from the countries of Scandinavia. This applies more especially to Galicia the province in which the Shrine of Santiago de Compostela is situated. Neither have we any information about representations in the town of Compostela itself. This is chiefly due to the paucity of texts, notices and documents.

Performances of non-liturgical plays appeared in Spain comparatively later than elsewhere and when they did appear they were under strict ecclesiastical control. A decree passed at the Council of Compostela in 1565 states,³¹⁰

nulli actus, sive repraesentationes, nec tripudia, aut choreae in ecclesia fieri permittantur.....sed aut ante, aut post illud tempus, secundum Episcopi loci, aut ejus Vicario visum fuerit; nulli etiam actus, sive aliis solemnitatibus admittantur, nisi mense uno antequam agantur, ab Episcopo, vel ejus Vicario lecti fuerint, gratisque approbati....

Galicia in which Compostela is situated was incorporated into a much larger Castile in 1072. The development of religious drama in the Galicia region may, therefore, reasonably be considered with that of Castile in general. Firm evidence for the appearance in Spain of religious (mystery) plays in the vernacular, as opposed to liturgical plays in Latin, first appears in Valencia in 1517. It is thought unlikely that such plays existed before about 1480. The emergence of religious plays in Castille is roughly coincident with their appearance in Valencia. Both Christmas and Easter Plays began to be written at the latter end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century and references to Corpus Christi Plays begin to appear at about the same time.³¹¹ It follows

that religious representations in Spain are most unlikely to have influenced their origin and development in Scotland.

Not much attention has been paid to the play of St Fulbert in the Codex Callistus held by the Chapter of Santiago Cathedral, Compostela. The Codex is named after Pope Callistus (Pope from 1119, died 1124). With other interesting items it contains the text of what probably qualifies to be called a striking and impressive liturgical drama for the Feast of St James the Apostle, 25 July. It occurs in what was called the 'Great Office of St James the Apostle', believed to have been written by St Fulbert (b. c.960, d.1028), Bishop of Chartres from 1007. It is thought the text received some revision at Compostela. In form it is akin to the troped Introit of the earlier Easter Mass which was eventually transferred to the end of the Office of Matins which we have shown in Chapter One, gave birth to the liturgical drama of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries.

The rendering of the Office of St James at Compostela has been described as thunderous. It was meant to illustrate the character of James and his brother John, as 'Sons of Thunder' as they were described by Jesus (Mark Ch.3, 17)). The Mass of the Day was preceded by a procession within the cathedral, of which unfortunately no description has survived (but see below regarding the description of an earlier procession). Both processions can hardly have failed to include the solemn carrying of the casket containing the relics of St James the Apostle. The procession ended, the celebrant prepared to celebrate Mass and while he was preparing, the choir, led by the cantors, sang an elaborate

Introit, the central feature of which was the scriptural story of the Transfiguration of Jesus at the top of a high mountain and the appearance with Him of Moses and Elijah, to the bewilderment of the Apostles Peter and the brothers James and John.

The basis of the Introit was Psalm 148, 'Laudate Dominum', which was troped with extracts from the New Testament as when the voice of God spoke thunderously from out of a cloud in a darkened church declaring the divine Sonship of Jesus,

this is my beloved Son: hear Him (Mark ch.9, 7, or Matthew ch.16, 5).

and again a thunderous voice from heaven declared from the Prologue to St John's Gospel,

In the beginning was the Word, etc,...

The singing of Psalm 148 was once again interrupted by the voice of the Lord calling the brothers James and John to discipleship (Mark ch.1, 19) and naming them 'Sons of Thunder' ('Boanerges' - Mark ch.3, 17). This was probably the repetition of the sentence which preceded the beginning of the Psalm, as was and continued to be customary in the singing of Introits. For this occasion the choir and cantors were probably located in an upper gallery. It is not clear whether or not God spoke from within a stage-effect cloud or whether Jesus was in any way illuminated to produce the effect of transfiguration.³¹²

After that the Mass of the Day probably proceeded without dramatic interruptions. Whether or not it was followed by a dramatic representation we are unable to say.

Some idea of the splendour of the ceremonial in the Cathedral can be gauged from a twelfth century description of a procession which took place on the occasion of the Feast of the Saint's Translation, 30 December when,³¹³

the King in royal robes, wearing a richly jewelled crown, walked in the procession surrounded by a multitude of Knights. Before him walked the Archbishop accompanied by many Bishops and seventy-two canons of the Cathedral, all vested in silken copes richly adorned with embroidery and jewels. These were followed by choir-clerks, some with candle-sticks, others with censers, and yet more bearing cathedral treasures and relics of saints. Silver cars bore tables of silver-gilt, holding the tapers of the faithful. After the King walked the devout laity, knights, governors, magnates, nobles, counts, all in rich feast-day dress. These were followed by 'choirs of honorable women, shod with gilded sandals, habited in furs of martin, of fallow deer, of ermine, of fox-skin, in silken petticoats.....' and much other finery.

What influence the experiences of Scottish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela might have had on religious representations in Scotland it is impossible to say. The only place in Scotland on record where there were plays to perpetuate the memory of St James was Ayr with its 'Jacques Plays' of which no details have so far come to light. What happened at Compostela was liturgical in character and we have no information about anything that might be in the vernacular. (See further on this subject in Chapter Six under Ayr.)

Purely on the basis of the records of which we are cognisant we have to say that Spanish influence in the sphere of religious representations is more likely to have come to Scotland via Bruges where foreign merchants who conducted business in the town were required to provide a 'tableau' of some sort when a dignitary made a 'Joyful' or 'Triumphant Entry' into the town. For example, Scots who happened to be in Bruges in 1440 on the occasion of the

'Joyful Entry' into the town of Philip the Good would have seen, 314

By St Christopher's Church.....a huge triumphal arch,
provided by the Spanish merchants, where there was
represented the resurrection of Christ.....

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE.

1. Edw. GAILLIARD ed. *De Processien Generaal En De Hallegeboden Te Brugge* (Verslagen en Medelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde, Gent, 1912) 1061-1204 (plus Index).

Details are given of one hundred and fifty processions. See 1104 regarding the essentially devotional nature of the processions. In the earlier ones a sermon seems to have been preached.

2. The representations in the Processions of the Holy Blood were 'tableaux-vivants'. In the earlier stages they were probably given in dumb show, but later on when Chambers of Rhetoric provided the 'players' it is very probable that the players made appropriate gestures and short speeches. There were no stops apart from the one made when the procession turned about to retrace their tracks.

The references that follow relate to first appearances of the 'tableaux'. When new ones were added they did not normally displace previously introduced 'tableaux'.

3. L. Gilliodts van SEVEREN ed. *Inventaire des Chartes de la Ville de Bruges* Première Série, Troisième au Sixième Siècle (Edward Gailliard, Bruges, 1871 - normally cited as 'van SEVEREN') vol.4, 468-70. van SEVEREN normally gives the folio reference of the burgh archives.
4. Frans de POTTER *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemmentefeesten in Vlaanderen* (Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren, Gent, 1870 - normally cited as 'De POTTER') 13 which shows that 'iiii^{de}' ende viii, handschoen' were purchased from Wouter Porine for use by the Councilors, armed men, pensionaries, trumpeters and others'.
5. H. VLIEDERBEKE 'Préludes Historiques sur la Ghilde des Menestres de Bruges' *Annales de la Société d'Émulations*, etc. vol.20 de la Collection (Bruges, 1866) 3rd. Series, vol.4, 53-144, 80,7.
6. Edmond VAN DER STRAETEN 'La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e Siècle', *Annales de la Société*, etc. (Bruges, 1869) vol.20 de la Collection, 3rd. Series, vol.4, 57-150, 99, 100.
7. J.A. Worp *Geschiedenis van het Toneel in Nederland* (J.B. Wolters, Te Groningen, 1904, 2 vols.) vol.1, 60.
8. A. DEWITTE 'Gegevens betreffende het muziek-leven in de voormalige Sint Donaas Kerk te Brugge, 1251-1600' *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de Benaming Société d'Émulations te Brugghe* (the full title of the former *Annales de la Société* adopted in Post World War II years. Such volumes will now be cited simply as *Handelingen*, etc.) vol.91, 3 and 4 (1974) 129-74, 136. The authorities quoted by DEWITTE are De Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek van Sint-Donaas Kerk, Archepiscopal Archives, Bruges (the Church

was destroyed by the forces of Napoleon and never rebuilt).

9. DEWITTE 136. Reinhard STROHM *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (OUP, 1985) 34.
10. DEWITTE 137.
11. " " . STROHM 34.
12. DEWITTE 137, *Compte of 1375*. van SEVEREN vol.4, 468,9.
13. DEWITTE 136. STROHM 34, 52 and 158, n.40.
14. See below under dedication headings.
15. STROHM 34.
16. DEWITTE 174. STROHM 45 and 156, n.16.
17. STROHM 45,6 and 157, n.17.
18. STROHM 46 and 52.
19. " 47 and 157, n.22.
20. " 53,4. In 1480 the two Feast Days of the Patron, St Eloi, 25 June and 1 December, began to be celebrated with a solemn procession, a Motet at Vespers and a Descant Mass on each occasion. On 1 December the City Trumpeters were hired to accompany the procession with the saint's relics through the streets. St Salvator's became a Collegiate Church in 1501.
21. STROHM 52, 158, n.40. The register recording this endowment contains a detailed description of this musical, dramatic ceremony of the 'Annunciation of Our Lady'.
22. Perth MS Hammermen Book, 22 April 1518, fol 2. See also, this volume, Chapter Six, Religious Representations In Scottish Burghs As Seen In surviving Records.
23. STROHM 57.
24. van SEVEREN (see n.3) Introductory Volume, 101: 1498. Item - onser Vrouwen daghe lichtmesse was een spil ghespeelt van der purificatie ende was toe gheconsenteert den speelders te gheven, ijs.
25. STROHM 57, and above, the other churches of Bruges.
26. van SEVEREN vol.5, 520 and n.2.
27. " " vol.5, 521.
28. WOPR (see n.7) vol.1, 165.

29. Damme is now a mere shadow of what it once was in medieval times. It lies five miles to the North East of Bruges and was once one of the major seaports of Europe. In the middle ages a navigable channel, called the Zwiijn, gave access to it from the North Sea. At Damme there was a lock belonging to Bruges, where dues were collected. Once through the lock vessels could proceed up the canal to Bruges to enter the extensive Bruges canal system with its wharves and storage sheds. About 1395 this canal began to silt up and eventually caused the decline of Bruges as a port.

The marriage of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to the Duchess of York, sister of Edward IV of England, was celebrated at Damme, 2 July 1468, the year the Scottish Staple at Bruges was brought to an end, on which occasion great public celebrations took place. (See, vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES AND OTHER PUBLIC SOLEMNITIES AND ENTERTAINMENTS FOR ROYALTY AND OTHER EXALTED PERSONS.)

30. Worp *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Toneel in Nederland* (see n.7) vol.1, 55 and n.4
31. van SEVEREN *Inventaire des Chartes de la Ville de Bruges* (see n.3 vol.5, 519, n.2.)
32. Worp vol.1, 17. We suspect that this play of 1433 is that referred to under 1432. It appears that Worp gives his years in New Style, whereas van Severen works in Old Style dating. This applies to a play of the Resurrection given by Worp as performed in 1450 for which van Severen gives the year 1449. Worp's usual source for his plays and their dates is Edmond van der STRAETEN *Le théâtre villageois en Flandre, Histoire, littérature, musique, religion, politique, mœurs, d'après des documents entièrement inédits* (Bruxelles, Deuxième édition, 1881, 2 vols.)
33. Worp vol.1, 17,18.
34. " " 1, 18. Worp says that the 1411, 1421 and 1454 performances were given in church. See Worp vol.1, 61 and n.3.
35. Worp vol.1, 31. See also AEM. M. WYBRANDS *Studien en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische theologie: 'Opmerkingen over Het Geestelijk Drama Hier in Te Lande in de Middeleeuwen'*, vol.3, 193-290 (W. Moll and J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, 1876) 262.
36. Worp vol.1, 51 and n.3.
37. van SEVEREN vol.5, 519 and n.3.
38. WYBRANDS (see n.35) vol.3, 210.
39. King David II issued 'Letters of refusal....giving warrant to arrest all Flemings, sailors excepted, found in Scotland until sentence of banishment against all his subjects found in Flanders be removed'. At the same time the King issued Letters Patent providing for Scottish merchants to have a

Staple of Merchandise at Middelburg, Zealand.

See, James GORDON *Aberdoniae Utriusque Descriptis: A Description of Both Towns of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1842) 41,2. Gordon is quoting documents in the Aberdeen Burgh Archives, The Town House, Charter Room, Bundles A.17 and A.18

40. WORP vol.1, 159,60.
41. " vol.1, 185.
42. W.S. UNGER ed. *Bronnen Tot Geschiedenis Van Middelburg In Den Landsheerlijken Tijd* (Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1926, 3 vols.) vol.2, 'De Stedelijke Geldmiddelen. A. Stukken, De Geldmiddelen in Het Algemeen Betreffende Burgemeesterrekening', 177.
43. UNGER vol.1, 121,2.
44. As n.43.
45. UNGER vol.1, 154; 137-40 for 1484/5 and 154-6 for 1514/15.
46. " vol.1, 138.
47. " vol.1, 385,6.
48. " vol.1, 48.
49. " vol.1, 139.
50. As n.49.
51. UNGER vol.1, 154.
52. As n.45.
53. Hans RUPPRICH 'Die Beschreibung niederländischer Prozessionsspiele' *Maske und Kothurn. Vierteljahrsschrift für Theaterwissenschaft, 1 Jahrgang* (Hermann Böhlans Nachfolger, Graz-Köln, 1955) 96-102, 88-96. An extract from Dürer's Diary which includes the 'Ommegang' is to be found in English translation in: David ENGLANDER and Others ed. *Culture and Belief in Europe, 1450-1600 - An Anthology of Sources* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, in association with the Open University, 1990). See, 'Dürer on the Netherlands, 1520-21', 274-8.
54. Ridder Leo de BURBURE 'De Antwerpsche Ommegangen in de XIV^e ende XV^e Eeuw Naar Gelijktijdige Handschriften' *Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen Uitgave* 9, 2 (1878) 6,7.
55. de BURBURE VIII.
56. " " 8-12.
57. de BURBURE 12.

58. DE BURBURE 13-16, 14, 16.
59. " " 21,2.
60. Carried in a silver case beneath a costly canopy, escorted by four torch-bearers: see, Jervis WEGG *Antwerp, 1477-1559* (Methuen, London, 1916) 85.
61. de BURBURE (see n.54) X: quoting from the Belgian *Biographie Nationale* vol.5, 57, which quotes the Antwerp Archives. Compte of 1398, shows that the organizer of the 'Ommegang' that year was Andries de Cuypere, a painter, who made and decorated the ornaments and took care of how everybody performed in the Procession.

The references to the Emperor Constantine in items vii, viii and ix, enable us to give a more accurate interpretation of the 'Order for the Purification' and the 'Ordour of corpus xpi processiou' of 28 January 1512/13 and 22 May 1531, respectively of Aberdeen (together making a more or less complete cycle), both listing St Helen and the Emperor. Both Antwerp and Aberdeen exhibit the same phenomenon of the evolution of a variety of once easily distinguishable pageants into processions whose principal pageant contents have much in common.

For the Candlemas and Corpus Christi Orders referred to see, Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.8, 543, and vol.13, 160. See also Chapter Six of this volume, ABERDEEN, where these Orders are discussed

62. MS Cotton, Calig. B.1, fol 313, cited in: David LAING *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay* (William Paterson Edinburgh, 1879, 3 vols.) vol.1, x and xi. Lyndsay had not arrived in Brussels by 3 July.
63. Thomas DICKSON and Sir James Balfour PAUL ed. *Compota thesaurariorum regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473-1566* (eleven volumes, 1877-1916 - subsequently referred to as *ALHT*) vol.6, xliv.
64. LAING *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay* (see n.62) vol.1, xxv.
65. Anna J. MILL 'The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis' *MLR* 23 (1930) 425-42, 429.
66. WEGG *Antwerp, 1477-1559* (see n.60) 79,80. See also WOP *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Toncel in Nederland* (see n.7) vol.1, 157-74, 159.
67. WOP vol.1, 159.
68. De Potter *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemeente feesten in Vlaanderen* (see n.4) 11.

69. C.R. HERMANS *Geschiedenis der rederijders in Noordbrabant* (Het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noordbrabant, 't Hertogenbosch, 1867, 2 vols.) vol.2, 249.
70. The original text of Köler is preserved in British Library Add MS 15217. It was reproduced in full in Hans Rupprich's 'Die Beschreibung niederländischer Prozessionsspiele' (see n.53) 96,7. See also 98-102. Bergen is very near Antwerp whence Köler had just come urged by merchant colleagues.
71. J.H. GALLÉE *Bijdrage Tot Geschiedenis der Dramatische Vertooningen in de Nederlanden Gedurende de Middeleeuwen* Academisch Proefschrift (i.e. Thesis) Aan de Hoogeschool te Leiden (A.C. Krusseman, Leiden, 1873) 113.
72. WOP (see n.30) vol.1, 167. See also 168 and n.1.
73. WYBRANDS (see n.35) 268.
74. De POTTER (see nn.68 and 4) 10.
75. We are not told what happened in the church. Presumably a Solemn or High Mass was celebrated.
76. De POTTER 16-18.
77. " " 19.
78. " " 20.
79. " " 21.
80. It seems likely that the canopy was a Baldachin in the fullest sense, consisting of a strong wooden framework at the top, square in shape, and filled in with cloth in colours that were changed from time to time, and hung with silken fringes, the whole being supported by four wooden pillars.
81. De POTTER 21. De Potter's information regarding the artists and painters of Ghent is culled from E. de BUSSCHER *Recherches sur les peintres Gantois des XIV^e et xv^e Siècles* (Hebbelnyck, Ghent, 1859).
82. De POTTER 22.
83. " " 23.
84. " " 22.
85. Glynne WICKHAM *Early English Stages, 1300-1660* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, and Columbia University Press, New York, 1952/72, 2 vols.) vol.1, 24,5, and 43 & 366, n.73.
86. ALHT vol.3, 410 for 1507 and vol.4. 129 for 1508. See also, Aeneas J.G. MACKAY ed. *Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland, 1437-1575* (STS 1899-1911, 3 vols.) vol.1, 242-4.

87. 'Stade Rekeningen van Ghent' unautographed *Annales de la Société D'Émulations*, etc. vol.15 of the Collection. Third Series, vol.8 (Bruges, 1873) 297.
88. De POTTER (see n.68) 24.
89. De POTTER 25.
90. De POTTER. Moors were a common feature of continental pagantry and many references could be quoted. Young men representing Moors appeared in the Joyful Entry of Mary Queen of Scots into Edinburgh in 1561 as they also featured in the Entry of Anne of Denmark, 19 May 1590.

See, Thomas THOMSON, ed. *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents, 1513-75* (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1833) 67-9; *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, A.D. MDLXI - A.D. MDCXL* ed. Anon.) 47. English and Continental references are earlier, and the supposition follows that the Scots borrowed from England or the Continent, most probably from the latter. A reference from Bruges of 1440 tells of a Moor sitting on a man-made camel in front of a garden as Philip the Good made his Joyful Entry into the town (see Nicolas DESPARS ed. *Kronyk van Vlaenderen, 580-1467* (Maatschappij der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen, Ghent, 1839-40, Series 1, No.3, 2 vols.) vol.2, 105-111, 110.

Records of the Drapers' Company of the City of London show that a 'King of the Moors' took part in the Lord Mayor's Show of 1522 (see Robert WITHINGTON *English Pageantry, an Historical Outline* (Cambridge and Harvard University Presses, 1918, 2 vols.) vol.1, 40.
91. Jean JACQUOT ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (éditions du Centre National de la Recherches Scientifique, Paris: vol.1, 1956; vol.2, 1960) See vol.2, Pierre BRACHIN 'La Fête de Rhétorique de Gand (1539)' 255,6; Worp (see n.7) vol.1, 159.
92. JACQUOT vol.2, essay BRACHIN 257.
93. As n.92, 260. BRACHIN gives a detailed description of the stage, etc.
94. As n.92, 277.
95. Worp *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Toneel in Nederland* (see n.7) vol.1, 126.
96. As n.95, 126,7.
97. Edward van EVEN *L'Omgang de Louvain* (Louvain and Brussels, 1863 - The British Library and Harvard University Library hold copies of this volume) 26.
98. van EVEN 26. Floats first appeared at Antwerp in 1398. See De BURBURE 'De Aantwerpsche Ommegangen in de XIV^e en de XV^e Eeuwen, etc.' (see n.54) ix and 1.

99. van EVEN 13.
100. " " 28, n.10.
101. " " 31, n.2, 30. n.11.
102. As n.101.
103. Van EVEN 26-54.
104. " " 26, n.7.
105. " " 28.
106. As n.105.
107. Van EVEN 29, n.6.
108. As n.107, n.7: 'drie kemelen oft beesten daer die drie Coningen op ryden in die processie'.
109. Van EVEN 17,18.
110. " " 30, n.11.
111. " " 35.
112. George KERNODLE 'The Medieval Pageant Waggon of Louvain' (originally published in *The Theatre Annual* (New York, 1943, reproduced in the same publication in vol.10, 1952) 69-75. In 1594 William Boonen, Town Clerk of Louvain (Leuven) wrote an account of the procession of that year and drew 'some' thirty pictures of the characters and waggon. It was lost in World War I but in 1863 a small volume was published reproducing his illustrations. Since Kernodle first wrote Boonen's original 'Liber Boonen' of the Louvain Ommegang has been rediscovered by Meg Twycross in the Museum van der Kelen Mertens in Louvain. See, Meg TWYXCROSS 'The Liber Boonen of the Leuven Ommegang' *Dutch Crossing* 22 (special issue 'The Medieval Drama of the Low Countries' (University College, London, Dutch Department, April 1984) 93-6.
113. Van EVEN (see n.97) 33.
114. KERNODLE 72.
115. " 74.
116. WOP (see nn.95 and 7) vol.1, 159.
117. KERNODLE 71.
118. TWYXCROSS 'The Liber Boonen of the Leuven Ommegang' (see n.112) 93-6 and: Meg TWYXCROSS 'The Flemish Ommegang and its Pageant Cars' *Medieval English Theatre* 2, 1 and 2 (1980) 15-41, and 80-98; KERNODLE 71-5 and plates.
119. Van EVEN 30, n.3 and 10.

120. WÖRP (see n.7) vol.1, 18 and n.13.
121. " vol.1, 19 and n.5; 61 and n.5.
122. WYBRANDS *Studien en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische theologie* vol 3, 'Opmerkingen over Het Geestelijk Drama Hier in Te Lande in de Middeleeuwen' (see n.35) 211,19.
123. WYBRANDS 35 and n.5, and 36 - gives an outline of the story of the play.
124. WYBRANDS 66 and n.2.
125. " 65 and n.10.
126. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 369.
127. Heinz KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1980) 'Das Publikum der Religiösen Spiele in den Niederlanden', 170-92, 174.
128. William TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (CUP, 1978) 201.
129. As n.128.
130. As n.128 and Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1954) 116 and n.2.
131. FRANK 161,2.
132. TYDEMAN 201,2.
133. FRANK 116.
134. L. Petit De JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, les Mystères* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 9.
135. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 2, 11.
136. " " " 2, 17.
137. " " " 2, 25.
138. " " " 2, 77,8.
139. FRANK (see n.130) 182.
140. As n.139.
141. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 193.
142. Germain BAPST *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre: Le mise en scène, le décor, le costume, l'architecture, l'éclairage, l'hygiène* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1893) 54.
143. TYDEMAN (see n.128) 201 and n.44, 272.

144. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 191,2.
145. FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (see n.130) 162.
146. As n.145, 247.
147. Gustave COHEN *Le Théâtre en France au Moyen Age* (Les Éditions Rieder, Paris, Bibliothèque Générale Illustrée, 1928, 2 vols.) vol.2, 71.
148. De JULLEVILLE *l'Histoire du théâtre en France, les Mystères* (see n.134) vol.2, 193,4.
149. FRANK 146.
150. " 210.
151. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 6.
152. " " " " 7.
153. " " " " 10.
154. FRANK 202.
155. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 35,6; FRANK 183.
156. " " " " 56.
157. Peter MEREDITH & John E. TAILBY ed. *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages; Texts and Documents in English Translation* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, No.4, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1983) Extracts from unpublished MS Bibi. Nat. Français, 972, (1491), 276-9.
158. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 76.
159. " " " " 92; FRANK, 188.
160. BAPST (see n.142) 69,70.
161. De JULLEVILLE vol.1, 364-7, and vol.2, 140.
162. TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (see n.128) 135.
163. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 141.
164. FRANK (see n.130) 162 and n.1; De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 62.
165. Gustave COHEN *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age* (Libraire Honoré Champion, Paris, 1926, Nouvelle Édition, revu et augmenté) 175.
166. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 17,18.
167. As n.166, 23.

168. As n.166, 24; Tydeman *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (see n.128) 225.
169. As n.166, 36-8; TYDEMAN 138, 150, 181, 210.
170. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 38.
171. As n.170, 62.
172. As n.170, 76,7.
173. As n.170, 85.
174. As n.170, 110.
175. As n.170, 117.
176. As n.170, 141,2.
177. As n.170, 157.
178. As n.170, 159,60.
179. Eckehard SIMON ed. *The Theatre of Medieval Europe, New Research in Early Drama* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, CUP, 1991) 151-68.
180. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 209-214, especially 209, 212, 213 & 213, n.1. See also Charles DAVIDSON *Studies in the English Mystery Plays* (Yale Univ. Diss., 1892) 93 and 95-7.
181. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 208-10; Neil C. BROOKS 'Processional Drama and Dramatic Processions in Germany in the Late Middle Ages' *JEGP* 32 (1933) 141-71; DAVIDSON (see n.180) 92; TYDEMAN (see n.128) 101.
182. De JULLEVILLE vol.1, 364-7, and vol.2, 140.
183. W.A. CRAIGIE *The Asloan Manuscript, A Miscellany in Prose and Verse* (STS, NS. No.16, 1924, 2 vols.) vol.2, 149-54; John SMALL *The Poems of William Dunbar* (STS 1893, 2 vols.) vol.2, 314-20.
184. CRAIGIE vol.2, 150, lines 21-4.
185. As n.184. 154, lines 138-42.
186. CRAIGIE vol.2, 150, lines 33,4.
187. MEREDITH & TAILBY *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: etc.* (see n.157) Appendix 11. Bourges Parade: Acts of the Apostles (1536) 265-7.
188. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 130-4; MEREDITH & TAILBY, Appendix 1. The Bourdeaux Carpenters' Contract, 275-9.
189. FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (see n.130) 136-53.

190. FRANK 176-81.
191. Micheline de COMBIARIEU DU GRÈS and Jean SUBRENAT ed. *Le Mystère de la Passion, Arnoul Greban* (Éditions Gallimard, Amand, 1987) 67-78.
192. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 56, 76, 92.
193. " " " " 49-52, 33.
194. " " " " 77,8. See also Gustave COHEN *Le Livre de conduite du regisseur et comptes de dépenses pour le mystère de la Passion joué à Mons, 1501* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1925).
195. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 26, 33, 34, 49-52; FRANK, 189.
196. MEREDITH & TAILBY (see n.187) 275-9.
197. BAPST *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre, etc.* 30; Gustave COHEN *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age* (Libraire Honoré Champion, Paris, 1926) 65.
198. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 53, 93, 123.
199. MEREDITH & TAILBY (see n.187) Appendix 1. Philippe de Mezierres, Presentation of Mary in the Temple (1372) 207-25.
200. FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* 64,5 and 70,1; see also TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (see n.128) 61.
201. F.L. CROSS *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (OUP, London, 1957) 115.
202. Ian B. COWAN *St Machar's Cathedral in the Early Middle Ages* (Friends of St Machar's Cathedral, Occasional Paper No.6, Aberdeen, 1980) 5,6.
203. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 10, 106,7,9.
204. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1957) vol.1, 371, 401.
205. Christine STÖLLINGER-LÜSER ed. *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasser Lexikon* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 1989 - 8 vols. with others to come) see, vol.1, Bernd Neumann, 'Berliner (niederrheinisches) Passionsspiel Fragment, 727,8. See, Bernd NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit zur Aufführung Mittelalterlicher religiöser Dramen im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Artemis Verlag, Munich and Zurich, 1987, 2. vols.) This volume reveals no new information regarding Cologne MSS of religious plays. Neumann's only reference to information about Cologne not widely referred to we mention below.

206. STOLLINGER-LÖSER vol.5, Rolf BERGMANN 'Kreuzensteiner (ripuarisches) Passionsspiel (Fragmente)', 370,1.
See vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. German-Speaking Countries. Items i-iii.
207. Erich SCHMIDT *Das Deutsche Volksschauspiel: Ein Handbuch* (Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, 1962) 67. See also YOUNG DMC vol.1, 602.
208. Rolf BERGMANN *Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften*, vol.14, 'Studien zu Entstehung und Geschichte der deutschen Passionsspiele des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts' (Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1972) 'Der Einzug in Jerusalem', 214-17. Regarding an 'Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday' which took place in Hamburg in 1517 see below item, iiia) HAMBURG.

See also, vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES. Section iii) SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES RELATIVE TO GERMAN RELIGIOUS PLAYS. 7) Vienna. The Annual Palmesel Ceremony on Palm Sunday at St. Stephan's Cathedral, Vienna.
209. SCHMIDT (see n.207) 67,8.
210. Hardin CRAIG *English Religious Drama* (OUP, 1955) 127.
211. NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit*, etc. (see n.205) vol.1, 424 and n.1383.
212. Glynn WICKHAM *The Medieval Theatre* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1974) 89, 97.
213. WICKHAM 88.
214. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.5, part 2, 661, and vol.8, 543.
215. SCHMIDT (see n.207) 66 and n.7, 375.
216. Wilhelm KOSCH ed. *Deutsches Theater-Lexikon, Biographisches und Bibliographisches Handbuch*, (Verlag Ferd. Kleinmayr, Klagenfurt and Vienna, 1953, various vols.) vol.1, 298.
217. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 516; David BRETT-EVANS *Von Hrotsvit bis Folz und Gengenbach* (Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, 1975) Erster Teil, 153,4.
218. KINDERMANN (as in n.217) vol.1, 268, and KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum Des Mittelalters* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1980) 44.
219. Edward SCHRÖDER 'Das Hamburger Jungste Gericht' *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* vol.71 (published by Edward Schröder and Arthur Nübner, 1934) 209,10; STÖLLINGER-LÖSER *Verfasser Lexikon*, vol.3, 426,7.

220. Wolfgang F. MICHAEL 'Die Geistlichen Prozessionsspiele in Deutschland' *Hesperia - Studies in German Philology* [ed. William KURRELMAYER] 22 (The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, & Vandenhoecke & Rupprecht, Göttingen, 1947) 27.
221. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 423.
222. As n.221, vol.1, 443.
223. As n.211, vol.1, 429.
224. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER *Verfasser-Lexikon* vol.5, Helmut ROSENFELD, 'Lübecker Totentänze', 935-8, 935,6.
225. As n.224, 937,8.
226. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER (see n.224) vol.7, Hansjürgen LINKE 'Redentiner Osterspiel', 1065-69, 1066.
227. As n.226, 1067.
228. As n.227.
229. As n.226, 1068.
230. As n.226, 1066,7.
231. TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (see n.128) 138, and 266, n.55, quoting A.E. ZUCKER (transl.) *The Redentin Easter Play* (New York, 1941) without giving page number. See LINKE (n.226) 1066,7.
232. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER (see n.224) vol.5, Helmut ROSENFELD 'Lübecker Totentänze', 935-8, 935,6.
233. Rolf STEINBACH *Die Deutschen Oster und Passionsspiele des Mittelalters* (Böhlau Verlag, Cologne and Vienna, 1970) Erster Teil, 'Oster Spiele', 47-53, 47,8.

A good description of the play can be found in BRETT-EVANS (see n.217) 131-7. LINKE (see n.226) vol.7, 1068, supports Lübeck as the place of origin of the Redentin play.
234. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER *Verfasser Lexikon* vol.7, Ulrich MEHLER 'Regensburger Spiel Fragmente (Lat.)', 1100.1. See also, vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. Section iii) SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES RELATIVE TO GERMAN RELIGIOUS PLAYS. 5) Regensburg.
235. MEHLER (see n.234) 1101; BERGMANN *Studien zu Entstehung und Geschichte der deutschen Passionsspiele des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (see n.208) 175 and n.1406, and 179; NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit, etc.* (see n.205) 610.
236. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 238.

237. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER vol.7, LINKE, 'Regensburger (allemanisches) Osterspiel', 1094. See also vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES. Item ii) GERMAN CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS. Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden-Württemberg, late 15th., early 16th. century.
238. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER vol.7, 'Regensburger Nikolausspiel' ('Tres Filiae') 1098,9.
239. John DURKAN 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland' *IR* 10, 2 (Autumn, 1959) 382-439, 427.
240. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 259 and n.25.
241. As n.240. 260; NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit, etc.* (see n.205) vol.1, 701 and nn. 2809,10.
242. As n.240, vol.1, 261.
243. As n.242.
244. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 262,3. See also, Arthur SALIGER ed. *Der Wiener Stephansdom* (Verlag Schnell & Steiner, GMBH, Regensburg, 5th. edition, 1994) 44,5.
245. KINDERMANN as n.244, vol.1, 261; NEUMANN (see nn.205, 241) vol.1, 698,70.
246. KINDERMANN (as n.244) vol.1, 264,5; NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit, etc.* vol.1, 707 and 709 and n.2844.
247. KINDERMANN vol.1, 265.
248. As n.247, 260.
249. As n.247, 288.
250. As n.247, 260.
251. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (see n.218) 56 and n.79.
252. William TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (CUP, 1978/84) 237 - no reference given.
253. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 273 and n.46.
254. YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 594.
255. NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit, etc.* (see n.205) vol.1, 84,5; STÖLLINGER-LÖSER *Verfasser Lexikon* vol.7 (see n.205) LINKE, 'Germany and German-speaking Central Europe' 207-24, 207 and 210-12.
256. CROSS *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 510.

257. See vol.2. CHAPTER TWO. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY.
Item iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS AND TRAVELLERS TO ITALY.
258. As n.257. Item v) THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC,
MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY; CROSS ODCU 510.
259. As n.258.
260. See vol.2, CHAPTER TWO. APPENDICES. APPENDIX 'D'. Italy.
Item i) SCOTLAND AND THE CRAFTSMEN OF ITALY: SOME PRE-
REFORMATION REMAINS.
261. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (see n.218)
204-7.
262. KINDERMANN (as n.261) 205; Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte des*
Neueren Dramas (Verlag von Max Meyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.)
vol.1, 308; *Hymns Ancient and Modern (Revised)* William Clowes
and Sons Ltd., London, undated) Hymn No.118. 'Stabat Mater
Dolorosa' by Jacapone da Todi and translators.
263. Eckehard SIMON ed. *The Theatre of Medieval Europe, New*
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Literature, CUP, 1991) Sandro STICCA 'Italy: Liturgy and
Christocentric Spirituality', 169-88, 169; KINDERMANN (as
n.261) 206 and n.7, and 270.
264. KINDERMANN (as n.261) 206.
265. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi
Editore, Rome, 1891 - facsimile 1966, 2 vols.) vol.1, 282 and
n.1.
266. CREIZENACH (see n.262) vol.1, 315,17.
267. KINDERMANN *Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (see n.218) 209;
Theatergeschichte Europas vol.1, 330.
268. CREIZENACH (see n.262) vol.1, 313,4.
269. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 330.
270. CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (see n.262) vol.1,
316.
271. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* 217.
272. As n.271, 210,1.
273. CREIZENACH vol.1, 319.
274. Orville K. LARSON 'Bishop Abraham of Souzdal's Description of
Sacre Rappresentazioni' *Education Theatre Journal* 9 (1957)
208-13.
275. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 335.

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277. CREIZENACH (see n.276) vol.1, 302 and n.2.
278. Sandro STICCA ed. *The Medieval Drama* (The Suny Press, Binghampton, USA, 1972) 99-119.
279. D'ANCONA (see n.276) vol.1, 87-90; Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, London, 1933, 2 vols.) vol.1, 697,8. CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (see n.262), vol.1, 300; KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 324,5.
280. YOUNG (see n.279) vol.2, 248-50; 253-55; CREIZENACH (see n.279) vol.1, 300.
281. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 324.
282. Richard AXTON *European Drama of the Early Middle Ages* (Hutchinson University Library, London, 1974) 77, quoting as his authority G. VECCHI ed. *Uffici Drammatica Padovani* (Florence 1954). See AXTON 210, n.1.
283. APOLLONIO *Storia del Teatro Italiano* (see n.276) 245; KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 337 and n.39.
284. CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (see n.262) vol.1, 334.
285. D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (see n.265) vol.1, 287; CREIZENACH vol.1, 332.
286. CREIZENACH vol.1, 334.
287. D'ANCONA (see n.285) vol.1, 333; KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 336, 517; *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* 215.
288. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* 215,6.
289. D'ANCONA (see n.285) vol.1, 115.
290. As n.289 - 115 and n.1; CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (see n.262) vol.1, 334,5; KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 325 and n.7; *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* 206,8 and n.11.

291. CREIZENACH (as in n.290) vol.1, 335,6.
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293. William TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (CUP, 1978/84) 236 and 275, n.6; A.M. NAGLER 'Sixteenth Century Continental Stages' *Shakespeare Society Quarterly* 5 (1954) 359-70, 361.
294. D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (see n.265) vol.1, 90; YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (see n.279) vol.1, 697,8.
295. D'ANCONA and YOUNG as n.294.
296. CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (see n.262) vol.1, 317 and n.3; KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 330 and n.20.
297. CREIZENACH vol.1, 317, 332,3; KINDERMANN (as n.296) vol.1, 337.
298. D'ANCONA (see n.265) vol.1, 282 and n.1.
299. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (see n.218) 208 and n.12.
300. D'ANCONA (see n.265) vol.1, 93; CREIZENACH vol.1, 301.
301. D'ANCONA vol.1, 92, 93 and n.3; KINDERMANN (as n.299) 209.
302. D'ANCONA vol.1, 296,7.
303. D'ANCONA vol.1, 295.
304. Thomas SHARP *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry* (Meridew, Coventry, 1825 - facsimile by E.P. Publishing Ltd., 1973) 172.

Torkyngton is said to have commenced his pilgrimage on 20 March 1518 and concluded it on 17 April 1519, which means that 1518 is New Style dating. Corpus Christi cannot occur as early as 17 April. We have thus shown the date on which he was present at the St Mark's Corpus Christ festivities as 3 June 1518 when he was still 'en route' to the Holy Land. Accordingly he must have been one of those led by the hand to the Doge's Palace.
305. L. Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, les Mystères* (Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 60, 86,7.
306. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 49, 57; Gustave COHEN *Le Théâtre en France au Moyen Age* (Les Éditions Rieder, Paris, Bibliothèque Générale Illustrée, 1928. 2 vols.) vol.2, 71.
307. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 53, 93, 123,4,5.

308. YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 453-8.
309. MEREDITH & TAILBY *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (see n.187) 275-9.
310. YOUNG vol.2, 420,1.
311. N.D. SHERGOLD *A History of the Spanish Stage* (OUP, 1967) 85.
312. Georgina Goddard KING *The Way of St James* (The Hispanic Society of America, G.P. Putnam and Sons, New York and London, 1920, 3 vols.) vol.1, 38,9, 42-4; vol.3, 155-62, especially 158,9.
313. KING vol.3, 152-4 and n.16, 464.
314. Frans De POTTER ed. *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemeente-feesten in Vlaanderen* (Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren, Gent, 1870) 103.

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATIONS IN SCOTTISH BURGHS AS SEEN IN SURVIVING RECORDS

RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATIONS IN SCOTTISH BURGHS AS SEEN IN
SURVIVING RECORDS.

We now present details of religious representations given in those Scottish Burghs where records have survived. Due to the great loss not only of burgh records but also of those of the Incorporated Trades and of 'lacunae' even in those which have survived there is no Scottish Burgh for which a complete detailed record can be reproduced of all the representations that may have been given in connection with a particular event. Thus inevitably instead of being able to present hard facts we have largely had to consider a range of possibilities and offer suggestions as to what might have been. We acknowledge our debt to the records reproduced in the Appendices to Anna J. Mill's *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*. In many instances these have been rechecked against the archives. For the sake of argument and discussion many of these records have been reproduced either in Volume One or in Volume Two, APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX, APPENDIX 'A'. EXTRACTS AND SUMMARIES OF RECORDS where we also quote some records of which Mill seems to have been unaware or considered irrelevant. Thus any burgh record quoted below can be checked against the more detailed entries as given in alphabetical order of burgh in the Appendix where source references are given.. Where this applies for the most part source references will not be given in this chapter.

NOTE ALSO the records now to be quoted include scattered references to various saints and the 'Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary'. These are considered separately. The 'Assumption, etc' because of the tenuous nature of much of the evidence will be

studied at the end of the chapter under the heading, THE DEATH, BURIAL, ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. The Saints are considered in detail in the following Chapter Seven, headed, THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS. Also relevant are APPENDIX 'E' to this chapter and the Appendices to Chapter Seven.

Burgh and other records contain items concerned with Robin Hood (sometimes linked with Little John), the 'Bringing in of Summer' and the May Games, in sufficient quantity to show they were an important seasonal element in the life of the ordinary folk of the time. These have been studied by others and so although there may of necessity be some occasional reference to them we make no attempt to study them and stay with our brief, viz. religious pageantry and plays. However, some information on this subject will be found in APPENDIX 'K' to this chapter.

1) ABERDEEN.

In Aberdeen there is good evidence for the performance of a cycle of Passion Plays at the annual Feast of Corpus Christi. The burgh records for 15 November 1399 show,

Item, ad crucem, xl s.

This is the earliest known reference in the Aberdeen records to such an item. It may have been purchased for use in a crucifixion scene out of doors possibly at Corpus Christi. It may, however, have been required for use on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 3 May, and, of course, it might have been used on both occasions. According to the records the Feast of the Invention of the Cross was celebrated in Aberdeen in 1451 (and probably annually). That year the business of the Burgh Head Court was suspended because it was Holy Cross Day, and so public festivities can be assumed on that day. The Cross being carried by a single

person on such a day may be presumed to have been a lightweight one for ease of carrying.

As shown in our Chapter Five (see, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES) there is evidence for religious festivities on the Feast of the 'Invention of the ~~Cross of the~~ Holy Cross' in the Low Countries at Middelburg with which Scotland had trade ties. Unfortunately we have but slender details of the observance (see, 3) MIDDELBURG, a) The Procession of the Holy Cross and d) Craft Guild Accounts. In Antwerp, with which Scotland had various connections (such as trade, artistic and historic) in the 'Annual Procession of the Holy Prepuce' (i.e. 'Foreskin') one of the 'tableaux-vivants' represented 'The Emperor Constantine Bringing the Cross into Jerusalem accompanied by his horsemen' and another represented 'The Emperor Constantine walking naked with the cross' (see, CHAPTER FIVE. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 4) ANTWERP. The Procession of the Circumcision Relic, etc., items vii and viii).

An important character in such a play of the 'Invention of the Cross' would have been St Helen, for whom costuming would have been readily available as she performed annually in the Candlemas Offerand pageant/play from at least 1442 (see, later in this chapter under the heading, Order for the Candlemas Offerrand dated 2 January 1442/3.

The date of 15 November 1399 regarding the purchase of a Cross need not relate to a very recent purchase. The Treasurer could have been late in making up his accounts. An alternative to the uses suggested above is that possibly the Cross was a gift to the Burgh Church of St Nicholas by the Burgh Council. However, had

this been so, it would probably have been named for use at a specific altar. All that can be said is that the use of the Cross bought for Forty Shillings in 1399 remains in doubt, although there is the possibility it was for use in an outdoor scene of the Crucifixion such as later records indicate was an old custom. It might have been a full-size realistic hollow Cross made up of thin boards and so easy for one person to carry. The Cross used at a performance of a Passion Play in Mons in 1501 was of this kind (see, APPENDIX 'A', to this chapter, 1) ABERDEEN. 15 November 1399).

A record of 13 May 1440 shows the recompensing of Richard Kintor, Abbot of Bon Accord,

...pro expensis suis factis et faciendis in quodam
ludo de ly haliblude ludendo apud ly Wyndmylhill.

In 1440 Good Friday occurred on 25 March and Easter Day on 27 March, Corpus Christi occurring on 22 June. Accordingly we suggest that the item of 13 May 1440, concerning the play of 'ly haliblude', may relate to what elsewhere was called a Corpus Christi Play (normally meaning a cycle of plays), the high-point of which was probably a play or scene of the Crucifixion.

A record of 22 May 1531 relating to the 'Ordour of corpus xpi processiou' shows that the Incorporation of Hammermen were to
furness the barmen of the croce.

This was to be done annually and the order makes it clear that it is a reaffirmation of

the auld lovabill consuetudis and ryte of this
burgh and of the nobill burgh of Edinburgh of
the quhilk the forsaid prouest has gottin copy
in write....

Furthermore the provisions of the statute are to be

kepitt Inviolablie In all maner In all tyme
cuming.

That more than one man was required to carry the Cross may indicate that it was too heavy for one man to carry and was probably carried by four men, one at each extremity. The use of a heavy Cross may indicate that at the 'Hill of Calvary' (Wyndmylhill) a man was tied to it to simulate the Crucifixion. If so, it was probably done in the manner of the time by tying the man to the Cross laid flat on the ground, and then dropping it into a prepared hole.

A burgh record of 30 June 1467 refers to a certain 'John Robertson, called Christ'. He may have been given this pseudonym because he was well-known as the Craftsman who traditionally played the role of Christ in the local Passion Play, perhaps in a scene of the Crucifixion. In amateur play circles the custom still survives of calling an individual by the name of the character he or she represented in a local play.

An Appendix subsequently added to the 'Ordour of corpus xpi processioun' of 22 May 1531 referred to above states, 'The craftis ar chargit to furneiss thair padyeanes vnderwrittin,

- i) The flescharis sanct bestien (Sebastian) and his trummatouris (tormentors).
- ii) The barbaouris sanct lowrence and his trummentouris (tormentors).
- iii) skynnaris sanct stewin' (Stephen) tormentouris.
- iv) The cordonaris sanct martyne.
- v) The tailyecouris the coronatioun of our lady.
- vi) litstaris sanct nicholefs.

- vii) wobstaris walcaris and bonet makaris sant lon.
- viii) baxstaris sanct georg.
- ix) writtis messouniss slateris and cuparis the resurextioun.
- x) The smythis and hemirmen to furness the barmen of the croce.

Here the Crafts are listed in order of precedence, the Fleshers at the head in the least prestigious position and the Hammermen at the rear in the most prestigious position, nearest the Sacrament. If it had been intended to portray the sequence of events which form the basis of the christian faith 'the barmen of the croce' would have preceded 'the resurextioun' and that would have preceded 'the coronatioun of our lady'. Last of all would have come the pageants of the saints the heroic luminaries of the christian faith. In the procession the Craftsmen were to be in their best array with their own banner bearing the Craft's arms and to walk in pairs. This with the emphasis on Crafts walking in strict order of established precedence (as opposed to chronological order of subject) leads us to suggest that the procession is really a 'monstre' and that after the procession there was to be a performance of a simultanaously staged Passion Cycle when the various scenes would have been positioned to meet staging requirements. The subject of 'monstres' is discussed further in Chapter Eight. The Pageants of the Saints may have been no more than mere 'pictures', but they might have been 'tableaux-vivants', perhaps with miming and gesture, and possibly with short speeches. The 'coronatioun of our lady' was probably just that, taking the form of a beautifully costumed 'tableau' or at best a 'tableau-vivant'. The 'tailyeouris' would have found it difficult to provide the complicated machinery for an 'Assumption' scene. It is probable there was rather more to the two Passion scenes

mentioned above than might at first appear. We note that the 'smythis and hemirmen' are to be responsible for providing 'the barmen of the croce'. This was a very large Craft embracing all Craftsmen who worked on metal with the hammer, and in effect was an 'umbrella' for half a dozen or so crafts. We suggest 'the smythis and hemirmen' provided members to do rather more than carry the Cross. There is a burgh record of 4 March 1462/3 which shows that Duncan de Byres was made a Burgess in consideration of his gift of two gowns to the Burgh Players, which were possibly to be used in a forthcoming Passion Play - Easter Day that year was on 18 April. That there was to be a costumed play of some sorts there can be no doubt. The Accounts of the Dean of Guild for 1548-51 record a payment as follows,

for bringing ouer of the kaippis (i.e. copes) on Corpus Christi dayis, three yeris....

The copes would have been kept in the Sacristy of the Burgh Church of St Nicholas. We interpret the words 'bringing ouer' as meaning the copes were carried from there to Wyndmylhill where the play was to be performed. The implication of the words 'three yeris' is that the play was an annual event.

It was the universal custom in the West at this time to costume the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas, who featured in the Trials of Jesus, in ecclesiastical copes such as were regularly used in the Offices of the Church.

We also note that no less than four separate Crafts were to be responsible for 'the resurextioun', viz. 'writtis messounis

slateris and hemirmen'. Such a group surely had the resources to make a suitable sepulchre or tomb and produce a very effective resurrection scene.

To return to the subject of the copes mentioned above. It was also the custom to portray Simeon in an ecclesiastical cope in scenes of the 'Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple' (an event also known as 'The Purification of the Virgin Mary'). High Priests thus costumed are featured in works of art of the time and more particularly in the illuminations of Books of Devotion and in Office Books. (See, CHAPTER FIVE, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES.
3) MIDDELBURG. e) The Barbers' Guild. See also, CHAPTER FOUR.)

We have already referred to the record of 13 May 1440 in which Richard Kintor was rewarded for the preparations he had already made and was going to make for the play of the 'haliblude' which was to be played at 'ly Wyndmyhill'. Richard Kintor in the role of the Abbot of Bon Accord was once again rewarded for the play of 'ly haliblude' which he again produced at 'ly wyndmyhill' in 1445.

There is also a record of 1449 which shows that a certain Public Notary by name Walter Balcancole provided a script for the play on the Feast of Corpus Christi that year,

Nicholaius benyng receptus fuit in libero burgensem
et confratrem gilde ratione paterne libertatis pro v s.
quos prepositus dedit waltero balcancole pro scriptura
ludi in festo corporis xpi.

We suggest that both records relate to the same subject, viz. a Passion Cycle of play scenes, viz. a Passion Play. The term 'ludus

de ly haliblude' is not found in this kind of play context after the entry of 1445 referred to above. Thereafter the term 'corpus christi' is employed in such contexts.

In the Aberdeen burgh records under date 30 July 1471 there is mention of an obscure play of 'Bellyale', when it tells of the recompensing of a certain Phillip de Drumbrek, Sergeant (...phillippo de drumbrek seriando),

pro suis expensis factis circa ludum bellyale...

Drumbrek came from a family that had achieved some distinction in the Church.¹

We know of no other reference to such a play in the Scottish records nor of any play bearing such a title in English literature generally. Accordingly we can do no more than speculate and suggest certain possibilities. It might have been a play featuring the Devil or the Demon Belial who sometimes appears in the 'Processus' scene of cyclic plays with the 'Four Daughters of God' which sometimes forms a Prologue to the Nativity Cycle of scenes. Sometimes he appears in the 'Harrowing of Hell' and is often accompanied by other demons with diverse names. He appears in the English 'Castle of Perseverance' where his role is to amuse the crowd and he appears in Milton's 'Paradise Lost' as the name of one of the fallen angels, and elsewhere. It is hard to see Belial, the Devil/Demon, as the leading role in a play and giving the play its title, for elsewhere he always plays a subsidiary role. It is just possible (remotely possible, no doubt, most will, think) that the Aberdeen reference is not in fact to 'Belial' but to the 'fallen woman' 'Bele Aelis' of folk-song-dance notoriety. In the given context the validity of any such suggestion would depend primarily on proof of either a scribal error or a mis-transliteration of the term 'bellyale', something we are not able to prove, so that what we say is purely speculative.

The maiden 'Bele Aelis' (also found in other forms, e.g. 'Bele Aalis', etc) is the central female character of a popular Middle Ages carol or song-dance routine, where she is the soloist in a song dialogue with a choir of maidens accompanied by mimetic actions and so verging on drama.²

The basic story tells of how Bele Aelis spends much time and effort in making herself attractive to young men and as a consequence loses her virginity. The performer was required to extemporise on this simple outline and provide something to entertain the spectators. This may possibly have been the carol or dance performed by some of the various Megs who appear in Aberdeen records as rewarded by the Burgh Council seemingly as entertainers, although it has to be admitted that in one record 'Meg of Abernethy' is described as a 'harper'. 'Meg' is sometimes found in the form 'Mag', possibly short for 'Magdalene', a fact which may have some significance.³

The theme of the 'Bele Aelis' carol was adopted by a thirteenth century German writer who changed the name of Bele Aelis to Mary Magdalene and added a scene portraying her repentance and forgiveness. The scene, written in German, appears as an interpolation in the longer 'Passio' of the 'Carmina Burana' collection of religious plays dated about 1230. This apocryphal Magdalene/Bele Aelis episode appears in a longer form in ~~in~~ the St Gall 'Passionsspiel' of about 1300 where Mary Magdalene dances in company with a girl and two youths, while her sister Martha begs her to repent. The scene includes a merchant who peddles aphrodisiacs and life restoratives.⁴

The fourteenth century 'Wiener Ludus Paschali' referred to in Chapter Five (see, C. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES. 7) VIENNA.) has a Magdalene scene which typifies the 'Bele Aelis' (or Magdalene) theme song in which lust for the carnal aspects of life are freely and wantonly expressed.

The payment to Drumbrek for organizing the play of 'bellyale' was recorded under the date 30 July 1471, which could mean the play had possibly been performed on 22 July, the Feast Day of Mary Magdalene, Penitent. However individual plays performed on Feast Days of the Church Calendar were also usually found in the cycle of plays performed at Corpus Christi, and if that included a Passion Play it is possible that our conjectured Play of Belle Aelis also appeared as an Interlude in that. If our tentative suggestion is correct then it is possible that 'Bele Aelis' reached Scotland through Eustache Mercadé's 'Passion d'Arras' where Mary Magdalene is cast as a 'fille de joie' who loves pleasure for its own sake, wants to enjoy her youth in gaiety with pretty clothes and song and who offers her fair body to lovers from sheer wantonness. Against our suggestion it must be said that the various plays that adapted the character of Mary Magdalene to that of the traditional folk 'Bele Aelis' nowhere contain any suggestion overtly or obliquely that there is any dependence upon 'Bele Aelis'.⁵

It is unlikely that the Aberdeen Burgh authorities would have approved of the performance of any form of the 'Bele Aelis' scenario other than that of the moralised version such as found in the 'Carmina Burana'. Aberdeen Statutes of the thirteenth century,

when the traditional 'folk' type of 'Bele Aelis' was so popular in Paris forbade, 'dances or low and indecent pastimes such as provoke lasciviousness (to) take place in churches or churchyards...'.⁶

Further information on the above subject will be found in vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'C'. THE PLAY OF BELLYALE.

Aberdeen Burgh Records continue to refer to the Corpus Christi Play at regular intervals up to 29 May 1556. These references are all concerned with questions about the order of precedence of the Crafts in the Corpus Christi Procession, or with defaulters from the recent procession and play. None of these entries advances our knowledge about the pageants and plays beyond the information given in the record of 22 May 1531 and so are not discussed here.

For many years what was known as the Candlemas Offerand was performed in Aberdeen on 2 February, Candlemas Day. The earliest mention of it in surviving Burgh Records is an Order of 2 January 1442/3, which gives the order of precedence in which the Crafts are to process on the day of 'the offerand of oure lady at candilmes', and details the various religious scenes which they are to provide. An almost identical Order was made by the Council on 30 January 1505/6,¹⁸ where more Crafts are listed than before and some changes have been made in the order of precedence. These need not concern us here. Our present concern is with the pageants the Crafts are required to provide. Although the Order of 22 May 1531 is headed 'Ordour of corpus xpi processioune' the text beneath explains that the order of craft processional precedence at Corpus

Christi also applies to the Candlemas Offerand which reinforces our suggestion that these processions are not concerned with the correct chronology for the various scripture based scenes and must be in the nature of 'monstres' with groups of craftsmen-players suitably costumed and accompanied by appropriate accoutrements ready to perform representations after the procession at 'loca' set out for simultaneous staging. We give below a copy of the Order of 2 January 1442/3 but see vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A', for details of the Order of 14 April 1539 and the added Note.

Order for the Candlemas Offerand dated 2 January 1442/3.^a
(Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Records, Volume Five (Part 1) 661.)

Thire craftes vnderwritin sal fynd yerely in the offerand of oure lady at candilmes thire persones vnderwritin that is to say

the littistarez sal fynd: the emprioure and twa doctourez / and alsmony honeste squiarez as thai may

the smythez and hammirmen sal fynd the three kingis of Culane and alsmony honeste squiarez as thai may

the tailyourez sal fynd oure lady / and Sancte bride,^b Sancte helene Ioseph & alsmony squiarez as thai may

the Skynnarez sal fynd twa bischopes / foure angelez / and as mony honeste squiarez, etc

the webstarez and walkarez sal fynd Symion and his disciplez / and alsmony honeste squiarez, etc

the Cordonarez sal fynd the messyngeare and Moyses / and alsmony honeste squiarez, etc

the fleschowarez (sal) fynd twa or foure wodmen / and alsmony honeste squiarez, etc

the brethire of the gilde sal fynd knyghtez in harnace / and squiarez honestly arait and, etc,

The baxstaris sal fynde the menstralis and alsmony honest squyaris as thai may, etc,

a. Candlemas is the Feast of the Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple, otherwise known as the Purification of the Virgin Mary.

b. The Feast of St Bride occurred on 1 February, the day before Candlemas.

A Council Order of 29 January 1503/4 states quite plainly that what they are legislating for is a 'play',⁷

The saide day the aldirman & balyeis ordanit the skinnaris & walcaris tile vphalde & sustene thare part of candilmess play aucht & wount etc Ande thai lefit & gif thame charge tile extent resonablie ale vnfre personis of thair craftis eftir the faculte of thare gudis & to raiss the samyn & gif neid be to compel & distrenye thairfor to the vphaldin of thar part of the said play.

Council Orders of 3 Feb. 1503/4, and 5 Feb. 1503/4, also refer to 'candilmess play' in connection with the procession. The term 'play' occurs again in an Order of 30 January 1506/6 (see below).

The normal meaning of the term 'Offertory' or 'Offerand' in the catholic tradition is the offering of gifts of bread and wine at the altar at Mass by the celebrating priest before proceeding to their consecration in the Canon of the Mass. According to the Scottish Rathen Manual,⁸ which may be taken as representative of the Sarum Rite used in Scottish parish churches, for the Offertory of candles at Candlemas after Sext a priest stood on the middle step leading to the altar, wearing a silk cope and other sacerdotal vestments, and blessed candles with three prayers. This ceremony of Blessing of Candles continued in the same form as the Offertory of Bread and Wine at Mass, opening with dialogue between priest and people followed by a Preface and more prayers of blessing, and

Postea accendantur candele et distribuuntur cantore
incipiente ant. Lumen ad reuelantur gencium et gloriam
plebis tue Israel, etc

(After these things the candles shall be kindled and distributed, the cantor incepting the anthem, 'A light to enlighten the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel, etc....'.)

Then followed a procession around the church all the while the

choir singing the appointed anthems. On returning, at the entrance to the Choir, there followed further dialogue and a concluding prayer. A final rubric says,

Processione sic peracto preparent se sacerdotes
et ministri ad missam.
(when the procession has thus ended, the priests and
ministers shall prepare themselves for Mass.)

In the ceremony of the Blessing of Candles the same actions are performed as in the Offertory at Mass. We suggest, therefore, that when the Crafts processed to church for the Candlemas Offerand they were going there to take part in the Candlemas ceremony of the Blessing of Candles and the subsequent ceremonies which included the performance of a 'play', and attendance at the Mass of the Day.

Possibly the Masters of the Crafts brought to church on this day their annual tribute of one pound of wax or a pound weight candle as specified in many of their Seals of Cause, although these in fact stipulate that such gifts are to 'decoir' the Craft's patron saint.⁹

As regards the various scenes to be provided the several Orders differ only in small detail, but the Order of 30 January 1505/6 includes the following provisions which did not appear in the Order of 1442,

..Ande thai sale in ordire to the Offering in the play pass
tua & ij togidder sociale..

..Ande tua of ilke craft to pass with the pageant that
thai furnys to keip thare geire...

We do not think this latter clause necessarily implies the use of

a pageant waggon equipped to perform the play out of doors as the provision of a scaffold in 1470-1 (see, APPENDIX 'A') probably indicates that the play was traditionally performed in church, something we should expect in the normally severe Aberdeen winters. The clause may mean that two craftsmen were to take care of play properties as they walked beside the costumed players who were also probably carrying personal attributes and accoutrements and small properties. This seems to be how they did things at Perth where in 1518 a Craftsman was rewarded for carrying the throne of the Emperor Maximian in the public procession (see, below 9) PERTH. Extracts of Perth Hammermen Records. a) 22 April 1518).

We set out below the various representation with which we suggest the Orders of 1442 and 30 January 1505/6 were concerned. The Order of 1505/6 is reproduced in APPENDIX 'A', 1) ABERDEEN.

An Interpretation of the Candlemas Orders of 1442 and 30 January 1505/6.

'the emprioure and twa doctourez' - The Emperor is Augustus and the Doctors are his 'Consulti' as we find in Play No. IX, Caesar Augustus, of the Wakefield Cycle. At Aberdeen we suggest he was associated with a scene which included the 'messsyngere' named 'Nuncius' ('Lyghtfote') in the Wakefield Play. There is no parallel in the York Cycle.¹⁰

Augustus is reputed to have had a miraculous vision of the Virgin and Child by the Tiburtine Sybil which was seen as a parallel to the vision granted Simeon at the time of the 'Presentation of Jesus in the Temple'.

In the present context a role for the 'thre kingis of Culane' is plainly appropriate.

'moyses' - Moses appears in three different roles in the religious plays: 1) as the giver of the Ten Commandments 2) as prophet of the Coming of Christ, and 3) as a prefiguration of the Saviour through his setting the ancient Jews free from the bondage of slavery in Egypt and bringing them safely through the perilous waters of the Red Sea to enable them to enter the Promised Land.

Moses appears in the first two roles in Wakefield Play No.VII, The Prophets, and in the third role in Wakefield Play No.VIII, Pharaoh. York Play No.XI, Moses and Pharaoh, is an example of the pre-figuration role of Moses.¹¹

'Ioseph' and 'Symion' (Joseph and Simeon) are obvious requirements for a scene of the 'Presentation', and so are Mary and the Holy Child who do not appear in the list of characters of the 1442 Order. This is probably an error of omission, for Mary appears in the Order of 1505/6 when in addition to finding 'Sanct brid & Sanct elene' the 'talyourez' are to find 'our lady'. At Beverley Mary carried an effigy of the Holy Child in her arms. Although we have no record it is probably safe to say the same was done at Aberdeen.¹²

We suggest the 'twa biscopes' were probably the High Priests, Annas and Caiaphas, normally designated 'bishops' in the religious plays. The Candlemas Offerand was a final

feature in the Yule celebrations and Passion scenes would be out of place. Therefore we suggest that the bishops and 'Sancte helene' were present in prefigurative roles of Christ's eventual Passion and Crucifixion.

There is nothing in the Orders for the Candlemas Offerand to suggest there might have been a scene of the 'Visit of the Shepherds'. However, 'foure angels' suggest the possibility of a scene of the 'Salutation of the Virgin Mary by the Archangel Gabriel'. This receives some support from the fact that according to Dunbar at the 'Joyful Reception' for Queen Margaret at Aberdeen in 1511 there was a pageant of the 'Annunciation' in addition to pageants of 'The Three Kings' and the 'Expulsuion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise'.¹³

Other angels may have appeared in possible scenes of the 'Annunciation to the Shepherds' (as at Wakefield, Plays XII & XIII) and 'Joseph's Trouble about Mary' (as at York, Play XIII) and more than one angel could have appeared in any one scene.

Neither the Order of 1442 nor that of 1505/6 mention a pageant of the 'Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise'. It is possible the one Dunbar saw was devised for the occasion or had been devised sometime between 1505/6 and 1511.

There may have been a 'tableau-vivant' of St Bride who was supposedly baptized by St Patrick and who founded a monastery in Kildare. Her cult spread throughout Europe and many legends about

her grew up. One saw her as a 'Sponsus Christi' and another regarded her as a personification of the Virgin.¹⁴ Her Feast Day occurred on 1 February, the day before Candlemas. There may also have been a 'tableau-vivant' of St Helen who, according to tradition found the 'true cross' when on a visit to Jerusalem. See further in the following chapter, THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEENTRY AND PLAYS.

The 'Presentation of Jesus in the Temple' (Candlemas) (see Luke ch.2, 22-39) was celebrated in a variety of different ways throughout the whole of the Western Church often as a preliminary to the singing of the Mass of the Day. Everywhere candles were blessed and distributed to the congregation prior to carrying them alight in procession around the church to symbolise Christ 'the Light of the World'. A twelfth century 'Ordo' from Augsburg shows that there the congregation and clergy processed to the church doors where an appropriate 'Responsum' was sung and a priest in the role of Simeon took a Gospel Book into his arms, as if receiving the Infant Christ, and the assembly then re-entered the church. A fifteenth century Service Book from the same church shows that by then an image of the Infant Jesus has been substituted for the Gospel Book.¹⁵

According to an Ordinance (about 1390-1400) the Canons of the Lebuinus Kerk at Deventer were to hold a procession annually on the Feast of the Purification showing Mary going up to offer her Child to God. Once the service had begun the Prophet Simeon was to proceed to the blessing of the candles.¹⁶ This relates to a liturgical service, a processional ceremony such as that of the

revised Ordo of Augsburg (referred to above) when an image of the Infant Jesus was processed on a cushion.¹⁷

In Italy a fourteenth century service-book formerly in use in the Cathedral of Padua describes a dramatic Candlemas ceremony with live characters representing Mary with her Child in her arms, Joseph with a basket on his shoulders, (probably containing two young doves), Anna, the prophetess with a large sheet of parchment in her hand, four Prophets and three Angels. The main action took place at a replica of the Temple set up behind the Altar of SS Fabian and Sebastian. As Mary made her way towards the Temple two choristers sang the anthem 'Ave (Maria), gratia plena, Dei genetrix virgo'. She then offered her Child to Simeon with the two young doves as choristers sang, 'Obtulerunt pro eo'. When Simeon received the doves he checked them over. Then an Angel above the choir sang an anthem to be followed by another sung by two Angels and a verse sung by the choir-boys. Finally Simeon sang the anthem 'Nunc dimittis..' after which all returned to the sacristy.¹⁸

Although this representation was highly-formalized and performed in dumb-show, because it contained action accompanied by appropriate liturgical items, it may be regarded as a genuine play, representing an advance toward true realistic drama (see, CHAPTER FIVE. D. ITALY. The 'Sacre Rappresentazioni'.
2) PADUA.

There are records of Presentation (i.e Purification) Plays given in churches in Bruges. A play of the 'Purification' was performed in the Church of St Jacob in 1498.¹⁹ As players were rewarded on the occasion this was probably a non-liturgical or semi-liturgical performance (see, CHAPTER FIVE. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES.
1) BRUGES (BRUGGE).

There are records of out-door representations of the 'Purification' given in various modes in the Low Countries. Amsterdam had a simple representation in a popular street procession when an elegantly costumed maiden, riding an ass, or small horse, was led by a young man dressed as Joseph, a pannier of carpenter's tools over one arm and carrying a basket containing two turtle-doves. Priests and a large number of people formed the procession and they processed around the city.²⁰ There were also 'plays' of the 'Purification' at Thielt in 1429 and at Oudenburg in 1463. They appear to have been non-liturgical but we do not know if there was any dramatic impersonation. They may have been 'tableaux-vivants'.²¹

At Abbeville in France a performance was given in the churchyard of St Jacques in 1452, and again in 1455, on a site situated behind the Church of St Gilles. It was probably part of Greban's 'Passion' (see further below).²² In Béthune the 'Presentation' (i.e. 'Purification') was performed at Corpus Christi in 1549 as a 'mystère mimé' with a cast of seven, given like many others on a scaffold along a processional route. It was probably a 'mystère mimé'. A similar performance may have been given in previous years. In France the 'Purification' formed part of the longer 'Passions' which were widely performed and must have been well-known. It is found, for example in Greban's 'Passion' (lines 6898-7132).²³

There is little evidence from Germany of outdoor performances, in

fact but one, a 'tableau-vivant', which may later have become a play with dramatic action and dialogue. It appears in the 1516 Ordnung for Corpus Christi in Freiburg-im-Breisgau.²⁴

There is also a sixteenth century record of a Purification Play performed before the 'porta maggiore' (i.e. main West Door) at a church in Vicari, Tuscany. It seems to have been a simple ceremony with Joseph, Mary and the Infant, and Simeon, concluding with the anthem, 'Nunc Dimittis'.²⁵ This was probably a semi-liturgical representation.

In England the York, Wakefield (Towneley), Chester and 'Ludus Coventriae' (Lincoln) Cycles all have plays of the 'Purification'. Besides these there is the play of the 'Presentation in the Temple' given by the Corporation of Weavers in the City of Coventry, of which there has survived a revised text dated 1534 made from an older original text by Robert Croo. It embraces not only the story of the 'Presentation' but also that of the Boy Jesus disputing with the learned doctors in the Temple and opens with a dialogue between two Prophets on the subject of prophecies concerning the Coming of Jesus. The scenes were staged on a horse-drawn waggon. There was one stage divided into two sections, one at the rear on which was represented the Temple scene, including an altar. A little lower and in front was an area which represented the Temple Forecourt where the musicians and singers may have been accommodated. This representation formed part of the Coventry Corpus Christi Procession and possibly at some point the waggon halted for a performance of the play.²⁶

We have found no information on representations of the

'Purification' in Spain, neither liturgical nor vernacular. Our researches show that representations of the 'Purification' outside the liturgy were less popular than representations of the 'Annunciation' and the 'Assumption'.

If what we suggest was in fact performed in the Burgh Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, from at least 1442, regularly until the eve of the Reformation, it was rather more ambitious than what was attempted in other churches at Candlemas, being in fact a fairly complete Nativity Cycle with supporting 'tableaux' of saints. That there was a staged performance is shown by Accounts of the Dean of Guild for 1470-1 concerning Candlemas which show expenses for a 'Scaffold' and for 'writyn off the play',²⁷ which shows the play was not wholly liturgical, although it was probably partly liturgical. Further evidence for the play being at least partly non-liturgical is that the Websters and Walkers were required to find 'Symian and his disciples' and this probably included the prophetess Anna. Had the play been liturgical the part of Simeon would almost certainly have been played by a priest in the role of High Priest and he would probably also have celebrated the Mass. That the event may have been partly liturgical may be shown by an entry in the Burgh Records dated 13 January 1532/3 which records that it had been decided to dismiss the choir 'for thair demeritis...' from the coming Candlemas. We suggest they were not dismissed immediately in order to be available to sing at Candlemas which finally brought the Christmas season to an end. Almost all the Craftsmen of these times were still illiterate like those in Perth²⁸ (see below under PERTH) and so the play may have been produced by a Play Director (probably a priest) standing

back-stage in a manner akin to that of the 'Ordinary' in Cornwall,²⁹ who by means of loud whispers helped the Craftsmen with short speeches as necessary.

Regarding the manner of staging the Aberdeen Candlemas Play, we suggest the scenes of the 'Nativity' and the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' were presented at the Bethlehem Stable which had been set up at Christmas and was due to remain in place until after Candlemas (see Chapter One). All the other scenes were possibly presented at 'loca' on the scaffold running down the length of the centre of the Nave. As seats were not used by the congregation in those times this would leave room for a procession to the Stable somewhere near the main West Door as well as leaving room in front of the High Altar for liturgical ceremonies.

A surviving fifteenth century manuscript from Siena contains a Nativity Play which was staged in church. It was performed in conjunction with the Mass at the beginning of which an angel appeared and sang the 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo'. (It is normal to sing the 'Gloria' at this point on Sundays and great festivals). At the end of Mass another angel appeared and spoke the Prologue of the play. Then followed a representation of scenes from the Nativity Cycle, including the 'Birth of Jesus', the 'Adoration of the Shepherds', who presented gifts of cheese and a small barrel of wine, and the 'Adoration of the Three Kings' who traditionally brought gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. The play was staged in the area in front of the pulpit where a stable was set up. The public were separated from the play-area and positioned on the opposite side.³⁰ (See, VOLUME TWO, APPENDICES, CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. Item ii) SCOTTISH STUDENTS AT ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES.

2) AYR.

At Ayr there is evidence for Passion (Crucifixion/Resurrection), Christmas/Epiphany and Corpus Christi Plays. Two surviving Burgh Accounts contain entries concerning 'clerk plays' (i.e. religious or scriptural plays). In 1534-5 expenses were incurred for ale and meat, and for skins '...to the clerk play...'. In 1541 there was a payment to '...maister patrik for his expenses in the clerk playis...' and another payment 'for breid & vyne to the first clerk playis...'.

The skins mentioned in the Account of 1534-5 suggest the possibility of scenes of the flagellation and of the crucifixion. Skins were commonly used in such scenes to protect the 'actor'. They also served to conceal a bag of blood to be pierced by the Centurion's spear. It may have been for this play that two ladders, were bought in the same year. The Account for 1536-7 has double entries in respect of the same ladders (the same small sums each time), the second entry showing that the expenses were for carrying the ladders to the church on two different occasions, which suggests the possibility that the 'Crucifixion' scene may have been performed on two separate occasions, viz. possibly on Good Friday and at Corpus Christi. Further entries for carrying ladders occur as follows,

- 1542-3. ...taking home the Blackfriars' ladder..
- 1546-7. ...carrying a ladder to the kirk...
- 1547-8. ...carrying and erecting ladders...
...for ladders and timber...
- 1550-1. ...for carrying ladders to the kirk...

Sometimes the Accounts show expenses for timber out of which a

Cross or Crosses might have been made, for example, the Account of 1547-8,

...for carrying ladders and timber,....

which is lumped together with other items concerned with building expenses. Thus it cannot be said the timber was bought for a 'Crucifixion' scene, although it is possible that some of the timber bought for building purposes could have been diverted for use in such a scene. There is no firm answer to this question.

If ladders were in fact used in connection with the Crucifixion scene it might possibly have been for a 'Taking down from the Cross' scene leading into a scene of the 'Pietà' with the dead Christ laid across his Mother's knees. Of course, it could be said the ladders were needed either to inspect the roof of the kirk or to repair it, but the Accounts make no reference to such activities. In any case the same ladders could have been used for a variety of purposes.

A scene of the 'Harrowing of Hell' might have taken place after the 'Crucifixion' scenes. This would have involved the firing of a gun at the breaking down of the Gates of Hell and the subsequent release of the Patriarchs. The possibility of this at Ayr is suggested by the 'gun' which the Accounts for 1550-51 show was taken to the kirk. In 1557-8 there were further expenses,

for the great gun....for repairing it....bringing it to the kirk... (and) for Culverin powder bought in Irvine...

It can, of course, be said the gun was required for the defense of the town, and the Account for 1553-4 specifically refers to,

...powder to robene hudis playis...

The gun and powder could have been required for scaring pigeons from the roof of the kirk. Indeed it might have been used for all these purposes and still have been used for a 'Harrowing of Hell' scene after the 'Crucifixion'. It is not possible to give a firm answer one way or the other.

Expenses recorded under 1535-6 for making a 'sepulture' suggest a play of the 'Resurrection' which would have taken place after a 'Harrowing of Hell' scene. As the item is an expense rather than income we suggest the 'sepulture' was not intended for the interment of a dead body. Had that been so expenses would have been charged to relatives and be shown as income. Furthermore records show that the usual term for a burial place was 'lair' not 'sepulture'. Accounts for 1538-40 show an income of,³¹

ij li. xv s. for lairs in the Kirk.

The Account for 1541 records,

to maister patrik andersoun for his fe the last
witsounday...
to...maister patrik (andersoun) for his expenses to the
clerkis playis....

The first item suggests the possibility that the Corpus Christi Plays were performed on Whitsunday as was the custom in many places. The use of 'maister' normally indicates a graduate priest. It is probable that Master Patrick Anderson was the Play Director. He may have written a play script but it is probable that by now there was a traditional text the players already knew by heart.

The following item in this account suggests that 'clerk playis' may have been performed on two different occasions in the course of the year,

...for breid & vyne to the first clerk playis..

A number of items relate to expenses in connection with a pavilion. None of them reveal what the pavilion was used for. We believe Accounts show it was a kind of canvas marquee with wooden posts to support the sides, with a canvas roof supported by wooden beams and metal struts, the whole thing being held up by means of ropes and pegs knocked into the ground by mallets. In 1542-3 for some reason it was brought to the Tolbooth and then apparently taken away to be pitched. Whether or not it played any part in the staging of the plays we are unable to say. It may have been used by the Burgh Councillors from which to watch the plays. (See Accounts for: 1542-3, 1543-4, 1544-5 and 1546-7, APPENDIX 'A').

It is possible the conjectured 'Crucifixion-Resurrection Play' took place in the churchyard as they sometimes did elsewhere. At Wakefield (England) it seems probable that the Passion Cycle was performed in a field adjacent to the North Side of the churchyard.³²

The only positive evidence at Ayr for a Corpus Christi Procession occurs in the Account for 1536-7 when expenses are paid for making the public thoroughfare ready for the Sacrament on the day before Corpus Christi,

...for the reddene of the calsay on Corpus Chrisys eyn
for honour of the sacrament...

It is very likely to have been an annual event.

In the years 1541-45 there are regular payments for cellar rent

for keeping the town's gear, which could relate to play gear used for pageants at Corpus Christi and possibly for other occasions. At Corpus Christi scenes from the Crucifixion-Resurrection Play suggested as a possibility above could have been paraded in the procession and subsequently performed after its conclusion with others to form a cycle.

No Ayr Craft records have survived and hence no details are available of play roles and players.

The subject of the Christmas 'praesepe' and possible liturgical plays of the Christmas-Epiphany season has already been discussed in Chapter One. On the subject of the 'Jacques Plays' at Ayr see the following chapter headed, THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTS AND PLAYS.

3) DUMFRIES.

A Dumfries burgh record for 31 July 1532 shows that Sir Harry Mercer, Chaplain of the Lady Altar in the Parish Church of Dumfries, was rewarded

for the play of gude fryday & vitsonday.....

The play of Good Friday is unlikely to be anything other than a scene or series of scenes from the Passion-Crucifixion Cycle. A cycle of plays may have been given on Whit-Sunday in place of performing them at Corpus Christi as had probably once been done. This would have been in keeping with the custom in some places outside Scotland. Sir Harry was also a burgess of the town and was rewarded also,

for the makin off ane bennar to the toun.....

4) DUNDEE.

The following Dundee Inventory of Play Gear is probably to be dated about 1450³³ is one of the few valuable items of information relative to medieval religious plays to have survived in Scotland.

In primis iii^{II} of crownis.
vj pair of angel veynis.
iiij myteris.
cristis cott of lethyr with the hosfs & glufis.
cristis hed.
xxxj suerdis.
thre lang corssis of tre.
sanc thomas sper.
a cors til sanc blasis.
sanc johnis coit.
a credil & thre barnis maid of clath.
xx hedis of hayr.
the four evangellistis...^a
sanc katerins quheil.
sanc androwis cros.
a saw.
a ax.
a rassour.
a guly knyff.
a worm of tre.
the haly lam of tre.
sanc barbill^b castel.
abraamis hat, &
thre hedis of hayr,

Apart from some specific identifying attributes there is no mention of costumes. This is not unusual. Some would have worn robes borrowed from church, for example, white albs from church for the High Priests and other dignitaries. Many probably wore their own every-day clothes.

- a. We suggest the missing words should be, 'with their symbols'.
- b. Saint Barbara.

On the basis of the above Inventory we suggest the Corpus Christi procession may have embraced the following players,

- 1) Six angels wearing wings.
- 2) Three players wearing mitres.
- 3) A player wearing the leather coat, with the breeches, gloves and head-mask, representing Christ.^a

- 4) Two thieves to be crucified with Christ
(on the 'thre lang corssis of tre').
- 5) Thirty-one persons to carry swords. (Gethsemane)
- 6) St Thomas the Apostle with spear.
The spear was the instrument of St Thomas's martyrdom.
He was thought to be the Apostle of India.
- 7) St Blaise with Cross - Feast Day 3 February.
- 8) St John the Baptist, wearing coat and carrying the
wooden Holy Lamb.
- 9) St Katherine with wheel.
- 10) St Andrew with cross.
- 11) St James the Less with saw.^b
- 12) St Matthias with axe.
- 13) St Bartholomew with the 'rassour', i.e. flaying knife.
- 14) Adam and Eve with the wooden serpent.
- 15) St Barbara with the castle.
- 16) Abraham wearing the hat, holding the 'guly knyff', and
accompanied by two bairns.^c
- 17) Mary *and* Joseph with the 'credil' accompanied by one bairn.

There are only four obviously female parts, Eve, Our Lady Mary, St Katherine, St Barbara.

a) Such leather coats, but more particularly the skins from which they were made, are of frequent occurrence in lists of pageant/play expenses. Skins were worn by actors playing Christ in the Passion scenes to give the appearance of nudity after he was stripped of his garments, to enable scourging to be performed without injuring the actor, to facilitate the simulated crucifixion and to conceal a bladder of blood to be pierced by the Centurion's spear. Here we have taken 'hose' to mean 'breeches' rather than stockings.

b. SS James the Less, Matthias and Bartholomew, have been inferred from their symbols (see, W. Ellwood Post, *Saints, Signs & Symbols*, SPCK, London, 1965, 12, 13, 14).

c. See *The Towneley Plays* (re-ed. Geo. England), 40. Play No. IV, 'Abraham'.

Items in the Inventory not so far allocated:
Sixty crowns; three mitres;
twenty plus three heads of hair.

Suggested Possible Allocation of Unallocated Items from Above.

The Sixty Crowns.

Three for the Three Kings.

One for King Herod.

Thirteen for Saints in the above list - but not for St John Baptist, probably portrayed before his martyrdom.

One for God the Father.

One for Christ in glory in Heaven, and

One for Our Lady as 'Queen of Heaven' after her Corination.

This makes a total of twenty crowns and so leaves forty unaccounted for. According to *La Legende Dorée* when the Virgin was on her death-bed, surrounded by all the Apostles, at the third hour of the night Jesus arrived, accompanied by a multitude of angels, martyrs, patriarchs, confessors and virgins, the latter forming a choir who sang 'des cantiques très harmonieux',³⁴

et les chœurs des vierges se rangèrent devant le lit où gissait Marie, et se mirent à chanter des cantiques très harmonieux. Et l'on voit dans le livre attribué à saint Jean ce qui se passa alors. Jésus parla le premier et il dit: 'Viens, toi que j'ai élue, et je te placerai sur mon trône, car j'ai désiré ta beauté...

It is possible, therefore, that at Dundee forty saints surrounded the Virgin's death-bed in a scene of the death of the Virgin prior to her Assumption. There is, however, another possibility if the crowns were chaplets rather than jewel-studded regal crowns. Such could have been worn by choir-boys representing the 'Holy Innocents' in a scene of the 'Slaughter of the Innocents', such a scene could have evolved from liturgical antecedents, such as the 'Ordo Rachelis' which opens with an unspecified number of boys who play the role of the 'Innocents' and sing an antiphon. They are eventually slaughtered, but are resurrected and make their way back to their places in the choir, the play having taken place in some other part of the church. It would have been appropriate if they had worn chaplets as they made their way back to their places. The play is one included in the Fleury Collection. We know of no play instruction ordering this to be done.³⁵ Our preferred

solution to the problem of the forty crowns is that they were worn by the saints who accompanied Jesus to the Virgin's bedside. Such a solution lends support to other evidence that at Dundee there were representations of the Death, Burial, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary.

The Three Mitres.

Roles in the religious plays that traditionally wore mitres are the High Priests, Annas and Caiaphas, and Simeon, portrayed as a High Priest in scenes of the 'Presentation'. In describing the Entry of Edward II (of England) into Paris in 1313 Godefroi de Paris wrote in his *Chronique Métrique* of 'Herode, et Cayphas en mitre'.³⁶

At Coventry the High Priests wore 'mitres' and a 'bishop's tabard of scarlet'.³⁷ In the Scottish 'The passioun of Crist compilit be Mr. Kennedy' the High Priests are referred to as 'Bischopes'.³⁸ At Wemmys Castle, Scotland, there is a panel portraying the 'Circumcision of the Lord' in which the Virgin Mother is standing behind a low altar on which she supports the Infant Christ, while the High Priest on the left, vested in Bishop's cope and mitre, performs the rite. In a miniature of the 'Scourging of Christ' in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* Pilate is shown wearing what looks very much like a bishop's mitre.³⁹

There seems a high probability that at Dundee there was a scene of the 'Trial before Pilate' with Annas and Caiaphas, and possibly also before the latter. There seems to have been a scene of the 'Nativity' which does suggest the possibility of a scene of the 'Presentation in the Temple' with Simeon receiving the Child such

as appears in many cycles, as in the York, Towneley and 'Ludus Coventriae' Cycles. This may not, however, be the final answer, for St Blaise for whom a cross was provided, was a Bishop, and one of the mitres could have been for him. Much depends on how he was portrayed.

The Heads of Hair.

There were twenty-three heads of hair in all. It will be impossible to say with any certainty how these were allocated. It is very likely that in the course of the play as players came off they handed their wigs to others preparing to perform, thus economising on the number of wigs that needed to be acquired. We suggest they might have been distributed among the cast as follows,

- Six for the angels.
- One for Jesus.
- One for each of the thieves in the Crucifixion scene.
- One for St John the Baptist.
- One each for Adam and Eve.
- One each for Mary and Joseph
- One for each of the twelve apostles -

However, this leaves the following unprovided for,

- St Blaise, St Katherine, St Barbara,
- St Mark and St Luke, Evangelists not Apostles.

On the basis of the Inventory of ca.1450 and the deductions we have made we suggest that the Dundee Corpus Christi Cycle consisted of the following representations,

- a) The Temptation of Adam and Eve and their Fall, probably followed by a scene of their Expulsion from the Earthly Paradise.
- b) Abraham and the Offering of Isaac.

- c) Elements of the Nativity Cycle with at least the 'Nativity', and the possibility of the 'Annunciation', the 'Visitation to Elizabeth', the 'Visit of the Shepherds' and the 'Adoration of the Three Kings or Magi'.
- d) The 'Arrest of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane' when thirty-one soldiers came with swords to take him.
- e) Trials before Annas & Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate.
- f) The 'Crucifixion of Jesus and the Two Thieves'.
- g) The 'Death, Assumption & Coronation of Our Lady', as evidenced by St Thomas and other apostles who were transported to her bedside from wherever they were.

See below on the 'Assumption' and associated plays under heading, THE DEATH, ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

- h) Other saints: St Blaise with Cross, St John Baptist holding a lamb (of wood), St Katherine with Wheel, St Andrew with Cross, St James the Less with Saw, St Matthias with Axe, St Bartholomew with a flaying knife, St Barbara with Castle. Some or all of these might have been featured in the above scene. Any not so featured might have had an individual 'tableau'.
- i) In addition to the above the list shows 'the four vangellistis' who if they appeared in 'tableaux' would have been shown with their traditional emblems.

See further on saints in the following chapter headed THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS.

It is not possible on the basis of the Inventory to say whether the cycle included a scene of the 'Resurrection'. It would be odd, however, for scenes of the 'Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin' to follow immediately on a scene of the 'Crucifixion'.

We have no positive information concerning the place where these scenes might have been performed. Out of doors seems most likely. A cycle of this size with three crucifixions would surely have to

be played out-of-doors. We suggest it was played on the Burgh Playfield where James Wedderburn's 'Historie of Dyonisius the Tyranne' was performed (see below).⁴⁰ Scaffolds made of 'dealis and puncheonis' may have been used for some scenes as was done when 'the barnis of the school playd' in 1595/6 as shown by the Treasurer's Account of 9 January 1595/6.

It was said of James Wedderburn's of Dundee that he⁴¹

had a gift of poesie, and made diverse comedies and tragedies in the Scottish tongue, wherein he nipped the abuses and superstitions of the time. He composed in form of tragedy the beheading of John the Baptist, which was acted in the West Port of Dundee.

He also compiled

the Historie of Dyonisius the tyranne, in form of a comedy, which was acted on the playfield, wherein he likewise nipped the papists.

As a consequence in 1540 he was dilated to the King and his capture was sought, but he escaped to Rouen. None of his work has survived. He was educated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews and in France, where it is said he became a merchant.⁴²

5) EDINBURGH.

An Edinburgh record of 6 June 1503 shows not only that the King went in the Corpus Christi Procession but also that the procession was making its way to the Corpus Christi Play,

Item...for iij unce sewing silk black, to the points to the capricht^a agane the Kingis passing^b to the Corpus Christi Play, x s. vj d.

a. Part of the dress or armour of a horse. Such ornamentation is an indication that the King did in fact ride the horse.

b. 'Passing' in this sort of context normally means processing^c.

The event seems to have been organized by the 'Abbot of Unreson', a parallel figure to the Abbot of Bon Accord of Aberdeen.⁴³

A burgh record of 1504 shows a payment for the erection of what are called 'chamires' for the King and Queen, presumably a pavilion from which they could watch the play, which indicates that the whole sequence of scenes must have been performed in front of them, presumably at the Tron,

Item, payit to James Dog, that he laid down for girs on Corpus Christi day, at the play, to the Kingis & Quenis chamires..

Evidence from records shows that for a long time the public performance of or display of pageants normally took place at the Tron. The Greenside Playfield was not used for such events until August 1554 (see further on this below under the heading, THE DEATH, BURIAL, ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

The 'Tron' was the public weigh-house situated on an open area where the Lawn Market terminates and the Castle Hill begins, the Lawn Market being approached from the Canongate which extends down to the Abbey of the Holyrood and Holyrood House.

The above are the earliest surviving records to refer specifically to the performance of a Corpus Christi Play in Edinburgh which it may be inferred was performed at a single location whither the King was making his way and where he and his Queen would watch the play from a pavilion.

That the Sacrament was processed through the streets on Corpus Christi Day in accordance with widespread custom is shown by a burgh record of 1552-3 which shows there was

...gevin the Bischop of Ross that bure the Sacrament...
wyne and scrottisarttis...

Another record of 22 June 1553 shows that a reward was

...gevin to George Tod for making of ane skaffalt
on the hill to the clerk play, the bering of daylis
and punschonis* thairto.....that day thai playit
and furnessing of sax sparris thairto...

*Large wooden casks, showing the 'skaffalt' was made
by laying across up-ended barrels planks linked
together firmly by means of spars. A commonly used system
well illustrated in the paintings of Breughel.

In 1553 Corpus Christi Day occurred on 1 June.

A burgh record of 1554 shows expenses for,

burds (boards) and trestis (trestles) to the Queenis luging
on Corporis-christeis day.....and for flouris and raichis
(rushes)...

Further expenses for the above occur in the same account for
similar items for the same occasion,

...the day of the playing of the play at the trone, with
the convoy of the moris; for graithing of the Quenis luging
foiranent the samyn, for flours, beirks, and rocheis, and
beiring of furmes and trestis thairto..

In 1554 there is a record which indicates the performance of a
Corpus Christi Play when 'burds and trestis' were used to make a
pavilion ('Queenis luging') decorated with flowers and with rushes
on the floor from which the Queen could watch the play. That year
Corpus Christi Day was on 24 May. The latest date for a mention of
Corpus Christi in the burgh records is 1559 when six workmen were
rewarded for their labours on that day, but what they did is not
recorded. It is most likely that they built a scaffold stage.
It is fairly certain that the Corpus Christi Play was an annual
event although it is not mentioned annually in surviving records.
Nevertheless evidence for such annual events at Edinburgh have
survived in the records of two other burghs. The Aberdeen record
of 22 May 1531 for the 'Ordour of corpus xpi processiou' setting

out the order of craft precedence and of the pageants the Crafts are to process (already mentioned above) refers to

the auld lovabill consuetudis and ryte of this burgh
and of the nobill burgh of Edinburgh of the quhilk rite and
consuetude the forsaid prouest has gottin copy in write....

That Edinburgh held an annual Corpus Christi Procession of the Crafts is also shown by a Haddington Burgh record of 4 June 1532, in the shape of a letter addressed by the Common Clerk of Edinburgh to the Wrights and Masons of Haddington which refers to,

....the loifabill vse and ordour obsservit & keipit
wythin this towne amangis craftismene in thair passing
in procession one corpus cristis the octanis thaireftir
& all other generall processionis &
gadderingis....

Unfortunately these records makes no mention of the pageants to be provided by the Crafts. That pageants were 'played' is shown by a record of 21 April 1534,

The quhilk day the craftis consentit of thair
awyn confessioion to play thair pagis on corpus cristis day

This is confirmed in records of 28 May 1537 and 14 June 1541.

The Haddington records just quoted nowhere name the pageants to be provided by the Crafts.

A letter dated 20 November 1507 James IV addressed to Burgh Council which amended the day on which the annual eight day All Hallows Fair should commence shows that the annual Trinity Fair began on the Monday next day after Trinity Sunday and lasted for eight days, thus Corpus Christi Day occurred within the week of the Trinity Fair.⁴⁴

Although evidence regarding the pageants/plays is slender there is

enough to show that spectacular performances were given in Edinburgh from specially erected scaffolds. In the Scots usage of the time a 'pageant' was normally a representation of a scene and a vehicle or scaffold need not necessarily be involved. However, a 'pageant' featured on the occasion of the 'Entry of Mary Queen of Scots' into Edinburgh in 1561 was not only obviously stationary but probably had no 'tableau' or play scene. In fact in reality it was probably a scaffold,⁴⁵

.....At the head of the Strait-bow there was a pageant richly adorned and upon it a number of boys singing musick and playing upon instruments; one of which came down in a cloud. ...

According to the 'testimonial from the Common Clerk of Edinburgh to the Wrights and Masons of Haddington' of 4 June 1532 the following Crafts processed on Corpus Christi Day and its Octave Day, and on all other days of general processions,⁴⁶

- 1) the haill brether of the hamyrmen of all kynd of sortis to gidder witht the maissonis wrychtis glasinwrychtis & paintouris pass all to gidder...
- 2) the baxtaris,
- 3) the wobstaris & walkaris to gidder,
- 4) the tailyours,
- 5) the cordanaris,
- 6) the skynnaris & furrouris,
- 7) the barbouris,
- 8) the flechouris & candillmaikaris.

Thus if the Hammermen (with the Goldsmiths) provided two pageants ideally nine pageants in all would have been processed.

Records of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen show that the Crafts of the burgh provided religious pageants as required. When the Craft was incorporated by a Seal of Cause dated 2 May 1483 it comprehended: blacksmiths, goldsmiths, sadlers, cutlers and armourers. The goldsmiths eventually separated but at what date is uncertain.⁴⁷

It is most unfortunate that the only Craft Incorporation records to have survived in Edinburgh are those of the Incorporation of Hammermen. The only religious representation that can be extracted from the Hammermen records is that of 'Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents' as shown by their records for the years 1495, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1507 and 1516.⁴⁸ In the years 1495-1516 the following characters appear in the Hammermen records,

King Herod and variously four, five or six Knights; two Doctors; an Abbot of Narent, also known as an Abbot of Unreason, appointed by the Incorporation apparently to have the oversight of their own pageant; and four men in harness (i.e. in armour) with battle axes and four wives.

All the above are for duty on Corpus Christi Day.

We give below extract of a typical record concerning the 'Slaughter of the Innocents',
1507 (First Quarter). Fol 59.

Item gevin thaim one corpus xpi day in wyne throw the
gait & maynbraid in the processioune & one the Octaue
in aill xxxij d.

Item gevin herod	iiij s.
Item to his twa doctouris	ij s.
Item gevin to his fif knyghtis	v s.
Item to the four wiffis*	iiij s.

* The Mid-wives.

According to Burgh Council records of 1507 it was at that time customary for the Goldsmiths (members of the Incorporation of Hammermen) to produce a pageant of the 'Passion' for the particular benefit of the King and Queen. The record names neither the place where the pageant was given nor the time of the year. If produced out-of-doors on its own at Good Friday/Easter the area of the Tron is the most likely place. Even so It is very likely this pageant was staged again at Corpus Christi together with other pageants. It seems that the continental custom was to

bring out for the major processional celebrations any pageants that might have been paraded or performed individually at different times in the course of the year (see Chapter Two, Antwerp, Bruges, Bergen-op-Zoom, etc.). Thus far we have accounted for two pageants by one Craft Incorporation which leaves the pageants of seven other Craft Incorporations still to be accounted for.

We believe it possible that in Edinburgh there may have been an annual representation of the 'Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary', on the Feast Day, 15 August, or on some other day within the Octave. It may also have been processed at Corpus Christi in the form of a 'tableau-vivant' and when 'Triumphant and Joyful Entries' took place to welcome the Sovereign or some distinguished guest. Without claiming to have proved the case we offer this suggestion as a possible alternative explanation to that of Anna Mill who offered hers as a solution to the problem of an unnamed play performed before the Queen in 1554. Mill suggested the possibility that on Sunday, 18 August 1554, there may have been a performance of Lyndsay's *Satyre* on the new Greenside Playfield.⁴⁹

Support for our own suggestion is given by entries in the 'Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer' which show the regular attendance of the Sovereign at Mass on the Feast of the Assumption, 15 August, thus emphasising that the Sovereign regarded this as a very special day. An entry of 1494 records the Offering made by the King at Mass of the Assumption that year,

...gevin to the King, to affir vpone the Assumption⁵⁰
day of Our Lady, xviiij s.

A similar entry shows that in 1503 the King gave xxviiij s. and the

Queen, who accompanied him, gave xiiij s. The record for 1505 is as that for 1494, but this time the King gave xiiij s. There is a repeat of this entry in 1506.⁵¹ After that year there are thirty-seven similar Offerands. For a full discussion of the matter see the item at the end of this chapter headed The Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Another possible pageant that may have been included in the Corpus Christi celebrations is that of 'The Offering of the Three Kings' which records show was represented in the Tolbooth on 6 January 1554-5, the Feast of the Epiphany when they used,

...daillis, greit treis and pinschionos to mak a skaffald in the Tolbuith, to play the Clerk Play on,...

Once again we meet a typical scaffold made from planks and cross-beams laid across large upturned barrels.

It was the custom elsewhere to incorporate into the pageantry of 'Joyful Entries' for Sovereigns and other distinguished persons pageants that were brought out on other occasions. At the 'Joyful Entry' for Margaret Tudor, 7 August 1503, two religious pageants were given,

the Salutation of Gabrieli to the Virgyne, in saying Ave gratia, and sens after; the Sollempnizacion of the varey Maryage betwix the said Vierge and Joseph.*

*See further on this subject in vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'G'. THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND JOSEPH and APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES, ETC.

Thus far we have accounted for a possible six pageants provided by five craft incorporations, leaving three pageants provided by

three crafts to be accounted for. It would be unusual for a performance of a cycle of Corpus Christi Plays to begin with a play of the 'Slaughter of the Innocents' and strange if the 'Salutation' was not followed by plays of the 'Nativity' and the 'Visit of the Shepherds'. We have already accounted for the 'Offering of the Three Kings'. There remains one play to find. One possibility is a play before the 'Salutation' of the 'Process of Paradise' with the 'Four Daughters of God' as found in Gréban's and other French 'Passions'. Another possibility is the 'Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth'. These are all likely ones in order to make up a proper Nativity Cycle with the 'Slaughter of the Innocents'.

Thus the Edinburgh Corpus Christi Cycle of Plays might possibly have consisted of the following,

- i) The Process of Paradise.
- ii) The Salutation of Mary by the Archangel Gabriel.
- iii) The Marriage of Joseph and Mary.
- iv) The Nativity.
- v) The Offering (or, Visit) of the Shepherds.
- vi) The Offering (or, Adoration) of the Three Kings.
- vii) Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents.
- viii) The Passion, which might have been a Crucifixion and Resurrection Play. Other possible scenes could have been the Trials, the Mocking and Flagellation, and the Harrowing of Hell.
- ix) The Assumption and Coronation.

All these could have been staged simultaneously at the Tron after a procesion down the Canongate, perhaps from the Abbey grounds where they may have assembled. The Tron, hard by St Giles' Church, The Lawn Market and Castle Hill, was a rather more spacious area than it is now. The representations would have been performed on scaffolds by members of the Incorporated Crafts as the records of the Hammermen show. No doubt they were as illiterate as those at

Perth and Stirling⁵² (see below) and possibly would have performed under a Play Director who would have prompted from a play script.

Records of the Hammermen for 1522, 1524 and 1525 show that in those years they bought paper for,⁵³

ane litill buk.

It is possible this was wanted to make a play script.

As the Hammermen records show 'actors' walked or rode (i.e. on horseback) in the Corpus Christi Processions already robed for their parts, just as they did at Perth⁵⁴ and as at Perth there are no records to indicate that waggons carried the pageants. The only recorded use of a waggon at the Corpus Christi celebrations in Edinburgh is of a 'cart' used by the Hammermen in 1506 to provide a dance floor for dancers.⁵⁵

At Edinburgh as in the other burghs members of the Crafts who were not performing walked in the processions in 'honest' clothing, wearing their 'tokens', headed by their Deacon, banner-bearers and musicians, grouped together as one Craft in their authorized position of precedence,⁵⁶ Fleshers up in the front, the Hammermen at the rear next to the Sacrament.

It is very likely that as elsewhere in Scotland (as, for example, in Aberdeen and Perth) the annual Corpus Christi Procession would have included representations of saints in some form or another. The Hammermen records show the Craft observed the Feast Day of their Patron, Saint Eloi, but offer no details about a public representation featuring him in any form as was done at Perth. No

Craft records have survived in Edinburgh apart from those of the Hammermen.

The only other saint we know of from surviving records for whom there were public celebrations featured in a procession was St. Giles, Patron Saint of the Burgh and the Burgh Kirk. Visits to St Katherine's Well were in the nature of pilgrimages and there is nothing in records to suggest any kind of representations taking place there (see further in the following chapter, THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS.)

6) GLASGOW.

The Glasgow Burgh Council even after the Reformation, as late as the end of the sixteenth century, was still requiring its citizens to attend 'playe and pastyme' on a date that before the Reformation would have been called Corpus Christi. There is no record of what took place on the occasion. As by that time Robin Hood and the 'Bringing-in-of-Summer' were illegal it is unlikely to have been anything of that nature. A play based on the New Testament story of the Prodigal Son, popular in Protestant circles on the Continent, is a possibility. We know of no records giving details of any Pre-Reformation outdoor performances of religious representations in Glasgow .

7) HADDINGTON.

Haddington burgh records show that crafts were required to provide pageants/plays in connection with the annual Corpus Christi Procession. A record of 29 May 1532, concerned with precedence, is the earliest extant Haddington burgh record to make mention of the annual Corpus Christi Play. Another record of 21 April 1534

shows,

the craftis consentit....to play thair pagis on corpus christi day.

A record of 27 April 1542 shows that penitents were made to walk

...in their lenyn claythis on corpus Chrystis day afoir the sacrament all the tyme of the procession...

There are instances of penitents walking in General Processions (i.e. public processions about the town) on the Continent.

For examples see, APPENDIX 'A' to this chapter, under 8)

HADDINGTON, 27 April 1542, items i and ii.

A record of 5 November 1532 states that the Council instructed their Treasurer to refund 'robyn turnor' the cost of 'thre playe cottis', and a record of 6 May 1539 instructs the Treasurer to spend four pounds on 'play coittis to be keppit in the common kist', for use yearly. Records of 21 April 1534, 28 May 1537 and 14 June 1541, speak in each case of Crafts playing their pageants, which must mean more than merely processing 'tableaux' in dumb show. No details have survived giving details of these pageants.

As in Edinburgh Public festivities were organized by an Abbot of Unreason. His name first appears in 1534 and from time to time thereafter. On 23 December 1552 it was decided to discontinue the Office.

As we show below there are good reasons for believing that Haddington processed a pageant of the 'Assumption' on the Feast Day, 15 August.

8) LANARK.

Surviving Lanark Burgh Accounts show no payments to players but do show expenses relating to the repair and provision of various items for pageants/plays as this became necessary and not necessarily each time representations took place. The nature of the surviving accounts means that playing parts have to be inferred from items that might be associated with them. The Account dated 29 July 1507 appears to be concerned with expenses for two consecutive years and not for 1507 only. There now follow relevant extracts from the Burgh Accounts.

12 June 1488. ⁵⁷

Item, fulye and pakthreid	ij s.
Item, for the ger uplaying and down	vij d.
Item for the mendyn pf the pyk	vj d.
Item, for the costis of the procession of Corpus Christi	iiij s. iiij d.

The item 'ger uplaying and down' in the above Account may relate either to putting up a cross and taking it down after the play for a crucifixion scene, or it may relate to putting up and taking down stage scaffolding. We favour our first suggestion as subsequent accounts make it clear that the Lanark Corpus Christi play included a 'Crucifixion' scene, and contain nothing suggestive of stage scaffolds.

The item 'pyk' should be read as 'pike', a long wooden staff with a sharp metal tip. Subsequent accounts show that this item was for St George in a representation of 'St George and the Dragon'. References relating to 'tableaux' of St George and the Dragon at Corpus Christi can be also found in the Accounts of 1490, June 1503 and 29 July 1507. On St George and The Dragon see the following chapter and so for further references to St George and other saints in records quoted in this chapter.

1490. 58

Item, for a skeyne of pak threid and naillis	
and prenis down takin threid	viiij d.
Item, for beryn of the dragon and mendyn of it	viiij d.
Item, for beryn of the chapel and to St Mertyn	xij d.
Item, for redding of the stent	v li. xij s. vj d.
Item, for John Watson (Town Minstrel) for	
Corpus Christi day	ij d.

The word 'redding' means 'making ready, preparing', and we suggest 'stent' means 'tomb' (CSD - 'by extension erect a tomb') and so here we believe we have a reference to a scene of the 'Resurrection' of Christ. A similar item occurs in the Account of 29 July 1507 (see below). There are also references relating to 'tableaux' of St Martin in the Accounts for June 1503 and 29 July 1507.

June 1503. 59

Item, for beryn of the dragon	viiij d.
Item, to John Stenson for the futyn off the	
crois to Corpus Christi play	iiij d.
Item, for beryn of the dragon at the command of	
Sir Stein Lokhart	viiij d.
Item, for beryn of the chapel	iiij d.
Item, for a common ledder Rowe Schankis	ij s.

An item in the Accounts for 1507 shows that 'futyn' means, erecting in a hole,⁶⁰

...for futyn of ij tre and ane staypyll to the stox in the ayr vij d.

where 'ij tre' means two pieces of stout timber to which to attach the 'stox' in the local Court Room. It is possible the 'common ledder' was used in a scene of the 'Descent from the Cross', possibly followed by the scene of the 'Pietà'. See AYR above for a possible similar scene.

29 July 1507. 61

Item, for makyn of dragone, mending of chapel and Cristis cors	xiiiij d.
Item, for twa handis to Cristis cors	viiij d.
Item, for dychtyn of sellat and splentis to Sanct George	viiij d.
Item, for nails to the dragown and the chapell	iiij d.
Item, for beryn of hym	viiij d.
Item, for thred	iiij d.
Item, in gold fulye to Cristis pascione	vij d.
Item, gold fulye (to the) ladis crownis	iiij d.
Item, the skynis to Cristis cot	ij s.
Item, to the skynnis (and) padyen	ij s.
Item, for the makyn of it	viiij d.
Item, for ane paer of gl(uffis) to Crist	iiii d.
Item, for an quar of paper to bill the play withaw	viiij d.
Item, laid downe to the stent	vij li. viij s.
Item, to Bessie Bertram, at the shera command	xl s.
Item, to Will Mader to mak the actouris hattis of	viiij d.
Item for fulye to the s(ccermen) and the ladeis crownis and other crownis to the pla and parchment	xij d.
Item, for nalis to the chapell and mendyn of it and nalis	xij d.
Item, for the beryn of the dragone and the chapell	xvj d.
Item, for pak threid to tham	1/2 d.
Item, for parchment	vij d.
Item, for skynnis to Cristis cot	xxx d.
Item, for ane payr of gluffis to Crist	iiij d.
Item, for makyn of the cot	xij d.
Item, in paper to bill this last pla	iiij d.
Item, for fulye and parchment to the Kingis of Cullane	iiij d.

Several items in this Account clearly concern representations of the 'Passion and Crucifixion of Christ'. We have already had in the Account for June 1503 references to setting up the cross and a ladder for the 'taking down'. In this Account the items -

- a) '.....and Cristis cors', b) 'for twa handis to Cristis cors', c) 'gold fulye to Cristis pascione', i.e. to make a nimbus for Christ, d) 'the skynis to Cristis cot', e) 'the skynnis (and) padyen' (we suggest 'padding'), f) 'for the makyn of it', g) 'ane paer of gl(uffis) to Crist', clearly relate to a Passion-Crucifixion context. Items d, e, f and g recur lower down in the

Account which thus probably relates to two years. We suggest that here, as in the 1490 Account, 'stent' means 'tomb' and that the item 'gold fulye (to the) ladis crownis' is a parallel item to the last item in our list, viz. 'gold fuilye and parchment to the Kingis of Cullane'.

Bessie Bartram may have been employed in making play costumes. She may have made the body suit and the gloves for Christ out of the skins provided for her and she may have made the crowns for the Kings of Cologne, also possibly out of skin. The reason for the involvement of the Sheriff (the Account has 'sherra') could be that she had not been paid her dues and the Treasurer had been ordered to rectify this. It is difficult to say for which roles 'Will Mader' may have made 'actouris hattis'. Perhaps he made mitres for High Priests, normally called 'bishops' in Passion Plays. The 's(ccermen)' stands for the 'shearmen', who were clothworkers. The context suggests they may have played the parts of the Shophcrds, the foil being used to provide 'nimbi' behind their heads.

Assuming that players provided some of their own items or borrowed items from church we suggest the surviving Accounts relate to the following representations,

- i) St George and the Dragon.
- ii) A Nativity Cycle with the Visit of the Shepherds to the Stable at Bethlehem and the Adoration of the Three Kings of Cologne.
- iii) A Passion-Resurrection Cycle with scenes of the Crucifixion, possibly the Descent from the Cross and the Pietà, perhaps with other passion scenes, e.g. scenes of the Trials and the Flagellation, and the Resurrection.
- iv) A 'tableau' of St Martin accompanied by his Shrine.

Thus the Burgh Accounts reveal that at Lanark the Corpus Christi Play consisted of a Nativity-Passion Cycle with supporting pageants of St George and the Dragon and St Martin with his Shrine (see following chapter for a discussion of representation of saints)). All the items listed above might have been included in a Corpus Christ Procession, which might have been in the nature of a 'monstre', followed by scenes acted out on the local Playfield at the conclusion of the procession. In addition to the above the procession before the play may have included individual scenes brought out on certain other days of the year as 'tableaux' or 'tableaux-vivants'. Unfortunately no records have survived for any of the Lanark Crafts so that we have no details of their contribution to the Corpus Christi festivities.

Regarding the staging of the pageants and plays the Accounts yield little information on this subject and no information regarding a playfield or playing place. The record of 12 June 1488 shows that at Corpus Christi there was a procession, as do the various other items in the Accounts covering the cost of carrying (bearing) things, e.g. in the Account of 1490 (and in others) 'the beryn of the chapell' and 'beryn of the dragon' born along by men walking inside in accordance with common custom. There is reference to 'padyen' in the Account of 29 July 1507, which we have interpreted as meaning 'padding' (i.e. of the 'skins' worn by Christ), but even if taken to mean 'pageant' this does not necessarily indicate the use of a pageant waggon.

The Account of 29 July 1507 contains two items for 'to bill the play', as distinct from billing the procession, which suggests a

play performed at a playing-place after a procession or 'monstre' through the streets, which is what we find in other Scottish burghs where sufficient records have survived.

9) PERTH.

62

A history of Perth entitled *The Ancient Capital of Scotland* contains a list of religious pageants which the author affirmed had once been paraded annually in Perth in Pre-Reformation times on the Feast of Corpus Christi. This information was said to be based on a paper read to the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society in ca.1827. We spent much time trying to confirm this information by researching the matter in Perth and elsewhere. It was a fruitless search and we have concluded that the information given in the paper, which we were unable to track down, has nothing whatever to do with Perth and in fact relates to the City of Dublin. The matter is discussed in APPENDIX 'D' to this chapter entitled, NOTE ON THE PERFORMANCE OF CERTAIN RELIGIOUS PAGEANTS AND PLAYS IN PERTH ALLEGED BY SAMUEL COWAN IN 1904.

In Perth surviving records of the Corpus Christi Procession and Play are contained in the manuscript Hammermen Book, 1518-1568, and the manuscript records of the Incorporation of Wrights, 1519-1618 (in a state of confusion). Some useful information is also contained in the manuscript Kirk Session Books. We believe these records provide evidence for a cycle of the 'Earthly Paradise' with scenes of the 'Temptation, Fall and Expulsion' and a scene of the 'Crucifixion'. In addition there were a number of items featuring saints which are considered separately in the following chapter. Clearly this does not represent the whole of the Perth Corpus Christi cycle. There must surely have been a

Nativity Cycle to link the story of the Fall to the story of the reversal of its effects in the Crucifixion and Resurrection.

The MS Guild Book whilst making mention of the Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays supplies no details of their content. A record of 27 April 1485 shows a payment (by means of a fee for the sale of a tomb) to Robert Douthle, Chaplain, for his labours and expenses in connection with the Corpus Christi Procession and Play, as follows,

...soluit domino Roberto Douthle capellano pro suis laboribus et expensis factis in processione et ludo corporis xpi

Here we note the specific reference to a 'ludus'. This establishes the fact that at Perth Corpus Christi was celebrated by both a procession and a play. It is possible that Douthle was Master of the Choir School. A record of 30 August 1486 shows a further reward to Douthle for the same services to the Burgh, and a similar reward occurs under date, 7 March 1487/8. This time, however, there is no mention of the procession but it does not follow there was none. As we show later the procession was in the nature of a 'monstre' in which players walked to the playfield, grouped according to the scene they were later to enact.

A record of 13 January 1485/6 making him a Burgess and Guild Brother shows that John Anderson was Vicar of Perth at that time.

Extracts of Perth Hammermen Records.

Quotations from the Hammermen manuscript records via Anna J. Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*, are cited as, MS HB and folio number.

Quotations from *The Hammermen Book of Perth* (1518-1568, ed. Colin Hunt, Perth, 1889), are cited as, Hunt and page number.

a) 22 April 1518. MS HB Fol 2.

The playaris one corpus christie day and quhat money sall be payt till thame that is to say,

Item in promis till adam	vj d.
and cwa	vj d.
Sanct eloy	vj d.
The marmadin	viiij d.
The devill*	viiij d.
His mann	iiiiij d.
The angell and the clerk	vj d.
Sanct erasmus	viiij d.
The cord drawer	viiij d.
The king	xij d.
The thre tormentouris	liij s.
The best baner	xij d.
The vthir	vj d.
The stule berer and the harnes	vj d.
The devillis chepman	viiij d.
till Robert Hart for vestiment	iiiiij d.
Item for.....	ij d.
Item to the menstrell	ij s.
Subscrivit be Constantine Arthour, Dekyn.	

*re the 'devill' in various guises played by different persons see also 11 June 1522, 3 April 1548 and 23 May 1553.

A little later in the Accounts there is a further record concerning the keeping of Corpus Christi in 1518, which that year occurred on 3 June (Easter Day having fallen on 3 April),

b) 13 May 1518. MS HB Fol 2b.

Item giffin till Sir Johne Fargissoun, iiiij s. iiiij d.
 Item for the bwik, ij s.
 Item to the playaris vpone corpus christie day in all thingis, xv s.

It is not clear whether 'Sir Johne Fargissoun' was this Craft's Chaplain. Another item in the same Account says 'Item till our awin cheplan sancstaris (songsters) of the queir servand of the

kirk vpone Sanct Eloyis day, vij s.'. Perhaps he was Master of the Song School and Play Director/Producer. We meet Farguson again in a record of the Wrights of 1530.

The specific reference to 'the buik' and not to 'a buik', may be to a book of the play of some sort in which to record speeches and stage directions, notes, etc.

There is a discrepancy between the forecast of expenditure of 22 April 1518 at xiiij s. ij d. and the sum of xv s. recorded as paid on 13 May 1518. As Corpus Christi occurred in 1518 on 3 June this is a payment before the event or a late payment for 1517.

We believe the 'marmadin' in this context is a human-headed serpent for a scene of the 'Temptation, Fall and Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise'. The scene also included 'The devill' and 'his mann'. In the Cast List given under 23 May 1553 a 'serpent' is also listed. It is possible he was also in the list of 1518, perhaps under 'Item for....'. We suggest that when these three roles were included the devil appeared in three different forms - a) as himself, possibly wearing a black leather suit, b) as the human-headed serpent (i.e. the madmadin), and finally c) the Serpent after the Fall, as a dragon, condemned to go on his belly.⁶³

Mermaids are usually portrayed as beautiful long-haired women with a fish's tail from the waist down, holding a comb and mirror. Their song was enchanting and alluring, like that of the sirens, and like them they were 'femmes fatales', luring men to their

death. They are part of Scottish folk tradition, especially so with fisher-folk. Sometimes mermaids were believed to come up from the sea and discard their tails. In this they were akin to the seal-woman who cast off her skin in the moonlight and assumed human form. They were capable of living on land and entering into social relationships with men and women. For a time a mermaid may become, to all intents and purposes, an ordinary human being. Various places have their own particular legends about mermaids and their activities. Mermaids' relationships with men usually have evil consequences. The fish tail, which in popular fancy forms the characteristic feature of the mermaid, is of secondary importance. The true teutonic mermaid had no fish tail. Mermaids are featured in the *Niebelungenlied*.

In a folk cultural milieu which embraced mermaids and the evil consequences which might ensue from contact with them it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Tempter in the Garden of Eden could be represented as a mermaid, or marmadin, as they were known in Scotland, and probably looking very much like the better known maiden-headed serpent. As explained above a fish tail is not an essential feature of a mermaid.

Dunbar has a reference to the 'Marmadin' in his 'The Flyting', as reproduced in Craigie's edition of the Maitland Folio Manuscript (as also in Small's edition),⁶⁴

Cankerit caym tryte trowand titvilljus M(ar)madin
memmerkin monstour of all men...

Earlier lines show that the Marmadin came up from the sea, ate of the forbidden fruit and allied herself to the devil.⁶⁵ In the play of 'Adam and Eve' of Perranzabulo, Cornwall, Lucifer incarnates

himself as,⁶⁶

a fyne serpent made with a virgyn face and yelow
heare vpon her head.

This would give the appearance of a mermaid.

A wide-ranging study of 'The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and Mystery Play' appears in a monograph of John K. Bonnell, citing examples taken from all over Europe. Bonnell shows that the serpent with a human head was universal throughout the West.⁶⁷

It is possible 'The angell and the clerk' may have been roles in an 'Expulsion' scene. The 'Expulsion' section of the Chester 'The Creation, and Adam and Eve', has roles for four angels. Presumably a 'clerk' serving an angel would also be an angel (see below and record of 23 May 1553).

The scene possibly included 'God the Trinity' who is mentioned in the Cast List of 23 May 1553 when 'George Allan' played 'trinitie'. The item of 1518 'till robert hart for vestiment...' probably relates to the same role. We suggest, therefore, that 'God the Creator' may have appeared in the scene of the 'Earthly Paradise' where the Temptation and Fall took place and from which Adam and Eve were expelled.

The 1522 record quoted below has particular relevance to the above records a. and b. of 1518 quoted above,

11 June 1522. MS HB fol 7.

Item ressavit be the compositour ^a on Corpus Christi evin fra the maisters	vij s.
Item in primis deliuerit to Peter Curroure for ane new septour and aputtis	vij d.

Item deliuerit for the mending of the dewillis cot and play claythis	vj d.
Item for the mending of the speit and making twa signettis	iiij d.
Item for bloud and chars	ij d.
Item for braid and drink one corpus christi day to the playaris	iiij s.
Item gevin for ane unce of Birgie ^b thread	viiij d.
Item giffin for viij quarters of canves	xiij d.
Item deliverit to Sir William Davidson for twa torchis, and making of part of walx of our awin in Impis, and ane pound of his walx in the roll, and ane half pound in Impis ^c	xx s. ijd.

- a. The CSD says 'settler of disputes'.
- b. Bruges thread.
- c. The torches would be for the outdoor procession.
The Imps are probably votive lights to burn before
the image of St Eloi in the Guild Chapel.
Expenses for torches are also in the Accounts
of 1521 (Hunt, 12,13) and 1522-3 (Hunt 21).

We suggest that once again at Corpus Christi there were representations of the 'Temptation of Adam and Eve, the Fall and the Expulsion'. The mention of 'ane new septour' suggests that God the Creator may have been featured and the description of it as 'new' suggests the use of a sceptre in previous years. The 'septour' should not be allotted to the King (i.e. the Emperor Maximian) as the iconography of the time shows him with a sword in his left hand and without a sceptre.

The list contains several other items required as 'props' in the scenes of the 'Earthly Paradise' which we deduced from the items in the 1518 records. The 'apputtis' suggest an Earthly Paradise with fruit-bearing trees. Peter Curroure's name gives us a clue to the nature of 'apputtis'. A 'currier' was one who dressed and prepared coloured tanned leather. The 'apputtis' were probably wooden balls covered with leather, suitably coloured, perhaps even

gilded, to hang from the branches of a tree in the 'Earthly Paradise' set.

We suggest the 'speit' is the spade with which Adam worked on the land after he and his wife had been expelled from the 'Earthly Paradise'. On 'speit' see, *The English Dialect Dictionary* (vol.5, R-S, ed. Joseph Wright, London, 1904). We suggest the 'signettes' are ensigns (insignia, banners, flags, etc). The cost seems low, but this is for mending the spade and making the ensigns. It may not include the cost of materials.

Unlike the record of 22 April 1518 that of 11 June 1522 lacks details of the rewards made to individual players although it gives the cost of providing them with 'braid and drink'.

A number of entries in the records show expenses for washing and mending clothes, which we presume to be items used as play-clothes. We quote below extracts in which such items occur with other items relevant to Corpus Christi,

1 July 1520. MS HB fol 5.

Item to Kyttie Quhyt for the banner mending in David Saidlair's tyme, and now of the new	vij d.
Item for ane instrument ^a on Corpus Christies day at evin	iiij d.
Item for braid and vyne	iiij d.
Item for the leasing of the smyddie coll ^b	xijd.
Item for Sanct Erasmus cord ^c	liij d.

- a. The CSD defines as: formal narrative of proceedings.
- b. We suggest this was used as a store for play gear.
- c. See also 22 May 1518 and 11 April 1522.

1521. Hunt 12,13.

Item for the clathis weshing	vj d.
Item to Kyttie Quhyt for the claithis mending	iiij d.
Item to Thome Gardiner for four torchis making	xxxv d.

1522. Hunt 15.

Item giffin to our chaplen for wreting of the
comptis and weshing of the clathis at this tyme
eftir the contract.

vij s.

*Mention of the chaplain may indicate that robes,
such as albs, were borrowed from the church to
use as play costumes.

The item in the record of 11 June 1522, already quoted above,

Item deliuerit for the mending of the dcwillis
cot and play claythis

vij d.

22 May 1532. MS HB fol 9b.

Item payt apoun corpus cristis day and evin be
Dioneis Caveris* compositour in play clathis
and vthir expensis

xxxj s.

* The Craft Treasuer, a Bailie and by trade a
goldsmith.

The above is sufficient to show that the Craft took great care
in the costuming of their players.

From 1522 until 3 April 1548 there is no further direct reference
in the Hammermen records to the 'Earthly Paradise' cycle of
play scenes (but see below regarding the Hammermen's
representation of the 'Crucifixion'). That the Craft continued to
observe the festival is shown by a record of 8 June 1541. Hunt 43.

The quhilk day the dekyn and craft present for the tyme
ar all contentit in ane voce that ane prenteschip of twa
markis be spendit for the honestie* of the craft one
petermes evin and corpus christi day eftir none.

* May possibly relate to the smartness or correctness of
dress in the processions, etc.

Despite the 'lacunae' in the records there is, however, no reason
to suppose that the play cycle was no longer being represented as
part of the Corpus Christi celebrations. The reason may be that
over a period of some years a certain 'Iohannes walcar'
voluntarily took upon himself, with the approval of the Burgh

Council, not only to organize all the local festivities, but also to meet the expenses of these out of his own pocket. The Burgh Council were so grateful for this munificence that they granted Walker burgership and membership of the Guild Merchant without payment of the usual fees. It may be because Walker bore the expenses personally that expenses for the Corpus Christi plays are absent from surviving Craft records for some years. We give below extracts from the relevant record in the manuscript Guild Book

30 July 1546. MS GB page 231.

Quo die Iohannes walcar alias hatmaker factus est burgensis et confrater gilde burgi de Perth admissus ad libertatem eiusdem gratis.....
 We baillies counsail and decanis of craftis of the burght of pertht haveand considerationn of the surfat and gret expenss mayd be lohne walcar alias hatmaker apoun gemmys ferchis (farces) and clerk playis making and plaing in tymes bigane for our pleissur and the hail communitie herof as is notourlie knawin And is of gud mynd to continew and perseueir in the samyn in all tymes to cum....

The above record shows that 'Iacobo makbrek' who was 'Robeyn hwde' according to records of 16, 21 and 27 May 1545, was not the organizer of the Corpus Christi Procession, and was most probably employed to organize the festivities of the 'Bringing in of Summer', significantly the entries occur in the month of May (MS GB 225).

Walker may have continued his subsidy of the clerk plays up to and beyond 1553. We give below two extracts of Hammermen records that give the names of members of the Craft who had roles in the 'Earthly Paradise Cycle',

3 April 1548. Hunt 65.

This day the Deacon and Masters of the Craft passed a Statute regulating the conduct of their Craft. Among the list of names subjoined signifying their presence at the meeting are the following who we shall see took part in the play of the 'Earthly Paradise' in 1553. (We have added the roles from the 1553 record),

Andro Brydie: Adam.
 David Horne: Eve.
 Patrik Balmen: the mekle devill.
 Robert Colbert: the serpent.
 William Giffen or William Young: the Angell.
 Andro Thorskill: the Marmadin.
 Iohne Rogie and Thome Pait: to bear the banners.

23 May 1553. MS HB fol 29.

Item this instant yeir ar chosen playaris to wit,

George Allan: Trinitie.
 Andro Kelour: the Litell Angell.
 William Kynloch: ane vther.
 Andro Brydie: Adam.
 David Horne: Eue.
 Patrik Balmen: the Mekle Devill.
 Iohne Allan: the Devillis Chepman.
 Robert Colbert: the Serpent.
 Iohne Robertsoun: Sanct Eloy.
 Williame: the Angell.
 Andro Thorskaill: Marmadin.

Iohne Rogie and Thomas Pait to bear the banneris
 And the dekyn and haill craft hes chosin thir
 personnes vnder the pane of half ane stane of vax
 vnforgiffin.

The records make it clear that the corpus of Perth Corpus Christi plays included representations of a cycle of scenes portraying the 'Temptation, Fall and Expulsion of Adam and Eve' from the 'Earthly Paradise' with all the usual characters associated with such a cycle, played regularly over many years.

There is nothing in surviving Perth records giving firm evidence for a representation of a Nativity Cycle or even a part of it. It is possible, however, that the Perth Baxters, whose Patron Saint (like that of other Scottish Baxters), was St Obert may have provided a scene of 'The Slaughter of the Innocents'. A record of expenses of the Middelburg Bakers dated 13 December 1550 relating to St Obert's Day includes the following,⁶⁸

Item, paid for the horse on which Herod rode
in the procession sc.gr.3

which must remind us of a similar entry in the records of the Edinburgh Hammermen who undoubtedly provided a representation of 'The Slaughter of the Innocents' for the annual Edinburgh Corpus Christi celebrations (see, EDINBURGH above). See further on St Obert in the next chapter.

The following Perth Hammermen record of 1534 contains items of expenditure which taken together indicate the performance by the Hammermen Craft on Corpus Christi that year of a representation of the 'Crucifixion of Christ',

7 October 1534. (Andro Dogliss dischaireg). MS HB fol 12.

Item of xviiij s. viij d. for corpus christis play.
Item of ij s. for ane speir.
Item of gudstringis and caberis xij d.
Item of ij d. to the tailyeour.
Item of iiij d. to thame that buire the banneris one the octaue of corpus christi day.
Item of i d. for takattis.
Item of iiij d. for peper.
Item of ij s. for ane skyn.
Item of viij d. to Sir John Fargyssoun.*
Item vj s. viij d. to Sir James Gowndie.
Item of iiij s to Johne Gray.
Item of xl s. to Sir John Fergysoun.*
Item of xvj s. to drink silver.
Item of iiij s. to them that geid with the Provost at Midsomer.

Item of ij s. of wine in David Murray's.

*No doubt to be identified with the Sir Fargyssoun in the Hammermen's play of 1534.

We interpret the above as follows. We suggest the 'speir' was for the use of the Centurion, often named Longinus. We take 'gudstringis' to mean 'guideropes'. Support for taking 'stringis' to mean ropes comes from an entry in the Perth MS Court Book, fol 22, These ropes were to raise up the cross made from the 'caberis' after dropping it into a prepared hole. Some rope might also have been used to secure Christ to the cross.

1511.

Admission of George (Dunnyn).....to be parish clerk, by which he is obliged to employ a sufficient person to sing and play the organ during divine service and shall find stringis and cordis to the bells...

A similar entry occurs in October 1521. fols 44,5.

The 'takattis',⁶⁹ were probably small flat-headed nails to secure notices 'to bill the play' made from the 'peper'.

The latter could also have been used for making paper hats, the superscription at the head of the cross, and for scrolls for some of the actors to hold, to identify their role.

The 'skyn', as we saw in the case of Lanark, was probably to make a white body suit for Christ, partly to simulate nudity and partly to protect the actor in scenes of the flagellation and the crucifixion. It could also be used to conceal a bladder of blood to be pierced by the Centurion for whom a 'speir' was provided. The 'Item of ij d. to the tailyeour' was probably for making up this body suit.

A record of 22 May 1532 shows a payment for xxxj s. v d. for 'play clathis and vthir expensis' in respect of 'corpus cristi day'.

Rewards to two priests, 'Sir John Fargyssoun' and 'Sir James Gowndie' probably indicate that they either helped to produce the play, had parts in it, or perhaps took speaking roles. A Sir John Fargissoun is first mentioned in the records on 13 May 1518.

A Sir Iohne Farguson also appears in the 1530 records of the Incorporation of Wrights which shows he probably played the part of the Emperor Maxentius in the Craft's representation of the 'Martyrdom of St Katherine of Alexandria',⁷⁰

Item for ane crownn to Sir Iohne farguson ane plak.

It is reasonably certain that the Sir Iohne Ferguson of the 1530 record is to be identified with the Sir John Fargyssoun (or, Fergyssoun) of the 1534 Hammermen record.

Public collections towards the expenses of the Hammermen's play were made in Perth, on two separate occasions, according to records of 1520,

13 June 1520. MS HB fol 3b.

Item gadderit about the toune to furneis the play
afoir the processione, v s.viijd.

20 June 1520. Hunt 10.

Item procurit in the market be the
broddis xxviij s. vijd.

In 1520 Corpus Christi Day fell on 7 June. It is not clear when the collections were taken. It is probable they were both taken on days 'afoir the processione' took place and that the entries were made on the day the Treasurer received the cash from the

Collectors.

Where were the plays performed? We know of no record of the use of 'pageant-waggons' at Perth. The record of 22 April 1518, the item, 'The stule-berer (i.e. the throne-carrier) and the harnes' show the players walked in the procession with other Craftsmen who were taking part in the play and that no acting took place en-route. Had there been a play of St Erasmus 'en route' the actor playing the Emperor Maximian would have been seated on his throne, and the harness would have been worn and not carried. Not only was there ~~was~~ no play, there were no 'tableaux-vivants', not even 'tableaux', but costumed players, merely walking along, grouped according to the play they were to perform later.

We believe the plays were performed on the playfield which was situated on land to the west of the North Inch, from which it was separated by a kind of canal. It was variously known as 'The King's Garden', the 'Gilded Garden' the 'Giltten Herbar' and the 'Gilded Arbour'.⁷¹ It was from this garden that Robert III in 1395/6 witnessed the combat on the North Inch between the Clans Chattan and Kay.

The location of the Playfield may be more precisely defined as without the North Port, on the north side of the road leading to Hunting Tower, bounded by the road leading to the Feu House. This area is said to have been commonly called the Playfield and was situated at the end of the High Street. We understand that it still survives under this name in the Sasine Register. At this site was located the amphitheatre where Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of*

the Thrie Estaitis is said to have been performed and was almost certainly the place where the Corpus Christi plays of Pre-Reformation times were performed. An entry dated 23 June 1603 in the MS Register of Acts of the Council mentions the playfield and shows the continuation of a Pre-Reformation practice whereby the entry fee for the admission of a new burgess and guild brother was ⁷²

...payit to the support of the play to be playit
on tuesday in the playfield...

The Register does not name the play or give the location of the playfield. An entry in the Kirk Session Register dated 2 June 1589 records the Session's license 'to play the play' subject to conditions against swearing, etc., and adherence to the approved register of the play. The record does not name the play or give the location of the playfield.⁷³ We know of no surviving record of the setting up of stages or scaffolds on the playfield.

The Illiteracy of the Perth Craftsmen.

A record of 1560/1 shows that the Craftsmen of Perth were illiterate and a record of 1553 identifies the parts to be taken by various Craft Members in the representations at what must have been the forthcoming Feast of Corpus Christi on 1 June, 23 May 1553. MS HB fol 29.

Item this instant their ar chosin playaris to wit
george allan, trinitie; Andro brydie, adam; dauid
horne, eue; patrik balmen, the mekle devill; Robert
colbert, the serpent; Williame, the angell;
Andro kelour, the litill angell; Williame kynloch,
ane vther; lohne allan, the devillis chepman;
lohne robertsoun, sant eloy; Andro thorskaill,
marmadin; lohne rogie and thome pait to bear the
banneris. And the dekyn and haill craft hes chosin
thir persones vnder the pane of half a stane of vax
vnforgiffin

Although those who were given roles in the Perth plays are

described as 'playaris' records show that the Hammermen Craftsmen in Perth were illiterate in common generally with other Craftsmen in the rest of Scotland. A manuscript in the Perth Museum and Art Gallery shows that for the most part the members of the Incorporated Crafts were illiterate in as much as they were unable as late as 1560/1 to make their signature unless their hand was guided by someone who could write, such as a Notary. This was true not only of 'grass-roots' members but even applied to some who were members of the Burgh Council, as for example, Patrick Justice and Patrick Inglis. On the other hand James Davidstone, Deacon of the Hammermen, signed for himself, but William Wentoun, Deacon of the Skinners, had to have his hand led by Allane Justice, Notary. In all there were about two hundred and twenty Craftsmen who signed 'with our handis at the pen led be Allane Justice, notar'. (see vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'I'. THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS).

The names of all the players detailed in the Order of 23 May 1553 (above) are to be found in the last-mentioned list, in the long section devoted to those whose hand had to be led by the Notary. This illiteracy on the part of the entire company of players must mean that no player could have been supplied with a book of the text from which to learn his lines. It is possible that if the lines were few and simple a literate person, such as a Notary, could have coached players over an extended period. In 1553, however, Corpus Christi occurred on 1 June which would have allowed but one week for learning lines and rehearsing movements, unless the players had received notice before their names appeared

in the Order. Perhaps a prompter was employed either on the stage or concealed at some convenient place nearby. Again the performance could have been given in mime and gesture only. The most likely answer is that the number of lines to be spoken were kept to a minimum and that the same parts were played by the same players year in and year out after learning the part over a long preliminary period. A wise Director, however, would take the precaution of having a copy of the text to hand. The *Hammermen Discharge* of 13 May 1518 includes an 'Item, for the bwik, ij s.' in a Corpus Christi context. It may have been used by a Play Director in which to write his play-script and stage directions. Armed with this he perhaps stood conveniently ready to approach faltering players to prompt them from behind, after the manner of Perranzabulo, Cornwall, as reported by Richard Carew in 1602,⁷⁴ or perhaps centre stage as shown in the fifteenth century manuscript illumination of the play of the 'Martyrdom of St Apollonia'.⁷⁵

The inference of an entry dated 16 October 1545 in the Stirling Burgh records is that some Craftsmen were literate and some were illiterate. On that date the Council granted to the Craftsmen,

to have four personis of the wisest of thaim yeirlie
on the counsale.
And als has grantit to thaim that craftismen in tyme
cuming, ane or ma, sall bruike office of balyerie, thai
being fundin be the counsale able and qualifeit thairto,
.....

It is probable that in the middle of the sixteenth century most
⁷⁶
Craftsmen were still illiterate.

The Religious Representations of Perth in the Immediate Post - Reformation Period.

Entries in the manuscript Kirk Session Minute Books show that some craftsmen tried to maintain the observance of Corpus Christi in the old way after the Reformation. On 1 July 1577

'certain men' admitted 'playing corpus christeis play on Thursday, 6 June', ⁷⁷ which was the correct date for the observance of the feast that year. This was seventeen to twenty years after the suppression of the 'old religion' and the traditional Calendar of Holy Days, which suggests that those involved in attempting to continue the old customs were probably in touch with and encouraged by recusant catholic clergy and laity. It is possible, however, that such plays were tolerated by the new Church until 27 November 1574 when we learn of an 'act maid aganis superstitioun' ⁷⁸ by the Elders of the Kirk at Perth.

The record of 1 July 1577 says, ⁷⁹

the said play is idolatrous superstitiows and
also sclanderows alsweill be resson of the Idell day.

Another record of the same year (23 August) shows that a certain 'Thomas thorskaill' was one of the players who also carried an Ensign in the Corpus Christi play referred to above. An Andrew Thorskaill had played the 'marmadin' in the Hammermen's play of 1553. ⁸⁰

Again the same year (1 September) a certain 'Robert paull', a Skinner, admitted to being one of the players at Corpus Christi. ⁸¹ Clearly it had once been the custom of the Skinner Craft to supply a representation in the annual Corpus Christi Procession in Pre-Reformation times, but there are no records to show what it was. Records of 2 and 16 September, and 16, 29 December and 5 January (OS) of the same year show that a further eighteen men admitted being Corpus Christi players that year. This makes a total of twenty men plus the 'certain men' cited in the

record of 1 July.⁸²

On 15 December 1578 'gilbert robertsoun', who was probably a Hammerman, appeared before the Session accused of putting on 'the deuillis cott'. This could be 'the dewillis cot' (or a replacement for it) mentioned in the Hammermen record of 11 June 1522 and may indicate that the Hammermen had still been rendering an annual representation (at least of sorts) of scenes from the 'Earthly Paradise' Cycle of Pre-Reformation times. The Hammermen record of 23 May 1553 shows a 'Iohne robertsoun' as being given the part of 'sanct cloy' for that year.

Besides the Hammermen, the Wrights and the Skinners, evidence from Kirk Session records suggests that the Baxters (Bakers) participated in the annual Corpus Christi celebrations with a representation featuring their Patron Saint, St Obert and possibly a scene of 'The Slaughter of the Innocents' as already suggested above. For fuller information on the saints see the following chapter.

10) STIRLING.

For Stirling our knowledge of pageantry and plays is restricted to ca. 1535 when,

Ane Black freir, called Frear Kyllour, sett furth the
Historye of Christis Passioun in forme of a play, quhilk
he boith preached and practised opinlie in Striveling, the
King him self being present, upoun Good Friday in the
mornyng....

Kyllour and others were subsequently burnt at the stake in 1538,⁸³ but whether there was any connection between the play performance and his execution we are unable to say. The delay of three years suggests there is not.

THE DEATH, ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

Fourteenth century evidence from ABERDEEN shows that the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was of normal and regular observance in that burgh at that time. The dating of an Aberdeen burgh record of 1317, which of itself says nothing about any celebrations, suggests the feast was a well-established observance in the burgh, kept with an Octave,

Die lune in octabis (i.e. octavis) assumptionis beate
(Marie) Virginis.

An Exchequer record for 1358 shows expenses incurred by King David II when visiting Aberdeen during the Octave of the 'Assumption' that year. It is possible that at least on the latter date there may have been was a representation of some sort featuring the 'Assumption/Coronation', if not in the Burgh Church of St Nicholas (where at least there would have been a Solemn Mass) in association with the liturgy, then perhaps out-of-doors as part of 'Joyful Entry' celebrations when the sovereign entered the burgh. Many, however, will probably think this too early a date for such an event and indeed there is no evidence whatever for it. The only documentary evidence we have that might possibly suggest an outdoor celebration of the feast occurs in the list of pageants for Corpus Christi appended to the 'Ordour of corpus xpi processioun' dated 22 May 1531, when 'the tailyours' were ordered to produce annually a pageant of 'the coronatioun of our lady' as the culmination of a Passion/Crucifixion/Resurrection Cycle. The 'Ordour of corpus xpi processioun', however, does describe the Corpus Christi procession and pageants as conforming to 'the auld lovabill consuetudis and ryte of this burgh'.

In ARBROATH the Council's instructions of 28 July 1528 to their Treasurer to pay for a barrel of beer for,

al. ly & his companions.....to thair play...

may possibly relate to a forthcoming play of the 'Assumption' on 15 August. There are no surviving records of any other pageants or plays in Arbroath.

DUNDEE offers more positive evidence for the observance of the festival as shown by the following extract of records dated
84
23 May 1556,

Alexander pere to pay his debt to george rollok at the fest of the assumpcioun of our Lady callit the first fair of dunde....

The fact that a fair was held at that time suggests the possibility of its being preceded by a public procession of religious pageants as was the custom on the Continent before the opening of a Fair, as for example, the 'Procession of the Holy Blood', which preceded the annual Trade Fair in Bruges in early May and the Trade Fair in Bergen-op-Zoom at about the same time, preceded by an elaborate procession of religious pageants (see, Chapter Five. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1) BRUGES (BRUGGE), and 5) BERGEN-OP-ZOOM). If this was so the 'tableau-vivant' of the 'Assumption' which we tentatively suggest for Dundee (see above) may have been paraded on its own with musicians or the whole Corpus Christi Procession may have been paraded once again. A continental source that might have influenced Dundee is Dieppe with which Dundee had strong trading links, and where a Scottish Chaplaincy was established to minister to resident Scots and those passing through and where there is

record of the performance of a 'Play of the Assumption' annually on the Market Place from 1443 and the performance in the Church of St Jacques of a representation of the 'Assumption' with mechanical figures⁸⁵ (see CHAPTER FIVE. B. FRANCE. 2) DIEPPE. 1443). The Burgh Church of Dundee was dedicated to Our Lady and for this reason much would be made of her Feast Days.⁸⁶

A Dundee record of 13 September 1553 refers to the performance of 'the play at the vestfield',⁸⁷

The quhilk day elspet Kynmonthe is adiugit to delyver to Jhone fothringhame his trumpat gyuhil the said Jhone fothringhame lent to the said william in tyme of the play at the vestfield.

The play in question could have been a Play of the Assumption performed on 15 August which is the nearest major Feast Day preceding 13 September.

When considering representations in DUNDEE above we suggested that an item 'sanc thomas sper' which appeared in the Inventory of ca.1450 indicated the possibility of the regular representation in Dundee of a play of the 'Death, Assumption and Coronation of Our Lady'. We suggested this because the spear is an indication that someone played the role of St Thomas, and the spear is the symbol that signifies his martyrdom in India. Thus unless the saint was presented as a mere 'tableau' he would have been presented in an active role. His most notable role at that time was in representations of 'The Death and Assumption of the Virgin'. The legend of St Thomas's presence at the death-bed comes from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus which relates how when the time of the Virgin's demise approached she summoned to her death-bed the disciples who were abroad spreading the gospel. They were conveyed

thither in clouds. St Thomas, who was in India, was brought in a special cloud. When her 'Assumption' occurred Thomas refused to believe the testimony of his own eyes, whereupon the Virgin let down her girdle for him to touch and thus be convinced. As a consequence the play of the 'Assumption' was often called 'St Thomas of India'.⁸⁸

We suggest it is possible EDINBURGH may have had an annual pageant/play of the 'Assumption and Coronation' of the Virgin, one possibly having taken place in Edinburgh on 15 August 1554 or very soon afterwards. This suggestion receives support from official accounts from 1494 onwards which show regular payments to the Sovereign,

...to offir vpone the Assumption day of Our Lady..

Such entries, of course, do no more than provide evidence for the Sovereign's attendance at Mass on the Feast Day, but they also show the day was regarded as a very special day, of an importance approaching that of Christmas and Easter.⁸⁹

According to an Edinburgh council record of 12 October 1554 the burgh placed the undermentioned items of play-gear in the safe-keeping of the painter Walter Bynning, who helped in the staging of the plays by providing stage furnishings and effects and making-up players' faces,⁹⁰

...providand alwys that the said Walter mak the play geir vnderwritin furthcumand to the town quhen thai haif ado thairwith, quhilkis he hes ressaut, viz., viij play hattis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter, ane fulis hude, ane septour, ane pair angel wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaplet of tryvmphe.

These items might cover a cast of thirteen or fourteen people. Anna J. Mill⁹¹ whilst agreeing the items 'are suggestive of any stock piece' went on to say 'it is not without significance that they can be definitely assigned to individual characters in Lyndsay's play' of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*. The Robert Charteris edition of 1602, which according to McDiarmid 'reflects its performance on the Greenside at Edinburgh 12 August 1554', gives a cast of forty-three.⁹²

According to a burgh record of Saturday, 18 August 1554, the Council ordered their Treasurer to,

pay the xij menstrales that past afoir the convoy
and the plaaris on Sondag last bypast,* xl s.

* 12 August.

Mill suggested the possibility of the *Satyre* being performed on the new Greenside Playfield on the above date.⁹³ Some writers have accepted Mill's conjecture as established fact, as, for example, Matthew McDiarmid, 1967 (see above).⁹⁴

We suggest, however, the possibility that the above payment relates to a 'monstre' in the French tradition to publicise a performance of the play of the 'Assumption of Our Lady' to be given possibly before the Queen Regent the following Wednesday, 15 August, the Feast Day of the 'Assumption', (or some subsequent nearby date) at what up to then was the customary playing place known as the Tron or Castle Hill. In view of the Regent's recent elevation to the Regency her presence on such an occasion would have been expected. It is known she liked to witness such events as shown by her presence at the Corpus Christi Play given on 24 May that year.

Mill's original suggestion for the performance of Lyndsay's play on 12 August 1554 on the new Greenside Playfield is based partly on the Edinburgh council record of Saturday, 18 August 1554, quoted above, which shows there was a procession on Sunday, 12 August with minstrels and players. Presumably Mill thought the procession etc. of 12 August may have been a 'monstre' for Lyndsay's play to be performed after the procession through the town on the way to the new Greenside Playfield. Mill's suggestion also depends partly on the applicability to Lyndsay's play of the items passed to Walter Bynning for safe-keeping. A total of forty-eight 'personnae' were required to mount the *Charteris Satyre*. Some of the parts could have been played in ordinary everyday clothes, some in the uniform of the office they represented, for example, the Sergeants and Bishops, etc. Others could have borrowed from the church or from the Wardrobe of the Lyon King of Arms, (Lyndsay, himself). It might, however, possibly have been necessary to get some costumes made up to suit certain distinctive roles. It is possible that costumes used at the performance given at Cupar on 7 June 1552 were used once again in 1554.⁹⁵

Even allowing for much of the costuming being done as suggested above we believe the items passed into Bynning's safe-keeping were not only insufficient but also in some regards inapplicable to the staging of the *Satyre*. We think Mill was nearer the truth when she said the items handed to Bynning were suggestive of any stock piece and disagree with her suggestion that all the items can be definitely assigned to individual characters in Lyndsay's play. They are a small miscellaneous collection of items that might have been of use in a number of different plays which made no great demands on staging and costuming. Further the Council were insistent that the items passed to Bynning should be readily

available for future use. We think it unlikely that the Council contemplated the regular performance of Lyndsay's play. We suggest that some of the items in question relate to a play of the 'Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin' which would probably be performed annually at the Tron and Castle Hill on the 15 August. Probably at least a 'tableau-vivant' representation of it might have been paraded at 'Joyful Entries'.

We criticise Hamer's suggested allocation of play gear⁹⁶ as follows. In his study of the *Satyre* he gives 'Divyne Correction' a sword, wings and a wand, treating this 'persona' correctly as an angel, but allots him no 'angel hair'. He does, however, allot 'angel hair' to the virtues, 'Veritie' and 'Chastitie', but this is contrary to the artistic convention of the time whereby 'virtues' were not represented as angels.⁹⁷ Furthermore it follows that if these two virtues had wings there would have been no wings for 'Divyne Correction'. Bynning had only one pair of angel wings to go with the 'twas angell hair' and even here we have to count a pair of wings as equivalent to four single wings if the two angels are both to have wings.

Lyndsay's play requires two regal crowns, such as are proper to kingly rulers, one for 'Rex Humanitas' and one for 'God the Father' (the 'Heavenly King') but Bynning was given charge of but one crown, and the chaplet listed can hardly be regarded as a crown proper for either role.⁹⁸ We also wonder to whom Mill would have allocated the 'fulis hude', perhaps to one of the three Vices, but what about the other two? And would 'fulis hudes' have been entirely appropriate? Of course, it could be said that the deficiencies to which we have referred could have been made up from other sources of which we are not told. Although difficulties

undoubtedly remain in the allocation of all the items placed with Bynning to a play of the 'Assumption and Coronation' (for example the 'fulis hude') we believe those we have cited are more applicable to such a play than to the *Satyre*, particularly in view of the 'chaplet of triumphe'. We suggest this item was used to crown the Virgin after her 'Assumption' performed on Wednesday 15 August (or thereabouts) at the Tron after the 'monstre'.

A chaplet was worn by the Virgin in the early fifteenth century Valencia Assumption Play, as shown by the following play instruction,⁹⁹

When this is over, Mary is to walk towards Christ.
and when she is in front of him she is to kneel humbly.
And she is to make as if to take off the chaplet...

The *Oxford Dictionary* defines 'chaplet' thus,

A wreath for the head, usually a garland of flowers or leaves, also of gold, precious stones, etc.; a circlet, coronal...A bearing representing a garland of leaves with four flowers at equal distances.

There are, however, other facts which support our suggestion.

The Town Treasurer's Accounts for 1553-4 contain the following item,¹⁰⁰

Item, payit to the warkmen that completit the playfield, be
ane precept datit the xvij day of August, xxxiiij li.

This means the Treasurer paid the workmen at the earliest on 17 August, five days after it is suggested Lyndsay's play took place on the new Greenside Playfield. Of course, there is the possibility that the Treasurer was tardy in paying the men their wages. Further the workmen were paid only for the preparation of the playfield. Other work that needed to be done was the building of a house for the Queen, another house beside it called a 'Convoy House', a Players' House, a scaffold about the latter, and boards

were needed for the playfield, perhaps to build a stage. This work was done under the supervision of the Master of Works, Sir William M'Dougall, at a cost of.....xvj li. v s. iiij d.¹⁰¹

Unfortunately no date is given for this payment. It occurs with entries extending from 18 August to 18 October 1554. We suggest it refers to a performance of Lyndsay's *Satyre*, which could not have been played on the new Greenside Playfield on 12 August as the necessary preparations had not been completed, and suggest it was performed there on a date subsequent to 18 August and before 18 October.

A HADDINGTON Burgh Council Order of 29 May 1532 states that the Smiths' Craft will be allowed to pass under the town's banner in the Corpus Christi Procession that year (actually the day following, 30 May) and on the Octave Day, but they are to ensure that they make a banner of their own for,

the nixt procession....& to be maid or
(i.e. before) the assumption of our laydy nixt to cum.

From which we infer that there was to be at least a procession through the streets on the forthcoming Feast of the Assumption.

Scotland was by no means on its own in celebrating the Feast of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin in pageantry & plays. In Beverley, England, the 'Coronation' was featured in a Corpus Christi Procession in 1520; there are records of performances of the 'Assumption and Coronation' in Chester in 1489/90, and

1498/99; at Lincoln there was for many years an annual performance of such a play, both in the Cathedral and out of doors (see Chapter One); there are records of pageants of the 'Assumption' in London in 1520, 21 and 1522, and in York, over a long period, there must have been public performances of the 'Assumption and Coronation' as shown by surviving texts.

Texts of plays of the 'Death of the Virgin', the 'Assumption of the Virgin' and the 'Coronation of the Virgin' have survived in the York Cycle (Plays XLIV, XLV and XLVI). Such a play once formed part of the Chester Cycle but has been lost and it is believed to have been torn from the Wakefield (Towneley) Cycle. The best surviving version from England is that of the 'Ludus Coventriae' (Lincoln) Cycle.

There are few surviving records from either France or Germany of plays of the 'Assumption and Coronation'. An Innsbruck manuscript of 1391 contains a play of the 'Destruction of Jerusalem' which includes a representation of the 'Assumption of Mary'.¹⁰² In the Low Countries there are records of such representations from various parts of the region. The most famous of all was that of the Annual 'Ommegang' of the 'Assumption' in Antwerp (witnessed by Dürer) which was probably instituted as early as 1398 (see Chapter Five). For more details of performances outside Scotland see, vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'E'. THE DEATH, BURIAL, ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

PRE-REFORMATION ICONOGRAPHY.

See Appendix 'F' to this chapter for reproductions of artistic artefacts and remains illustrative of the iconography which determined the way the pageants and plays of Pre-Reformation times were costumed and staged. The items are set out in the chronological order of the typical Cosmic Cycle, followed by Corpus Christi, the Trinity and saints, and scenes from a Middle Rhine altar-piece of ca.1410. In particular the Banff and Oberammergau Pictàs and the Guthrie and Abingdon Missal 'Resurrections' amply show the iconographical unity of the Western Church in Pre-Reformation times.

Postscript.

Long after our research and checking of records had been completed and at the concluding stages of the typing of this Thesis a version of *The Perth Guildry Book 1452-1601* was published by the Scottish Record Society, edited by Marion L. Stavert (New Series No. 19, dated 1993 and circulated November/December 1994). It is not a verbatim copy of the original. Whilst the more interesting entries are given in full many entries are given in summary form only. It offers no information about pageantry and plays in Perth which is not already to be found in Anna J. Mill's *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Thesis of July 1924).

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX.

1. Ian B. COWAN *St Machar's Cathedral in the Early Middle Ages* (Friends of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, Occasional Paper No.6, 1980) 6.
2. Richard AXTON *European Drama of the Early Middle Ages* (Hutchinson University Library, London, 1974) 46-60; William TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (CUP, 1978) 16; Peter DRONKE *The Medieval Lyric* (Hutchinson's, London, 1968/78) 78, 97.
3. William Croft DICKINSON ed. *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407* (SHS, Third Series, 49 [1957]) 85, 6, 7, 9, 90, 1.
4. Thomas WRIGHT ed. *Early Mysteries and Other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Nicholas and Son, London; Techener, Paris; F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig; - 1838) vii-xi; see, Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, 1933, 2 vols.) vol.1, 686, re the 'Fragmenta Burana'. This collection is believed to be the thirteenth century repertoire of a band of 'scholares vagantes', which probably means their performances were given over a wide German-speaking area.

Further references to 'Bele Aelis' are to be found in: J. BÉDIER 'Les plus anciennes danses françaises' *Revue des Deux Mondes* 31, 1 (1901) 58, 398-424; R.L. GREENE ed. *The Early English Carols* (OUP, 1935) cxiv; Karl REICHL 'Religiöse Dichtung im Englischen Hochmittelalter - Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College, Cambridge' (published in the Series - *Münchener Universitäts-Schriften Philosophische Fakultät*; Band 1, 1973) Item 68, 'Bele Aelis Predigt', 379-86; Tony HUNT 'De la chanson au sermon; *Bele Aelis* et sur la rive de la mer' *Romania* (Revue Trimistritile, Société des Amis de la Romania, Paris, 1983) 434-56; YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* vol.1, 534, 5.

See also, Eduard HARTL ed. *Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel; Das St Galler Passionsspiel* (Halle, 1952)

5. Jules-Marie RICHARD (Ancien Archiviste du Pas de Calais) *Le mystère de la Passion* Texte du manuscrit 697 de la Bibliothèque d'Arras (Imprimerie de la Société du Pas-de-Calais, 1891) 116-19. See also, Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1954) 181.
6. DRONKE *The Medieval Lyric* (see n.2) 192; J. ROBERTSON *Concilia Scotiae: Ecclesiae Scoticae Statuta, 1225-1559* (Bannatyne Club, 1866, 2 vols.) vol.2, 38. The Scottish History Society reissued this volume in 1907.
7. Anna J. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Publications No.XXIV: Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D. of the University of St Andrews July 1924 - William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., Edinburgh and London, 1927) 119.

8. Duncan MacGREGOR ed. *The Rathen Manual* (Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, vol.4 [special issue] 1905) 16, 17, 58-61, especially 16 and 59.

The 'make-up' of the pageant/play remained constant, as far as can be seen, all down the years until the last mention on 25 June 1546, with the exception that there is no mention of Moses in the record of 30 January 1505/6. He appeared as 'Moyses' in the earlier record. The subsequent omission is probably an oversight.
9. See vol.2 APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'I'. THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS. 1) ABERDEEN. iv) Hammermen. and vi) Tailors.
10. George ENGLAND & Alfred W. POLLARD ed. *The Towneley Plays* (EETS ES 71 [1897] and various reprints) Play No.IX, 'Cacsar Augustus', 78-85.
11. ENGLAND & POLLARD 56-64; 64-78 and Richard BEADLE *The York Plays* (Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., London, 1982) Play No.XI, Moses and Pharaoh, 100-110.
12. YOUNG *DMC* vol.2, 253.
13. James KINSLEY *William Dunbar - Poems* (OUP, 1958) 'Blyth Aberdeane, thow beriall of all tounis', 16-18, especially lines 17-40.
14. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* 56,7.
15. YOUNG vol.2, 251, nn.3,4,5 & 252.
16. AEM. M. WYBRANDS *Studien en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische theologie* (W. Moll and J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, Amsterdam, 1876) vol.3, 193-290, 'Opmerkingen over Het Geestelijk Drama Hier Te Land in de Middeleeuwen', 208; J.H. GALLÉE *Bijdrage Tot Geschiedenis der Dramatische Vertooningen in de Nederlanden Gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (Academisch Proefschrift (i.e. Thesis) Aan de Hoogeschool te Leiden, A.C. Krusseman, 1873) 78.
17. As n.16.
18. YOUNG *DMC* vol.2, 253-5;
Karl YOUNG 'Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification' *Speculum* 5 (1930) 97-102, especially 100.
19. L. Gilliodts van SEVEREN ed. *Inventaire des Chartes de la Ville de Bruges* (Edward Gailliard, Bruges, 1871) Introductory Volume, 106, n.6.
20. GALLÉE (see n.16) 77.
21. Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.) vol.1, 245.

22. Le Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, les Mystères* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 22,5; Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1954) 182.
23. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 22,5; 211-14, 212; FRANK *The Medieval French Drama*, 182.
24. Neil C. BROOKS 'Processional Drama and Dramatic Processions in Germany in the Late Middle Ages' *JEGP* 32 (1933) 141-71, 149, 151,3.
Wolfgang F. MICHAEL 'Das Deutsche Drama des Mittelalters' *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* 20 (de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 1971) 54.
25. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi Editore, 1891, facsimile 1966, 2 vols.) vol.2, 204.
26. John Black GRACIE *The Presentation in the Temple, a Pageant as originally presented by the Corporation of Weavers in Coventry* (Now printed from the books of the Company, with a Prefatory Notice, Abbotsford Club, London and Edinburgh, 1836) Prefatory Notice, 1-17 (with acknowledgements to the London Library). See also vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN. The Play of the Presentation of the Coventry Weavers.
27. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN. 1470-1. The Dean of Guild's Accounts.
28. This Chapter. 5) PERTH. Item: The Illiteracy of the Perth Craftsmen.
29. Edmund CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, 390-2.
30. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1957,) vol.1, 330; CREIZENACH (see n.21) vol.1, 317.
31. George PRYDE ed. *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624* (SHS Third Series, 28 [1937]) 83.
32. See INTRODUCTION to this volume A SURVEY OF EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS.
33. Dundee Burgh and Head Court Register, vol.1, known as the Book of the Kirk, fol 170b - held with volumes 2 and 3 in the Burgh Archives, City Chambers, Dundee.
34. Jacob of VORAGINE *La Légende Dorée par Jacques de Voragine traduite du latin et précédé d'une notice historique et bibliographique par M.G. B[runet]* Première (-deuxième) Série (C. Gosselin, Paris, 1843, 2 vols.) see, 'La Légende de l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge', 293-305, 295,6.
35. YOUNG *DMC* vol.2. 110-17, 113,4.

36. De JUILLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, les Mystères*, vol.2, 187.
37. Hardin CRAIG re-ed. *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (EETS ES 87 [1902 - second edition, 1952]) 86.
38. J.A.W. BENNETT ed. *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose from MS Arundel 285 and MS Harleian 6919* (STS. Third Series 23 1949) 20, lines 407-12.
39. J.S. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables of late Medieval Date in Scotland' *PSAS Sixth Series* 2 (1927-8) 197-224, 217. Edmond POGNON *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Liber S.A. & Éditions Minerva S.A., Fribourg-Genève, 1979/83) 96.
40. Anna J. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (see n.7) 175.
41. David CALDERWOOD *History of the Kirk of Scotland, 1524-1625* ed. Thomas THOMSON and David LAING (Wodrow Society, 1842-9, 8 vols.) vol.1, 141.
42. Alexander MAXWELL *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register, with additions from contemporary annals* (David Douglas, Edinburgh and William Kidd, Dundee, 1884) 415,6.
43. *ALHT* vol.2, 229.
44. *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Edinburgh, 1143-1540* (SBRs, 1871) 191.
45. Robert PITCAIRN ed. Lord HERRIES (Sir John MAXWELL of Terregles) *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots* (Abbotsford Club, 1836). See MILL 190, n.1.
46. MILL (see n.7) 248.
47. Hugo ARNOT *The History of Edinburgh From The Earliest Accounts To The Present Time* (William Creech, Edinburgh, 1788) 527, 525.
48. Vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. 6) EDINBURGH.
B) Extracts from the Accounts of the Edinburgh Incorporation
Hammermen.
49. MILL (see n.7) 181,2.
50. *ALHT* vol.1, 238.
51. " vol.2, 254; vol.3, 63, 281.
52. See below, 9) PERTH, item headed, The illiteracy of the Perth
Craftsmen.
53. As n.47, Extracts for the years: 1522,4 and 5.

54. See below, 9) PERTH.
 55. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. 6) EDINBURGH.
B) Extracts from the Accounts of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen.
 56. As n.54. 6) EDINBURGH. A) Extracts from the Burgh and other Official Records, 15 May 1509, 19 May 1531. See also, APPENDIX 'I'. THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS. 4) EDINBURGH, and especially Items xii and xiii.
 57. Robert RENWICK *Extracts from the Records and Charters of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, 1150-1722* (Carson and Nicol, Glasgow, 1893) 3.
 58. As n.56, 7.
 59. As n.56, 13,14.
 60. As n.56, 18.
 61. As n.56, 16-18.
 62. Samuel COWAN *The Ancient Capital of Scotland* (Simpkin, Marshall and Others, London, 1904, 2 vols.) vol.1, 383-4.
 63. Richard BARBER and Anne RICHES *A Dictionary of Fabulous Beasts* (Macmillan, London, 1971) 101, 172; F.Marian McNEILL *The Silver Bough* (William Maclellan, Glasgow, 1957, 4 vols.) vol.1, 'Scottish Folk-Lore and Folk Belief', 120,1; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911 edition) vol.17, 171,2. For the 'Niebelungenlied' see, Norma L. GOODRICH *The Medieval Myths* (The New American Library, New York, 1961) viii, 126,7, 153, n.7, 155. See also below, Hammermen record of 23 May 1553.
 64. W.A. CRAIGIE *The Maitland Folio Manuscript* vol.1 (STS NS 7, 1919) Poem XXXVI, 'The Flyting', 71-88, 87, lines 513,4.
 65. As n.63. 80, lines 289-96.
 66. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* vol.2, 391. See also, H. DEIMLING re-ed. *Chester Plays* Part I (EETS ES 62, reprinted 1959)) Play No.II, 'Adam', para.25, lines 193-6; Osborne WATERHOUSE re-ed. *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays* (EETS ES 104, 1909) Play No.XXXIII, re the serpent in the Norwich Play of 'Adam and Eve' of 1534 when the serpent wore 'a wig, a crown, and a cote with hosen and tayle steyned'.
- A maiden-headed serpent looking very much like a mermaid, apart from the clawed feet, appears in Edmond POGNON ed. *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Liber S.A., & éditions Minerva, S.A., Fribourg-Genève, 1979/83) 49.
67. John K. BONNELL 'The Serpent With A Human Head In Art & Mystery Play' *The American Journal of Archaeology* 21 (The Archaeological Institute of America, 1917) 255-91.

68. W.S. UNGER *Bronnen Tot Geschiedenis van Middelburg in den Landsheerlijken Tijd* (Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 3 vols., 1923, 1926 & 1931) vol.3, 583,4.
See also Chapter Five of this volume, A) THE LOW COUNTRIES, 3) MIDDELBURG, and vol.2 APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. Item ii) Extracts of Middelburg Craft Guild Accounts.
69. J.O. HALLIWELL *Dictionary of Archaic Words* (John Russell Smith, London, 1850 - facsimile by Bracken Books, London, 1989) 846.
70. MILL (see n.40) 274.
71. COWAN (see n.61) vol.1, 72-5; John ROW *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August 1637* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1842, 2 vols.) vol.2, 312.
72. Perth MS Register of the Acts of the Council, vol.1, fol 51.
73. John LAWSON *The Book of Perth* (T.G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1847) 184.
74. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (see n.65) vol.2, 390.
75. As n.73, 390,1; Glynne WICKHAM *The Medieval Theatre* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1974/77) Plate No.23.
76. Robert RENWICK ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D.1519-1666* (The Glasgow Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society, 1887) 41.
77. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (see n.7) 275; LAWSON (see n.72) 124.
78. MILL 276. See entry dated 16th.December 1577.
79. As n.76.
80. As n.76. Lawson gives the 13th. and not the 23rd.
81. As n.76.
82. Mill 275,6,7.
83. David LAING ed. *The Works of John Knox* (Wodrow Society, 1846-64, reprinted 1895, 6 vols.) vol.1, 62.
84. Dundee Burgh and Head Court Register, vol.3, fol 48.
85. See Chapter Five. B. FRANCE. 2) DIEPPE, 1443.
86. Cosmo INNES 'A Few Notices of Manners from the Older Council Books of Dundee' *PSAS* 2 (1859) 347-50, 348.
87. Dundee Burgh and Head Court Register; MILL 173; MAXWELL *The History of Old Dundee, etc.* (see n.42) 384.

88. Hardin CRAIG *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (OUP, 1955) 80,1.
89. ALHT vol.1, 238; vol.2, 254; vol.3, 63, 281.
90. *Edinburgh Burgh Records* vol.2, 1528-57 (SBRs) 198.
91. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (see n.7) 181,2-n.3.
92. Matthew McDIARMID ed. *A Satire of the Three Estates - Sir David Lindsay* (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., London, 1967) 9.
93. As n.90.
94. As n.91.
95. James KINSLEY ed. *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, Sir David Lindsay* (Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1954) See 39,40 - 'Dramatis Personae'; McDIARMID 8; Peter HAPPE ed. *Four Morality Plays - The Castle of Perseverance, Magnificence, King Johan, Ane Satire of the Thrie Estaitis* (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1979) Text of the *Satire* 448-615. On performances at Cupar, Fife, 1552 and Edinburgh, 1554, see Introduction, 58-60.
96. The *Satyre* has no rubrics detailing costuming. This has to be deduced from the text as is done in Douglas HAMER ed. *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (STS 1931-6, 4 vols.) vol.4, 151-3, 152.
97. WICKHAM *The Medieval Theatre*, see Plate No.24.
98. KINSLEY 43.
99. Peter MEREDITH & John E. TAILBY *Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series 4: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Michigan, 1983) 230-9, 238.
100. *Edinburgh Burgh Records* (see n.89) vol.2, 282.
101. As n.99. 110.
102. Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.) vol.1, 231. On the MS, see 227.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH
PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS

THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS.

Note: References are not normally given in this chapter for the various burgh records to which we refer. These will normally be found in vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. under the relative burgh and date.

According to an ABERDEEN burgh record of 1442 the saints outside the Holy Family represented in the Annual Candlemas Offerand were,
 'Sancte bride', and 'Sancte helene'.

We have already explained in Chapter Six [1) ABERDEEN. Item: An Interpretation of the Candlemas Orders of 1442 and 30 January 1505/6] that St Bride was widely regarded as a 'Sponsus Christi' ('Bride of Christ'). In the Scottish Highlands she was still regarded as the heathen Goddess of Fertility.¹

It is difficult to account for St Helena's inclusion in a Nativity Cycle. It is possible she was regarded as a model mother in as much as her son, the Emperor Constantine, granted toleration to Christians and eventually became one himself.

According to the Appendix to the Aberdeen Burgh Order of 1531 the saints represented in the Annual Corpus Christi Procession were,

 St Sebastian, St Lawrence, St Stephen, St Martin,
 St Nicholas, St John the Baptist, St George.

SS Sebastian, Lawrence, Stephen, were all shown with their tormentors - i.e. St Sebastian being shot through with arrows; St Lawrence being roasted on a grid and St Stephen being stoned. St Martin was probably shown sharing his cloak with a beggar; St Nicholas shown either with the 'tres clerici' or with the 'tres filiae' or perhaps even with both; St John Baptist carrying a lamb to represent the 'Agnus Dei'.

The above may possibly have been represented in the form of 'tableaux' or 'tableaux-vivants' in which the martyr saints were identified by the instruments of their martyrdom and other saints by their traditional attributes. It is unlikely that St George would have been processed on foot without the dragon. As we believe a performance was to take place in church we think it more likely that in Aberdeen they observed the same custom as we have seen they did in Perth (see Chapter Six, 9) PERTH). There costumed players walked in groups according to the scene they were to represent, in one instance, at least, with a man carrying a stage 'prop'. There was no performance of any kind en-route.

None of the saints represented at Aberdeen were born in Scotland or had any connection with the country in their lifetime. None were patrons of the Crafts required to produce representations of them at Corpus Christi and no explanation can be given as to why these particular saints and crafts were paired. The principal reason for their inclusion may have been to obtain the benefit of their intercession. No doubt St Nicholas was included because he was Patron of the Burgh Church and the Burgh. SS Sebastian and George were believed to be protectors against the plague.² It was believed St Lawrence could relieve the pains of Hell and Purgatory.³ St John the Baptist was supposed to be able to protect lambs.⁴ St Martin was invoked against storms⁵ and St Stephen was turned to for the relief of headaches.⁶ All were martyrs except St Martin. St. Martin was also featured in the Corpus Christi celebrations at Lanark (see below).

A prominent feature in the annual round of Aberdeen public life was the St Nicholas Riding. The earliest record of this event in the burgh records is of 9 December 1493 when two men were fined for not riding with the Lord of Bon Accord,⁷ the presumption being that they did not ride on St Nicholas Day, 6 December that

year. Between 1493 and 1528 the records contain fourteen similar entries.

The records tell us that the participants in this annual event were all able-bodied young men, the sons of Merchants, Burgesses and Craftsmen, all 'honestly arrayed'. Horses are mentioned in 1515 and 1522. It is possible that at the conclusion of the Riding there was a representation in the churchyard of the Burgh Church of the legend symbolized on the ancient seals of the burgh, viz. that of the 'Tres Clerici'. There is some evidence from England that such Ridings sometimes concluded with a play. At Norwich from 1408, annually on 23 April, his Feast Day, St George wearing a 'coat (of) armour beaten with silver' processed with Club Bearer, henchmen, minstrels and banners, accompanied by the Dragon and members of the Guild of St George, with their Guild Priest. They made their way to a wood where St George and the Dragon engaged in combat. In 1460 an image of St George was processed. A St George Riding was established at York by a Council Order of 1454. There was an annual procession of St George at Morebath, Devon, and an Expense Account for 1540 shows that at '...St G'tide' there was a play of St George in the churchyard. Something similar at Aberdeen featuring St Nicholas is a possibility.⁸ However as there is no firm evidence of any kind for this we do not study the interesting subject of the legends associated with St Nicholas.

St Nicholas Ridings in which the participants were graduates and students took place annually in GLASGOW. On 2 May 1462 the Congregation of the University decided that the Annual Feast of St Nicholas, Patron Saint of Scholars, should be observed on 9 May, the Feast of the Saint's translation.⁹ This brought it into the 'Bringing-In of Summer' season.¹⁰ After attending Mass that day Masters, Licensed Bachelors and students were to take part in the

St Nicholas Riding through the streets of the town and returning to the University for bodily refreshment to be followed by the 'performance of an Interlude or some other suitable entertainment'.¹¹ There are no surviving records giving details of the latter. Whatever they did it is most likely to have been something much influenced by Paris and its University at a time still near to the date of Glasgow University's foundation by men who had both studied and taught at that University (see Chapter Two). We do not think that either the 'Tres Clerici' or the 'Tres Filiae' would have been played. More likely is a Glasgow version of Jean Bodel's 'St Nicholas' which owes nothing to either of these two plays, admittedly still being performed in France in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. The low life of Arras which provides the background to Bodel's play is more likely to have been to the taste of Glasgow students.

An item unusual for Scotland occurs in the AYR Burgh Accounts for 1543-4 when expenses were incurred for,

...Jacques playis in the toun...

We suggest this may refer to plays featuring the life of the Apostle St James (in Latin 'Jacobus' - in French 'Jacques'). Devotion to this Saint was fostered by the Dominican Order founded in Spain by St Dominic (1170-1221). St James was regarded as the Apostle of Spain and his remains were believed to be enshrined at Compostela (also spelt 'Compostella') which in the Middle Ages became the most frequented place of pilgrimage after the Holy Land and a place whither many Scottish pilgrims made their way. Some may have sailed from Ayr in ships engaged in the wine trade with

Bordeaux. Others may have taken one of the overland routes - via Calais, via one of the ports of the Low Countries or via a Baltic port.¹²

A number of Scottish churches and altars were dedicated to this Apostle and the Dominicans had a number of houses in the country, including one at Ayr, founded by Alexander II in 1230 and endowed with numerous royal and other gifts.¹³ The *Northern Legendary* (*The Lives of the Saints*) a translation of the *Legenda Aurea* begins with the 'Lives of the Twelve Apostles' and accordingly includes a life of St James the Great (Feast Day, 25 July), missionary to Spain, martyred under Herod Agrippa. This work was long attributed to John Barbour (Archdeacon of Aberdeen (b.1316-d.1395) but no longer so. The only surviving manuscript is held in the Library of Cambridge University. The Scottish origin of the work does not seem to be in doubt and the *Legenda Aurea* was available to scholars in Scotland in medieval times. It is most likely a copy was held at the Dominican house in Ayr available to any cleric contemplating writing a script for a play featuring the life of St James.¹⁴

There is record of a fifteenth century 'Ludus de Sancto Jacobi' at Lincoln and of a similar play at York in 1446 when there was willed to the city's Corpus Christi Guild a 'Libro de Sancto Jacobo in sex paginis compilatum'.¹⁵

Plays featuring the life of this Saint were sometimes performed in France. The 'Mystère de Saint Jame' performed at Compiègne 'en personnages' in July 1466 'selon la legende' (the Feast Day of the

Saint is 25 July) was, no doubt, a play about the saint normally known in France as 'St Jacques'.¹⁶

Most of the recorded performances on the Continent come from France. One was given at Béthune in 1491 by the 'Confrères de Saint Jacques' who were funded by the Town Council.¹⁷ In 1502 (and again in 1503) the 'Mystère de Saint Jacques' was performed in Compiègne by the 'Confrérie de Saint Jacques de Compostelle' (founded in the Church of the Dominicans) in the presence of the 'Compagnons de Roye, pèlerins de Saint Jacques'.¹⁸ The town subsidised the Confraternity once again in 1530 when they played 'par misteres et personnages certains miracles de monseigneur Saint Jacques'.¹⁹ At Pentecost 1502 there was a performance on the Market Place at Mons of a play of 'la Vie de Saint Jacques' by the town Confrérie de St Jacques, subsidised by the Council to the extent of sixty shillings.²⁰ In Troyes in 1523 there was a representation of 'le mystère de Monsieur Saint Jacques', which took four days, Sunday, Tuesday, Friday and the following Sunday.²¹ The 'Actes des Apôtres' of Arnoul and Simon Greban, Livre III, includes a play entitled 'Saint Jacques le Majeure en Espagne', and Livre IV opens with the 'Martyre de Saint Jacques'.²² Plays of the 'Actes des Apôtres' were performed in: Aix, 1478; Bourges, 1536; Paris, 1541 and in Argentan in 1571.²³

We have found little evidence of plays of St James in the Low Countries, although churches with his dedication celebrated their feast of title with a procession in his honour, but this was in accordance with common custom. The only example we can quote of a Play of St James in the Low Countries is that shown by the

Accounts of the Church of St James, Louvain (Leuven) for the period 1484-6, which show that such a play was given in the church on a stage.²⁴

It would seem that if those responsible for the 'Jacques Plays' in Ayr felt they needed to look elsewhere for inspiration they would probably look to France. They could also have been influenced by the play in Louvain, for many Scots, including some future Bishops, attended the University there.

Devotion to St James in Ayr was possibly influenced by pilgrims from the town who had been on pilgrimage to the Shrine of Santiago de Compostela (Compostella), Spain, some of whom may have been present at the celebration of the Great Office of St James on his feast day, 25 July, when the Saint's relics were processed around the church and High Mass was preceded by or included a liturgical or semi-liturgical play of significant events in the saint's life, in particular the 'Transfiguration of Jesus' at which James was present with Peter and John. Such pilgrims could have journeyed on one of the wine boats that traded between Ayr and Bordeaux.²⁵

We know of no surviving record of a vernacular drama of St James performed anywhere in Spain in the period that concerns us either indoors or out-of-doors.

In DUNDEE, as in Aberdeen, another East Coast port, there seems to have been a strong devotion to the saints. The inventory of ca.1450 either names saints or lists traditional attributes from which the names of saints can be deduced. These are as follows

where we show the traditional attributes of all the saints listed,

The Four Evangelists,

- a) St Matthew - a gold angel on a red field.
- b) St Mark - a gold winged lion and on a red field.
- c) St Luke - a gold winged ox on a red field.
- d) St John - a gold eagle rising on a blue field.

The head of each symbol would normally be shown with a nimbus.

Those representing the above in 'tableaux' were often identified to the spectators by notices over their heads displaying the above symbols with the Evangelist's name.

- e) St Blaise with Cross.
- f) St John the Baptist with Lamb (of wood).
- g) St Katherine of Alexandria with Wheel and Castle.
- h) St Andrew with Cross.
- i) St James the Less with Saw.
- j) St Matthias with Axe.
- k) St Bartholomew with Flaying Knife.
- l) St Barbara with Tower, sometimes shown with Chalice and Host.

'Tableaux' of these saints would have been shown with the saint holding his traditional attribute.

As in the case of the saints of the Corpus Christi Procession at Aberdeen none of the above saints was born in Scotland or was in any way associated with it during their lifetime. They are all saints common to the medieval Church. Probably all were thought to specialise in some special form of help, for example, St Blaise was invoked especially on behalf of diseased creatures, human and animal, on account of some miracles attributed to him. St Barbara was believed to be able to avert lightning.²⁶

The most popular of the above saints, St John the Baptist, St Katherine and St Barbara, were all martyrs. (See vol.2.

APPENDICES. CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDIX 'A' and APPENDIX 'B'.)

On the Continent there was strong tradition of

representations of St John the Baptist in both the Low Countries and in Germany. APPENDIX 'B' shows that in the Low Countries and France there are rather more records of representations of St Katherine than are found elsewhere on the Continent. It is in France that Scots are most likely to have witnessed scenes from the life of John the Baptist, most probably in the 'Passions' of Mercadé, Gréban and Michel which (together with various versions of these) were widely performed.

This Appendix also shows that if we take the records at their face value the cult of St Barbara was much stronger in France and the Low Countries than in Germany, Italy and Spain. This could be due to better researching, better keeping or better preservation of records, but we doubt that. In Italy there is record of at least one performance of a 'Play of St Barbara' (date unknown) but we have no details. Scots, as we show in Chapter Two, often went on pilgrimage to the Shrine of John the Baptist at Amiens and some may have seen the 'Play of St Barbara' performed there in 1448. In the Low Countries the cult of this saint was expressed mostly in her widespread adoption as Patron Saint by many Chambers of Rhetoric. Ultimately the Rederijker Kamers (i.e Chambers of Rhetoric) had a major role in staging pageants & plays in connection with the processions of the Low Countries and probably as a matter of course their image of St Barbara would have been processed.²⁷ Scots could have seen these in Bruges, Ghent and Middelburg, towns which they frequented, some for trade and some for other reasons, e.g. for instruction in music in Bruges (see Chapter Two, g) THE MUSICIANS, ACTORS AND OTHER PERFORMERS OF SCOTLAND AND THE CONTINENT).

The Patron Saint of the Burgh of EDINBURGH and the Burgh Church was St Giles, also known as St Egidius. It was the custom on the Saint's Feast Day, 1 September, to hold a solemn procession through the streets of an image of the Saint 'with drums, trumpets, and all sorts of musical instruments'.²⁸ It seems also to have been the custom at the same time to process an arm of the Saint which was normally kept in St Giles's Kirk. The other arm of the Saint was preserved in Sint-Gilliskerk, in the Scottish quarter of Bruges, where the Scottish artisans had their altar (see CHAPTER TWO. a) THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR MERCHANDISE. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES).

The Edinburgh Hammermen had St Eloi as their patron as did the Hammermen of Perth (see below) in common with Hammermen elsewhere. Their records tell us little of the way in which they feted their Patron. A record of 1535 tells of a payment concerning a saint who presumably was St Eloi,²⁹

Item gevin for ane monytour to gauder in the
sanctis geir with aw ij s.

For 'monitour' the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Mairi ROBINSON) gives -'a monitory, a missive setting out a formal charge...', and by inference gives 'goad' as an item with which to drive oxen or horses. HALLIWELL in his *Dictionary of Archaic Words* does not mention 'monitour' but does mention a word very much like it, viz. 'monture' for which he gives the meaning 'a riding or saddle horse'. Halliwell does not define 'gaud' precisely as such, but defines kindred words, mostly in the sense of 'finery'. We suggest in the above context 'monytour' should be understood as 'a riding or saddle horse' as a horse is central to the legend about St Eloi (also known as Eligius). See item below beginning, 'Surviving PERTH records disclose.....'.

The records make it clear that the Edinburgh Hammermen made much of St Eloi's Day. The Craft's attendance at Mass was followed by a public procession and generous banqueting, but the records make no specific reference to the processing of a pageant of the

Saint. If the Craft's image from their chapel was processed as distinct from a 'tableau' the fact would not find its way into the Accounts unless someone was paid for carrying it. The accounts for St Eloi's day regularly show expenses for two torches as commonly used in processions (see further on St Eloi, vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDIX 'B'. Item iv) SS ELOI, ERASMUS AND KATHERINE.

In LANARK devotion to the saints was more restricted than that found in Aberdeen and Dundee. Here they paid particular devotion to St George and the Dragon and St Martin. The 'pyk' (i.e. pike, a long wooden shaft, tipped with a sharp metal point) in the Account for 12 June 1488 (see CHAPTER SIX. 8) LANARK. for all references to Accounts) taken with items of later years, indicates that St George took part in the Corpus Christi Procession as surely did the Dragon, which not in need of repairs or renewal does not appear in this Account. References to the Dragon are found in the years 1490, 1503 and 1507, and in the latter year the item,

for dychtyn of sellat and splentis to
Sanct George viij d.

shows that St George and the Dragon were featured in the Corpus Christi Procession. The words 'dychtyn of sellat and splentis to Sanct George' mean 'putting in good order (or decorating) the helmet and armour. The item 'nalis to the dragown and the chapell' indicates that a wooden frame probably formed the framework of the dragon to which the wicker-work exterior was attached (see item under 1490) and that the 'chapell' was made of wood.

The beginning of the Account of 1490 is missing. The 'prenis' were metal pins, probably of the kind still used by dress-makers and tailors which might indicate the use of costumes. In this same account we have another item concerned with the representation of

'St George and the Dragon',

beryn of the dragon and mendyn of it viij d.

an indication that as elsewhere the dragon was probably made of wicker-work and that men walked inside to move it along. There are further references to 'beryn of the dragon' in subsequent Accounts and the 29 July 1507 Account has an item,

for nalis to the dragown...

The word 'chapel' in these Accounts (1490, 1503, 1507) is derived from the Latin word 'capella' which was the name given to the sacred structure or container in which the King of France housed the remnant of the cape which St Martin was believed to have shared with a beggar. No doubt the chapel at Lanark contained a small portion of this cloak. Glasgow Cathedral also possessed a portion of the cloak. It is listed in the Relics Section of the Inventory of 1432,³⁰

Item, a small burse, with a portion of the cloak
[claudus] of St Martin,....

The Lanark Shrine was processed in 1490, 1503 and 1507, probably either with a 'tableau' of St Martin or with his image borrowed from the church.

The Aberdeen 'Ordour of corpus xpi processiou' of 22 May 1531 shows that the Cordiners Craft were responsible for providing a pageant of St Martin.³¹ St Martin of Tours was one of the Patron Saints of France where there are said to be five hundred or so villages and four thousand churches that bear his name. He was the evangelist of rural Gaul and the father of French monasticism. His fame was great and widespread, his influence being felt from Ireland to Africa and the East. His fame in Scotland depends on his connection with St Ninian, the evangelist of Galloway where he was born. Ninian met Martin at Tours on his way home from a visit to Rome. There he learned of Martin's missionary methods and

employed these in his own missionary endeavours. When Ninian built a church at Candida Casa (otherwise known as Whithorn) he dedicated it to St Martin at about the time the Saint died in 397. It became a famed place of pilgrimage in medieval times to venerate the relics of St Ninian.³² The earliest inhabitants of Lanark are said to have been mainly English, Flemings and Normans. It is probable that even without their influence St Martin's fame would have reached Lanark.³³

Surviving PERTH records disclose a limited number of saints to whom the town paid devotion, St Erasmus, St Eloi, St Katherine of Alexandria and St Obert. Had more Craft records survived, no doubt, we should have learned of others. For the Hammermen record of 11 June 1522 (see Chapter Six, 9) PERTH) we suggest the 'septour' was for the King (Emperor) who sat on the 'stule' in the representation of the Martyrdom of St Erasmus. The sceptre prepared by Peter Curroure would have been essentially a wooden staff covered with leather, probably coloured red with at the tip a suitable emblem, such as a crown of gilded leather. In the same record we understand 'bluud' as 'blood', in common use in connection with representations of Christ's crucifixion and the martyrdom of saints. The word 'char' we suggest is the medieval French form of 'chair', meaning flesh, whether human or animal, and obviously is to be paired with blood. In the French *Le Mystère de la Passion* (ed. Cohen) we find the word used in the scene of the 'Railleries des "Tyrens"'.
Dragon:

Jouons nous à plumer sa barbe
Que en ara plus grand puignie.

(Clacquedent le prend par la barbe.)

Clacquedent:³⁴

Je l'ay si fort apaignie
Que le char est venue apres
Et le cler sang.

Referring to the record of 22 April 1518 quoted (in Chapter Six) St Eloi who was played live was the usual Patron Saint of the Scottish Hammermen as he was of the Hammermen on the Continent. The most popular legend featuring this 'hammerman' Saint is of his shoeing a recalcitrant horse, believed to be possessed by the devil, by cutting off its leg and placing it across his anvil to apply the shoe, thereafter reuniting the severed leg. Perhaps this scene was represented in the form of a 'tableau' with a dummy horse. As we saw above the Edinburgh Hammermen may possibly have featured a 'horse' in a 'tableau' of St Eloi in the public processions. The Shrine of the Saint's relics is located in St Salvator's, now the Parish Church of Bruges, and Bruges is probably the source of the Scottish Hammermen's cult of the Saint.

It is evident that the Martyrdom of St Erasmus was also played live, with the 'cord-drawer', the 'King', the 'thre tormentouris', and the 'stule- berer and the harnes'.³⁵ St Erasmus who appears in the same record was reputed to be effective in dealing with the plague, and rumours that it might be visiting Perth may have been the reason for his inclusion this particular year. According to legend he was disembowelled by means of a windlass. The 'cord' was the stage 'prop' that represented his extracted bowels. The 'stule' was a throne for the Emperor Maximian. The 'harnes' was a suit of armour, which we suggest should be allotted to an Attendant, who, holding a drawn sword, can be seen on the panel at North Creek Church, Norfolk, depicting the Martyrdom of St Erasmus, holding a drawn sword as he stands beside the Emperor.

Expenditure on a 'sancterasmus cord' recorded in July 1520 indicates that the pageant/play of St Erasmus was again presented at Corpus that year. It was performed once again apparently at Corpus Christi in 1522, according to a record of 11 June that year.

The cult of St Erasmus entered Scotland through the Low Countries and Northern France, which derived it from the Rhineland, that region having derived it from Naples or thereabouts. St Erasmus was believed to be effective in dealing with plague and pestilence.³⁶ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Scotland, like other European countries, was frequently afflicted by plague or pestilence or dreading its arrival in their midst. Hence the appearance of St Erasmus in the Perth Corpus Christi observances in 1518.

Manuscript records of the Perth Incorporation of Wrights, reproduced below, show that at least in 1530 the Craft processed a representation of the martyrdom of their Patron Saint, St Katherine of Alexandria,

1530. MS Records. Incorporation of Wrights, vol. i, fol 7.

Item on corpus christeis day ^a for thre quartis of aill,	xj d.
Item for papir,	j d.
Item for the mending of the play gair	vj d.
Item for Impis that I gef out of my awyn pursse,	vj d.
Item for the baner berin	xvj d.
Item for the menstrall	xvj d.
.....	
Item on thuresday eftir corpus christeis day	viiij d.
Item for ane crowne to Sir Iohne Fargyson, ^b ane plak	

a. In 1530 Corpus Christi occurred on 16 June.

b. A Sir John Fergysoun (or, Fargysoun) also

appears in the Hammermen record of 7 October 1534.

Another record of this Craft from which unfortunately the date has been torn away provides more information about the Wrights' Corpus Christi representation as follows,

MS Records. vol.i, fol 69.

Item gevin for makin of the torchis	xvj d.
Item gevin for ympis	x d.
Item ane plac for drynk siluer	
Item for ane row	x d.
Item gevin viij d. tyll thaim that bwyr the baner eftir corpus cristeis day	
.....	
Item gevin on corpus cristeis day x d. for breyd and ayl	
Item gevin for menden of the castell	viij d.
Item the deykan rasauit owt of the stok* on corpus cristeis day	xiiiij d.
Item xvj d. to ye menstrall on corpus christes day.	

* A strong wooden alms box bound with iron bands and secured to a strong post in the Craft's Chapel which they seem to have shared with another Craft. Here members put their offerings for the Common Fund.

According to another record of 1530. vol.ii, fol 1.

Ther wes spent on him that caried the baneir
at ane play of the wricht craftis William kerane
being decane sextein penneis.

We interpret the above as follows. The 'row' was a wheel. the Patron Saint of the Wrights (or Wheelwrights) was St Katherine of Alexandria. At Perth there was an Altar of 'St Catharine' (sic) in the Burgh Church of St John the Baptist.³⁷ According to tradition the Saint suffered torture on a spiked wheel for protesting against the persecution of christians by the Emperor Maxentius. It is said the machine broke and that finally she was put to death by beheading. Part of the tradition is that her body was transported by Angels to Mount Sinai where the Orthodox Church established a

monastery and built a Shrine to her memory. The 'castell' represented the one in which Katherine was shut up on the Emperor's orders for refusing to abjure her faith and marry him. The item 'for the mending of the play gair' and the item 'for menden of the castell' shows the Craft had given the same representation in previous years.' The item 'ane crown to sir Iohne farguson ane plak' probably means that he played the part of the Emperor Maxentius, the persecutor of St Katherine.

St Katherine, Patron of the Wheelwrights, was widely venerated and representations of her history and martyrdom were widespread.³⁹ There is record of the regular representations of her story in Dundee from ca.1450.⁴⁰ Her cult flourished throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, chiefly under the influence of the Crusades. The earliest known performance to a Play of St Katherine is that performed at Dunstable ca.1110. The 'clerks of London' staged one in 1393; there is record of such a play from Coventry in 1490-1, and there was a Pageant of St Katherine in the Corpus Christi Procession in Hereford in 1503. The earliest known reference to her in Scottish records is of the pilgrimage made to her grave on Mount Sinai by Alan Wyntoun in 1347.⁴¹

There are records of pageants/plays of St Katherine in the Low Countries and Germany, but we know of only one from Italy, a representation given at Modena in 1554. We have found no records of plays of this Saint in Spain. The country where she achieved her greatest popularity was France where there are records of representations in the nine principal towns between 1351 (Lille) and 1565 (Draguignan). These were on a large scale and some lasted

for many days. In the light of this evidence from France it would seem likely that anyone in Perth looking for guidance in the production of a representation of St Katherine would most likely look to the French tradition for guidance, and quite possibly had witnessed such plays in France. The reason for the Saint's popularity in France was the large scale involvement of that country in the Crusades.⁴²

There is a great dearth of material about St Obert, Patron Saint of the Perth Baxters. He does not appear to be the saint known in France as St Aubert of Avranches. De Julleville records no performances of a Play of St Obert in France, nor have we found records of any performances elsewhere. In Scotland he appears as Patron Saint of Bakers in a number of places and corrupt renderings of his name are common. In St Giles, Edinburgh, the Baxters had their 'Altar of Sant Cubert'. In 1486 the Baxters of Dundee purchased a new Mass Book for 'Saint Towburt's Altar'.⁴³ The name of St Obert is not to be found in surviving Scottish liturgical books. It is not in the Calendars of the Perth Psalter, the Holyrood Ordinal, the Aberdeen Breviary, nor in the Calendar of St Nicholas, Aberdeen. Neither was St Obert uniformly the Patron Saint of Bakers throughout the West. At Lincoln their Patron was St Clement. Anna J. Mill has a long note on the confusion surrounding this saint's name.⁴⁴

St Obert, with that spelling, appears in the records of Middelburg in the Low Countries, as Patron Saint of Bakers. There is a reference to a Bridge of St Obert in the late thirteenth century

records of Bruges, and there is a record of 1440 showing that at that time there was in the town a 'godshuis van St Obrecht'.

The Post-Reformation Registers of the Perth Kirk Session show that the Baxters (Bakers) of Perth had a strong devotion to their Patron, Saint Obert, were very persistent in maintaining their old customs and were clearly trying to celebrate his feast day in the same way as they had done in Pre-Reformation times. On 20 December 1577 a certain 'Johne fywie' was convicted for going through the town on 10 December, St Obert's Eve,

striking the drum...accompanied with certain vtheris
sik as Jhone mcbath william Jak Rydand vpoun ane hors
in mumschance ...

Here 'Eve' is to be understood as in the evening of that day. On 5 January 1577/8 'William Jak' himself admitted to the Kirk Session that in addition to being one of the Corpus Christi players he was in 'sancttobertis play rydand'. An entry dated 15 December 1578 shows that five men were involved in the St Obert's Play. One of them, 'gilbert robertsoun' admitted being persuaded by one of the others to 'putt on the deuilliscott' and all admitted,

that passitt aboutt the town on S toberttis ewin
disagasat pyping and dansin and tar torchis bering...

The piping, dancing and torches were at the head of the procession as in Pre-Reformation times. Evidently five men who wore play clothes were involved. It is probable that the 'pyping and dansin and tar torchis bering' was done by others.⁴⁵

References to St Obert's Play and those involved in performing it occur at regular intervals until 22 March 1587/8.⁴⁶ The entry of 11 December 1587 names the accused as 'Baxters' and the same

record says that the playing of the play

this yeir hes ingenerat without this hail
cuntrie greit sklander off the gospell...

which probably means the revival of an old play was gaining popularity.⁴⁷

As we have shown in Chapter Two Scotland had trading links with Middelburg and some of its citizens settled there. Records of the Bakers' Guild of Middelburg for Corpus Christi 1550 include items as follows,

Item, paid the Town Messenger	2 gr.
Item, paid for hauling St Obert's Shrine	2 gr.
Item, paid for cleaning St Obert's Shrine	6 gr.

A Middelburg record (quoted below) shows that the town's Bakers observed their Patron's Feast Day on 13 December. This gives us the clue to his identity. He is St Aubert of Cambrai, the only male saint who is remembered on that date. It is also St Lucy's Day. Nothing is known of him until he became Bishop of Cambrai in 633 or later. His fame rests on the number of distinguished lay-people whom he influenced to adopt the monastic life. He is buried at St Peter's Church, Cambrai, which shows that Middelburg could only have had a part of his body or some item associated with his person. We have discovered no reason for his being a Patron of Bakers. His life is very inadequately documented.⁴⁸

Expenses by the Bakers of Middelburg on St Obert's Day, 13 December 1550 (in Perth they kept it on 10 December), include the following,⁴⁹

Item, paid for the horse on which Herod rode in the procession,	2 sc. gr.
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Unfortunately no Middelburg records have survived that could tell us in what representation Herod was featured. In view of the ties between Middelburg and Scotland and that ^{at} St Obert's Shrine was located there it is possible that what they did in Middelburg on St Obert's Day they also did in Perth. Thus it is possible that when in Perth 'willame Jak' was 'rydand vpone ane hors gangand in mumschance' (KS record of 20 December 1577) he was costumed as King Herod. It is probable that in Middelburg on Corpus Christi Day the Baxters' contribution was a 'tableau' featuring their Patron, Saint Obert, and a representation featuring King Herod. The most notable representation featuring Herod was the 'Slaughter of the Innocents' as contributed by the Edinburgh Hammermen to the Corpus Christi Procession and where Herod rode a horse (see Chapter Six, EDINBURGH). It is possible this had been a feature in the Perth Corpus Christi Procession, but if so it would almost certainly have been but one item in a Nativity Cycle.

The persistent attempts to maintain the annual performance of the Corpus Christi Plays in Perth after the Reformation is probably not unconnected with the presence of recusants in the area as shown by the entries in the Kirk Session Register of 31 March 1578 and 14 March 1585/6.⁵⁰

As we show in our APPENDIX 'B' to this chapter there were a wide variety of places on the Continent from which Scotland could have derived information on the traditional way of staging representations of the saints. In The Low Countries, France and Germany there was a strong tradition of representations of St John Baptist. The Low Countries had a strong tradition in

representations of St George and the Dragon and France and Germany had strong traditions in representing St Nicholas.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN.

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3. Michael GIBSON *Saints of Patronage and Invocation* (Avon County Library Service, Bristol, 1982) 28.
4. GIBSON 25.
5. " 32.
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Item ii) St Nicholas.
8. As n.7. Item beginning: 'Similar Ridings also took place in England...'
9. Vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. 7b) GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.
10. see vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'K'. ROBIN HOOD AND LITTLE JOHN, AND BRINGING IN SUMMER.
11. As n.9.
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17. As n.16, vol.2, 59.
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19. As n.16, vol.2, 115,6.
20. Gustave COHEN *Le Livre de conduite du regisseur et comptes pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons, 1501* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1925) xvii.
21. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 112.
22. As n.21, vol.2, 461-5, especially 465; see 564,5, for evidence concerning such plays in Provence.
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24. AEM. ^{WYBRANDS} ~~W.~~ *Studien en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische thelogie* (W. Moll and J.G. Hoop Scheffer, Amsterdam) vol.3, 1876, 'Opmerkingen over Het Geestelijk Drama Hier Te Lande in de Middeleeuwen' 193-290, 211, 219.
25. See CHAPTER FIVE, F. SPAIN. and vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'F'.
26. Donald ATTWATER *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1965) 70; MÅLE *The Gothic Image*, 271.
27. See vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDIX 'B'. Item iii) St Barbara.
28. George GRUB *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1861, 4 vols.) vol.2, 52,3; Cosmo INNES *Sketches of Early Scottish History and Social Progress* (Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, 1861) 6,7; James GRANT *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* (Cassell and Co., Edinburgh) vol.1, 140.
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30. John DOWDEN 'The Inventory of Ornaments, etc. Belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432' (*PSAS* vol.xxxiii [vol.ix, Third Series] 1899) 280-329, 298,9.
31. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.13, 160. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN. 22 May 1531.

32. MÂLE *The Gothic Image* (see n.2) 330; ATTWATER *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (see n.26) 234; F.L. CROSS *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (OUP, London, 1957) 864; FARMER *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (see n.6) 265; F. Marian McNEILL *The Silver Bough* (William Maclellan, Glasgow, 1957, 4 vols.) vol.1, 40, 41.
33. A.D. ROBERTSON *Lanark: The Burgh and Its Councils, 1469-1880* (Lanark Burgh Council, 1974) 65.
34. Gustave COHEN *Le Livre de conduite du regisseur et comptes de dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons, 1501* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1925) 336.
35. See vol. 2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDIX 'B'.
Item iv) SS Eloi, Erasmus and Katherine.
36. As n.35. See also, The Perth MS Burgh Court Register, MS 59/12/1 fol 25, which contains a letter dated 17 February 1513/14 to the Provost from King James IV, setting out regulations to be observed during 'this contagious plag of pestilence now raiging in maist pairt of our territorie....'. A similar letter, MS 59/12/1, fol 121, dated 25 March 1539, was also received. All burgh records show regular visitations of plague and pestilence.
37. As n.35.
38. John LAWSON *The Book of Perth* ((T.G.Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1847) 63.
39. As n.35.
40. See CHAPTER SIX. 4) DUNDEE. Inventory of ca.1450.
41. David McROBERTS 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land' *IR* vol.20, 1 (Spring 1969) 80-106, 89; Walter GOODALL ed. *Scotichronicon Joannis de Fordun cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Bower* (R. Fleming, Edinburgh, 1775, 2 vols.) vol.2, 337.
42. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDIX 'B'.
Item iv) SS Erasmus, Eloi and Katherine. The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria.
Item v)
43. J.D. MARWICK ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* vol.1, 1403-1528 (SBRs, 1869) 20 March 1522/3, Seal of Cause, 214,5; J.Cameron LEES *St Giles, Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral* (W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London, 1889) 32; Alexander MAXWELL *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register, etc.* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, and William Kidd, Dundee, 1884) 561.
44. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 276, n.1.
45. MILL 277,8.

46. MILL 279-81; LAWSON (see n.38) 141-80.
47. MILL 44,
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50. LAWSON *The Book of Perth* (see n.38) 126, 166,

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

FINAL SUMMING UP AND CONCLUSIONS.

Our evidence in Chapter One shows that from the end of the thirteenth century the Scottish Church adopted the Sarum Rite and the Sarum Constitutions and Consuetudinary. These had been indirectly adopted from the Church in Normandy via England and principally from Lincoln Cathedral. Although certain local customs may have developed in Normandy that part of the Church shared fully in the common liturgy & customs of the Western Church owing allegiance to the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, the Patriarch of the West. Thus the Scottish Church became fully integrated into the mainstream Church of the West, entering into its liturgical heritage and iconographical conventions (see Chapter Four).

With the Sarum Liturgy went the Sarum Calendar adopted from the mainstream Western Church, with the same religious observances on the same day, year in and year out, all over Western Europe. With the uniformity of religious faith and practice went a common artistic and literary culture, penetrated by and expressive of the common christian themes and conventions (see, Chapters Three and Four).

We believe the evidence which we produced in Chapter One, though perhaps not extensive, when seen against the background of the common western liturgical customs, demonstrates the probability of the regular performance in Scotland, if not overall, at least in those places where resources permitted, of the dramatic liturgies of the 'Officium Pastorum' and of the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' of the Three Maries. The ultimate place of origin of the liturgy used in

the parishes after the adoption of the Sarum Constitutions and Consuetudinary was either Rouen or Bayeux in Normandy and it remained in general use in the parishes up to the time of the Reformation. Some religious orders, however, used a variant of the normal rite. Thus it can be said that Scotland had the same springboard for the evolution of vernacular religious drama as had England and the Continent and the evidence shows that by and large developments took place on the same lines in pageants and plays featuring the same subjects or themes, presented broadly speaking in the same way, whether mounted on a pageant waggon or on a stationary scaffold, in other words to the spectator a Passion Play, for example, given in one place, whether in Scotland or elsewhere in Europe, would look very much like a Passion Play given in any other part of the Western Church.

An important question in attempting to assess continental influence on the portrayal of religious scenes and plays in Scotland might appear to be when they began to evolve on the Continent in relation to when they appeared in Scotland. This, however, is not a question that can be considered because the first vernacular drama about which we can have any certainty in Scotland is cyclic drama, and it is widely conceded that cyclic drama was a phenomenon that came after the composition of single plays, which, as it were, formed a pool from which plays could be taken and perhaps in a modified form incorporated into the cycles. There is also the possibility that continental texts, French ones in particular, could have been translated into English and after suitable adaption been incorporated into cycles using English speech or the contemporary Scottish version of English.

No texts or details of individual religious plays have survived in Scotland from Pre-Reformation times, and we do not know whether such plays ever existed although it is possible to offer some suggestions as to vague possibilities (see further below).

The most notable feature of surviving Scottish records concerning the portrayal of religious scenes is that they concern the performance of Nativity and Passion Cycles of plays (usually also including portrayals featuring saints) sponsored and monitored by Burgh Councils who required the local Incorporated Crafts to provide actors for a specified religious scene. The one country and the most obvious that gives us the closest parallel to this is England, where we find the same specifics of council sponsorship and monitoring, craftsmen actors and vernacular scriptural cycles.

The appearance of a cycle of religious plays in connection with the Corpus Christi celebrations in Aberdeen should not be regarded as something remarkable or unique. The English cycles were already making their earliest known appearance in the last quarter of the fourteenth century at Beverley and York and the latest date suggested for the appearance of the Wakefield (Towneley) Cycle is about 1450.¹ It is possible the York Cycle was known in Scotland in educated and literay circles by some who had seen it performed. The conventional number of Tormentors in Passion Plays everywhere was four with the single exception of York. Play No. XXXIII of the York Cycle, 'Christ Before Pilate 2: The Judgement', has six tormentors who are described as 'Milites'. In his poem 'On Gude Friday' Sir Richard Maitland (1496-1586) (sic, DNB) has a cast of six tormentors.²

There is some tenuous evidence from Aberdeen of the possible existence of individual vernacular religious plays before the cycles referred to above were established. It is possible that some sort of a public portrayal with the theme of the 'Assumption' may have taken place in 1317 on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 15 August. As shown in Chapter Six in that year the Feast of the Assumption was regarded as of sufficient importance for the Aberdeen Burgh Council to date items of business as occurring within the Octave of that feast. The records, however, give no hint about any public outdoor performance and taking into account developments elsewhere it would seem to be unlikely. Such an event is a little more likely in 1358³ when King David II visited the burgh. Even then it is unlikely that a play of the 'Assumption' was performed. Such a play to be performed realistically required considerable mechanical skills. The one possibility is a 'tableau' or 'tableau-vivant' of the 'Coronation of the Virgin', an event believed to have taken place after the 'Assumption'. The Appendix to the 'ordour of corpus xpi processioun' of 1531 details the 'tailyeours' to 'furneiss' such a 'panyean'. Such a 'tableau-vivant' was featured in Antwerp in 1398⁴ when there took place that city's earliest recorded public procession in celebration of the Feast of the Assumption. On that, and many subsequent occasions, the 'ommegang' (i.e. the procession) included 'tableaux-vivants' of 'Our Lady's Death, Burial, Assumption and Coronation'.⁵

As shown in Chapter Six, surviving Scottish records, where they do provide any detail of portrayals of religious scenes, relate principally to Nativity and Passion Cycles plus portrayals in one form or another of scenes featuring saints.

In the Scottish burghs there is no evidence for the erection of scaffolds bearing portrayals of any sort along a processional route, or of pageant cars in a procession stopping at stations along a route to perform their scene or play, such as were seen in some continental towns (see, Chapter Five). Further there is no evidence for the processioning of pageant-waggon through the town with 'tableaux' or any other sort of portrayal of religious scenes. Processions did take place in the burghs mainly at Corpus Christi and in Aberdeen for many years there was a procession associated with the annual Candlemas Offerand, but no pageant waggons were processed and all the participants walked. This precluded even 'tableaux' made up of carved wooden or plastic images unless these were carried along on litters. Although there is no record of these it is more than likely that every church had a litter on which the statue of a saint could be carried. The burgh public processions at Corpus Christi (and at Candlemas in Aberdeen) were in the nature of pre-play monstres in which the craftsmen actors of individual scenes, apparently already costumed and with relevant accoutrements and 'props', walked together as a group to the playfield, accompanied by dignitaries and craftsmen,

banners and musicians. In Scotland the Sacrament was always at the rear just behind the Hammermen and usually the fleshers were up in front (see, Chapter Six).

In the nature of things in the matter of external influence on the Scottish scene the only area which is available for consideration is that of the portrayal of religious scenes and subjects on the playfield after the procession and such evidence as we have indicates that these portrayals were in fact 'ludi' based on the scriptures or the legends of the saints. By the term 'ludus' we understand a play with some speech and movement however simple and unsophisticated that probably was with illiterate craftsmen.

Corpus Christi processions were encouraged by the Papal Bull of 1429,⁶ and outdoor processions of the Blessed Sacrament on the feast would have commenced very soon after the issue of the Bull to take advantage of the generous Indulgences available to all who processed with the Sacrament. Two copies of the Bull sent to Scotland have survived (see, Introduction). Surviving Scottish records provide no information on the make-up of Corpus Christi Processions until the fifteenth century. It is possible that in Scotland before the appearance of groups of walking actors there had been 'tableaux' or 'tableaux-vivants' of Old and New Testament scenes and of saints, but only if wheeled pageants waggons or sleds had been available. No evidence for this has survived. The earliest record we have of the portrayal of religious or scriptural themes associated with an outdoor procession is dated 13 May 1440⁷ and relates not to 'tableaux' or 'tableaux-vivants' but to a 'ludus' when Richard Kintor is rewarded,

pro expensis suis factis et faciendis in quodam
ludo de ly haliblude ludendo apud ly Wyndmylhill....

In Scotland at that time the term 'haliblude' was a synonym for 'Corpus Christi'. The altar in a burgh church set apart for use by the Burgh Guild Merchant was always an 'Altar of the Holy Blood', situated in the 'Aisle of the Holy Blood', as in St Giles, Edinburgh (see Chapter Six), whereas in England the equivalent altar was normally that in the 'Corpus Christi Chapel', English Guilds Merchant being under the patronage of the Blessed Sacrament or Corpus Christi. The use of the term 'Holy Blood' in Scotland may be due to its close relations with Bruges and devotion to its relic of the Holy Blood and the participation of Scottish ecclesiastics in the annual Processions of the Relic of the Holy Blood. We suggest, therefore, that a Holy Blood Play in Scotland was equivalent to a Corpus Christi Play in England, that is, it covers not just a single scene, but a series of scenes that make up a cycle of plays. We suggest, therefore, that the record of 13 May 1440, refers to a cycle of plays to be performed on 26 May. Later records suggest this play was a Passion/Resurrection Cycle (see CHAPTER SIX. 1) ABERDEEN. 2

Although it is not contended that public religious pageantry and plays nowhere made their appearance until the above mentioned Bull was given Western European circulation, there can be little doubt that the provisions of the Bull gave a boost to Outdoor Processions of the Sacrament on the Feast of Corpus Christi and to an elaboration of the festivities associated with it. It is significant that the earliest Aberdeen record of a Corpus Christi Play is subsequent to the issue of the Bull.

The Producer or Director of the play of 1440 was Richard Kintor, an official known as 'the Abbot of Bon Accord'. Other Burghs had similar officials with similar but not identical titles and similar responsibilities. They were nominated and expected to accept appointment. Kintor was rewarded once again in 1445 for the play ('ludus') of the Holy Blood performed as before at Windmill Hill. In 1449 the Council spent money,⁸

pro scriptura ludi in festo corporis xpi....

As the expense was met by the Council and not by the Crafts it may be inferred that this relates to the 'Original' or 'Register' of a cycle of plays. The item could relate to the replacement of an old worn script or to a rewriting and possibly expansion of a previous script. It need not represent a completely new departure.

Craftsmen are not specifically mentioned as participants in the Aberdeen Corpus Christi Processions and plays until 14 January 1512/13.⁹ However, the involvement of the Abbot of Bon Accord in the events of 1440 and in those of 1445, which implies the involvement of others over whom he had the oversight, probably indicates that Craftsmen were involved in putting on the play even in that year. On both occasions he was refunded his expenses.

A Passion Play may possibly have been performed in Aberdeen in 1399¹⁰ when the burgh incurred expenses for a cross, although as explained in Chapter Six there is no record of the use to which the cross was put. It might possibly relate to the performance of a Passion Play on its own or that year may possibly have been the first year a Passion Cycle was performed out of doors, but not necessarily as part of a Corpus Christi Cycle. It could also have

been used in connection with the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross which records show was observed in Aberdeen with a public holiday.¹¹

The case for Craftsmen taking part in a Corpus Christi Play in 1440 and 1445 is strengthened by the fact that Craftsmen by a Council Order of 1442 are detailed as to the parts they are to play¹²

yerely in the offerand of oure lady at candilmes...

The wording gives the impression that this was probably not the first occasion on which they had taken part in the 'Candlemas Offerand'. This event was considered in Chapter Six when we suggested there was a performance of a Nativity Cycle in St Nicholas Church with added portrayals of certain saints. There is no record to show that this cycle was performed according to a script. However, as we have already pointed out in Chapter Six, in a record of 29 January 1503/4¹³ the term 'play' is used of this event and is repeated on subsequent occasions which could be an indication that speech and movement were employed.

The subject of the evolution and development of vernacular religious plays on the Continent was surveyed in our Introduction. There the beginning of the process that led to the association of the portrayal, in one form or another, of scenes from the the Old Testament and the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels, with Corpus Christi and other festivities, was towards the end of the fourteenth century. In 1380 a Corpus Christi Procession at Dixmunde in the Low Countries¹⁴ had 'Twelve Apostles' walking in front of the Sacrament and a giant is recorded as 'borne along'.

(see, Introduction).

The earliest French record for the appearance of 'tableaux-vivants' (as opposed to a 'ludus' or play) of Old and New Testament scenes in a Corpus Christi Procession occurs at Draguignan in 1437¹⁵ only three years earlier than the latest date for the possible appearance of a Cycle of Passion Plays in Aberdeen. Passion Plays, however, had already begun to be regularly performed on the Continent but not necessarily in conjunction with Corpus Christi. Passion Plays, performed indoors, were an annual event in Paris from at least 1380,¹⁶ sixty years before the possible appearance of a Corpus Christi Cycle in Aberdeen, time enough for a succession of Scottish students to have attended the University of Paris and returned home to bring their influence to bear on the staging and costuming of plays there (see, Introduction).

Outside France probably one of the earliest continental Corpus Christi Processions where vernacular speech was associated with biblical scenes is that of 1391 at Innsbrück in Austria¹⁷ (see, Introduction) for which a surviving manuscript of no more than seven hundred and fifty-six lines has a sequence of monologues for Adam and Eve, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Three Kings and the Pope, which Tydeman suggests was ideally suited to processional delivery at one or more stations on the processional route through the town.¹⁸

The ultimate background to religious pageantry and plays all over the West was the same as for that of the religious arts and the literature of the time having religious themes, viz. the canonical and non-canonical scriptures, the devotional writings of

such churchmen as Pseudo-Bonaventura, St Bernard, Pseudo-Anselm and the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob of Voragine (c.1230-c.1298). Their influence penetrated Scotland and is to be seen in much of the poetry of the Makars. More especially we see it in the work of Dunbar and his contemporaries (see, Chapter Three). These writers, however, came some time after 1440 and may be considered to be writing in an already established tradition of realism. They may have been influenced by the writers we have mentioned above but we should not overlook the possibility that sometimes such influence may have been of a secondary nature through witness of the religious plays the presentation of which was much influenced by such literature.¹⁹ This is especially true of scenes of the crucifixion. The realism of such continental writings is seen, for example, in the use in Scotland of body skins for the actor who played Christ, as was done, for example at Ayr, Dundee, Lanark and Perth. Sometimes mention of a spear, as at Perth, implies the role of the Centurion and a bag of concealed blood.

Continental influence upon religious and cultural aspects of life reached Scotland in a number of different ways. French Minstrels were active in the country in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Italian musicians, acrobats and rope walkers, as well as 'histriones', regularly entertained the Court in the first half of the sixteenth century. A few Spaniards entertained the Scottish Court at the turn of the fifteenth century and just over a hundred years earlier, Scottish musicians are reported at the Spanish Court. In the fifteenth century Scottish musicians were attending the music schools in Bruges and seven actors from Flanders, which probably means from Bruges, are reported in Scotland in 1436.²⁰

French craftsmen were active in Scotland, especially in the fifteenth century. Scottish sculptors and wood carvers went to Antwerp and Bruges to learn their craft, and painters went to train in the ateliers of Bruges and Ghent, the former city being famous for the atelier of Hugo van der Goes. The paintings illustrating religious scenes on the walls of the Guthrie Aisle and of the church at Foulis Easter are either the work of visiting continental craftsmen or of Scottish craftsmen trained abroad, or more remotely of Scottish craftsmen who had been taught by others who had been trained abroad. Scottish craftsmen undertaking such work most probably used pattern books imported from the Continent (see, Chapter Four). The scenes these craftsmen painted were probably often those with which church congregations, at least in the larger burghs, may already have been familiar from the pageants and plays they may have witnessed performed in public.

Iconographical influence was exercised by imports into Scotland of many items necessary to maintain the customary ongoing life and worship of a church. Many manuscript service books, richly illuminated and with miniatures often depicting scenes reminiscent of religious 'tableaux' and plays, were imported from France in the fifteenth century, to be followed later by printed versions.²¹ The Monypenny Breviary of about 1500 contains a miniature showing a scene from the Corpus Christi Procession at Bourges where the assistants can be seen wearing wreaths of gilliflowers and violets. It is a Roman Breviary written for a Scotsman living in the Bourges area. Andrew Forman, subsequently Bishop of St Andrews, was Bishop of Bourges, 1513-1515,²² and probably took part in such a procession whilst there.

From the Low Countries Scotland imported a wide range of artefacts to furnish and equip a church and facilitate its worship, such as choir benches, rich in carved traditional imagery and highly elaborate retables to erect behind altars with richly-coloured carvings of religious scenes featuring the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin Mary, especially in a scene of the 'Pietà (such as was dug up at Banff), the Apostles and other saints, and scenes that might have featured in a cycle of religious pageants or plays, and besides these candelabra, thuribles, crucifixes and so on, all fashioned and ornamented in accordance with the all-prevailing universal western iconography (see, Chapter Four).

We now bring together those places on the Continent where we think Scots were most likely to have been influenced by their witness of portrayals of religious themes. Those most likely to have brought continental influence to bear on such portrayal in Scotland are merchants, ecclesiastics, students and pilgrims.

The merchants of the Scottish burghs, members of the Guild Merchant (always under the patronage of the Holy Blood) by and large made up the membership of the burgh councils. One of the responsibilities which they took unto themselves was that of ensuring that the members of the burgh Craft Incorporations walked in the Corpus Christi Processions (at Aberdeen also at Candlemas)²³ with their tokens and banners, together with their players (ready to perform a prescribed play), in a prescribed order of precedence. If we may take Aberdeen and Haddington as being typical, the prevailing custom was to follow the order of precedence of Edinburgh (see Chapter Six).

The Council also saw to it that defaulters from the Procession were punished and that penalties were imposed on Crafts who failed to provide a pageant/play of an acceptable standard²⁴ Merchants were thus an important factor in these celebrations, and particularly influential would be those wealthy merchants who from time to time travelled to the Continent in pursuit of trade and probably attended the Trade Fairs of the great towns as well as witnessing the religious festivities associated with them, if for no other reason than to gain the Indulgence granted for attendance. Scottish Merchants would have attended the great May Trade Fair in Bruges where the merchants of many nations met together,²⁵ and which was preceded by the Procession of the Holy Blood so rich in 'tableaux-vivants' of biblical scenes mounted on floats and likewise the Trade Fair in Bergen-op-Zoom, near Antwerp, with its impressive procession of pageants also on floats, which took place at about the same time (see, Chapter Five).²⁶ Scottish merchants may not only have witnessed the Holy Blood Processions in Bruges,²⁷ they may also have processed in it as did some Scottish Bishops and Bishops from many parts of Europe.

It is probable that the tradition of costuming in Bruges and other places frequented by Scottish merchants in the Netherlands influenced the costuming of Scottish pageants and plays. No doubt Bruges and other Netherlands towns conformed to what had become established European traditions. As the Mecca of European trade Bruges had wide contacts with all the major European nations. It is evident, however, that Scotland owes nothing to the wide use of pageant-waggons in the Low Countries.

At 'Joyful Entries' merchants resident in the town, and probably those merely visiting, were required to go in these celebratory processions and so would have a good view of the scaffolds set up along the route. The various nations who had Merchant Houses in the town were also required to contribute a 'tableau' of their own mounted on a scaffold, as normally did the Easterlings, the Italians and the Spaniards, who in 1440 at the 'Joyful Entry' of Philip the Good, went further, and provided a triumphal arch featuring the 'Resurrection of Christ'.²⁸ There is no surviving evidence of Scots having provided a scaffold on any of these occasions. Evidence has survived, however, of some Scots who it appears on one occasion walked in such a procession whilst the merchants of other nations were mounted on horses. However, according to an Aberdeen Burgh record of 22 January 1484/5, a certain Robert Buchan, a merchant, apparently a regular visitor to Bruges, appears to have ridden in a procession and taken part with other Scots in festivities there. The Aberdeen Burgh Council²⁹ required of him that,

quhen and als oft as he passis to Flandris, within
foure daies eftor his cumeing thar, mak til himself
ane new gowne and doublet accordand for him, under
the pane of i lib. gret...

The inference seems to be that on a recent visit to Flanders Buchan had let the town down by not being properly dressed for the occasion. According to the full text of the record he rode in a cart hired by 'Mastir Adam of Gordon, persoun of Kinkel' (i.e. Adam of Gordon, parish priest of Kinkel) and had failed to pay his share of the hiring charge.

The minute tells us nothing about the occasion when the party of three rode together in the cart. The town concerned is probably Bruges. It is possible they rode in a procession for a 'Joyful Entry'. In the Holy Blood Processions all walked except those in the 'tableaux-vivants'.³⁰

There are also records from some of the Bruges parishes of play performances, some given indoors and some out-of-doors, as also of solemn processions through the streets on feast days. From the early part of the fifteenth century the growing Rederijker Kamers (Chambers of Rhetoric) began to perform plays on the Burg, the town centre³¹

Scotland had important contacts with the Low Countries through the University of Louvain (Leuven) from at least the latter part of the first half of the fifteenth century. Between 1427 and 1431 nineteen Scots matriculated there. Amongst the more distinguished Scots who studied there was James Kennedy, the future Bishop of St Andrews, who matriculated there in 1430, and William Turnbull, a future Bishop of Glasgow, who matriculated there in 1431.³²

Louvain had a long history of public religious pageantry. A regular annual procession in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary was held there on or about the Feast of her Nativity, 8 September. In 1395 costumed Prophets and Apostles walked for the first time in the procession, as they were beginning to do elsewhere in the Low Countries at this time. Floats bearing 'tableaux-vivants'

illustrating biblical themes were added in 1401 as they were also that year at Malines (Mechelen). In succeeding years more and more floats were added to the procession. In the first half of the fifteenth century the 'Martyrdom of St Peter' and the 'Crucifixion' were added. In both cases live actors were employed. Both James Kennedy and William Turnbull probably walked in the procession when the total number of Scottish students processing could have been eighteen.

As to religious plays presented at a time when they were probably evolving in Scotland a play of the 'Resurrection of Our Blessed Lord' was performed at Louvain in 1458.³³

Commerce with France through the Port of Dieppe, Scotland's biggest French trading partner, may have had some influence on the staging of plays of the 'Assumption', but details from either end are so sparse that it is impossible to say if this might possibly have been so.³⁴

Scottish merchants also traded with Rouen and Bordeaux. Rouen had a 'Confrérie' and a 'Puy', the former being obliged to play every year 'aucun vrai mistere ou miracle' and had the honour of performing in 1374³⁵ the first 'mister' in the French vernacular. Because of this early date influence on Scotland in the first half of the fifteenth century at a time when religious plays were probably evolving is possible. It would, however, be impossible to define or even estimate its extent.

The only information we have from Bordeaux is of the performance in 1525 of a short cycle of New Testament Plays. It is unlikely

this was the first time such a performance took place there.

However on the basis of such slender evidence it is impossible to say whether any influence might have entered Scotland from this town.³⁶

In our field of study the most significant contacts between Scotland and France were in the leading French universities. It is probable that continental influence on the portrayal of religious themes in Pre-Reformation Scotland came mostly through those who had attended and who often also taught in continental universities and in most cases returned to Scotland to become ecclesiastics, and some to teach in universities after these had been founded in the fifteenth century.

The Scots College was founded in Paris in 1326 and Scots matriculated and took their baccalaureate there regularly up to about 1420 when political reasons caused Scottish students for a while to turn elsewhere. However, they returned to Paris in about 1445 and in the course of the next three years two hundred and thirty-four took their bachelor's degree there, many Scots becoming Rectors of Faculties.³⁷

The 'Confrérie de la Passion et Résurrection' was already active in Paris by 1371. Also active there were two famous groups of 'Puis', the 'Basochiens' and 'Les Enfants sans Souci'. As already stated above by 1380 the public performance of the 'Passion' had become an annual event in Paris. By 1445 when Scottish students began to reappear at the University the 'Confrérie de la Passion' was already well-established.³⁸ Some of the many Scots who took their baccalaureate between 1450 and 1490 must have witnessed such

performances as from time to time they also witnessed the pageantry of 'Joyful Entries'.³⁹

At the University of Orléans a Scottish Nation existed from 1336. Here was a great Law School where many future Scottish Notaries qualified. Notaries are known to have been often entrusted with the writing of scripts for the religious plays as was Walter Balcancole for the Aberdeen Corpus Christi Play of 1449.⁴⁰ Unfortunately there are but few records of dramatic performances in Orléans. According to records a 'Mystère de la Passion' was performed there in 1400. De Julleville reports performances of plays of 'St Etienne' (i.e. St Stephen) in 1446, of 'Le Jugement Dernier' in 1550 and of 'La Passion' sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴¹

Between 1425 and about 1450 the version of the 'Passion' most likely to have been seen by Scots in France is 'Le Mystère de la Passion' of Eustache Mercadé of Arras which first appeared in 1425. It might possibly have influenced Passion Plays evolving in Scotland towards the end of the first half of the fifteenth century. From the middle of the fifteenth century Scots in France had a good chance of seeing Arnoul Greban's 'Passion', not only in Paris but also in other French towns.

Pilgrims to the great European shrines, because they represented all classes, except the very poor, may have been greater conveyors of continental influence into Scotland than the merchants. In

France the most popular shrine was that of St John the Baptist at Amiens but some Scots visited the Shrine of St Denis, near Paris, the most notable probably being John Barbour who went there in 1365, on the same occasion visiting other shrines and so probably that at Amiens. Barbour was Archdeacon of Aberdeen ⁱⁿ 1357 and also held high offices of state. Archbishop Patrick Graham of St Andrews (1465-79) visited the shrine at Amiens in 1468, accompanied by Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews (1440-65) and a party of clergy.⁴² Regular pilgrimages by Scots to this shrine are possible from 1314. From 1369/70 they are fairly certain and from 1488 there is no doubt.

Pilgrims to Amiens may have witnessed play performances there given by the local 'Puy', and visitors in 1413, 1427, 1445, 1455 and in subsequent years, might have witnessed the performance of a Passion Play.⁴³

There were important centres of trade for the Scots in North West Germany in the Hanseatic Ports of Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, and in Danzig (now Gdansk) where the number of Scottish settlers eventually warranted the establishment of a Scots Chaplain with their own altar.⁴⁴

It is possible that the influence of such places through Scottish merchants is likely to have been no more than marginal. In any case conventions and established traditions and iconography were so universal that these cities are unlikely to have had a distinctive and unique effect on the Scottish scene. The only one of these ports which might possibly have influenced Scotland is Hamburg, but even there its methods of mounting plays are to be found in various other places in Europe. Hamburg

records show Passion Plays from 1466, but it is likely they began rather earlier. Here the members of craft guilds were required to provide the scenes for a Passion Cycle. Accounts of 1466 show that the actor who played Christ on the Cross was provided with a skin as in the Scottish and other Passion Plays. According to an eye-witness account of 1517 the play was simultaneously staged.⁴⁵

This is how we suggest they were staged in Scotland, as for example in Perth (see Chapter Six), and like the better known one of Arnoul Greban at Valenciennes in 1547.

Many Scottish traders, probably 'chapmen' rather than merchants in the proper sense, went to settle in Regensburg, Bavaria, mainly in the first half of the sixteenth century, but they appear to have severed their links with their homeland, taking local citizenship, and becoming wholly absorbed in their new homeland and the local cross-Danube trade. There is no evidence that Scots traded directly with Regensburg. The influence of Regensburg in Scotland on our subject through Scottish merchants is likely to have been minimal, even non-existent.⁴⁶

We have no knowledge of any significant trade between Scotland and Cologne. Scotland's most important contact with this city was at the university level. Scottish students were admitted to the University of Cologne from 1423 and continued to study or teach there throughout the rest of the fifteenth century, at times making an impact out of all proportion to their numbers. Some returned to Scotland to play important roles in Scottish life.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the portrayal of religious themes in Cologne in the period that concerns us is minimal. The Feast of Corpus Christi was observed in Cologne as early as 1306 but no records have survived giving any details of any religious themes that might have been portrayed on such or any other occasion via 'tableaux', 'tableaux-vivants' or dramatic performances. It is, however, possible that Scottish students and staff might have witnessed a performance, somewhere in the region, of the Maastricht Osterspiel, the Continent's oldest vernacular Passion Play, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷

Little or nothing is known of any commercial intercourse between Vienna and Scotland although it seems likely that a number of the ubiquitous Scottish chapmen may have settled there. There are local records of a 'Schottenstift' (lit. charitable foundation for Scots) in Vienna, a charity school whose scholars presented a religious play in 1542 and the sons of Scots may have sung in the choir of St Stephan's Cathedral, but as with Regensburg, this expatriate community probably maintained little or no contact with their former homeland.

Scots are not found at the University of Vienna until the second half of the fifteenth century and their numbers were never great. There were but two registered in 1455-6. There are records of regular performances of Passion Plays in the cathedral precincts between the years 1431 and 1505 and from 1433 performances of the same play were also given there at Corpus Christi. It is probable that the two solitary students of 1456-6 witnessed at least one, and possibly more performances of the play. In the matter of influence numbers are not necessarily important. The

all-important thing is the position these students may later have occupied when they returned to Scotland. Of that we have no knowledge.⁴⁸

There is little evidence of direct trade between Scotland and Italy. Scottish merchants, however, would have met merchants, bankers and financiers, from the various Italian territories, in Bruges. There they would have experienced a little of Italian culture through the contributions the nations were required to make to the 'Joyful Entries' of distinguished visitors.⁴⁹

Scotland's contacts with Italy were principally through Scottish students and scholars at Italian universities from at least the fourteenth century and through ecclesiastics who from time to time had business to attend to in Rome. Records show Scottish students and sometimes Scottish staff at Bologna, Padua, Pavia, Siena and Rome in the years before the Reformation. Their numbers were never large, but as said before, in the matter of influence numbers are not necessarily all-important.

The University of Padua was a particular favourite with Scottish students, first appearing there in the first half of the fourteenth century. At Siena one Scottish priest, Andrew de Hawk, achieved high office, being appointed Rector of Doctors and⁵⁰ Scholars in 1423.

From Padua there is a record of the performance in 1243-4 of the

'Passion and Resurrection' in the open-air, in a meadow. From the second half of the fourteenth century plays featuring the saints were performed by a 'Compagnia' devoted to that specific purpose. Padua Cathedral had a strong tradition of the performance of dramatic liturgies. Fourteenth century Latin liturgical texts are extant of dramatic ceremonies of the 'Annunciation' and the 'Purification' (otherwise called the 'Presentation' or Candlemas) which were performed in the cathedral.⁵¹ Of particular significance is Padua's famous Law School where some Scottish Notaries probably received their training. Any Scottish Notary called upon to write a Nativity Cycle who had studied at Padua, as for example, that of the Aberdeen Candlemas Offerand, would probably have been influenced by what he might once have witnessed in Padua Cathedral.

A Scottish student and future cleric studying at Siena would take home with him vivid memories of dramatic liturgies he had probably witnessed in the Cathedral there where a fifteenth century manuscript contains a number of plays performed in conjunction with Mass. As we have explained elsewhere one is a play of the 'Nativity' in which an Angel appears and sings the anthem 'Gloria in Excelsis' in the customary place at the beginning of Mass. When Mass ends another Angel appears and speaks a Prologue to the play about to begin. Then follow scenes of the 'Nativity' and the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' who bring gifts of cheese and a small barrel of beer. Then follows the 'Adoration of the Three Kings' with their traditional gifts, and the play concludes with an Epilogue spoken by the Angel. The play took place in the body of the church in front of the pulpit where a stable had been set up.

This same manuscript also contains texts for the representations

of plays of the 'Forlorn Son' (i.e. the 'Prodigal Son') and of 'St Katherine of Alexandria'. We know of no record of the representation of a play of the 'Forlorn Son' in Scotland but the Wrights of Perth performed a play of St. Katherine in the year 1530, as part of the Corpus Christi celebrations, as they probably did annually. The Siena play was designed to last three days with spectacular angel scenes. It is probably this play that is recorded as being played on 9 June 1446.⁵²

Unfortunately records of festivities and dramatic presentations in the vernacular in the open-air in these university cities are not very abundant, particularly in the pre-1450 era when Scottish religious plays were probably evolving. However even an isolated late date might indicate a long tradition where no records had been kept, or if they had been, had been lost. There is a 1492 record of a Corpus Christi Procession in Bologna which included representations of Old and New Testament subjects. A farce was presented in the town in 1496 and a morality in 1506, indicating the probable existence of a tradition of creative dramatic talent.⁵³

There is, however, a record from Siena of a play that was given on Good Friday in the year 1200 by actors who were rewarded from public funds and on Good Friday, 6 April 1257, a play of the Crucifixion was presented when the role of Christ on the Cross was played by a boy. This was also supported by public funds and so both plays were probably performed out of doors, in the vernacular, like the one performed in a meadow at Padua in 1243-4 (see above).⁵⁴

We have no information on the numbers of Scots who studied at the

University of Rome. The most influential Scottish visitors to Rome would have been the Bishops who at regular intervals were required to visit the Roman Curia to report on the affairs of their Diocese.⁵⁵ Some Scottish ecclesiastics would have attended the final Session of the so-called Council of Florence held in Rome in the years 1442-45.

There are records of Scots going on pilgrimage to Rome, the 'Threshold of the Apostles', from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. They came from a variety of ranks in Church and State, and included Bishops of Aberdeen, Abbots of Dunfermline, Melrose and Holyrood, Edinburgh, a Prior of St Andrews, a Dean of Aberdeen, a Provost of Bothwell, as well as numerous Archdeacons, Canons and ordinary clergy. Most came on business at the Papal Curia and combined that with paying their devotions to the relics of SS Peter and Paul. Such pilgrimages took place from Glasgow as early as the twelfth century. Many pilgrims came during the Holy Years that took place from time to time as they still do. James Kennedy of St Andrews was there in 1449-50. These visits earned a generous Indulgence.

Passion Plays were performed in the Colosseum every Good Friday from 1489/90 to 1539 by the Compagnia del Gonfalone. They had been performing 'Passions' in Rome from the end of the fourteenth century but their earlier performances were of the kind classified as 'Laudi' and 'Devozioni'. Sometimes this Compagnia gave performances of the 'Resurrection' in the Church of St John Lateran, sometimes in St Peter's and sometimes in the Colosseum.⁵⁶ There were other performances besides these. About 1400 a play of the 'Birth and Death of St John Baptist' was performed. A play of the 'Martyrdom of SS Peter and Paul' was performed on a hill by

'Jocutores' in 1417. In 1473 there were performances of plays of 'Susanna', 'A Miracle of the Host' and again of 'St John the Baptist', with the help of players from Florence. These performances were for the entertainment of Leonora of Aragon. During the season of 'Carnival' (i.e. Pre-Lent) in 1484 there was a play based on the life of the Emperor Constantine. In 1484 and 1489 there were plays of SS John and Paul, and in 1490 the Florentiners staged in Rome plays of the 'Birth, Death and Resurrection of Jesus' with great magnificence.

Scottish ecclesiastics attended the Council Sessions that took place in Florence from 1439 to 1442. There some probably witnessed two elaborate and impressive events which might later have had some influence on the portrayal of religious themes in Scotland. In 1439 (and in 1454) there was a series of processional religious plays in honour of St John the Baptist in which all sections of the community participated. There were at least twenty-two pageant-waggon in a procession which illustrated the whole history of the world from the 'Fall of Lucifer' to the 'Last Judgement', in other words it was a cosmic cycle. Each pageant-waggon halted in turn before the platform on which were the City Fathers when the players engaged in what must have been very brief dialogue of no more than a few lines. Their brief dialogue completed the waggons passed on through the town to the cheers of thousands of spectators, making no further stops. As far as most spectators were concerned they saw what amounted to 'tableaux' but heard no speech. The memory any Scottish ecclesiastic who might have been a spectator took back with him to Scotland would have been of the costuming of characters and the magnificent stage sets on the pageant-waggons.

Scots attending the Council Session of 1439 in Florence would have seen the impressive presentation of the 'Annunciation' of which the Russian Bishop Abraham of Souzdal has left such a vivid account. In the same year there was an equally impressive representation of the 'Ascension' of which the Bishop also wrote an account. (See Chapter Five, D. ITALY. 1) FLORENCE.)

Many pilgrims bound for the Holy Land travelled via Venice where after certain solemnities they took ship first to Rhodes and then continued their journey again by sea. Pilgrims awaiting departure from Venice might sometimes have witnessed some magnificent performances. From 1143 there was an annual performance of the 'Salutation (i.e. 'Annunciation') of Mary on St Mark's Square. From 1375 in the Church of St Mark on Good Friday there was a performance of a 'Devozione' of the story of the *Passion* with five actors in a succession of scenes performed in mime and gesture, accompanied by a preacher commenting as the story unfolded scene by scene. This was followed on Easter Day by a liturgical Easter Play with large congregational participation. As from 1451 there were annual performances of the 'Ascension' on St Mark's Square and every year on Corpus Christi there was a procession with Old and New Testament pageants.⁵⁷

There is little evidence of Scottish merchants trading directly with the ports of the Iberian Peninsula. Scottish trade with this area was, no doubt, conducted principally through the ports of the Low Countries and in most of the fifteenth century through Bruges. Most Scottish contact with this area was probably through the many Scots pilgrims who like many other Europeans made their way on pilgrimage to Europe's most popular shrine at Santiago de Compostela to pay their devotions to the relics of St James, the Apostle, whose Feast Day occurred on 25 July. Here on this

occasion pilgrims would have witnessed a liturgical or semi-liturgical play of the 'Transfiguration'. The only Scottish evidence for a possible play on this subject comes from Ayr.⁵⁸

The Purpose of Pageant Processions and the Manner of Staging Plays in Scotland.

From the Church's point of view the main purpose of the public processions at Corpus Christi and often on other occasions was to solemnly bear the Blessed Sacrament through the crowd-lined streets of the town. The processions, however, had another secondary purpose.

In Aberdeen and Perth the evidence shows that the so-called pageant processions were in the nature of pre-play 'monstres' (modern French, 'montres') such as we associate principally with France. Their purpose was to publicise a play soon to be performed at a public place. A detailed record has survived of such a 'monstre' held in Bourges, France, in 1536, before the play of the 'Actes des Apostres' was performed by simultaneous staging in the local amphitheatre.⁵⁹ Andrew Forman, who later became Archbishop of St Andrews, was Bishop of Bourges in 1513-15

The Hamburg Passion Play of 1517 was staged in this way on the Market Place as was the 'Ludus de Sancto Kanuto' also performed on the Market Place at Ringsted, Denmark, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Greban's 'Passion' was performed in the same way at Valenciennes in 1547. At the time there was no other way to perform a series of adequately staged scenes except by performances at scaffolds along a processional route. We believe that 'monstres' took place in Scotland before the staging of plays on a public place. We suggest the evidence shows this was so in Aberdeen and Perth where we believe plays were simultaneously staged in the French manner.⁶⁰

In purpose akin to the French 'monstres' was the 'Proclamation made in Cowpar of Fyffe' in 1552 of the enlarged version of Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* which was due to take place on the⁶¹

Sevinth day of June, Gid weddir serve....abowt
the hour of sevin....upone Castell Hill.

After the proclamation there followed a playlet featuring 'Nuntius' (the reader of the proclamation) and nine other characters for the purpose of arousing interest in the coming performance.

We showed in Chapter Six that the Craftsmen of Perth were still illiterate in the first half of the sixteenth century. There is no reason to believe they were any less so elsewhere in Scotland at the time. Thus they could not be given the script of a play and learn their part unaided. Nevertheless the record of 23 May 1553 speaks of 'players' which implies a more active role than merely miming with gestures. This clearly posed a problem but it was not one peculiar to Scotland. It was solved elsewhere and, no doubt, Scotland solved it on similar lines. Sometimes a Play Director, probably someone who had been supervising rehearsals for some time, at the play performance would take to the stage himself to cue the players by repeating the text of what were probably quite short speeches, loud enough for the players to hear but not so loud as to distract the audience. This may only have been necessary when a new play was being produced. In the context we are discussing, as Perth records indicate, the same men played the same part year in and year out and eventually would have their part off by heart. Further it is probable that being unable to read illiterate persons developed a faculty for remembering things, which in more literate times has vanished, and remembering a play text was helped by the fact that the ones that concern us

were normally written in verse and rhyme in a simple metre.

The term 'pageant-waggon' is not generally met with in Scottish records. The Hammermen of Edinburgh used one to make a platform for dancing but there is nothing to show they used one for their play of the 'Slaughter of the Innocents'. The term 'convoy' found in the Edinburgh records means no more than 'procession'. However, matters may have been different with the 'Joyful Entries' which we do not study in this thesis although we provide an Appendix on the subject. What may be a unique instance occurred in the 1558 'Triumphe and Play at the Marriage of the Quenis Grace' when there appeared in the 'Triumphal Procession' a 'kart' on which was painted the Seven Planets for use in the 'Play of the Seven Planets'.⁶²

Neither did they use pageant-waggons at Perth. That is shown by the reward paid a craftsman for carrying a stage-prop, a throne for use in a 'tableaux-vivant' or play of Erasmus. We believe that when the term 'pageant' is used in Scottish records it can mean either a 'tableau', a 'tableau-vivant', a play scene or a set for a play scene. At Aberdeen the term 'pageant' occurs in the records but not the term 'pageant-waggon'. An Aberdeen burgh record of 30 January 1505/6 regarding the forthcoming 'Candlemass Offerand' might seem to indicate the use of pageant-waggons to bear stage-sets or stage-properties, but not to carry players, in the public procession to the church for the ensuing performance. The record makes it clear that is where the performance is to take place. It makes a clear distinction between the procession and the play,⁶³

....the saide craftismen....sale perpetualie In tyme
to cum (to) obserue & keipe the saide processioun als
honorably as thai cane and sale in ordire to the
Offering in the play....

That the waggon, or perhaps more likely the handcart, is carrying either a set or properties for a scene to be enacted later, is shown by the following extract,

....Ande tua of ilke craft to pass with the pagcant
that thai furnys* to keip thare geire....

*The term may mean provide and equip.

At Aberdeen what must have been a heavy cross intended for later use in a crucifixion scene was carried by 'the barmen of the croce'. The Spalding Club version gives, 'barman', but we think Mill's version is correct. To carry such a cross would require at least three men, and preferably four. Clearly the cross was not mounted on a waggon and was not for use in a scene of the 'Way of the Cross', i.e. the 'Via Dolorosa', where one man playing Jesus would have carried the cross. Yet had the organizers of the play wanted waggons the crafts themselves could have provided them for a burgh record of 1522⁶⁴ shows they provided carts for the conveyance of the burgh's artillery to the town walls.

In Chapter Six when discussing Aberdeen, Haddington and Edinburgh, we explained that the burgh authorities of Aberdeen and Haddington were keen that the Crafts should adhere to the Order of Precedence in the public processions that was observed in Edinburgh. It is probable that other Scottish burghs followed the same rule, but no records have survived to show this was so. The Seal of Cause granted the Wrights and Masons of Edinburgh, on 15 October 1475, stipulated that the Craft was to take part in all public processions just as did the Crafts of Bruges but said nothing about adhering to the order of craft precedence that prevailed there. That was a matter that in Scotland was decided by the Burgh Council. The subject of craft precedence in Bruges was thoroughly

investigated and although it was evident that matters of precedence were of great importance the order there had no particular influence over the order adopted in Scotland, for example throughout Scotland the most prestigious craft, always nearest the Sacrament, was that of the Hammermen. Whereas in Bruges, because of their importance in local industry, it was the Weavers who had pride of place, and the Hammermen came somewhere in the middle of the public processions. The question of precedence apart, obviously there were those in Edinburgh familiar with Bruges and its Holy Blood and other Processions and that could have influenced the production of religious portrayals in Edinburgh. Whilst in Bruges craftsmen walked craft by craft ahead of the procession of 'tableaux-vivants' they do not appear to have provided players for the latter. According to a modern local authority the 'tableaux-vivants' described by Damhouder appear to have been provided by the local Chamber of Rhetoric, which was founded in 1428, under the name 'Pensee', later changed to that of 'Heilig geest Kamer', and which from time to time performed plays at the Burg, the town centre. Damhouder does not state who provided the players for the 'tableaux-vivants'.

The Saints in Scottish Pageantry and Plays.

Continental influence in Scotland is specially evident in connection with the pageants which featured the saints, as seen in Aberdeen, Ayr, Dundee, Edinburgh, Lanark and Perth. Of a total of thirty-eight saints mentioned in the Scottish records embracing pageants and plays there are no more than two who had any direct historical connection with Scotland. These are St Mungo (also known as St Kentigern) and St Ninian. Many of the saints were commemorated because throughout Western Christendom it was believed their intercession could help in the case of earthly

predicaments and problems, especially in the case of plague and pestilence. Some of the saints were portrayed because they were the patrons of the crafts and normally patrons of the same crafts on the Continent, as for example, SS Eloi and Obert, Patrons of Hammermen and Bakers at Perth and elsewhere in Scotland and in the Low Countries. Furthermore the Scottish ecclesiastical Calendar followed the Sarum Use and so reflected the common usage of the whole Western Church.⁶⁷

We believe the evidence we have set out in the text of this Volume One, supported by the Appendices of Volume Two, shows that in Pre-Reformation times there were many Scots rich in the experience of witnessing, continental pageants and plays. These were merchants, ecclesiastics including notaries and writers, students and scholars at universities, and courtiers, like Sir David Lyndsay, and pilgrims from all walks of life. All such were able to influence the beginnings and the evolution of pageantry and plays in Scotland and ensure that in this field Scotland kept pace with what was happening on the Continent, adhering broadly-speaking to the traditions that had developed there.

An important area where continental influence was strongly felt but which has not been given detailed consideration is that of the 'Joyful' and 'Triumphal Entries' into Edinburgh, usually of the Sovereign, where the influence of France, the Low Countries and Italy can be seen, although the latter may have come indirectly through Burgundy and the Low Countries and especially via Bruges. Factual information about these ceremonial Entries will be found in APPENDIX 'F' to Chapter Six. The eventual deterioration of public religious pageantry and the coming triumph of renaissance classicism is already signalled in the 'Joyful Entry' of Margaret

Tudor into Edinburgh in 1503.⁶⁸ The 'Play of the Seven Planets', derived in the first instance from Paris, but ultimately from Italy, was the principal feature in the festivities held in Edinburgh in 1558 to celebrate the 'repeat' wedding ceremony of Mary Queen of Scots to the French Dauphin when religious pageantry and plays were conspicuous by their absence.⁶⁹ It was, however, the Reformation that killed religious pageantry and plays in the medieval style for the common people of Scotland, even so clandestine efforts were made by craftsmen to preserve them in Perth.

Our study in Volume One has concentrated on continental influence on public religious pageantry and plays as seen upon the streets of the burghs. We have not considered items referred to in records as moralities, farces and plays. These begin to appear in the first half of the sixteenth century and most of the references to them occur in the records concerning 'Joyful and Triumphal Entries' in Edinburgh, although there is a reference to 'ferchis' (i.e. farces) in a Perth burgh record of 30 July 1546 when 'Iohannes walcar' was made a Burgess and Guild Member without fee for producing for the delight of the citizenry, at his own expense, 'gemmys ferchis and clerk playis'.⁷⁰ No details of the Perth farces have survived. Neither have we any details of the 'farces' performed in Edinburgh. It is suspected these were dependent on French models. A little more is known about a few of the plays, at least sufficient to show they were based on the legends of antiquity. They were also probably based on French models, which in turn may have been indebted to Italian models. Much information on 'Joyful and Triumphal Entries' will be found in APPENDIX 'F' to Chapter Six.

It was in this period (first half of the sixteenth century) that the literary genius of Sir David Lyndsay flourished. The brilliance of his morality *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis in Commendatioun of Virtew and Vituperation of Vyce* is perhaps a measure of what has been lost through the non-survival of the texts of the farces and plays referred to above. It has been truly said of this play, 'It is, as a dramatic representation, in advance of all contemporary English plays.....'⁷¹

We believe the wide-ranging evidence we have presented shows that artistic expression as seen in Scotland in its various forms and media, in the period that concerns us, ran parallel to that common to Western Europe. Likewise there is every reason to believe that at the same time there was a fairly close Scottish-Continental unity of artistic expression in the costuming and staging of the religious pageantry and plays they shared in common, and which themselves mirrored (or were mirrored by) the contemporary artistic and iconographic conventions common to Scotland and the Continent.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT.

1. See INTRODUCTION to this volume.
2. Richard BEADLE ed. *The York Plays* (Edward Arnold [Publishers] Ltd., London, 1982) 293-306, especially 302, lines 336-9; see also - our vol.2, APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'. The poem 'On Gude Friday' by Sir Richard Maitland.
3. Vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN. 1358.
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37. As n.32.
38. As n.32.
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CONTINENTAL INFLUENCE
ON RELIGIOUS PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS
IN PRE-REFORMATION SCOTLAND

VOLUME TWO - APPENDICES

Gilbert R. Connock

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for the

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Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies

Faculty of Arts

University of Glasgow

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CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX 'A' THE LOW COUNTRIES

CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

EXTRACTS FROM ORDINANCES OF THE TOWN OF MIDDELBURG.

Ordinance of 10 June 1462. The Guild of Hand-bowmen.

The next time the Holy Cross is processed in Middelburg the twenty year olds of the Guild of Handbowmen are to walk in the procession wearing their armoured suits and carrying their bows, as is the custom, subject to a penalty and punishment for failure to do so.

In future any other members of the aforesaid guild whom the Council shall call upon shall also process with their handbows and in their armoured suits in the aforesaid procession.

They shall also process with their candles upon Sacrament Day between the Winemasters and the Wine-tappers.¹

9 January 1484/5. Ordinance for the Guild of Rederijkers.

No. 12. On the day of the Ommegang, the deacon and the sworn members, are to bid the ordinary members with their boys (i.e. apprentices and probably journeymen) go and make their offering just like other crafts do, each with his sword, subject to penalty for failure to do so.²

No. 15. Any member who is ordered by the deacon and sworn members to play a part for the 'esbattements' or stage plays, and fails to do so, because he would prefer to play some other part, is to be fined.³

No. 16. Likewise no guild brother shall take part in a waggonplay if they intend to charge the guild expenses. If they have been ordered and refused they are to be fined by the deacon and sworn brethren.⁴

No. 20. If any guild brother has undertaken to act a part, whether it be in a stage play or an 'esbatement', and on the day that he should play will not play, they are to be fined.⁵

No. 21. Likewise when any play, whether stage play or 'esbatement' is announced by the deacon and sworn members, those who have been nominated to play with the guild brethren on the orders of the deacon, are to come to a familiarisation meeting on the Square, where the young men are to speak, so that the play, or 'esbatement' can be tried out, those who hear this but are nevertheless absent, are to be fined.⁶

17 March 1514/15. Ordinance for the Guild of Rederijkers.

From now and henceforth for ever the Guild shall have for their Patroness St Anne in the Church of Westmonster.⁷

The aforesaid town shall every year service their pageant waggons without charge.⁸

The aforesaid town shall pay monthly 5 sc. gr. to maintain their Chamber, subject to the conditions and provisos, that whenever the town celebrates a 'Victory' or 'Triumph', the Rederijkers are to play, and the town promises to safeguard them, whether it be 'eshatements' or stage plays. Furthermore there shall henceforth be performed yearly thirteen stage plays and besides they shall still perform in the 'Jaremarct' every Sunday and Holy Day and likewise whenever the Marksmen shall have a shooting contest. They are to perform on St George's Day, St Sebastian's Day, and when the gunners shall hold their Festival of the 'Seven Sorrows' which plays shall be entertaining; they shall also henceforth play at the Town House on New Year's Eve, and Thirteenth Evening,⁹ in accordance with custom; they are also bound to play in the 'Ommegang' on Sacrament Day which they are bound to help organize and maintain. The aforesaid town shall also be bound once in every four years to give one noble to each tabbard-wearer³ present.¹⁰

a. A garment worn by knights over their armoured-suiting.

The disciplinary measures set out in the Ordinance of 1484/5 are set out once again in very similar form and so are not given here.¹¹

29 November 1539. Ordinance for the Guild of St Luke.

The Ordinance does not state what type of guild this was. It may have been a guild of painters, or a devotional guild exclusively. It is bound by the Ordinance to maintain the Altar of St Luke and to arrange for Requiem Masses to be said for departed brothers and sisters. It was an obligation common to all guilds to say Requiem Masses for departed members. The reference to 'brothers and sisters' suggests the guild was a devotional guild and nothing more. Further,

Regarding processions all guild brethren are bound to participate in the processions on Sacrament and Ommegang Days 'under their torches', subject to fine and correction for failure to do so. Members are also bound to contribute towards expenses.

All those ordered by the Deacon and Governors are bound to play^a in the Ommegangs, or to arrange for someone else to play in their stead at their own expense, to the end that the play in the foresaid Ommegangs shall be fully performed.¹²

'Play' may mean no more than taking a part in a 'tableau-vivant' or a play in dumb show in the course of the procession.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

1. W.S. UNGER *Bronnen tot Geschiedenis van Middelburg in den Landsheerlijken Tijd* (Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1923, 6, 31, 3 vols.) vol. 1, 121, 2.
2. UNGER vol. 1, 138.
3. " " 139.
4. " " 139.
5. " " 139.
6. " " 139.
7. " " 153.
8. " " 154.
9. The event possibly took place in the evening of the Feast of the Epiphany, i.e. 6 January. Unger gives 5 January, the Eve of the Epiphany, also a likely date. Strictly-speaking thirteen days after Christmas is 7 January, but if the evenings are counted from the evening of Christmas Day we arrive at 6 January, the correct date for the Epiphany. See UNGER, vol. 1, 154.
10. UNGER vol. 1, 154.
11. " " 137-40 for 1484/5; 154-6, for 1514/15.
12. " " 385, 6.

CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX 'B' FRANCE

CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE.

i) SCOTLAND'S TRADE WITH FRANCE:

EXTRACTS OF, OR REFERENCES TO RECORDS (Dundee treated separately).

8 June 1423.¹

Warrant of Safe Conduct granted for Wautier Clark and Laurence of Ballochyn, masters of two vessels belonging to James, King of Scots, to trade to Bordeaux.

3 June 1464.²

Warrant of S/C for one year granted to Andrew Athelek, James Athelek, Adam Peterson and Robert Richardson, with a ship called the 'Mario' of the Port of Leyth - 40 tons burden, John Robertsoune, Master, and twelve mariners, to trade in the King's dominions.

a. May relate to England, but probably includes Calais and surrounding enclave, England lost the rest of Normandy in 1450. Two similar S/C's were granted to John Robertsoune on subsequent occasions.

18 July 1464.³

Warrant of Safe Conduct granted to a Scottish merchant trading with France and elsewhere, also in Flanders and other parts of the Duke of Burgundy's dominions.

1494.⁴

for a hat bocht fra Thomas Duncansonne of Rowane, xiiijs.

1503.⁵

Item, to ... Robert (Bertoune), that he gaif to Maister Johne Hervy for certane bukis he bocht to the King in Paris, ix li, vs.

12 August 1506.⁶

re, a ship being built for the King at Dieppe, payments to James Wilson 'of Deip' for timber.

Payments to Robert Bertoun for shipwrights.

1506.⁷

Payment to Robert Bertoun to refund expenses for a man to pass from 'Seyn to Deip' - apparently to join the shipwrights working there.

Payment to Robert Bertoun for timber and other items for the ship being built.

1506.⁸

Item, to Robert Bertoun he gaif in Rowane for the writingis to the officiariis of Deip for the King's materis, xxiiij frankis; ilk frank, xs.
Summa, xl li. xs.

1511-12.⁹

Payment 'to Lowis de Pois Franche Mane, brothir to the baillie of Deip' for the period: 3 October - 10 January, to equip him for the King's service and his passage to France.

1516.¹⁰

Item, to the merchand of Rowand at my lord governouris command of the silucr of Cardnes, ij^c lxxvj li. xiijs. iiijd.

15 January 1523/24.¹¹

William Cristell, burges of Deip, factour to this gud toun requested to buy for the town 'ane pece of artillery of brass of xxiiij futt, with fifty irne bowlis ... and anc

barrel of powder'.

9 September 1530.¹²

Sir Andro Scherer, vicar of Nig, is owed money = £40 Flanders money, by John Rutherford which is to be paid in goods.

Sir Andro Scherer, vicar of Nig, enters into an arrangement whereof a debt of John Rutherford is (ob)settled through John Meldrume in Dieppe.

1535-6.¹³

To the Frenchmen who brought wine for the Grey Friars,
1 li, 11s.

1538.¹⁴

The King's expenses incurred at Rouen:

Payments for garments of the King, changed and altered at Pasch.

Payment for wax acquired in Rouen for the King's Chapel.¹⁵

Payment for various items of silk for a highly decorative gown worn by the King at Pasch.¹⁶

7 March 1546.¹⁷

A vessel of Dieppe, the Saint Katherine, is captured by the English in Aberdeen waters but retaken by a burgess of Aberdeen.

1547-48.¹⁸

'Wine to a French captain who landed here (i.e. Ayr) and went on to Haddington...'

1552.¹⁹

The servant of a Dieppe merchant arrived in Perth in 1552 to collect various sums of money remaining unpaid to his master for goods purchased by the merchants of Perth (St Johnston). John Monnypenny, who had purchased two tuns of wine in 1544 was the most delinquent.

Verschurr says that after trade with the Baltic ports Dieppe figures next in importance as a centre of overseas trade, salmon being traded for French wines, principally those of Bordeaux, and informs us that Robert Salmond and Blaise Colt engaged in a joint venture trading salmon for wine in the late 1550's. Colt was the factor who accompanied the goods while Salmond remained in Perth.²⁰

ii) DUNDEE'S TRADE WITH FRANCE.

Information regarding Dundee's trade with France is to be found in the Register of the Burgh and Head Courts preserved in the Burgh Archives. Volume One, which begins its regular entries in 1520, was unfortunately undergoing extensive restoration at the time we had the opportunity to research the Dundee Archives. Vols. Two and Three, however, provide useful information of the period c.1550-60 which may be taken as reflective of the kind of information contained in Volume One.

7 October 1550.²¹

No ship to be loaded for France, Flanders, Denmark and Danzig (or any other...) without the town's permission and in the presence of the Dean of Guild.

26 February 1550/51.²²

Robert treich merchant of ane Schip of Deip Enterit his schip ladine xlvj twne of bourdeaux wyne...

4 March 1550/51.²³

The quhilk day gillem le low merchant of deip Enterit his ship with xxxv twne of wyne of bourdeaux.

18 September 1551.²⁴

Jacques Raynnand maister of ane schip of deipec... (with cargoes as detailed).

13 October 1551. ²⁵

Shows that 'Johne meil burges of deip' was the brother of 'Sande meil', apparently a citizen of Dundee.

10 October 1551.²⁶

'... nicholay criste skipper of a schip of deip enterit his
Schip with thir gudis following...'.
[1990]

29 January 1551/2.²⁷

Reference to a ship loaded in France, but name of French port not given.

4 April 1552.²⁸

'guilliem le low merchand of ane schip of deip... maister
nycholay criste' delivers a cargo of 'fifty fyve of bor-
bordaulx vyne...'.^a

a. re 'gillliem le low', see, 4 March 1550/51, and re 'nicholay criste', see 10 October 1551.

25 May 1552.²⁹

Concerns 'James dowgall Indweller In deip', and refers to a cargo of hides exported to 'deip' via Leith.

27 June 1552.³⁰

'Christofr lowtrell capitaine of ane schip of deip' appeared before the Court.

6 March 1552-3.³¹

'Ando Small' pursues a claim against 'James Valkar', about to depart to 'bordaulx in the partis of france', who is to answer the chargee within fifteen days of coming home.

The next entry regarding trade with France does not occur until:

22 April 1556.³²

'blase Colt' complains that 'Robert Dalmont' owes payment 'of thre twyn fracht of wyne furthe of bouddaulx'.³³

a. Both Colt and Salmond appear in the records of Perth where they are shown trading salmon for wine.³³

18 September 1556.³⁴

'andro robertson', merchant is owed by 'Maister thomas Quhytlok' for his part of 'the fracht of ont burdeaulx...'

Having obtained sufficient information to show that Dundee's trading 'partners' in France were principally Dieppe and to a lesser extent Bordeaux we discontinued our search of the Burgh and Head Court Register. We believe that the Register does not show the full extent of the trade, as entries seem only to have been made when there was business which concerned the Burgh and Court. Presumably cargoes imported for a private purchaser where both parties were content with the conduct of the transaction would not normally receive the attention of the Court. Much of the wine may have been imported for the use of the Burgh, as great quantities seem to have been required for festive occasions, as gifts to men of distinction visiting the burgh, and as rewards to servants of the Burgh.

iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF ST JOHN BAPTIST, AMIENS.

22. 12. 1314.³⁵
 Duncan, Earl of Fife and his personal retinue granted 'Safe Conduct' to make pilgrimages to France - for one year.

4. 9. 1325.³⁶
 'Safe Conduct' for Johanna, Countess of Athol, going to Amiens till Christmas next.

14. 6. 1346.³⁷
 'Safe Conduct' for one year to Sir Alexander Forstar, lord of Corstorphine; Sir John of Lawidir of Hawton, Kts., Henry Leberton of the Lainy, John of Wardlawe of Recardton, and Gilbert Forstar, Scottyshmen, with 30 persons of same nation in company, to come on pilgrimage to St Thomas of Canterbury and St John of Amiace (i.e. Amiens).

30. 5. 1390.³⁸
 'Safe Conduct' till Michaelmas for Sir John of Maxwell of Scotland, Kt., with 3 mounted Scots, to pass through the King's dominions on pilgrimage to St John of Amiens and return.

Also for half a year for Andrew Scot, Clerk, and Walter Stradher, familiaris and servant to the Earl of Murrey with 4 horses to go on pilgrimage to St John of Amiens.³⁹

20. 11. 1407.⁴⁰
 'Safe Conduct' for Alexander Lyndesay, Earl of Crauforde, with 20 companions, to pass through England to Amiens in France and return Midsummer next.

5. 6. 1412.⁴¹

'Safe Conduct' till Martinmas next for the Earl of Murrey, with 24 Kts. and esquires in his train and their servants, to the number of 30 horses, going in pilgrimage to St John of Amiens.

1. 9. 1459.⁴²

Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews sailed from Pittenweem on pilgrimage to St John at Amiens.

1468.

Patrick, Bishop of Aberdeen, with other ecclesiastics, noblemen, and servants pass to France, Brittany, Flanders, Picardy and back.

See following Section iv) SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICS ACCOMPANIED BY OTHERS WHO TRAVELLED TO FRANCE, etc.

12. 2. 1488/9.⁴³

'Safe Conduct' for six months for Archibald, Earl of Angus, setting out on pilgrimage to the City of Amiens, with 80 attendants, horses etc..., to pass through the King's dominions, cross the seas and return.

9. 7. 1497.⁴⁴

Thomas Blare licensed to go to 'Sancte John of Amyais' for 2 years.

24. 4. 1506.⁴⁵

Johne Erle of Craufurd licensed - to pas in his pilgrimage to Sanct Johne of Ameas or uthir partis beyond sey,...

46
10. 5. 1506.

Robert Lawder of the Bass, Knycht, his men, servandis, and inhabitantis his landis, - with 14 other members and relatives of his family - and als all the Saidis Robertis and thare tennandis, attornais, factouris and intromettouris, licensed to go on pilgrimage to Sanct Johne of Ameas.

47
13. 2. 1506/7.

Johne Kennedy of Blarequhan, Knycht, Adam rede of Staquhite and M. Uchtred Adunuale, to pas in pilgrimage to Sanct Thomas of Canterbury in England, and Sanct Johne of Ameis,...

48
1507.

Item to Colin Campbell, for to pas to Amyas, his pilgrimage, vij li.

49
18. 8. 1507.

License to Schir Johne of Lundy....Knycht, to pas on... pilgrimage til Sanct Johne of Ameis,....

50
14. 9. 1507.

License to - our dere and hertly belovit cosing James Erle of Arran, lord of Hammylton, - to go to - Frans and uthir parteis beyonde sey (apon) certane chargis and erandis of ouris and his awn, and als in pilgrimage to St Johne of Ameas and uthir places.

51
30. 5. 1508.

License to - our lovitis cousingis Patrik Lord Lindesay of the Biris and Jhone Lindesay of Petcruvy, Knycht, his sone and apperand air...to pas in the realme of France, thare pilgrimage to Sanct Johne of Ameys and utheris partis beyond sey for atheris thare erandis thar to be done,...

13. 3. 1508/9.⁵²

License to - Robert Arnote, brother to the Abbot of Cambuskin (neth), - to pas his pilgrimage to St John of Amyas in France and uther (partis) beyond sey,...

23. 11. 1520.⁵³

Ane protectioun and Exemptioun to James Arbuthnott, in the common forme, quhilk past to Sanct Johne of Amies,...

18. 5. 1527.⁵⁴

License to - James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee, and certane utheris his kynnismen, tenentis and servandis to pas to Sanct Johne of Amies,...

1528/9.⁵⁵

License to - Alexander Prestoun, to pas to pilgrimage to Sanct Thomas of Cantirbery and Sanct Johnne of Ameys...

1. 2. 1531/2.⁵⁶

License to - Alexander Fraser of Phillorth for to pas furth of the realme to Sancte Johnne of Ames and utheris partis beyond sey, to do his lefull erandis,...

10. 5. 1537.⁵⁷

License to - John Erskine of Dun and others to pas to the partis of France, Italie, or ony vtheris beyond se, and thair remane for doing of thair pilgrimagis besynes and vthir lefull erandis for the space of thre yeiris nixt

58

16. 4. 1542.

License to - John Erskine of Dun, and others to pas to the
partis of Franche, Italie, or ony vtheris beyond sey, and
thair remane for doing thair lefull besynes for the space of
twa yeris,...

iv) SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICS ACCOMPANIED BY OTHERS
WHO TRAVELLED TO FRANCE AND BEYOND
THROUGH THE DOMINIONS OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

- 59
 1313. Bishop of St Andrews going on the King's business to Philip of France.
- 60
 1314. Bishop of St Andrews going abroad on his affairs.
- 61
 1328. Bishop of St Andrews returning from beyond the seas.
- 62
 1380/81. Simon de Ketenis, Dean of Aberdeen, King's Envoy to King of France.
- 63
 1384. Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, Cardinal, and Bishop of Dunkeld, to King and Council of France 'in negociis regis at regni'.
- 64
 1389. Master Duncan Petit, Canon of Glasgow, with laymen and 40 horsemen, abroad in the affairs of Scotland.
- 65
 1408. Master William of Loweder, Bishop of Glasgow, with 24 horsemen, returning from France.

- 66
1408. Dom John Hayles, Abbot of 'Balmoreenagh' with 12 horsemen, returning from France.
- 67
1419. Thomas Morwe, Abbot of Paisley, with others and their horses, to England and elsewhere.
- 68
1434. Ingerame Lyndzsay, familiar, priest and acolet to the Pope, with 2 Scots attendants, to Calais to the Council General sitting at Basille (i.e. Basle).
- 69
1434. Walter, Abbot of Aberbroth, O.S.B. with 10 attendants, to pass to Calais to the General Council at Basle.
- 70
1435. Master Alexander Lawder and 6 attendants to pass to the General Council at Basle.
- 71
1448. Thomas Spens, protonotary of the Apostolic See, and 17 noble-men and others to pass to France.
- 72
1450. Wm. Earl of Douglas, 6 Knights, Master Adam Auchenlyk, clerk, John Clerc, clerk, with others in a coy. of 80 persons, to pass to Calais and elsewhere.

73

1465/6.

Sir James Lindsay, Chanter of Moray, with David, Earl of Crawford, Lord of Lindsay, through the King's Dominions and elsewhere for 3 years.

74

1468.

Patrick, Bishop of St Andrews, Malcolm Brydy, Abbot of Arbrothok, Master James Lyndesay, Dean of Glasgow, Master Nicholas Graham, Vicar of Kirkpatrick, Master Andrew Liolle, Treasurer of Aberdeen, Sir Hy. Barry, Rector of Colaslie (i.e. Collacel), and a coy. of distinguished noblemen, with their servants to the number of eighty, passing to France, Brittany, Flanders, Picardy and back.

a. The visit to Picardy was probably to visit the Shrine of St John the Baptist at Amiens.

75

1472.

William, Bishop of Orkney, with 50 companions, to pass abroad.

76

1472/3.

Master Henry Boys, Chancellor of Dunblane and 12 companions, to go abroad by Calais.

77

1489.

Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, and others, with 80 horsemen, to cross seas and return.

78

1489/90.

Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, Wm. Knollys, Prior of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, Master Richard Murhead, Clerk of the Register and Rolls, and nobles, ambassadors of King James with 80 horsemen, to pass to foreign parts.

1490/91. ⁷⁹

Bishop of Glasgow and Prior of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, with various noblemen, ambassadors to the King and Queen of Castile, to pass to Leon, Aragon, Sicily etc.

1491. ⁸⁰

Robt. & Wm. Bps. of Glasgow & Aberdeen, Wm. Knollys, Prior of St John, etc., Master Richard Murhed, Dean of Glasgow going as Ambassadors to Charles, King of France, & the King & Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, with a hundred horsemen.

1494. ⁸¹

Andrew, Bp. of Orkney, with 12 horsemen to pass to foreign parts.

Simple entries of this kind now occur frequently and are not included in this list. The publication concludes with the year 1509.

1532. ⁸²

Sir David Lindsay, Sir Thomas Erskine, & the Bp. of Ross, depart on mission to Court of King of France, calling at Tours, Angers and Paris. Leaving on 26 March they returned in November.

1551. ⁸³

The Compter & his horse riding with the Abbot of Kilwynning, Ambassador in France to Paris & Sanct Germanis, 20 dais.

v) SCOTS APPOINTED TO HIGH ECCLESIASTICAL AND
OTHER HIGH OFFICES IN FRANCE.

1340. ⁸⁴
Gilbert Fleming, Dean of Aberdeen, appointed Auditor of Causes at Avignon.
1422. ⁸⁵
John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, made Constable of France, after the Battle of Beaugé, and lost his life in service of Charles VII at Verneurie.
1428. ⁸⁶
Charles VII made the Laird of Monypenny his Chamberlain and gave him the Lordship of Concrossant.
- 1428-32. ⁸⁷
John de Kirkmichael, Canon of Glasgow, Rector of Lilliesleaf, Chaplain to Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas, Bp. of Orléans. With the Earl at the Battles of Beaugé & Verneuil, & as Bp. of Orléans helped the Scottish defenders of the city. Along with Joan of Arc headed a procession of thanksgiving for the relief of the city. One of the officiating priests at the coronation of Charles VII.
- 1513-15. ⁸⁸
Andrew Forman, Bishop of Bourges, Archbishop of St Andrews from 1516.

89

1524.

John Stewart, Duke of Albany, given a seat in the Parliament of Paris by command of Francis I, plus other dignities and responsibilities.

90

1537-8.

David Beaton (or Bethune), Bp. of Mirepoix, in Foix, granted by Pope Paul III on nomination of Francis I, and made Cardinal year of consecration, 1538. A/bp. of St Andrews 1538/9 on death of uncle James Beaton.

91

1548.

King Henry I of France gave the Duchy of Chatelherault to James Earl of Arran. David Panter and James Beaton successively Abbots of Absie in France. Dates unknown. Panter became Bp. of Ross 1545. James Beaton (or, Bethune) was appointed Prior of Whithorn & Abbot of Dunfermline, 1504, Bp. Glasgow & Galloway, 1509, A/bp. of St Andrews 1548.

The editor of *Miscellania Scottica* states that in addition to those given very high office in France there were,

a great number of priors, canons, curates and other beneficed (Scottish) persons in France.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE. Items 1 to 5.

1. Joseph BAIN ed. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London* [1108-1509] (HMGRH, Edinburgh 4 vols. 1881-8) vol.4, 196. This series subsequently quoted as *CDRS*.
2. *CDRS* vol.4, 273.
3. " vol.4, 316.
4. " vol.1, 316.
5. " vol. 2, 206.
6. Thomas DICKSON and Sir James Balfour PAUL eds. *Compota thesaurariorum regum Scotorum. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473-1566* (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1877-1916, 11 vols.) vol.3, 295. (This series subsequently quoted as *ALHT*).
7. *ALHT* vol.3, 296.
8. " vol.3, 342.
9. " vol.4, 354.
10. " vol.5, 84.
11. J. STUART ed. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, 1844) 106.
12. STUART 136.
13. George PRYDE ed. *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624* (SHS Third Series, vol.28, 1937) 74.
14. *ALHT* vol.7, 20.
15. " vol.7, 38.
16. " vol.7, 41.
17. STUART 225, 227.
18. PRYDE 104.
19. Perth - Register of Decreets, 1547-52, 1570-72, etc., B59/12/3 fol 20iv.
Mary Black VERSCHUR. *Reformation Society and Reform, 1540-1560* (unpublished PH.D. Thesis No. 7117 submitted to Glasgow University in 1985, 2 vols.) vol.1, 256,7. The author also mentions at this point a ship coming to Perth from Bordeaux, but gives no precise date. (See VERSCHUR, and Burgh Court Minute Book, B59/12/5, 110.
20. VERSCHUR vol.1, 256.

21. DUNDEE REGISTER of Burgh and Head Courts vol.2, fol 3b.
22. " " vol.2, fol 40.
23. " " vol.2, fol 42b.
24. " " vol.2, fol 88b.
25. " " vol.2, fol 96.
26. " " vol.2, fol.104.
27. " " vol.2, fol 129.
28. " " vol.2, fol 146.
29. " " vol.2, fol 156b.
30. " " vol.2, fol 165b.
31. " " vol.2, fol 217.
32. " " vol.3, fol 44.
33. VERSCHUR vol.1, 255,6.
34. DUNDEE REGISTER vol.3, fol 70.
35. CDRS vol.3, 78.
36. " vol.3 159.
37. " vol.4, 273.
38. " vol.4, 91.
39. " vol.4, 91.
40. " vol.4, 152.
41. " vol.4, 166.
42. David McROBERTS 'The Glorious House of St Andrews' in
The Medieval Church of St Andrews (J.S. Burns and Sons,
Glasgow, 1975) 104.
43. CDRS vol.4, 316.
44. M. LIVINGSTONE ed. *Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum.*
The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland vol.1, 1488-1529
(HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1908) 14.
45. As n.44, 181.
46. " " 181.
47. " " 203.

48. *ALHT* vol.4, 81.
49. *LIVINGSTONE* 218.
50. " 223.
51. " 250.
52. " 281.
53. " 483.
54. " 559.
55. " 588.
56. D. Hay FLEMING *Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum, etc.*
[as in n.44] (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1921, vol.2, 1529-42) 148.
57. 'Papers from the Charter Chest at Dun' *Miscellany of the
Spalding Club* (vol.4, 1849) 1-87, 88-112, 30.
58. As n.57, 43.
59. *CDRS* vol.3, 67.
60. " vol.3, 74.
61. " vol.3, 175.
62. Ian B. COWAN *St Machar's Cathedral in the Early Middle Ages*
(Friends of St Machar's Cathedral, Occasional Paper No. 6,
Aberdeen, 1980) 5,6.
63. John STUART and Others *Rotuli scaccarii regum Scotorum. The
Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264-1600* (HMGRH, Edinburgh,
1878-1908, 23 vols.) vol.3, 676. (Series subsequently cited as
ER.)
64. *CDRS* vol.4, 88.
65. " vol.4, 157.
66. " vol.4, 157.
67. " vol.4, 178.
68. " vol.4, 221.
69. " vol.4, 221.
70. " vol.4, 222.
71. " vol.4, 214.
72. " vol.4, 249.
73. " vol.4, 277.

74. CDRS vol.4, 280.
75. " vol.4, 284.
76. " vol.4, 284.
77. " vol.4, 316.
78. " vol.4, 316,7.
79. " vol.4, 319.
80. " vol.4, 320.
81. " vol.4, 324.
82. Anna J. MILL 'The Influence of the Continental Drama on
Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*' *MLR* vol.25 (1930)
425-42, 42,6,7. See also, *ALHT*, vol.6, 44 and 46;
ER vol.16, 1.
83. Robert ADAM *Edinburgh Records, The Burgh Accounts* (The Lord
Provost of Edinburgh, etc., 1899) Part 1, Bailies' Accounts,
10.
84. COWAN (see n.62) 5, 6.
85. Thomas MONCRIEFF ed. 'The Ancient Alliance between the French
and the Scots' (vol.4 of *Miscellania Scotica, A Collection of
Tracts relating to the History, Antiquities, Topography and
Literature of Scotland* John Wylie and Co. Ltd., Glasgow,
1818-20) 17-19 [See also D.N.B.]
86. MONCRIEFF 17-19.
87. Annie M. DUNLOP & Ian B. COWAN *Calendar of Scottish
Supplications to Rome, 1428-32* (SHS Fourth Series, vol.7,
1970) 186 and n.1.
88. MONCRIEFF 17-19.
89. As n.88.
90. " " See also: Margaret B. SANDERSON 'Kith, Friends and
Servandis' *IR* 25, 1 (1974) 31-48, 31,2. .
91. MONCRIEFF 17-19.

vi) French Performers and the Scottish Court, 1467-1558.

Official Accounts show that expenses were incurred as follows:

- 1) 1467: French musicians hired by the Court.¹
- 2) 23 July 1490: The King in Dundee, 'to gif the Fransche menne that playit'.
- 3) 1497: 'Guillliame and Pais, tawbronaris, and ane spelare with thame'.
- 4) 1503/4: 'Maister Johne':^a
 - i) 'to by belts for the Moris dans'.
 - ii) 6 January: 'Johne Francis' paid for material for 'sex daunsing cotis in Maister Johnis dans', and cost of making.
 - iii) 'Maister Johne for the daunsaris hede gear', and further refund for 'gere for the dance'.
- a) The French leech, John Damian, afterwards Abbot of Tungland.
- 5) 1506/7: 'Guilliam, tawbronar, for making of ane dans the tyme of the Princis birth'.
- 6) 5 March 1507/8: 'Franch menstrales that made ane dans in the Abbay...'.
This took place on a Friday in Lent. Could it have been a 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins' ?.
- 7) 1508: 'ij French menstrales':
 - i) 'for ij pair hos.....agane the bancat'.
 - ii) 'to the samyn tua menstralers.....to thair doublatis'.
- 8) 1511-12: 'Gilleam, tabernar, for ane fars play to the King and Quenis Gracis in the Abbay'.

As the 'fars play' was performed in the Abbey it was probably a morality, perhaps French.

- 9) 21 February 1511/12: 'Gilleam, tabernar, for ane dans to the King and Quene...'.
 - i) 'for ij pair hos.....agane the bancat'.
 - ii) 'to the samyn tua menstralers.....to thair doublatis'.
- 10) 5 December 1512: 'Monsure Lamote servitouris, that dansit ane moris to the King...'.
 - i) 'for ij pair hos.....agane the bancat'.
 - ii) 'to the samyn tua menstralers.....to thair doublatis'.

- 11) 16 December 1512: 'Monsur Lamotis servitouris, that dansit ane uthir moris to the King and Quene'.
- 12) 20 August 1543. At Stirling 'thair convenit the young Quein (i.e. Mary) with gret solempnitie, triumphe, plays, phrassis, bankating, with great danceing befor the Quene with greit lordis and frinche ladyis'.²
- 13) 1553: During a circuit court at Dundee, 'Jaques the Jouglar'. (The name 'Jaques' suggests he may have been French, but it is not certain.)³

An Edinburgh Town 'Treasurer's Account of 1557-58 relating to expenses 'upone the Triumphe and Play at the Marriage of the Quenis Grace...' shows a payment to,

... Jacques and his twa sonis with ane uther man... (for) vj elnis of yalow staming.....

The name suggests he could be French, and possibly 'Jaques the Jouglar' who performed at Dundee in 1553 (see item above).⁴

Regarding item 12 above we wonder whether there is some error in dating on the part of Pitscottie. The future Mary Queen of Scots was the daughter of James V and his second wife, Mary of Guise, and was born 7/8 December 1542, a week before her father died. On 20 August 1543 she was a little over eight months old. Perhaps the reference to 'the young Quein' is to Mary of Guise who was still only twenty eight years old, although the infant Mary was regarded as the new Queen and the rightful heir to her father.⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE. Item 6.

vi) French Performers and the Scottish Court, 1467-1558.

1. *ER*, vol.7, 1467. See, J.A. LESTER 'Some Franco-Scottish Influences on the Early English Drama' *Haverford Essays, Studies in Modern Literature*, prepared by some former pupils of Professor Francis Gummere (Haverford, 1909) 134 and n.10.
2. Aeneas J.G. MACKAY ed. Robert LINDSAY of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, 1437-1575* (STS. 3 vols., 1899-1911) vol.2, 15.
3. With the exception of items 1 and 12 the information given above is taken from the *ALHT*. Each numbered item number is followed by the volume and page number;-

2) 1/170. 3) 1/316. 4) 2/414. 5) 3/371. 6) v/104. 7) 4/65.
8) 4/330. 9) 4/331. 10) 4/399. 11) 4/400. 13) 10/167.

The influx of French entertainers cannot be due to marriage to a French bride, for James IV married Mary of Tudor in 1503. After James's death in 1513 the French entertainers no longer came to the Scottish Court. James V was but one year old when he became King, but even when grown up he does not seem to have restored the court life enjoyed by his father and mother.

Our list does not necessarily include all the occasions between 1490 and 1512 when James IV was entertained by Frenchmen. There are other items relating to minstrels, and possibly on some occasions their nationality was not recorded.

4. Robert ADAM ed. *Edinburgh Burgh Records: The Burgh Accounts* (The Lord Provost and the Town Council, 2 vols., 1899) vol.1, 271.
5. MACKAY *Pitscottie* (see n.2) vol.1, 240.

CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX 'C'

GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING AREAS.

i) German Craftsmen and Traders in Scotland; German Traders in Scandinavia and the Low Countries.

German Stonemasons in Scotland.

It is believed that a fraternity of German stone masons may have been brought over from Cologne to build Kilwinning Abbey at the end of the twelfth century.¹

Commerce: German Traders in Scotland. A letter dated 1297 addressed by William Wallace and Andrew Moray to the Hanse towns of Lübeck and Hamburg requests them to send traders to Scotland.² In response to this, it is said, that a considerable number of German traders entered Scotland during the age of Wallace and Bruce, i.e., the latter part of the thirteenth and the earlier part of the fourteenth centuries. The names of thirty such traders can be accounted for by name, Of these the towns from which twenty of them came are also known. They are as follows:-

Hamburg,	6.
Estland,	4. ³
Lübeck,	1.
Greifswald,	1.
Dortmund,	4.
Cologne,	2.
Ricklinghous,	1.
Bremen,	1. ⁴

Commerce: German Traders in Scandinavia and the Low Countries.

Correspondence of English Sovereigns with German rulers and with the Kings of Norway and the Counts of Flanders shows that the Germans had powerful Kontors with special trading privileges in their lands.⁵ This was especially true of Bruges, where the East-

landers⁶ were a powerful body until the end of the fifteenth century when Bruges had to give place to Antwerp as the leading port in the Low Countries. In the first half of the fifteenth century purchases made in Flanders on behalf of the Scottish king were handled by the Kontor of one called in the records, 'Johann Ducheman'.⁷

At the 'Triumphal Entries' staged in Bruges for the Dukes of Burgundy, when they entered the city as Counts of Flanders, the Eastlingers played an important role in the staging of the pageantry, as at the same time Scottish merchants also played their part, although in a less spectacular way.⁸

ii) SCOTTISH TRADERS IN NORTH EAST GERMANY.

Scottish immigration into North East Germany took place mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and reached its maximum about the year 1600. According to one German authority some two thousand five hundred Scottish families, perhaps representing a total number of seven and a half thousand souls, sought their fortunes in east and west Prussia, and Pomerania, in the two centuries in question. Most of them are said to have been pedlars or small traders, obliged to quit their native land because of unfavourable economic conditions.⁹

Of the greatest importance in Germany were the Baltic cities, above all Danzig (now known as Gdansk, Poland), Königsberg (now known as Kaliningrad, Russia), Stralsund, Elbing (now known as Elblag, near Gdansk), Lübeck, and Greifswald.

In Scottish records Greifswald appears as 'Grippiswold', and Lübeck as 'Lupky'.

Other ports of importance were Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock and Wismar.¹⁰

There now follow extracts of records in support of what has been written above.

BREMEN.

14.2.1453/4.

King James II takes the merchants of Bremen, with their servants and their ships, under his protection, and asks his friends and allies to treat them well. This secured for Bremen a direct trade link with Scotland.

This was a great benefit to Bremen as Scotland and France were allies.¹¹

DANZIG.

The information that follows is based on local and other records.

- 1382 A ship on its way to Danzig from Scotland is seized by the French.¹²
- 1386 A citizen of Danzig obtains Letters of Safe Conduct to Glasgow, where he goes on account of some property left by his father.¹³
- 1406 The *Rotuli Scotiae* contain a Letter of Safe Conduct for Three Skippers and the Servants of the Bishop of St Andrews to fetch wood from Prussia for the building of their church.

A similar letter was granted at about the same time to one 'John de Camford of Danskin' for ship and passengers.¹⁴

1.12.1410.

Aberdeen sends a letter to the Magistrates of Danzig reminding them of the old friendship existing between Prussia and Scotland.¹⁵

- c. 1437 Nicolaus Jerre, who appears to have been a Hanse Factor in Edinburgh, had business dealings with King James I. He supplied the King with a Beaver Hat, ornamented with pearls, costing seven pounds, and the Queen with an inlaid table valued at five pounds. The King was murdered before payment was made. His successor, James II refused to honour the debt.¹⁶

- 1443 As a consequence of James II's refusal to pay the above debt, the Hanse Diet meeting at Danzig threaten to arrest all Scottish goods in Prussia.¹⁷

21/24.4.1444

A letter from Danzig to Edinburgh shows that Hans von dem Walde employed two factors in Edinburgh by name, Zegebad and Resen.¹⁸

- 12.1462 A citizen of Danzig by name, Kilekanne, is accused of piracy before Admiral Sir Alexander Napier. The Danzig Magistrates send a certain Letzke to assist him at his trial.¹⁹

28.5.1498

At the Hanse Diet held at Lübeck on this date the Burgomaster of Danzig replying to his colleague of

Hamburg who had recommended the refusal of citizenship to strangers and more especially to the Scotch and English, declared, 'Dear Sirs, if we were to expel all our citizens that are not born within the Hanse our city would become well-nigh a desert'.²⁰

Manuscript Records of the Burgh Archives of Dundee contain the following Records relating to the Sixteenth Century.²¹

- 26.10.1551
'Robert cheild desyrit George scobye his gud
broither to...gyf compt of the Danskyne ry bogcht
betuix thamc...'.
fol 101B, vol.ii
- 7.6.1553 'george bell' returns to 'Robert clerk & Jhone
robertsonis aithes' the gear which each had in the
'danskyne schip'.
fol 232, vol.ii.
- 24.10.1553
'The quhillk day the baillies decernis James Stewart
to have the...?...of the danskyne fracht of thare
schip callit nicholace...'.
fol 259B.
- 22.9.1556
'Johne flemyne yongar' promises that the debt he
has incurred for the purchase of 'wellus wax and
dammas' from a widow named 'anna ywringis'^a living
in 'danskyne' will be paid by 'hym & his airis &
assignais'.
fol 70 vol.iii.
a. Could 'ywingis' possibly have originally been
'Irvine'?

EMDEN.

- 23.10.1551
'The Quhilk day Jurine van Emden Skipper enterit
his Schip with tymmer...'.
fol 100B vol.ii.

DANZIG had a city gate called 'Douglas Port', named after a Scots-
man, William Douglas, who was slain by the English in 1390 at the
Bridge of Danzig. There was also a district known as 'Alt Schott-
land', in 1433, when it was burned down.²²

There are references to trade with Danzig in Aberdeen Burgh Records some of which we give below. Such entries cannot give us the true and full picture because they only get into the records when the Council are involved in some particular and abnormal situation or matter. When transactions proceed on normal lines or in a normal situation, they will not appear in the Burgh Records, but only in the documentation of the merchants concerned, or perhaps in a ledger such as that kept by Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of Scottish Privileges in the Low Countries. Such items are rare.

28.4.1487 The Aldermen and Council offer to pay the debts of their 'neighbours' incurred in Danskyne.²³

21.8.1500 Because of pestilence the kystis of a ship lately arrived from Danskin are to be burnt and all persons who came home in the ship are to remain shut up in their houses for fifteen days.²⁴

1.6.1546 Thomas Philpson grants 'power of attorney' to two friends over his Aberdeen concerns on leaving for Danskin in a ship of Dundee, May 1544.²⁵

18.7.1556 The Baillies order William Cargyll to pay duty on a cargo of wheat imported from Danskyn. The duty to go to the restoration expenses of St Nicholas Parish Kirk.²⁶

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer show the following entries regarding business with Danzig in the pre-Reformation period. These Accounts, however, cannot give us a true picture of the trade between Scotland and Danzig, as they relate only to transactions in which the Government/Court are involved.

1496 Record of the payment made for the cost of installing a new mast in the bark called 'Mary' in the port of Danskin.²⁷

1503 Record of the payment made for the purchase of two skins of 'Danskin ledder', for the King's hose.²⁸

- 1525 Payment to 'Johne Homil' for writing two letters to Danskin and Hambrocht in the Secretaris absens'.²⁹

TRAVELLERS.

- 1546 Robert Wedderburn of Dundee is reported as returning this year from the 'East countreis in a Danskin ship'.³⁰

Letters preserved in the Archives of Eastland towns throw light on trade relations between Scotland and that part of the Continent.

Some of these relating to Danzig are very briefly summarized below:

- 1448 The Magistrates of Edinburgh petition the Hochmeister (Head of the Teutonic League) to make the City of Danzig remove the arrest put upon the goods of various Scottish merchants in Danske, notably James Lawdre, Jacob King and Robert Young, 'for Scotland had been altogether innocent of the alleged spoilation of Danzig merchants'.³¹
- 13.4.1438 Rough draft of a letter of the Hochmeister to the King of Scotland and the Guild Merchant of Edinburgh requesting that goods which Heinrich Holthusen, merchant, left behind at his death in Leith, be handed over to Johann Fischmeister, merchant of Danzig.³²
- 20.1.1439/40 The Alderman and Baillies of 'St Johann' (i.e. Perth) inform their opposite numbers in Danzig that the Law Courts have disallowed the claim of the Danzig Skipper, Hanneke How.³³
- 28.3.1475 King James commends to the Magistrates of Danzig, the Edinburgh merchant, John Foulis who is travelling there with some business friends.³⁴
- 1474-76 In these years 24 Scottish ships entered the Port of Danzig.³⁵
- 1480 A letter of recommendation is given by the Magistrates of Edinburgh to Jacob Crag, who is going to Danzig on legal business.³⁶
- 8.4.1482 King James and Queen Margaret intercede on behalf of Thomas Halkerston, Thomas Lewis and Robert Paisley, Scottish merchants.³⁷

- 5.6.1483 The Edinburgh authorities declare to those of Danzig that Stephen Lawson, a citizen of Haddington, had honestly paid for all goods which he had brought from Danzig to Leith about four years ago.³⁸
- 1.5.1487 A letter from the Magistrates of Aberdeen to the Danzig authorities expressing concern that for some-time ships from Danzig have been sailing to more remote ports of Scotland instead of to Aberdeen. They pray that their old commercial intercourse shall be revived.³⁹
- 6.8.1487 The Aberdeen authorities inform the Danzig Magistrates that every assistance will be given to two Danzig citizens, Vasolt and Conrad, (or Connert), on their arrival in Scotland seeking payment for goods sold.⁴⁰

DANZIG: SCOTS AND THE COURTS OF JUSTICE.

The fact of the presence of the Scots in Danzig in the fifteenth century is testified by records of their appearances before the local magistrates, of which some examples follow:

- 1447 Walter, a Scot, a dyer by trade, admits certain debts.⁴¹
- 23.3.1453/4 The magistrates compose a quarrel between a citizen and a Scottish merchant.⁴²
- 1469 A Scot, named Thomas, sues a citizen for a debt of twenty-six marks.⁴³
- 1471 Peter Black, a Scot, is guilty of the manslaughter of Reemer Wugerson. He agrees to pay certain sums of money, and to undertake a 'Sühn-reise', i.e. a journey of expiation, 'to the Holy Blood at Aken' (i.e. Aachen), to Einsiedelen, a noted place of pilgrimage in Switzerland, to Santiago de Compostela and to St Adrian, and he promised to bring proofs showing that he had visited these places.⁴⁴
- 1475 Zander (i.e. Alexander) Gustis (?) is guilty of wounding Wylm (i.e. William) Watson. Zander is sentenced to bear all expenses and make a pilgrimage to the Holy Blood, and further, he is to give

the sum of two marks to the Scots Altar in the Church of the Black Monks at Danzig, and make a similar donation to Our Lady's Church at Dundee.⁴⁵

HAMBURG.

The Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen contain references as follows:

- 7.10.1549 'Cloyse (i.e. Klaus) Wan Holving' the skipper of a Hamburg ship, together with members of his crew, are convicted of assault on William Portuuss.⁴⁶
- 11.10.1549 The sentence passed on the above is reduced on appeal because of 'luf and kindness of the towne of Hamburg and inhabitantis thair of, and for thair sailk allanerlie'.⁴⁷
- 6.10.1558 The Town of Hamburg is requested to give under seal confirmation that a certain debt has been paid to Jacop Selmor and David Maill, burgesses of Hamburg.⁴⁸

The Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen contain records of payments to the following:

Discharge of 1548-51:⁴⁹

To Johne Baxter, 'that past on ane Hamburghe man'.

To 'aboit of Futtie the M(aster) therof, Androw Nicholsons, to pas a Hamburght man'.

To 'past on ane Hamburght man, callit Paule'.

To 'ane uther Hamburght man with salt'.

Manuscript Records in the Burgh Archives of Dundee⁵⁰ contain the following records relating to the sixteenth century.

- 27.10.1550 *Richard rollok...caucioun for mathes Cok (skipper) of hamborgch for the some of fyve liis (sic) x s. presumably meant to be :L5 10 s.) acclamit be dauid duncan quha causit arrest certaine ry in the handis of jhone eldar & jhone.. pertenant to albert rassnes skipper of hamborgch..'

fol 9B, vol.ii.

- 18.9.1551 'hans myllar skipper of hambourghch gyf vp his entres of thir guddis foloing...'
fol 88B.
- 20.6.1552 'Clayes Kan skipper of ane boyard of hambourghch' brings in a mixed cargo.
fol 162B.
- 4.7.1552 'barthill clement skipper of ane schip of hamboursch calleit the howlet' brings in a mixed cargo.
fol 167B.
- 26.9.1552 'Niniane freis Skipper of hambourch brings in a cargo of apillis & vyonis' (apples and onions).
fol.187B.
- 8.5.1554 'Johne wentone chargit and commandit be the bailyeis to declare quhat was deducit & defaikit to hym be henrick craw skipper of ane hamborcht schip callit the saluator...'
fol 302.

The earliest record of which we know relating to a ship from Hamburg trading in Scotland is that of

- 1309 The Master of a sloop from Hamburg sells the cargo of a plundered ship, wax and other goods, in Scotland.⁵¹

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer contain records of payments as follows,

- 25.11.1503 Payment for a barrel of beer imported from Hamburg, and intended for the Friars of Stirling.⁵²
- 1554 'Ando Carnys (i.e. a Scot named Cairns) merchand in Hamurght' is paid for his purchase of 'holland claith boucht for hir grace'.⁵³

The Exchequer Rolls contain records of payments as follows:

- 1438 Payment for a quantity of barrels of salmon, freighted in Hamburg in three ships.⁵⁴
- 1438 Payment for three lasts of Hamburg ale bought by Master (or Lord) William Creichtoun for coronation festivities.⁵⁵
- 1457 Payment for the purchase of two barrels of gunpowder imported from Hamburg.⁵⁶
- 1461 Payment for eight barrels of beer from Hamburg.⁵⁷
- 1499 Payment for a quantity of beer imported from Hamburg.⁵⁸

KONIGSBERG.

- 1402 Gercke Verusan of Königsberg⁵⁹ sends a cargo of flour to Scotland, but the ship is pirated by the English.⁶⁰
- 1404 This year several ships with cargoes of wheat, flour, rye, malt and wainscot to the value of 2800 Marks were sent to Edinburgh from Königsberg.⁶¹
- 23.7.1418 The town authorities of Königsberg write to the Gubernator of Scotland Rupert, 'duci Albanie et comiti de Fyff', requesting the restoration of goods confiscated from some merchants of Königsberg.⁶²

LÜBECK.

- 1302 A letter from France announces the arrestment of a certain Gregoire de Gorton (i.e. Gordon), a merchant 'en une nief de Lubyk Dalemeygne, frette d'aler vers Aberdeen en Escoce'.⁶³

And a little later:

- 6.10.1303 A ship of Lübeck brings iron to Scotland for the King's castles.⁶⁴
- 1315 A merchant of Lübeck named Witte is accused of having carried provision to the Scots.⁶⁵

- 22.4.1321 Robert Bruce in a letter to the magistrates of Lübeck promises all merchants of that or any other city of 'Alemmania' trading with Scotland, assistance and protection of the customs and liberties granted to them by former Kings of Scotland.⁶⁶
- 1382 Skippers by name, Snidewindt, Marquart, Vrese, and others of Lübeck, are freighting a ship at Rostock for Scotland with a cargo of mail-armour, ropes, anchors and victuals.⁶⁷

ROSTOCK.

- 1382 This year there is mention in the records of the Hanseatic League of a ship of Rostock carrying a cargo to Scotland.⁶⁸
- 6.4.1412 The servants of Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar, attacked a vessel on its way from Rostock to Scotland carrying a cargo of salt, flour and beer.⁶⁹
- c. 1460 A vessel from Rostock on her way to Scotland is driven by adverse winds to Bergen.⁷⁰

Manuscript Records in the Burgh Archives of Dundee contain the following Records relating to the Sixteenth Century.⁷¹

- 27.4.1551. Jacob Kondis schip of rosto(ck) Is enterit ladine with fifty-thre lastis of beire....
fol 54. vol.ii.
- 2.5.1551 Jacob deircop skipper of a Schip of rostok hes enterit his Schip ladine with thre score lastis of beir and hans dutsche nyne last & ane half beir & iijc wainscott (i.e.wainscot) - henryk rynen xv last & ane half beir - willem clerk vij last beir - hans fick vij last beir - Jacob albertson nyne last & ane half - hans williamsoun iiij last ane barrell IIs.
fol 55B.

STRALSUND AND GREIFSWALD.

- 1444 A ship of Aberdeen brings rye from Stralsund.⁷²
- 1489 Heinrich Polseyne a merchant of Stralsund requests the magistrates of Aberdeen asking them to inquire into the state and habits of the so-called St Cuthbert's Geese of the Orkney Islands.⁷³

The Burgh Records of Aberdeen include the following Entries:

- 13.9.1451 Hans Lubic, master of a ship of Trailsond(i.e. Stralsund) and his crew 'Duche men' taken by a war vessel of Dieppe (France) and brought into Aberdeen, are to be held by the admiral of the burgh pending a settlement of a dispute.⁷⁴
- 3.5.1561 Thomas Christall, burgess of Aberdeen, seeks judgement from the baillies in a dispute with Joachim Racho a steersman, and Henrik Bodiger, a skipper of Trailsond.⁷⁵

The agreement in settlement of the above is witnessed by, among others, Robert Jak and James Gowan, residents of Trailsond, and by Johannes and William Ancroft, brothers, both residents of 'Grippis Wald' i.e. Greifswald. All these appear from their names to be Scotsmen.⁷⁶

Manuscript Records in the Burgh Archives of Dundee contain the following Records relating to the Sixteenth Century.⁷⁷

- 30.1.1550/1 'patre findlo & henry clunas' in the presence of the Court transferred their rights in the property of 'dauid gowdye Induellar decessit in strolsund' to 'adame Kirkettill'.

fol 33. vol.ii.

- 25.4.1551 'Jacob wruns skipper of ane schip of strolsund' brings in a cargo of beer, meal and clapboard.

fol 33. vol.ii.

- 7.5.1551 'allricht scaitlynne skipper of ane schip of strolsund' brings in a cargo of beer.
fol 57.
- 19.5.1552 'theke hardar Skippar of ane schip of Strolsund' brings in a mixed cargo.
fol 154.
- 23.5.1552 'hans freis skippar' brings in a cargo of beer.
fol 154B.
- 28.6.1554 'robert clerk' appears before the baillies when it is confirmed that he owes a certain sum of money to 'henry anderson burges in strolsund factor for clowis lowolfare & Jerome mechelene borroweris of strolsund'.
fol 311B.
- 11.4.1556 'clowis Kowis' brings in a mixed cargo from 'strolsund'.
fol 42.
- 13.4.1556 'Jacob buktone Schipar of strolsund' brings in a mixed cargo.
fol 42B.
- 17.4.1556 'Michele brand shippar of strolsund' brings in a mixed cargo.
fol 43B.
- 31.8.1556 'henrik (homan) Skippar duelland in strolsund' brings in a cargo of 'half tymmer'.
fol 67B.

References to Scots in the Records of Eastland Towns.

The archives of the various towns in Eastland with which Scotland had trading links are helpful in showing that such links existed throughout the fifteenth century, and even before that.

Among the oldest rules of the Cloth Merchants of Stralsund, dating back to 1370, is one which says:

Vortmer so schat nen Schott edder Engelsman varen in de lant, he sy we he sy.

Henceforth no Scot or Englishman is to travel in the land, whosoever he may be.)

In 1412 the rule is reaffirmed and more fully expressed:

Nyn borger de nicht hefft de werdicheit der cumpanien des wantsnedes, Schotten edder Engelsman schal nicht varen yn de landen edder hyr bynnen der stadt sniden he sy we sy ane he hebbe de werdicheit der kumpanien des wantsnedes.

(No citizen who has not obtained the dignity of a Guild-brother of the Cloth Merchants Guild, no Scot or Englishman, shall travel about the country or cut (cloth) within this town, whosoever he may be, without his being a member of the Guild.)

The rule of 1370 shows that Scots were trying in sufficient numbers, by means of peddling and 'black-market' tailoring, to establish themselves in Stralsund and in the countryside round about that they were regarded as a threat to the members of the Guild. That they were successful in their object is shown by the rule of 1412, which in effect grants them the same rights of membership of the Guild as applied to native-born citizens.⁷⁸

Records of Trade with Towns of the Eastland^a where the Name of the Town is not given.

(a. Embracing: the Hanse Ports, i.e. Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Southern Baltic, and East and West Prussia).

The Exchequer Rolls contain entries as follows relative to the Eastland where the name of the Eastland town is not given. Most of the entries relate to boards of timber which were for use in connection with royal residences and government buildings:

1329 Payment for a consignment of herrings.⁷⁹

- 1329 A quantity of Eastland boards required to make a chapel over the body of the King on the day of his burial.⁸⁰
- 1360 Payment for one hundred and thirty Eastland boards and for thirty spars for the King's chamber and stable.⁸¹
- 1382-3 The Lord of the Exchequer paid the sum of 194L. 6s. 8d. to Prussian merchants for timber off-loaded at Perth, and bought to construct machines and instruments for castles ('mireio emto, pro machinis construendis et pro instrumentis pro castris').⁸²
- Prussian sailors 'in their ignorance' carried skins away from Leith without paying the relevant duty.⁸³
- 1428 A Prussian merchant delivers iron 'ad usum regis' to Edinburgh.⁸⁴
- 1430 Payment for certain supplies made to six Prussian merchants, one of whom was named Hennig van ye Walde.⁸⁵
- 1435 Payment for wood and beams intended for the castle at Stirling.⁸⁶
- 1459 Payment for poles, Estland boards, iron for nails, and carpenter's fee for certain repairs.⁸⁷
- 1464 Payment for certain expenses incurred in transporting six hundred Estland planks to the town of North Berwick.⁸⁸
- 1465 Payment for one hundred Estland boards.⁸⁹

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer contain references to

Estland as follows,

- 1473 Payment for three dozen Estland boards bought from 'Dik Forestare of Leth' for my Lorde Princis chalmire'.⁹⁰
- 9.8.1501 Payment for a quantity of Estland boards.⁹¹
- 1506 Payment for two hundred 'Estland burdis for the Kingis werk...'⁹²

1507 Payment for 'ij Estland burdis to be wyngis to the
bestis'.⁹³

Oct. 1549 Payment for two hundred 'Eistland burdis' destined
for 'Hammyltoun'.⁹⁴

Andrew Halyburton's Ledger bears witness to the export of a
variety of commodities from Estland that were exported to Scotland,
probably by Scots who had settled in that area of the Southern
Baltic:

For example:

Danskene or Queinsbrig^a lint.

Elbing^b or Danskene Cloth in double ploy the eln..

Wanescott of Danskene the hundreth.

Glasses for windows of Danskene, the kist...⁹⁵

a. that is: the German city known as Königsberg, up to the
end of the Second World War, and now known as Kaliningrad.

b. Now known as, Elblag.

iii) 'DUTCHMEN' AND GERMAN FACTORS OPERATING IN SCOTLAND.

'Dutchmen'.

There are references to 'Dutchmen' in the burgh records of Aberdeen and in other Scottish records. We quote examples from Aberdeen records because these show that such references are to those the modern English speaking world knows as 'Germans', and not 'Dutchmen' who ought to be called 'Hollanders'

1453 Dean of Guilds expenses for wine for 'le Dutchmen'.⁹⁶

16.4.1548 'The Duchman', the town gunner, given money to buy 'ane garmond'.⁹⁷

23.6.1548 Order for payment of wages to 'Hanse Gunnar, Duchman', the town gunner.⁹⁸

15.3.1554/5
Records of a dispute going back to May 1552 regarding non-payment for a 'last of beir fra ane duycheman'. The Aberdeen records show that they normally imported beer from Hamburg.⁹⁹

The following are examples in the Exchequer Rolls.

1435 John Ducheman acknowledges receipt of a payment made to him on behalf of the King by the Bishop of Glasgow, the then Chancellor.¹⁰⁰

This year five of John Ducheman's men are in trouble for forestalling in the burghs of Lanark and Rutherglen. They are excused penalties.¹⁰¹

1436 Payments made to John Ducheman on behalf of the Bishop of Brechin and Master Alexander Lauder ambassadors of the King.¹⁰²

8.5.1436 Payment made on behalf of the King to Johann Ducheman in Flanders regarding certain matters or items details of which are not given.¹⁰³

1436 Payment of Alexander Arrow, servant of Johann Ducheman for certain purchases made for the King and Queen in Flanders and sent by ship with David Dun.¹⁰⁴

Clearly Johann Ducheman was an Easterling in a big way of business. 'Dutchemen' are also met with in other official accounts of which the following are examples:

25.5.1540 Item, gevin the samyn daye to the Dugemen that playt and dansyt apone the schore of Sanctandrois before the Kingis Grace, xliiii s.¹⁰⁵

Two interesting items in the Treasurer's Accounts show that Germans were rewarded for their services, in one case under the 'Lord of the Fair' whom we take to be the Director of Public Festivities, known either as 'Robin Hude' (i.e. Hood), the 'Abbot of Unrcason', or the 'Abbot of Narent', and in the other case at an important wedding.

1541 A payment to the 'Duchemen, .servandis to the Lord of the Fair'.¹⁰⁶

Feb.1548/9 A payment to 'foure Duchemen, quha with thair trumbis (i.e. trumpets) playit before Lady Barbara at her incuming fra the Kirk'.¹⁰⁷

German factors operating in Scotland.

The Groszschäffer, the Head of the Commercial Branch of the Order of Teutonic Knights, which had its Haupt Kontor in Königsberg (now in Poland and known as Kaliningrad), towards the end of the Fourteenth century, employed factors or 'Lieger' at Glasgow, known to them as 'lettecowe', and in Edinburgh. It was their business to market the goods forwarded to them by their employers.

The only other Lieger employed directly by the Order were those at work in Flanders.

The name of the factor at one time in Edinburgh was Hermann Gral, where he is mentioned for some time up to the year 1406.¹⁰⁸

The Danzig merchants had their own factor in Edinburgh in the first part of the fifteenth century. One by name Nicolaus Rodau is recorded as dying in Edinburgh in 1420. Another by name Nicolaus Jerre appears in the records in 1437.¹⁰⁹

A letter written by Hans von dem Walde of Danzig in 1444 shows that he employed two factors in Edinburgh, by name Zegebad and Resen.¹¹⁰

The following extract of Dundee Burgh records not only the proposed marriage of a Scot in Germany and his apparent intention to settle there but demonstrates the care taken by the church at Worms to ensure they did not solemnize a bigamous marriage.

6.10.1552 'The quhilkis day alexander & willem gibsonis
brether dwelland in the parroches of dunnichtine
producit ane supplicacioun direct fra thare
brother andro gibson now Induellar In wormes in
Almagne for verificatioun of his lauchfull
getting in matrimonie'.¹¹¹

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

1. W. Croft DICKINSON *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603* (Third Edition, revised and edited by Archibald A.M. DUNCAN, OUP, 1977) 121.

Dickinson gives the date for the building of the Abbey. The suggestion of German masons comes from, James CRUIKSHANK *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons and the Lodge of Glasgow St John* (William Ferguson, Glasgow, 1876) 44. The writer gives no authority for his conjecture, but it receives some support from James PAGAN in *The History of the Cathedral and See of Glasgow* (F. Orr and Sons, Glasgow [second edition] 1856) 88. Pagan states, when writing of Kilwinning Abbey, "It is a prevalent opinion that the introduction of the fraternity [i.e. of the German masons] into this country was the building of Kilwinning Abbey, when a number of craftsmen under the superintendence of an expert master-mason, were brought from their ancient City of Cologne".

2. David E. MORRIS *The Stirling Merchant Guild and Life of John Cowane* (Jamieson and Munro Ltd., Stirling, 1919) 7. Morris states that the letter can be seen on exhibition at the Wallace Monument at Stirling. Presumably this is a copy. There is a reproduction of the letter in a German publication: Constantin HÖHLBAUM and Others *Hänsisches Urkundenbuch* (Verein für Hänsische Geschichte, Halle, 1876-1916, 8 vols.) vol.1, Item No. 1251.
3. Not the name of a town or city, denoting the North German Hanse Cities of Hamburg and Lübeck, later to be joined by Bremen, and including the East German provinces and the Baltic coast, and embracing the then East Prussian Port of Danzig, now re-named Gdansk. See the *Oxford Dictionary* for a definition of an 'Eastlander'.
4. James DILLEY, 'German Merchants in Scotland, 1297-1327', *SHR* vol.27 (1948) 142-155, 142.
5. DILLEY, 187-91, 187.
6. See succeeding pages of this APPENDIX 'C', under EASTLAND.
7. See this APPENDIX 'C', under the heading GERMANS. See, EXTRACTS FROM EXCHEQUER ROLLS.
8. Jean JACQUOT ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 2 vols. [vol.1 - 1956; vol.2 - 1960]) vol.2, 'Fêtes et Cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint'. See Chapter: 'Panorama des Fêtes et Cérémonies du Règne', 413-512 - 'Entrée du Prince Charles à Bruges', 413-18, 416.

9. E.V.K. BRILL, 'A Sixteenth Century Complaint against the Scots', *SHR* vol.27 (1948) 187-91, 187.
10. Th. A. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* (Otto Schulze and Co., Edinburgh, 1902) 8.
11. FISCHER, 7 and HÖHLBAUM *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (as in n.2) vol.8, 167 and the Appendix in FISCHER (see n.10).
12. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* 9.
13. As n.12, 10, and HÖHLBAUM (as in n.2) the year 1386. It may be inferred that the individual in question was a Scot who had settled in Danzig.
14. AS HÖHLBAUM in n.13, and D. MACPHERSON and Others, eds. *Rotuli Scotiae, etc., 1291-1516* (Public Record Office, London, 1814/19, 2 vols.) vol.2, 19. The trade between Danzig and Scotland is now assuming considerable proportions. Cargoes from Danzig are either addressed to German Factors resident in Scotland, or are accompanied by a Factor.
15. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* 10.
16. " " " " " 11; and T. HIRSCH *Handelsgeschichte Danzigs unter der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens* 119 and succeeding pages.
17. FISCHER, (as in n.10) 11 and n.3. See letter from Danzig to the King of Scotland of 8 July 1444 - *Hanserezesse, Neue Folge*, vol.3, 72.
18. FISCHER, (as in n.10) 11 and n.2. See also *Danziger Missive*, vol.3, 77.
19. FISCHER, (as in n.10) 6, and HÖHLBAUM *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (as in n.2) vol.3, 672.
20. FISCHER, 15, 16; *Hanserezesse* 2nd. div. xi.
21. The items that follow are brief summaries of entries in the Burgh and Head Court Register, excluding some that may relate to the period 1520-44, which we were not able to examine as the volume covering this period was undergoing restoration and rebinding. The records at Dundee date from 1520.
22. See a volume of pamphlets written by David E. MORRIS, Town Clerk of the Burgh of Stirling, entitled *Old Stirling*, pamphlet, 'The Scots Abroad', dated c.1920, preserved in the Burgh of Stirling Reference Library, Local Collection. Morris states that there were settlements of Scots throughout Prussia, no fewer than one hundred and twenty having been traced, the principal places besides Danzig being Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), Elbing (now Elblag), Tilsit and Straisund. They reached the height of their power in the period 1570-1670. A Constitution and Rules preserved in the Archives of Königsberg showed that the Scots Guild Merchant in 1615 had a

membership of no less than four hundred and ten.

23. John STUART, ed. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844) 414.
24. STUART, 427,8.
25. STUART, 235.
26. " 299, 300.
27. ALHT vol.1, 300.
28. " vol.2, 232.
29. " vol.5, 259.
30. David CALDERWOOD, eds. Thomas THOMSON and David LAING *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1842-9, 8 vols.) vol.1 [1842] 143.
31. The letter was in the Königlische Staats Archiv at Königsberg and unless lost due to bombing in World War II is presumably still there in the city now named Kaliningrad. The letter is undated, but the clue to its date comes from another letter written in Latin at about the same time by Queen Mary to the Hochmeister on behalf of James Lawdrie [Jacobus Lawdre]. See, T.A. FISCHER, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Otto Schulze and Co., Edinburgh, 1903) 7 and n.1.
32. FISCHER, (as in n.31) 8.
33. As n.32.
34. " "
35. FISCHER, (as in n.31) 10.
36. " " " " 5 and 10.
37. As n.36.
38. FISCHER, (as in n.31) 9.
39. As n.38. The letter was in the Königlische Staats Archiv.
40. FISCHER, (as in n.31) 10.
41. As n.40.
42. As n.40.
43. As n.40.
44. FISCHER, (as in n.31) 11. The document relevant to this item was, and still may be, in the Danzig (Gdansk) Archives.

45. FISCHER, (as n.44) The documents relative to this item were also in the Danzig Archives.
46. STUART, *Extracts of Aberdeen Burgh Records* (see n.23) 270,1.
47. As n.46, 272.
48. " " 310.
49. John STUART, 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen' *Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Volume Fifth* (The Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1852) 52.
50. The items that follow are brief summaries of entries in the Burgh and Head Court Register, excluding some that may relate to the period 1520-44, which we were not able to examine.
51. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* (see n.10) 6.
52. *ALHT* vol.2, 256.
53. " vol. 10, 229.
54. *ER* vol.5, 16, 17. See also 1438, 52; 1441, 94, 105, 106.
Note a Hamburg barrel seems to be a measure, but we take a 'Barrel of Hamburg.....' to indicate an item im[ported from Hamburg.
55. *ER* vol.5, 36.
56. " vol.6, 309.
57. " vol.7, 60.
58. " vol.11, 235.
59. Incorporated into the Soviet Union after World War II and renamed Kaliningrad.
60. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* (see n.10) 10, making reference to C. SATTLER *Handelsrechnungen des deutschen Ordens* (Verein für die Geschichte der Provinz Preussen (S. Herzel, Leipzig, 1887) 269, year 1402.
61. FISCHER, again referring to the above 'Handelsrechnungen' 20, year 1404.
62. FISCHER, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (as in n.31) 7.
63. J. STEVENSON, ed, *Notices of Original Unpublished Documents preserved in the Office of the Queen's Remembrancer and Chapter House, Westminster Illustrative of the History of Scotland* (Maitland Club, 1842) 82, Document No. CXXI. See also, FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* 8.

64. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* 8; Joseph BAIN, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in her Majesty's Public Record Office, London* (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1881-8, 4 vols. 1108-1509) vol.2, 358, Item No. 1398.
65. FISCHER, (as in n.64) 5, n.1, and HÖHLBAUM *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (as in n.19) vol.2, 110. The action was, no doubt, taken by the King of England at a time when he was at war with Scotland.
66. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* 7. Fischer gives a copy of the original letter in an Appendix. Compare the *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck* (3 vols., 1843 +++) vol.3, 68.
67. FISCHER, (as n.66) 9 and the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* vol.4, year 1382.
68. As n.67.
69. FISCHER, (as n.66) 5,6, referring to Theodor HIRSCH, *Danzigs Handels und Gewerbegeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1858) 117 and succeeding pages.
70. FISCHER, (as n.66) 13.
71. See above, HAMBURG and Manuscript Records of the Burgh of Dundee, etc.
72. FISCHER, (as in n.66) 11, 12.
73. " " " " 16, 17, referring to *Spalding Club Miscellany* vol.4, 1849.
74. STUART, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570* 19.
75. STUART, 333,4.
76. " 334.
77. The items that follow are brief summaries of entries in the Burgh and Head Court Register, excluding some that may relate to the period 1520-44.
78. FISCHER, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (as in n.31) 5, 6.
79. *ER* vol.1, 134.
80. As n.79, 215. See also 1332, Eastland Boards taken from the Minorites of Edinburgh to repair the town and castle of Berwick.
81. *ER* vol.2, 246.
82. " vol.3, 659.

83. *ER* Vol.3, 168.
84. " vol.4, 437.
85. " " 514.
86. " " 652.
87. " vol.6, 563.
88. *ER* vol.7, 288.
89. " " 370. See also: 1466, 404 & 425; 1468, 585,7;
1469, 660.
90. *ALHT* vol.1, 40. See also in this volume: 1492, 200;
1494, 222,38,54; 1496, 280,2,90; 1497, 338.
91. " vol.2, 82. See also: 150,84,88.
92. " vol.3, 296. See also: 1507, 298.
93. " vol.3, 394.
94. " vol.9, 345. See also: 1549/50, 385,7; 1550, 426.
95. Cosmo INNES, ed. *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton. 1492-1503*
(HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1867) 290, 308, 318, 320.
96. STUART, *Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen*
(see, n.49) 48.
97. STUART, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen*
(see, n.23) 257.
98. STUART, (as n.97) 261.
99. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.22, 3.
100. *ER* vol.4, 652.
101. " " 671.
102. " " 676.
103. " " 677.
104. " " 681. See also, 683,4.
105. Athol L. MURRAY, ed. 'Accounts of the King's Paymaster,
1539-40' *SHS*, Fourth Series, vol.2 (Miscellany X, 1965) 13-
51, 50.
106. *ALHT* vol.7, 444.
107. *ALHT* vol.9, 282.

108. FISCHER, *The Scots in Germany* (see n.66) 9 and n.3. See also SATTLER, *Handelsrechnungen des deutschen Ordens*.
109. See above, DANZIG, c.1437.
110. " " DANZIG, 1444.
111. Dundee Burgh and Head Court Register, vol.2, fol 189.

CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX 'D' ITALY

CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D', ITALY.

i) SCOTLAND AND THE CRAFTSMEN OF ITALY: SOME PRE-REFORMATION REMAINS.

a) *The Stirling Gradual*: the Paschaltide section of the Gradual of the Mass according to the Roman rite, containing the music for the proper parts of the Mass from Easter Sunday to Pentecost I. It is preserved in St Andrew's Chapel in the Church of the Holy Rude at Stirling. It is thought to have been Italian but this is not certain.¹

If the Italian origin is true, if it shows nothing else it shows there was some contact between somebody in Stirling and someone in Italy, unless the book was a gift made by a visitor from Italy.

b) A fragment of several pages from a *Sarum Missal* dated 1494. said probably to have been printed in Venice, recovered from the bindings of protocol books in the Dundee Charter Room.²

The remarks made above apply equally in this instance.

c) A *Cistercian Ordinal and Customary*, dated 1531, preserved in Aberdeen University Library. It was given by the Italian scholar John Ferrerius to James Pont, a monk of Kinloss Abbey. At the time Ferrerius was teaching in the Abbey School. During his sojourn in Scotland he became a friend of Hector Boece.³

See this Appendix, following Section v, THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY, the reference to October 1507, following Item xi.

d) A manuscript of medical texts (dated c.1400), which once belonged to Archbishop Scheves of St Andrews (d.1497). It contains a treatise on epidemic disease by Raymond Vinaro and a dictionary⁴ of medical terms. Scheves studied at Louvain and perhaps obtained the book there. However, we cannot be certain of this because he was employed by James IV in negotiations both at home and abroad and almost certainly would have visited Rome to attend the Papal Curia.

ii) SCOTTISH STUDENTS AT ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES.

There is not much detailed information of Scots attending Italian universities before the Scottish Reformation. The most ancient university of Italy is that of Bologna which was founded in the eleventh century and which was to become the chief centre in Europe for the study of canon and civil law. Of Scottish students studying there in its earlier years very little is known. It is probable there was from Scotland at least a steady trickle of clerks in Holy Orders, who having taken an arts degree elsewhere came on to Bologna to qualify in law with a view to pursuing careers as Public Notaries.

At least two Scots achieved office at Bologna. The Register of the University contains the following entry,⁵

1486-7, Artisti: D.M.Gulielmus Balce de Scotia, artistarum et medicorum dignissimus Rector.

For 'Gulielmus Balce' we read 'William Baillie', who very likely is 'Willelmus Balzye' or 'Balzhe', who in 1468 became a Licentiate in Arts and on 26 October 1468 was granted his Master's degree in the University of Glasgow.⁶ After his spell at Bologna he first appears in Scottish records in 1504, 05.⁷

A John de Scotia was at Bologna University from 1512-26, and was Bedellus⁸ there at the time of his death. He left his goods to the German Nation, the nation to which, no doubt Scots were traditionally assigned as they were in Paris.⁸

a. Bedellus, 'In all medieval universities the bedel was an officer who exercised various executive and spectacular functions': H.Rashdall, *History of Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol.i,193.

In the thirteenth century the University of Padua outstripped Bologna in popularity with students. Founded in 1222 it became the Italian university most favoured by both Scottish and English students.⁹

At first Scottish students joined the 'Natio Anglica', which embraced students from England, Scotland and Ireland. In new statutes of 1331 these are still shown together. In 1465 the 'Nation' is called that of English and Scots, showing that Scots were still attending there in the first half of the sixteenth century, made explicit by the fact that in 1534 the Nation of the English and the Scots was separated into an English and a Scottish Nation.

Mistranscriptions of Scottish names in the surviving early Paduan records make the identification of the early Scottish students difficult. Garbled Scottish names appear in Rolls of the 1530s:¹⁰

- i) 1534-35: 5, including two brothers.
 - ii) 1535-36: 2
 - iii) 1536-37: 1
- and in the 1540s:
- iv) 1542-43: 5, including two brothers.

Thomas Erskine, Secretary to James V (1513-42), was at Pavia University, John Row, one of the authors of the Book of Discipline, took a Licentiate of Laws at the University of Rome in 1556 and round about the same time acquired a LL.D. from Padua.¹¹

Two of James IV's sons studied for a time at Padua and Siena with Erasmus as their tutor.¹² Scotland's connection with the University of Siena goes back at least to 1423 when records show that Andrew De Hawyk held there the post of Rector of the doctors and scholars.¹³

iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS AND TRAVELLERS TO ITALY.

The earliest records of Scots travelling to Italy concern legendary visits to Rome by Early Scottish saints.

In times of peace with England most probably preferred to take the short sea route to the Continent from Dover to Calais. In times of war they would have to take ship from one of the east coast ports to a port in the Low Countries, or the Baltic. To pass through England they needed a Warrant of Safe Conduct issued in the name of the English Crown. The earliest recorded Warrant seems to have been for a hostage in England to travel with his retinue to Rome¹⁴ in 1369.

Details of further Visits to Italy extracted mainly from a Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland now follow.

- i) 6 July 1372:
License to John of Craill and Nichol Stevenson, chaplains of Scotland, to travel via London and Dover with two Scotsmen, their servants, to the Roman Court.¹⁵
- ii) 1400: License for Scots to travel to Rome.¹⁶
- iii) 1403-05: Safe Conduct for 'Dan Johan de Torry l'Abbe de Dounfermelyn' and for another ...to pass through England beyond the seas on pilgrimage to Rome, with sixteen horsemen... for a year.¹⁷
- iv) 21 December 1423, at St Peter's Rome:
A Petition - Andrew De Hawyk, rector of the parish of Lyston, St Andrews Diocese, B.Dec., Counsellor and Procurator in the Roman Court of Murdach, Duke of Albany and Governor of Scotland, and also Rector of the doctors and scholars of the

University of Siena,...that the Pope would provide him to a canonry of Glasgow and the prebend commonly called by some Glasgow Primo...¹⁸

- v) 8 June 1424:
Safe Conduct for Master Thomas of Myrton of Scotland, with eight attendants, to go to the Court of Rome.
- vi) 9 June 1425:
Safe Conduct till Easter next, for Henry, Bishop of Aberdeen, William of Dunblane, John abbot of Melros, James Prior of St Andrews, John, abbot of Ballmurynach, William of Borthwick, junior, and William of Hay, Knights, Master Thomas of Myrton, Master Edward of Laweadre and Master John Stenes, the King of Scotland's ambassadors setting out for the Court of Rome, with fifty attendants.
- vii) 29 November 1432:
Safe Conduct and Letters of Passage for a year to the Bishop of Glasgow and thirty Scotsmen, his attendants, to pass through England to the Court of Rome.¹⁹
- viii) 1436: Alexander de Lindsay, Cathedral treasurer, commuted between St Andrews University where he taught, and the Papal Curia in Rome where he litigated, and Aberdeen, where he is found witnessing charters until his death in 1436.²⁰
- ix) 1440: Prior David Ramsay of St Andrews (1462-69) visited Florence and Rome.²¹
- x) 27 April 1448:
Safe Conduct for one year for Master John Legat, Sir William Scot, chaplain, and Thomas of Welles, Scots, and two others, Scots, their servants, to enter England, return to Scotland and thereafter pass from England to the Court of Rome.
- xi) 16 October 1449:
Safe Conduct for three years for James (Kennedy), Bishop of St Andrews, Sir Henry of Wardlaw, and Sir John Maxwell, Knights, and Sir John of Methfen, doctor of decrees, going on pilgrimage to the

apostolic threshold with sixty attendants, to cross at Calais and through the King's dominions.

xii) 27 February 1450/51:

Garter King of Arms (of England) commanded by the King to the seacoast to await the arrival of the Earl of Douglas about to come to England from the Court of Rome and conduct him to the King's presence. Master Adam of Auchinleck accompanied William Earl of Douglas on his pilgrimage to Rome.

xiii) 20 May 1453:

Safe Conduct for three years for Thomas, abbot of Paisley, George Falowe, burgess of Edinburgh, Master Stewart of Dalwswynton, Master James Inglis, Canon of Glasgow, Sir Thomas of Fersitt, vicar of Legearwode, Scotsmen, with seven attendants, passing through the King's dominions on pilgrimage to the threshold of the Apostles.

xiv) 22 May 1453:

Safe Conduct for three years for James, lord of Hamilton, Knight, James of Levingston, Archibald of Dundee, Sir Gawin of Hamilton, Provost of Bothwell, John of Hamilton, Master James Inglis, Master Robert of Hamilton, chaplain, David Spaldyng of Dundee, David Flemyng, Robert of Hamilton, William Bailye, Master William Bane, Patrick of Weddale, William Bonare, Adam Cosur, and Thomas of Forrest, Scotsmen, with twelve companions, going on pilgrimage to the threshold of the Apostles by Calais through the King's dominions.

xv) 22 May 1453:

Second Warrant of Safe Conduct for three years for Master William Elphinstone, a Scotsman, passing through England with six attendants on pilgrimage to the threshold of the Apostles.

xvi) 31 August 1453:

Safe Conduct for three years for William, Bishop of Glasgow, Master Andrew of Durisdere, Dean of Aberdeen, ...Arows, Archdeacon of Glasgow, Master Duncan (Bunch?), Canon and Official of Glasgow,

William of Canibris, and George of Fauls, burgesses of Edinburgh, passing through England, with fifty attendants, on pilgrimage to the threshold of the Apostles.²²

xvii) 1456: The Royal Exchequer recorded no revenues to certain lands in Strathearn because of Donald Williamson's absence on pilgrimage to Rome.²³

xviii) To: c. 1483 - 84:
Before his appointment to the See of Dunkeld in either 1483 or 1484, Bishop George Brown had been for a time 'Orator Regis' at the Papal Curia. His familiarity with the churches of Rome is demonstrated by the fact of his foundation in the cathedral of an altar dedicated to 'S Maria libera nos a paenis inferni'. This was unique in Scotland.

One of the churches George Brown would have known in Rome was that of Santa Prassede on the Esquiline Hill, recently restored by Pope Nicholas V. The feast day of Santa Prassade was celebrated at Dunkeld during Bishop Brown's episcopate. In the Chapel of San Zenone in Santa Prassade is the reputed Column of Flagellation, and the principal altar of that chapel since its erection by Pope Paschal I in 822 is dedicated to 'S Maria libera nos a paenis inferni' as at Dunkeld, and thus indicates the influence of the City of Rome upon Scottish ecclesiastics.²⁴

xix) 2 September 1494:
Robert, abbot of the Monastery of the Holyrood, Edinburgh, departed from the Kingdom of Scotland...to the land of Flanders, and thence to Rome.^{a 25}

a. An example of travelling by the longer sea route from a Scottish port, and so of non-appearance in the Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland.

xx) 1497: James Brown, Dean of Aberdeen, was sent to Rome by the King to press for the appointment of his young brother, the Duke of Ross, aged twenty-two, as Archbishop of St Andrews, the Primatial See. The mission was successful.²⁶

- xxi) 1498: While William Kerr, senior, visited Rome, his son had charge of his lands of Yare.²⁷
- xxii) 1525: As an act of penance for the slaughter of William Hamilton, John Wicht, promised to have Mass in 'scala celi', i.e. in the Lateran Basilica in the Chapel of St Laurence, adjacent to the 'scala sancta', which legend identifies with Pilate's stairway.²⁸
- xxiii) 10 May 1537:
License of James V to John Erskine of Dun, and others to thame to pas to the partis of France, Italie, or ony vtheris beyond se, and thair remane for doing of thair pilgrimaxis besynes and vthir lefall erandis for the space of thre yeiris nixt...²⁹
- xxiv) 16 April 1542:
License of James V to John Erskine of Dun, and othres, to Travel into France, Italy, and Other Places, for Two Years...to pas to the partis of France, Italie, or ony vthris beyond sey, and thair remane for doing of thair lefull besynes for the space of twa yeris...³⁰

iv) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS PASSING THROUGH ITALY 'EN ROUTE' TO THE HOLY LAND VIA RHODES.

The route from Scotland.

Probably the most common route was via Bruges, Basle, Venice and Rhodes.³¹ At Bruges a one night stop only was permitted in the pilgrim hostel.³² The stay at Basle was probably no longer, but in Venice pilgrims would often have to wait a while for a vessel and a favourable wind. (See 1443/4 below.)

Some examples.

It would not be possible to compile a complete list of such pilgrimages from Scotland. This is true up to 18 February 1369/70 when the law against leaving the country without leave of the King was passed. As regards Warrants of Safe Conduct granted to Scots by the English Crown these were more often than not simply worded in general terms of passage 'through the King's dominions and beyond', or 'through the King's dominions and to other parts of the Continent'.

The most important places for pilgrimages were firstly the Holy Land, and after that 'St James', i.e. Santiago de Compostela.³³

Pre - 1429:

Sir John Stewart (1365?-1429) went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, very probably via Venice.³⁴

1438/9: Safe Conduct granted by the English Crown for one year for Herbert Heyres (Herries), baron of Carlaverock, Scotland, with four servants, to pass through England to the Holy Land.³⁵

1443/4: This year the heart of King James I (assassinated at Perth, 1437) was taken on pilgrimage to the Holy Land by a certain Knight of the Order of St John, who may have been Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, who went to Palestine via Bruges, Basle, Venice and Rhodes.³⁶

1507/8: The 'Rentale Dunkeldense' records,

Assigned to my Lord (i.e. the King) by certain merchants of Edinburgh for finance to the King to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord, 40 c. 7b.7.³⁷

1507/8: Archbishop Robert Blackadder of Glasgow departed in February on his ill-fated pilgrimage to the Holy Land, probably calling at Orléans, and spending Easter in Rome before visiting the Doge in Venice on 16 May. He was accompanied by thirty-five retainers.³⁸

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. Sections i to iv.

1. David McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1953) 10, Item 54.
2. McROBERTS 13, Item 73.
3. " 18, " 109.
4. Glasgow University Library, Special Collections Department, MS Hunter 53.
5. *I. Rotuli dei Lettori Leggisti e Artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799* (U. Dallari, Bologna, 1880 vol.1, 130.
6. *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, 1854) vol.2, 208.
7. *ALHT* vol.2, lxxix, 445, 477.
8. John DURKAN 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *IR* 10, 2 (1959) 382-439, 387.
9. A. Francis STEUART 'The Scottish "Nation" at the University of Padua' *SHR* 3 (1906) 53-62, 53.
10. STEUART 54.
11. DURKAN 387.
12. Anthony ROSS 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 1481-1560' *IR* 10, 2 (1959) 382-439, 387.
13. See below. this Appendix, Section iii) Scottish Pilgrims and Travellers to Italy.
14. John DURKAN 'Some Scots in Rome' *IR* 27, 1 (1976) 42-48, 42.
15. *CDRS* vol.4, 45.
16. D. MACPHERSON & Others eds. *Rotuli Scoticae, in Turri Londoniensi et in Domo Capitulare Westmonasteriensi Asservati, 1399-1516* (Public Record Office, London, 1814/19, 2 vols.) vol.1, 930.
17. *CDRS* vol.4, 147.
18. Annie I. DUNLOP *Calendar of Supplications to Rome, 1423-28* (SHS Third Series, vol.48, 1956) 44.
19. *CDRS* vol.4, 196, Item v; vol.4, 200, Item vi. See also, MACPHERSON, *Rotuli Scoticae, etc.* (see n.16) Item vii, vol.2, 218.

20. Ian B. COWAN *St Machar's Cathedral in the Early Middle Ages* (The Friends of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, Occasional Paper No. 6, 1980) 6.
21. David McROBERTS 'The Glorious House of St Andrews' in *The Medieval Church of St Andrew* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1976) 68.
22. *CDRS* vol.4, Item x, 244; Item xi, 246. Annie I. DUNLOP *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1950) 115-17. Item xii, 249; Item xiii, 254,5; Item xiv, 255; Item xv, 255; Item xvi, 257. Regarding Item xii, see Roderick J. LYALL, 'Two of Dunbar's Makars: James Affleck and Sir John Ross' *IR* 27, 2 (1976) 99-109, 101.
23. *ER* vol.6, 288.
24. Charles BURNS 'Curious Altar-Dedication in Dunkeld' *IR* 9, 2 (1958) Miscellany Section, 215,6.
25. Francis C. EELES ed. *The Holyrood Ordinal* (The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vol.7, 1914) lxxxvii.
26. David McROBERTS 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours' *IR* 19, 2 (1968) 144-67, 161.
27. *ER* vol.2, 400.
28. Marguerite WOOD *The Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-28* Parts ii-iii (SRS vol.3, 1942) 592. See also, John DURKAN, 'Some Scots in Rome', *IR* 27, 1 (1976) 43.
29. 'Papers from the Charter Chest at Dun' ed. anon. in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol.4 (Aberdeen, 1849) 1-87, and Appendix to the Dun Papers, 88-112, 30.
30. As n.29, 43.
31. David McROBERTS 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land' *IR* 20, 1 (1969) 80-106, 90.
32. Gilliodts van SEVEREN ed. *Inventaire des Chartes de la Ville de Bruges* (Première Série, Troisième au Seizième Siècle, Edward Gailliard, Bruges, 1871) vol.3, 440, Charte 874.
33. William CRAIG *The Cooper Craft: A Compilation of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, etc.: From A.D. 1124 to A.D. 1707, etc...* (Charles Glass and Co., Glasgow, 1899) 22-47, 31, Section headed: 'The Laws and Customs of the Four Burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling', Item LXV, 'Of a Burgess challenged who is on pilgrimage'.

34. A distinguished soldier of the One Hundred Years War, who founded the Collegiate Church of Our Lady at Orléans just before embarking on the above pilgrimage. See, *Extracta e Variis Croniciis Scotie* (Abbotsford Club, 1842) 235.
35. *CDRS* vol.4, 231, Item vi..
36. McROBERTS (as n.31) 90,1.
37. R.K. HANNAY ed. *Rentale Dunkeldense: Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D.1506-17) with Mylne's 'Lives of the Bishops' [A.D.1483-1517]* (SHS Second Series, vol.10, 1915) 'Account of the Granittar of Lothian', 247.
38. John DURKAN 'Archbishop Blackadder's Will' *IR* 23, 2 (1972) 138-48, 138.

CHAPTER TWO . APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY.

v) THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY.

Records show that James IV (1488-1513) brought musicians and entertainers from Italy to entertain his court.

Extracts of Records: *ALHT*.

- i) 1501: Item, to Petir de Luca and Francis de Luca, spelair^a in part of thair pensioun of 1 Li. xx Franch crounis...¹

a. acrobat, performer, player, actor: in Scotland mostly an acrobatic performer.
- ii) 11 January 1501/2:
Item, to the spelair that yeid (went) on the cord,.....viij Li.

Item, to his man.....Lvjs.
- iii) 1502: Five payments made this year to the spelairs.
- iv) 1502/3: Item, to the spelairs maister, his quarter payment of this terme of Candlemes, bipast,.....xiij.Li. xs.
- v) 29 June 1503:
Payment for a 'spelair' who is probably English but not so described: he was probably in town for the wedding of James IV and Margaret Tudor in August.
- vi) 1503: Item,... to the Italien las that dansit,xxj Li.
- vii) " : Item, to the four Italien menstrales, to fee thaim hors to Linlithge, and to red them of the toun,.....lvj s.
- viii) October 1503:
Item, to the Italien menstrales, iij French crounis.
- ix) 1505: Record of payment to four Italian 'schawmeris' together with 'childer' sometimes called 'yong piperis' or yong scameria'.²

- x) 19 March 1529/30:
 Landy, as Treasurer, had caused unquhil
 Evangelist Passer to become surety to the
 five Italian minstrels for £240. The
 Italians trouble Barton (now Treasurer)
 and Passer's relict, landy, being abroad
 on the King's service, and the Lord's
 ordain them to await his return.³
- xi) 1542: Item, gevin for the v Italianis for thair
 loverays usit and wont,
 ilk ane.....xiiij Li.
- Item, gevin to the foresaidis four play-
 erris un the veolis, for thair pensionis
 and fee of the Yule and Candilmas termes,
 havand ilk ane of thame at the terme...
x Li.⁴

Other Italians besides musicians sometimes rendered services to
 James IV, e.g.:

October 1507:

Item, to the frere of Farrara that brocht
 musta100 French crowns.⁵

a. must - musk, used in perfumes and as a
 stimulant.

Possibly the reference is to Giovanni Ferrerius, the Italian
 humanist, and may indicate the date of his first arriving in
 Scotland.

N.B. For the sake of correct chronology these extracts should be
 read with extracts from the Exchequer Rolls that follow.

Extracts of Records: mainly, Exchequer Rolls.

i) 5 April 1507:

Letter of Passage of James IV to
 Bernardo Dromer, trumpeter, and four of
 his companions, coming from Bologna to
 serve the King with their trumpets and
 musical instruments.⁶

They were probably brought over to play at the 'Joyful Entry' of the Papal Legate into Edinburgh. See, Chapter Four, Joyful and Triumphal Entries.

- ii) 1513-14: ...histrionibus Italicis in octo libris et octo solidis in eorum feodis...
- iii) 1514-15: Payment of £89. 16s to : ...sex histrionibus et tubicinis...
- iv) 1516: Payment of £35 to: ...sex histrionibus Ytilis domini gubernatoris ...per perceptum domini gubernatoris...
- v) 1516-17: Payment of £60 to:...quatuor histrionibus Ytalis...
- vi) 1517-18: Payment to:...Juliano Drummond, Georgio Forest, et Juliano Rokkett, tubicinis et histrionibus Italicis et Scotis...⁷

On these Farmer wrote

Italy gave the Scottish court some minstrels, but some of these, such as the Drummonds, were probably the descendants of Scots who had settled in Italy. Indeed, in the *Frottole of Petrucci* (1466-1539) there are five works by a certain Paulus Scotus...⁸

Regular payments were made to Italian minstrels and trumpeters up to 1529 when it was ordered that payments made from the feus derived from certain lands should no longer be paid, in the case of the trumpeters, 'without express command of the King'.⁹

Minstrels occur regularly in the accounts up to 1560. At the accession of Mary (1542-67) there were fifteen minstrels at court of whom five were Italians.¹⁰

Italian Minstrels in Brechin.

Evidence shows that besides playing for the King at Holyrood and Linlithgow Italian minstrels played elsewhere:

- i) October 1503:¹¹
 Item, to the four Italien menstrales, to
 red thaim of Strivelin, xxviij s.
- ii) 15 October 1504:¹²
 In Brechin, to the four Italien menstrales
 and the More taubronar, to thair hors
 met,...xlv s.

Other adjacent entries in the accounts show that the King had
 come from Scone and after Brechin stayed overnight in Dunnottar.¹³

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY. v) THE SCOTTISH COURT AND THE MUSIC, MUSICIANS AND ENTERTAINERS OF ITALY.

1. *ALHT* vol.2, 96; *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1488 onwards; various editors; 7 vols. and still in progress; 1908, vol.1, 1488-1529, ed. M. LIVINGSTONE, Item No. 849, 3 July 1501.
2. *ALHT* vol.2, Item ii, 132; Item iii, 143,5, 151,3, 334; Item iv, 335; Item v, 377; Item vi, 395; Item vii, 395; Item viii, 399; Item ix, vol.3, 393.

Leland also records: 1503 'After Dynnar a young man, an Italyen, played before the King on a corde varey well'. (Iohannis LELANDI *de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, etc. ([*Accedunt de Rebus Anglicis Opuscula varia*] B. White, London, Second Edition, 1774, 6 vols.) [First Edition, Oxford, 1715] vol.4. 297.

Note: There are regular payments to Italian minstrels shown in *ALHT* vols. 3, 4, 5 and 6, 1505-38, and many other examples could have been quoted from vol.2, 403, 407, 409, 412, etc...472. A few payments are shown in vol.7, 1538-41; a few payments in vol.8, 1541-46, a few in vol.9, 1546-51, but the minstrels are not described as Italians. Vol.10, 1551-59, shows one payment only to a minstrel, and he is apparently a Scot.

3. R.K. HANNAY ed. *Acts of the Lords in Council in Public Affairs; Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii; Introductory to the Register of the Privy Council, 1501-54* (HMGRH, Edinburgh, 1932) 323, extract of fol 23.
4. *ALHT* vol.8, 150.
5. " vol.4, 81. See also this APPENDIX 'D'. Item i) Scotland and the Craftsmen of Italy: Some Pre-Reformation Remains.
6. M. LIVINGSTONE ed. *Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum*, etc. (as in n.1) Item No. 1456, or, R.L. MACKIE ed. *The Letters of James IV, 1505-13* (SHS, Third Series, vol.45, 1953) 68, Letter No. 100.
7. *Exchequer Rolls* vol.14 - ii) 8; iii) 107; iv) 220; v) 285.
 " " vol.15, 1523-29; vol.16, 1529-37;
 " " vol.17, 1538-42; vol.18, 1543-56 - all show regular payments to trumpeters, some of whom were Italians.
8. H.G. FARMER *Music In Medieval Scotland* (William Reeves, London, undated - possibly 1930) 77.
9. *Exchequer Rolls* vol.15, 495, 682.
10. H.G. FARMER *A History of Music in Scotland* (Hennischen Editions, London, 1947)
11. *ALHT* vol.2, 403.

12. *ALHT* vol. 2, 462.
13. " vol. 2, 462, 3.

CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX 'E' SCANDINAVIA

CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'E'. SCANDINAVIA.

Scottish Trade with Denmark.

According to Danish records the ports of departure for vessels setting out for Denmark from Scotland were mostly the ports of Aberdeen and Dundee. Ayr, Burntisland and Crail are mentioned as ports of registration, but seldom as ports of departure.¹

The towns most favoured by Scottish settlers were Elsinore (i.e. Helsingør) and Copenhagen. Scottish merchants may have begun to arrive in Elsinore early in the fifteenth century. They established Altars of St Ninian in the Church of St Olai (i.e. St Olave) in Elsinore and the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen.²

A Copenhagen record of c. 1510 shows four citizens with the name 'Scotte', one so rich that he was required to provide two soldiers.³

Some of the Customs Officers of the Øresund (straits which allow entry into the Baltic Sea) were of Scottish descent. The oldest surviving accounts, those for 1497, show that eleven Scottish ships passed through the Sound into the Baltic, 'en route' to Rostock, Danzig, Königsberg, and probably other ports, and ten made the return journey.⁴

Danes in Scotland.

The records do not indicate that many Danes came to Scotland. James V (1513-42) employed Continental mining experts, some of whom were Danes, one of whom, Anthony Niket, was ennobled by the King.

In the days of James IV (1488-1513) the Danish embroiderer, Nannik Derikson, executed many fine frontals and vestments for the Chapel Royal. Most of the household servants of Cardinal Beaton (1494-1546) were Scots and French, but there was one Dane, by name Nigel.⁵

Scottish and Danish Royal Houses.

Most of the material that has survived regarding the relationships of the above are concerned with the matrimonial alliance of James III with Margaret, daughter of Christian I in 1469. The alliance thus forged still existed in the first half of the sixteenth century as shown by letters written to Scotland 16 October 1528/9 and 8 January 1529/30, demanding payment for arms and other necessities of war which Chancellor Godskalk Erikssen had taken to Scotland in 1523 and 1529.⁶

When invitations were sent out for the 'gret justing and turnament at Edinburgh in halyrudhous of the dait I^m V^c fyve zeiris...the warneing and proclamatioun heiroy was ane hundreith dayes befor to the effect that france, ingland and denmarkk nicht haue knowledge of the samyn and quha that pleisit to cum thairto as thay thocht guid...'.⁷

Scottish Commerce with Denmark - Some examples.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.

26 June 1489:

An Embassy sent by James IV to Denmark for a renewal of the ancient alliance, and also claiming damages for injuries

committed by 'Luthkin Mere (Danish Pirate) and his complices,
within oure souerane lordis Watter' (Acta Parl.)

4 Aug. 1489:

Item, for the expensis maide, at the Kingis commande, vpone
Deyf Lutkin and his folkis, quhen thai come first to Stirling,
thair costis in Stirling, and thereafter, in Lythgow and Edin-
burgh, at dyuersse tymes, and for horsse to thayme
to ryd betwene,.....xij Li.

Item, for the costis maid in Edinburghe vpon xxxvj of his
folkis that wes takin in Leyth, ay quhill thai wer justifeit
(i.e. executed),.....xxxvj Li.

Item, to the samin Densse menne, at thair way-passing be the
Kingis commande,.....ij Li. xij s.^a

a. An embassy had been returned by the King of Denmark,
accompanied by a number of the pirates, who were delivered to
be excuted.⁸

May 1507:

Item, to William Stewart, maister of the schip callit the
Wantoun, for to pas in Denmark with Mountjoy, and for his ex-
pens sen he enterit to hir,.....xlviij Li.⁹

Item, payit to Schir Johne Ramsay that he gaif in drinksilvir
to the schipmen of Montjoyis schip,.....vij s.¹⁰

Item, to Danyman the cuke, be the Kingis command,....xij d.¹¹

14 May 1507:

Item,...to William Stewart, maister of the Wantoun, for the
childer expens xj dayis quhen tha ramant on Montjoy, for
compasses and small thingis for
the schip,.....vj Li. xiiij s. vj d.¹²

May 1507:

Item, for claith laid in the said schip quhen scho sailit to
Denmark, bocht be John Francis,.....xxx Li.¹³

Item, for xxv cheldir salt laid in the said schip; ilk
cheldir xxvj s. viij d,.....summa xxxiiij Li vjs. viij d.¹⁴

Aug. 1538:

Item, for ane stane $\frac{1}{2}$ stane of grete towis to bynd the grete
hors that come furth of Denmark, deliverit to Patrick
Sclatar, sadillar. price.....xxij s. vj d.¹⁵

Aberdeen Burgh Records.

12 Sept. 1544:

My lord provest and baillies: Vnto your worschipis humelie menis and complenis, I your seruitour, Alexr. Gurthrie, als Snawdounne harrold, vpoun Wm. Pactoun, schipper of ane schip of Dundee: that quhair in the moneth of Junij bipast, it was convenit betuix me and thr said Wm. that he sould haif had a brother sone of myne to Denmark in his schip, for the quhilk he ressauit fra me x s. of money, half ane barreil of aile, price x s., ane nycht mantile, and viij s. wourth of quhite broid: and thairefter, I being absent of the towne, send away my said brother sone to Monross his erandis, and past away or his hame cuming, nocht fulfilling his condicioun and promess, as said is. Beseikand herefor your worschipis to cause the said William restoir to me the money and geir forsaid, deliuerit to him as said is, becaus he hes nocht fulfillit his condicioun and promiss, and your ansuer humelie I beseik.¹⁶

3 May 1561:

A certain Thomas Christal, burgess of Aberdeen seeks the help of the Bailies of the burgh in pursuit of justice against a certain Joachin Racho, 'steirman of ane schipe of Trailsound, the skipper callit Henrik Bodiger, now beand in Abirdene, presentlie made narratioun vpoun the said Thomas to the king of Denmarkis captanis, and vtheris his grace officiariis, that he had spulzeit and takyn furtht of a schipe of Rosto, in the sound of Norway callit Skau Sound..'.
 This had caused Thomas Christal much trouble and he seeks redress.¹⁷

Extracts from the Burgh and Head Court Register of the Burgh of Dundee.

4 Feb. 1550/1:

The quhilk day Robert clerk is adiugit to pay to Jhone Gray Inducillar In denmark the sovme of xxx (s). within xxiiij houris...¹⁸

9 May 1551:

Mattyne beed skipper of ane schip of Copmanhavine (Copenhagen) enterit his schip ladine with thir gudis vnderwrytine(see below)¹⁹

30 May 1552:

The quhilk day Martine boyd skipper of Copinihavine enterit his schip ladine with this tymmer vnder wrytine...²⁰

5 March 1553/4:

The quhilk day dauid villiemson burges of pettinweme present in Jugisment (James) Scrymgeour of the gothyne and George lowell burgesis of this burcht as caucioneris is for the soume of sewine score of pundis awand to Villiem Kinloche burges of this samynburcht And becaus the said williem is bund and oblissit Andhes set caucioneris for hym for payment of xxj scoir foure crounis of wegcht opten it vpon the said dauid his colleigis and partneris be henrik strwpman Mattis lamp, lambert Stalfurd thare partneris Induellaris In copmenhawyn in denmark...²¹

27 August 1554:

...my fader is becum (declares Jhone Kinloche) caucion and principall debtour for the forsaid dauid and his colleigis to certane bourgeris of Kopmanhawine...²²

See also following entry, even date, f.331B.

24 August 1556:

Henrik bawgy skippar of ane schip of Copmanhawyn enterit thir gudis vnder wrytine...²³

24 August 1556:

The quhilk day yeir aboue wrytine maltis mwnd skippar in Fwnen (?) in Denmark enterit hi schip with thir gudis gudis vnder wrytine...²⁴

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'E'. SCANDINAVIA.

1. Thelma JEXLEY 'Scottish History in the Light of Records in the Danish National Archives' *SHR* vol.48, Nos. 145,6 (1969) 98-106, 103.
2. JEXLEY 104.
George HAY 'A Scottish Altarpiece in Copenhagen', *IR* 7, 1 (1956) 5-10.
The Altar of St Ninian in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen was administered by Scots Custodians on behalf of the Guild of St Ninian, founded for pious and charitable purposes c.1500 by the many Scots citizens of the city. On 12 September 1539 as a consequence of the Lutheran Reformation the income and funds of the altar with the church plate and ornaments were transferred to the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in the same city. The altarpiece is now in the custody of the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen.
3. JEXLEY 104 and n.3.
4. " 104.
5. David McROBERTS 'The Greek Bishop of Dromore' *IR* 28, 1 (1977) 22-38, 36.
6. JEXLEY 98,9.
7. Aeneas J.G. MACKAY ed. Robert LINDSAY of Pitscottie *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, 1437-1575* (STS 1899-1911, 3 vols.) vol.1, 242.

For a detailed study of Scottish-Danish relations see, Thorkild Lyby CHRISTENSEN 'Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century - Historiography and Some Questions' *SHR* vol.48 (1969) 80-97.
8. Robert PITCAIRN *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland compiled from Original Records and Manuscripts, etc.* (Bannatyne Club, 1833, 3 vols.) vol.1, Part 2, Appendix, 115.
9. *ALHT* vol.3, 385.
10. " " "
11. " vol.3, 386.
12. " " "
13. " " "
14. " " "
15. " vol.6, 433.
16. John STUART ed. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, 1844) 206.

17. STUART 333,4.
18. MS Burgh and Head Court Register of the Burgh of Dundee,
vol.2, fol 34.
19. As n.18, vol.2, fol 57B.
20. " " " fol 157.
21. " " " fol 292.
22. " " " fol 331.
23. " " vol.3, fol 64B.
24. " " " fol 66B.

CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX 'F' SPAIN

CHAPTER TWO. APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN.

i) Spaniards at the Scottish Court.

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer contain the following items:

- i) 16 July 1491:
Item...to the Spanyeartis that dansyt before the King
on the Cawsay of Edinburgh before the Thesaurus lweing
...xxvij Li.¹
 - ii) 1495
To the King to offir vpone Sanct James daye...xviij s.²
 - iii) 1508
Item for iiij eine yallo taffetj to be gown to Martin
the Spanyart for the bancat,...lvj s.³
- 1371-90
Sometime during the reign of Robert II his Court
Minstrels were received at the Spanish Court.

The question has been raised what new ideas in music did these minstrels bring back to Scotland? Were the Portingall, Naverne, or Aragone, those dances mentioned in 'Cockelbeis Sow', (15th century), among them?⁴.

ii) Scottish Pilgrims to the Shrine of Santiago de Compostela.

The following item shows that in Scotland the shrine at Compostela ranked second only to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,

Of a burgess gone in pilgrimage to be in peace:
If any man of the King's burgh be gone in pilgrimage, with
leave of the Kirk and of his neighbours, to the Holy Land,
or to St James, or any other Holy Place, for the healing of
the soul, his house, and his means shall be in our lord the
King's peace, and in the baillies peace, until the time that
God brings him home again.⁵

List of Scottish Pilgrims to Compostela.

20 February 1320/1:

Protection till midsummer next for Donald De Mar going
on pilgrimage to St James...⁶

1361:

William de Landallis, Bishop of St Andrew's with a
company of twenty companions, went on pilgrimage to St
James for the Compostelan Holy Year.⁷

1367:

This year the Earl of Mar received a Safe Conduct from
Edward III to travel with a retinue of twenty on his
way to and from the Shrine of St James.⁸

1410/11:

....Safe Conduct till Pentecost following at the suppli-
cation of Richard Maghlyn the King's esquire, for John
Hathyngton Scotsman, to go in pilgrimage to Seint Jake
beyond seas, in fulfilment of a vow.⁹

Before 1440 Henty Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews,
granted William Brown, a pilgrim to Rome and Compostela,
a license to receive the Sacraments and solicit alms..¹⁰

23 February 1494/5:

The said day the balzeis, and diuerss of the Counsale
and communitie present for the tyme, grantit leif to
Schir Johnhe Prat thar cheplane to pass to Sanct James
his pilgrimage, but preiudice to his chaplancy of the
croice altar quhill his hame cuminge, Schire Mathow
Nicholsone or ony uther cheplane makand ministratioun
at the said alter to his agane cuming.¹¹

1518/19:

William Robertssoun was 'en route' on pilgrimage to Compostela when he died at Regensburg.¹²

1543: By an instrument dated 25 March 1543, Easter Day, one Leonard Panntmayr testified that George Donaldson had been to confession and communion at Taufkirchen, on his way back from Regensburg, and proceeding to the Shrine of the Holy Blood at Wilsnack¹³

Note: The above can only be regarded as examples. There must have been many pilgrims to Compostela who have not 'surfaced' in records. Besides the overland route from Bruges there was the direct route to Coruna, or Bordeaux, and apparently also a route from one of the Baltic ports to the Holy Blood Shrine at Wilsnack, and to Compostela via Regensburg.

Pilgrim Routes:

- a) By sea to Coruna and on to Compostela.
- b) By sea to the Low Countries, then overland: Bruges, Amiens, Paris, Chartres, Tours, Poitiers, Saintes, Bordeaux, Dax, Panplona, Astorga, Compostela.¹⁴

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO, APPENDIX 'F'. SPAIN.

1. *ALHT* vol.1, 179.
2. " " 242.
3. " vol.4, 64.
4. H.G. FARMER *A History of Music in Scotland* (Hennischen Editions, London, 1947) 43, referring to Spanish State Papers.
5. William CRAIG *The Cooper Craft: A Compilation of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, etc...Relating to the Laws, Regulations and Privileges of Burghs and Burgesses, the Guild, the Cooper Craft, and the Cooper Craft of Glasgow* (Charles Glass and Company, Glasgow, 1899) Section headed, 'The Laws and Customs of the Four Burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling', 22-47, item LXXVII, 38.
6. *CDRS* vol.3, 137.
7. D. MACPHERSON and Others *Rotuli Scoticae, in Turri Londoniensi et in Domo Capitulare Westmonasteriensi Asservati, 1399-1516* (Public Record Office, London, 1814/19, 2 vols.) vol.1, 854.
8. Anthony GOODMAN 'Notes and Comments, A Letter from the Earl of Douglas to a King of Castile' *SHR* 64, 1 (1985) [No.177] 68-75, 68.
9. *CDRS* vol.4, 161,2..
10. Denis McKAY 'Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560', *IR* 10, 2 (1959) 237-67, 260 and n.236.
11. John STUART 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317-1551' *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* [vol.5] (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1852) Accounts of the Dean of Guild, 32.
12. Mark DILWORTH 'Two Scottish Pilgrims in Germany' *IR* 18, 1 (1967) 19-24, 19.
13. DILWORTH 20,21.
14. Robert Brian TATE *Pilgrimages to St James of Compostella from the British Isles during the Middle Ages* (E. Allison Peers Publications, Lecture 4, Liverpool University Press, 1990) 11.

CHAPTER THREE

APPENDIX 'A'

THE CREATION/FALL/NATIVITY CYCLE
IN PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE CREATION/FALL/NATIVITY CYCLE IN PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH LITERATURE.

1. THE DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD.

Johannes de Irlandia's version of the above appears in the treatise of 'The Miroure of Wyssdome'¹ which he wrote for the benefit of James IV shortly before 1490. His version of the 'Debate' has the following Preface:²

The cheptar folowand declar(is) the gret disputacioun(e) betuix the four(e) hevinly w(er) tuis, Mercy, Vrite, Equite & Pass befor(e) the hie maieste and the hevi(n)ly wissdome, ane(n)s the Jncarnacioun(e) of the blist Sone of God, jh(es)-us, the Sone and froit of this nob(i) le lady and virgin. And thir w(er)tuis j wil (com)pare to c(er)tane p(er)sonag, & p(ro)ced as mony poet(is) & doct(ur)is ther(modu)m (dealogie), and sa wil j eft(ir) spek of the ierochies & ordo (u) r (is) of angellis.

The formula, 'Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other' (derived from : Psalm 85, 10), had by the twelfth century been expanded into an elaborate disputation between four sister virtues in the presence of God, concerning the Fall of Adam and the plan of future redemption for mankind through Christ. The form evolved in the hands of a succession of doctors of the Church, eventually making its appearance in the 'Ludus Coventriae'. Ireland's version is an example in its purer and more theological form.

The myth of the 'Debate of the Four Daughters' also occurs as an allegorical Interlude in *Piers Plowman's Vision*; in *The Castle of Perseverance*; in Lydgate's *Court of Sapience*, *Life of St Mary* and in the poem on the *Prospect of Peace*.³

a) THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD FROM THE BANNATYNE MANUSCRIPT.

Written In Tyme of Pest 1568.⁴

Than wt sueit sound and melody
 Sang all the angell ordouris cleir
 And all the hevinly cumpany
 Reiosit wt blisfull cheir
 peax kist Iustice hir sistir deir
 Quia nos redemere voluisti
 Than rycht and mercy Imbracit neir
 beata vbera que suxisti.

b) THE VISIT OF THE MAGI.

From *The Meroure of Wyssdome* of John Ireland.⁵

... the sterne conwoyit the thre kinges of the orient, to this blist child, that offerit to him, 'Aurum thus, et mirram', gold, sens and myre: the twa bestis, the ox and the ass, anournyt him... 'Cognouit bos possessorum suum, et asinus preceptum domini sui; et iterum: Opus tuum in medio animalium'. The wyne and balme florist and bare fruit 'vineis engadi'. The emperoure octauiane, be the thene of sibilla, saw on the day of the birthe of Jhesu a cirkite about the sone, and jn jt a lady and virgin of hevinly beute and fauor havand hire sone jn hire armes, and anournyt him for lord of all creature. The tempil of pess jn some, that said neuir falye, be the ansuere of the yddles and goddis of the gentiles, Quhill a virgin bare a child, that tym fell. jn takin of the birthe of Jhesu and virginite of his moder. Jn rome a fontane of wattir turnit jn vle and ran to tybyre...

c) SIR JOHN IRELAND, i.e. JOHANNES DE IRLANDIA.

Little is known about Ireland's earlier life. In the *Meroure* he twice states that he was in France 'neire the tyme of thretty yere' and on his own showing he returned to Scotland c. 1482-84. Thus we may assume that he began to reside in France c. 1455-60. He determined at St Andrews University in 1455, but as a result of a

dispute he left there without taking a degree. Records of the University of Paris show that he was 'received' there as a Bachelor in 1459, and as a Licentiate the following year. In 1475 he was made a Doctor of Theology, and the colophon of the *Meroure* tells us that before his return he was 'Professor Univeritatis Parisiensis'.

In the 1470s, while still in France he began to undertake diplomatic missions as a 'go-between' of the French and Scottish monarchs. Records show his sitting in the Scottish Parliament in 1484 'pro clero' and he is entered just before the 'barons'.

There has existed some confusion as to the course of Ireland's ecclesiastical career after his return to Scotland, it being assumed that because he was appointed Rector of Hawick c. 1490 he actually took up residence and acted as parish priest. This is not necessarily so. As Rector of Hawick he could have taken the benefice income for himself and paid a Vicar to act on his behalf during his absence while he pursued a career elsewhere.⁶

John Ireland of Paris's career outside the parish structure after returning to Scotland is as follows,⁷

Archdeacon of St Andrews, 1483-85.
Provost of the Collegiate Church of Crichton from 28 Dec. 1483.
Succentor & Subchanter of Moray: 1487-95.

Sometime after 1495 a John Ireland appears in records as Vicar of Perth. A record in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of 1502/3 shows him as 'Vicar of Perth'. Whether or not this John Ireland is the same man as was Professor in Paris it is impossible to say with any certainty,⁸

11 March 1502/3: Item, (the xj day of March) to Schir Johne Irland, Vicar of Perth, for writing of the citationis and lettrez on Maister Gawin Douglas, provest of Sanct Gelis Kirk...ix s.

The Protocol Book of John Foular shows that a Sir John Irland was Vicar of Perth on 4 September 1523.⁹

Local records show that a 'Master John Ireland' was 'Vicar of the parish church of Perth' on 16 March 1518/19, when he also filled the role of 'Dean of the Confraternity or United Brethren of the Order' of the Holy Trinity, at the time when an Altar of the Holy Trinity was being established and endowed.¹⁰

Local records also show that Ireland's predecessor at Perth was a John Anderson who was appointed in 1479. A George Cook was appointed in 1535. A John Ireland was Vicar of Perth from c. 1495, but it was most unlikely that he would still have been vicar in 1535 at a time when he would have been in his early nineties.

Another argument against the one-time Paris Professor being Vicar of Perth is that more often than not the latter is addressed as 'Schir John' which is normally taken to indicate a non-graduate priest. However he was also at times addressed as 'Master John Ireland' as indicated above.

A letter of James IV dated 26 September 1490 addressed to Pope Innocent VIII explains that John Ireland had been a Professor of Divinity in Paris and a former Ambassador of James III, his

Counsellor at home and an admirable Confessor of the King. The letter also explains that because of grievous vexations brought upon him by the Archbishop of St Andrews, Ireland and his church were exempted at James III's suit from the Archbishop's jurisdiction and placed under that of the Apostolic See. The Pope had summoned Ireland to his Court in order to invalidate this exemption. James IV states that Ireland's services to him are so valuable that his absence and even more his overthrow would be deplorable to him and his realm. The King requests the cancellation of the citation.¹¹

2. POSSIBLE PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF A PAGEANT OF THE NATIVITY IN SCOTLAND.

- i) Annually in the 'monstre' for the Aberdeen Candlemas Offerand.¹²
- ii) In the Joyful Entry of Margaret Tudor into Edinburgh in 1503, possibly in the context of the Pageants of the Salutation of Mary and Joseph, and of the Marriage of Mary & Joseph.¹³
- iii) In the Joyful Entry of the same Margaret, now Queen, into Aberdeen in 1511, in the context of the Offering of the Three Kings. The pageant of the Nativity which might have been used in the Candlemas Offerand might have been used on this occasion. (Not mentioned by Dunbar).¹⁴

3. SOURCES OF THE NATIVITY CYCLE IN THE YORK CYCLE OF PLAYS.¹⁵

- i) Lucifer and rebel angels - originated in the East among the Iranian legends, from which source may also have come:
 Noah's allusion to the worlds being burnt with fire. The legend of the Fall of Lucifer, unknown to Jerome, was adopted by a Christian writer at the close of the fifth century.
- ii) The Nativity - The Prophecies of the Sybils;
 Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew;
 History of Joseph the Carpenter;
 Protoevangelium or Gospel of James;
 The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary;
- iii) The Purification - The Gospel of St James.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'A'.

1. Charles MacPHERSON ed. *The Meroure of Wyssdome: Johannes Irlandia* (STS NS 19, 1926, 2 vols.) vol.1, Chapters IX and X.
2. As n.1. 106. Preface to [CHEPTUR IX.]
3. G.R. OWST *Literature and Pulpit In Medieval England* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1961) 90,1,2.
4. W.Tod RITCHIE ed. *The Bannatyne Manuscript Written in Time of Pest, 1568, by George Bannatyne* (STS 1928, 4 vols.) vol.2, Poem xxxii, 68-71, lines 1-104. See also, 70, lines 57-64.
5. As n.1, vol.1, lines 9-27.
6. As n.1, Intro. xiv-xxvi.
7. D.E.R. WATT ed. second draft of *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*.
8. *ALHT* vol.2, 360.
9. Marguerite WOOD ed. *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-28* (SRS 3, 2, 1942) 138, No.421, 4 Sept. 1523.23.
10. John LAWSON *The Book of Perth* (T.G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1847) 67,8; R.S. FITTIS *The Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth* (James Gemmel and S. Cowan, Perth, 1885) 77.
11. Rawdon BROWN ed. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in the Northern Libraries of Italy* vol.2, 1202-1509 (Longmans, London, 1864) St Mark's Library, Venice, 199, Item 595, 26 Sept. 1490.
12. See vol.1, CHAPTER SIX. i) ABERDEEN. Order for the Candlemas Offerand dated 2 January 1442/3 and vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. The Order of 14 April 1539.
13. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES. iv) Edinburgh. 7 August 1503. Joyful Entry for Margaret Tudor.
14. As n.13. i) Aberdeen. May 1511; John SMALL ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (STS 1893, 2 vols.) vol.2, 322,3, lines 322,3.
15. Lucy Toulman SMITH ed. *York Plays; The Plays performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the Day of Corpus Christi* (OUP, 1885) xlvii.

CHAPTER THREE

APPENDIX 'B'

REFLECTIONS OF THE PASSION
IN SCOTTISH PRE-REFORMATION LITERATURE
AND A COMPARISON WITH CONTINENTAL
STAGING PRACTICES

CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'. REFLECTIONS OF THE PASSION IN
SCOTTISH PRE-REFORMATION LITERATURE AND A COMPARISON WITH
CONTINENTAL STAGING PRACTICES.

1. THE LITERARY SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS PLAYS.

i) Sources of the Passion, Resurrection and Assumption Cycles of
The York Cycle of Mystery Plays.¹

Christ before Herod - The Gospel of Nicodemus:
The Dream of Pilate's wife and other
stories.

The Trial and Condemnation of Jesus -
The Gospel of Nicodemus.

The Cross, the Tree Legend -
the Cursor Mundi.

The Death and Burial of Jesus -
the Greek version of the Gospel of
Nicodemus supplies many incidents.

The Harrowing of Hell - in-debted to the Latin version of
the same book.

The Death, Assumption and Coronation of Mary -
the texts of an apocryphal legend
known as, 'Transitus Mariae'.

N.B. The principal source for the biblical plays is the Latin
Vulgate of St Jerome.

ii) Sources of the Passion and Resurrection in the *Legenda Aurea*
of Jacob of Voragine.²

These are given below in the order in which they make their
appearance. Unfortunately Voragine does not normally give the name
of the work of the writer to whom he refers:-

St Augustine of Hippo: The 'De Trinitate', and possibly his 'De
Consensu Evangelistarum', which almost amounts to a 'Harmony of
the Gospels'.

The Gospel of Nicodemus.

St Ambrose: Difficult to identify the work referred to. His most noteworthy work is 'De Officiis Ministrorum'.

St Bernard: 'Vita Mystica seu Tractatus De Passio Domini'; 'Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini'; 'Liber De Passione Christi'.

St John Chrysostom: Difficult to identify.

Peter Comestor: The 'Historia Scholastica'.

(Pseudo)-St Anselm: The 'Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi De Passione Domini'.

St Jerome: Difficult to identify any specific work apart from the Vulgate.

St Gregory: possibly his 'Homilies on the Gospels'.

St James the Less: the 'Protevangelium of James', an apocryphal writing.

Pseudo-Matthew: The 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew', an apocryphal writing.

iii) References to the Passion in other Literature.

a) Some References in Scottish Medieval Literature.

'ane dewoit exercicioun to be said euer ilk Sondag in the honour of the crown of thorne, and panis quilkis our sallour Iesu thollit in his blist heid'. Anon.3

Lines:

74-89.	The Buffetting (that is, before Herod).
95-167.	The Scourging (that is, before Pilate).
233-49.	The Walk to Calvary.
250-282.	The Drawing on the Cross.
283-318.	The Crucifixion.

The Golden Litany.⁴

Lines:

- 81,2. The Betrayal in the Garden & Healing
of the ear of the 'Bishop' struck off
by Peter.
- 102-4. Trial Before Herod and the clothing
in white.
- 115-119. After the Trial by Pilate;
The Clothing in Purple.
The Crowning with Thorns.
The Pressing-down of the Crown,
and the Striking of the Head.
The Scourging.
- 211-15. The Piercing of Christ's Side by
Longeus, and the issuing of Water
and Blood.
The Restoration of the sight of
Longeus and his Absolution by
Christ.

The popular legend of the piercing of Christ's side by the spear of the blind knight Longinus (or as here, Longeus) does not appear in *The Northern Passion*, but it does in *The French Passion* without naming the knight (see, F.A. FOSTER ed. *The Northern Passion* - Part II, The French Text (EETS., OS. No.147, 1913) 124, lines 1525-44). It is in the *Historica Scholastica* of Peter Comester (died, ca.1179; made Chancellor of the University of Paris, 1164). (See MIGNE *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Patrologia Latina* vol. CXCVIII, cols. 1633,4.) Longinus and the 'piercing of the side' are also to be found in the *Dialogus* of Pseudo-Anselm (see, MIGNE *Patrologia Latina* vol. CLIX, col. 286).

Remembrance of the Passion. Anon.⁵

Lines:

- 31-540. The Betrayal.
Trials before Caiaphas, Herod.

Pilate.
 The Mocking.
 The Crucifixion and Burial.

The Thre Rois Garlandis of the Glorius Virgin Mary, Contenand the
Life and Passioun of Iesu Crist. Anon.⁶

Lines:

114-305. The Trials before Herod and Pilate.
 The Scourging at the Pillar.
 The Crucifixion.
 The Piercing of the Heart & Side by
 Longeus.

O Wondit Spreit and Saule in till Exile. Anon.⁷

Lines:

57-62. The Crucifixion.

My Wofull Hairt Me Stoundis Throw The Vanis. Quod Clerk.⁸

Lines:

33-40 and 49-56. The Scourging.

The Passioun of Jesu. William Dunbar.⁹

Lines:

44-80. The Crowning with Thorns.
 Carrying the Cross with Ropes and
 Cords.
 The Drawing of Christ on the Cross and
 the Erection of the Cross.
 The Crucifixion.

The Passioun of Crist Compilit By Mr. Walter Kennedy.¹⁰

Lines:

400-13. The Trial Before Annas and Caiaphas.
 420-55; 474-90. The Buffetting.
 519-25; 540-46. The Trial before Pilate.

551-3; 557-60; 568-76; 596-623; 652-65.

The Scourging.

The Third Bvke of the Monarchie. Lyndsay.¹¹

Lines:

3884-905. The Scourging and Crowning with Thorns.
The Walk to Calvary.

The Fovrt Bvke of the Monarchie. Lyndsay.¹²

Lines:

5572-81. The Instruments of the Passion;
The Cross and the Nails,
The Pillar and the Scourging.
The Five Wounds.

Exortationis of Chrys To All Synnaris To Repent, Quod Stewart.¹³

Lines:

17-21. The Betrayal.
25-28. The Trial Before Annas and the Buff-
etting.
29-48. The Trial Before Pilate and the
Scourging.
57-64. The Walk to Calvary.
73-80. The Crucifixion.

The Contemplacioun of Synnaris. Friar William of Tours.¹⁴

Lines:

977-1008. Christ Before Pilate.
The Scourging.
The Crowning with Thorns.
The Drawing of Christ on the Cross.

The Contemplacioun of Synnaris: Friar William of Tours of the

Order of Friars Minor.¹⁵

Line 977. Crist was accusit in presens of pylat
The lowis cryit him for to crucifye

Barrabas was fred o change Infortunat
 The son of god was scurgit cruellye
 O hevinlie floure of our' humanite
 Thy fairnefs fadit thi virgin flesche wox pale
 ffor the thus plungit in sic perplexite
 Now man behald thi maker' Immortale.

His riall blude thai schrenkit nocht to sched
 ffra hed to fut of him was na part hale
 Thus was his body with boundans all ourbled
 Bund at anc pillar' as caytif criminale
 And syne his cumly corfs Celestiale
 Thai cled with purpoure silk richt scornfully
 Inherdand to his blude Imperiale
 Syne raif It fra his ribbis richt rudlye.

Apon his hed thai thrang a crowne of thorne
 ffor diademe a croce to beire of tre
 As king of Iowis thai salust him in scorne
 Betuix twa theiffis that deput him to de
 Thus throu his luf & oure Iniquite
 He sufferit thow synnit O man mast fry...
 Bere this in mynd and degraide nocht th...
 thocht thow be wretchit thi pryce Is precioufs

Thai drewe him on the croce with violens
 His wanyis fret his banis was novmerable
 Kavillit his clething the thief confessit offens
 With all his mycht to grace he maid him able
 Crist prayit thare for his fais but fable
 His meike moder' abone all virginis blist
 As riall relyk & thingis mast amyable

Line 1008. Hertlie commendit to Ihone the ewangelist. 15

Line 1161. 'ffor as sayis the doctor' sanct bonawentura^a 17
 As graciufs god of his benyng bounte
 Has grathit the hevin but^b distance till endure
 A polisand place with plesans in plente
 ffor tham that kepis his charge in cherite
 Richtsa for schrewis the barnis of beliale^c
 Quhilkis perseweris in thar peruersite

Line 1168. The hell is ordanit for torment eternale.

- a. Indicative of one of the writer's sources.
- b. Without.
- c. Belial appears often in 'Doom' plays.

The author of this work was the Franciscan Minorite Friar,
 William of Touris. The work was well known. Other copies are

to be found in MS Arundel 285, and MS Harleian 6919. The Arundel manuscript adds to the title the name of the author: Heir begynnys the contemplacioun of Synnaris compilit be frer William of Touris of the ordour of the frer minouris.¹⁸

Douce states that Royal Society MS 275 has a similar ascription. at the end of the poem: 'ex compilatione et translatione fratris William Touris Ordinis Minoris'.

The poem reflects the author's reading and contemplation of the scriptures, the Fathers of the Church and other writers.

Kenneth Kirk¹⁹ draws attention to the imaginative glosses with which preachers, especially Franciscans adorned the gospel story to make it more attractive. An early example is a work called: *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, probably the one which Touris had in mind when he refers to 'Sanct bonawentur' who was also a Franciscan. An Italian by birth (1221-74) Bonaventura was elected²⁰ Minister General of the Order in 1257.

The work although long attributed to Bonaventura owes much to St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153): Cistercian Monk, Abbot of Clairvaux,²¹ yet is a product of the 13th century. The apocryphal anecdotes such as the attempt of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene, to dissuade Christ from making the journey to Jerusalem that culminated in his Passion, or the incidents of the Via Dolorosa, had an immediate influence both on the mystery plays

and the religious art of the middle ages.

In the following century, that is the 14th century, large numbers of these apocryphal anecdotes were incorporated into what was probably the first attempt at composing a biography of Christ since the time of the apocryphal Gospels, the *Vita Christi*, of Ludolph the Carthusian. Both compilations, that of Bonaventura and Ludolph, acknowledge that much in them is nothing more than pious fiction. Nevertheless their success was tremendous, and Ludolph's *Vita* was translated into the vernacular throughout Western Europe. When the invention of printing made it possible it passed into countless editions.

The theology of Bernard's sermons has been described as chaotic. Much of what he wrote was eccentric and fanciful.²² Be that as it may, his classical and vivacious exposition of the theme of the Four Daughters of God, viz. the Four Heavenly Virtues of: Truth, Righteousness, Mercy and Peace, taken from Psalm 85, were to adorn and beautify a number of medieval dramas²³

Exortationis of Chryst To All Synnaris To Repent: Q. Stewart.²⁴

'Remember man vpoun mont oleuit
 Quhen I satt thair at my deuotion
 That for the bayth blud and wattir salt^a
 Our all my body in grit effusioun
 ffor feir of deid wes lyk to suelt^b in swoun

a. Bitter

b. Die, be overcome with weakness.

The lines refer to our Lord's 'Agony in the Garden'. Luke 22, 44 records: 'and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground (A.V.)'. Pious devotion in the course of time changed the metaphor into reality. Probably mystery plays of 'The Agony in the Garden' used a red liquid of some sort to simulate bloody tears rather than natural watery tears, in the same way as our Lord's reference to his Passion as 'cup' (i.e. of suffering) in plays of the 'Agony' becomes a Eucharistic Chalice. Something like this is to be found in play XXVIII of the *Ludus Coventriae* (i.e. 'N' Town, or *Hegge Plays*): The Betrayal,²⁵

The watyr and blood owth of my face
Dystylleth for peynes that I xal take.

And again:

It is not for this peyn I lede,
Bot for man I swote bothe watyr and blode

Immediately after these lines is this rubric:

Here an Aungel descendyth to Jhesus and bryngyth
to him a chalys with an host ther in.²⁵

Stewart continued.²⁶

Quhen Iudas me kist The Iowis but baid me band
wt raipis rud quhill that the blud brest out
hurlit as ane theif that durst thane not ganestand
To annas houfs wt that fowll rousy rout
Call and me fule wt mony ane cry and schout
Blorand thair ene Cryand O bubo ba
as blind feld best thay beft me all about
Amend thy myfs^a this plaig sall pafs the fra.
To pylet than thay presentit me in haist
Be his decreit that sald sone be deid
Than he furt wt to herod sone me chaist
becaus he had the galianis to leid
In habeit quhyt ffor bething he me cled
In foull derisioun to him that I come fra
Be my present endit wes thair feid
amend thy myfs^a this plaig sall pafs the fra.²⁶
a. misconduct.

The Vulgate version of Luke 23, 11 & 12, shows Christ dressed in white when sent back to Pilate by Herod:

Spreuit autem illum Herodes cum exercitu
suo et inlusit, indutum ueste alba, et
remisit ad Pilatum...

There was a widespread tradition of dressing up the local fool in a white garment with a straw hat. It is possible that the characterization of Christ in plays of the Passion as a 'fool' by dressing him in a white garment is not only a reflection of the Vulgate Luke, but also reflects ancient folk culture and myth.

In British sword-dances the dancers 'lock' about the neck of the 'Fool' to cause his 'death'; his 'resurrection' is brought about by the intervention of the 'Doctor'. When we study devotional literature of the Middle Ages we sometimes find Christ dressed in the white garment of the fool.

The words 'O bobo ba', are so basic and earthy and perhaps natively Scottish that they may be an echo of the mock crying in a Passion Play. They can hardly be said to be a reflection of art or literature of any kind unless of the text of a play.

The sixteenth century Donaueschingen Passion Play represented Christ in the Lucan Pilate-Herod context referred to above, dressed in a white garment: 'herodes sol by im han ein wisz claid, das buttet er den Juden... (1.2713); 'Nu ziechent die Juden den Salvator ab und legent im dis wisz cleid an' (1.2721). In line 2730 this white garment is styled as: 'narrencleid', i.e. a 'fool's' garment.²⁷

Stewart continued.²⁸

Ane heuy croce that wes hayt grit and squair
Thay gart me beir to caluary an my bak
wt littill help thay sonyeit not my sair
To furdur my deid my fais wes ryt frak
Dispytfull wurdis betuene to me thay spak

Wes nane to help my freindis wes fled away
 my face ourspittit bludy wan and blak
 amend thy myfs this plaig sail pafs the fra.

Be this wes done wt nalis lang and grit
 Baith feit and handis thay nalit to tht croce
 On lenth and breid as thay wer out of wit
 Thay drew me lang and maid me meit of force
 Quhen that wes don that leit me fall deorfs
 renewand agane my pane fra top to ta
 That all my vanis and sennouis were devorfs
 Amend thy myfs this plaig sail pafs the fra.²⁸

The description of the cross as 'square' may echo a cross the writer recalled from a Passion Play after it had been dropped into its hole in the ground. Unless the 'upright' of the cross was specially long, though not square when out of the ground, it might very well look square when planted in the ground. There were probably reasons connected with the 'mechanics' of the business why the vertical should not be excessively long.

Heir Begynnys The Passioun of Ihesu: Dunbar.²⁹

Line 17. a) Falls lie condemnit befoir ane juge,
 Thai spittit in his visage fayr,
 And as lyounis with awfull ruge
 In yre thai hurlit him heir and thair
 And gaif him mony buffat sair
 That it wes sorrow for to se;
 Of all his claythis thay turvit him bair,
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

Line 25. b) Thay terandis, to revenge thair tein
 For scorne thai cled him in quhyt,
 And hid his blythfull glorious ene,

Luke 22, 64, says Christ was blindfolded. Mark 14, 65, says his face was covered. Neither gives the colour of the covering.

Matthew and John do not refer to the incident.

Line 41. c) Nixt all in purpyr thay him cled,
 And syne^a with thornis scharp and kene
 His saikles blude agane thai sched,

Line 44. Persing his heid with pykis grene;
 Unneis with lyf he nicht sustene
 That croune, on thrungin with crueltie,
 Quhill flude of blude blindit his ene,
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

a. Then.

'pykis grene': a reference to the crown of thorns. The Gospels do not give a colour for the thorns. Thorns are rarely green themselves, although the stems out of which they grow are. Perhaps the expression 'pykis grene' should be understood as 'fresh thorns' and may reflect a vision of newly made crown of thorns in a Passion Play.

Line 49. d) Ane croce that wes bayth large and lang
 To beir thay gaif this blissit lurd,
 Syn fuillelie, as theif to hang,
 Thay harlit him furth with raip and corde;
 With blude and sweit was all deflorde
 His face, the fude of angellis fre;
 His feit with stanis was revin and scorde,
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

Line 65. e) Onto the croce of breid and lenth,
 To gar his lymmis langar wax,
 Thai straitit him with all thair strenth,
 Quhill to the rude thai gart him rax;
 Syne tyit him on with greit irne takkis,
 And him all nakit on the tre
 Thai raissit on loft be houris sax
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

Christ was crucified at 12 o'clock, the time when the Canonical Office of Sext is recited in commemoration of his 'lifting up on the cross'. According to tradition he remained on the cross until 3 pm., when he was taken down.

Line 73. f) Quhen he was bendit so on breid
 Quhill all his vanis brist and brak,
 To gar his cruell pane exceid
 Thai leit him fall down with a swak,
 Quhill cors and corps all did crak
 Agane thai rasit him on hie,
 Reddie mair turmentis for to mak,
 O mankynd, for the luif of the.

The meaning is that Christ's hands and arms were fixed to the cross-bar before his feet were secured to the main upright beam. That done, his body was stretched by pulling on his feet and legs.

Both in this verse and the previous verse the word: 'breid' may be read as 'cross-beam'. The Cross with Christ attached to it was lifted up over the hole and then allowed to drop with a thud to increase the pain. This action was repeated the poet tells us.

Here we have the same realistic approach as is to be found in the York 'Crucifixion' but in Dunbar the realism is starker and more pungent, accomplishing in ninety-six lines with dramatic and sadistic realism that which we find in the York play given in three hundred and forty-nine lines, but they cannot fairly be compared. The one is intended to be the highly imaginative narrative of a sensitive poet, the other the 'off-the-cuff' conversation of insensitive soldiery.³⁰

In his 'Passioun' Dunbar writes as one who was familiar with the spiritual writings that were widely available to churchmen like himself. As a travelled man he may also have been familiar with works of art that portrayed scenes from the 'passion', and he would certainly have been familiar with the illuminations, and

illuminated initial letters that in colour and vivid detail brought to life the written word of the Office Books of the day.

The art work of his time, like the devotional literature of the same period, laid great emphasis on the 'Passion' in all its brutal and gruesome detail.

It is also very likely that Dunbar had from time to time witnessed 'Passion Plays' or had taken part in Corpus Christi Processions either in Scotland or even in France, in which 'tableaux-vivants' of the 'passion' were featured. We have given details in Chapter Two of Dunbar's sojourn in France; of how he preached as a young Franciscan 'betwixt Berwick and Calais and on through Picardy', and of his stay in Paris in 1491.

The Passioun of Christ Compilit be Maister Walter Kennedy.³¹

This long expansion of the Passion of our Lord occurs only in MS Arundel 285 and is of undoubted Scottish origin. For example, Christ is a 'bony barne', Pilate's judgement hall is a 'tolbuth', fallen man in a specifically Scots phrase is 'put to the horn', (line 91), and Christ says after the Last Supper 'heir to duell it is na ganand tyme' (line 322). It is written in rhyme royal and as literature is not usually rated very highly. From our point of view however, it is of special interest. For one thing it is rich in dialogue content and must raise the question as to whether it was

ever performed or written with a view to being performed. Unfortunately its great length does not permit of extensive quotation. We will nevertheless quote sufficient to show the writer had probably witnessed performances of plays of the Passion and Resurrection or was at least well acquainted with the sources used by the playwrights.

The Passioun of Chryst Compilit be Maister Walter Kennedy.

Apoune the croce all nakit thai him bind,
With sa gret force quhill thai neir hand him sla
With irne nalis quhen thai in strike sa fast
.... .

On lenth and breid with scharpe cordis thai tak
That nobill corps quhill thai the banis twyn
.... .

Quhen thai had drawin his handis & his feit
On lenth and breid to mak his bodiy lang
to the boris thai maid his body meitt,
Synce with gret force the nalis throw thai dang.
so plentiously quhill it his body wet
syne thai the crice apouhne the end it set.³²

Four kind of folk we fand that scornit him,
Off quhome sum yeid,^a sum stude sum sat, sum hang
.... .

And the biscoppis,^b quhilk had at him dispit.
thir folk stude vpe, & for scorne cryit him till:
'He trusts in God; help him gif he will.
.... .'³³

- a. Walked by.
- b. The High Priests.

The thrid, at sat, wes thai cruell knyghtis,^a
The quhilk at Crist maid grat derisioun
.... .³⁴

Into thi hand as bond thou had him bund;
Quhen in the yard^b he enterit for to pray
His fair body with blud was all ourerun.

The ded of him put the in sic affray
 His discipillis thou gart fle him fra.
 Syne^c thai knychtis him dangd quhill he was hais;^e
 Thir^f panis cruell neir hand him slew, allace.³⁵

- a. Soldiers.
- b. Garden, i.e. the Garden of Olives, Gethsemane.
- c. Then.
- d. Struck.
- e. Lit. 'Out for the Count'.
- f. These.

'His fair body with blud wes all ourerun' represents an embroidering of what was written in Luke 22, 44: 'and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground'. Luke is the only Gospel with this particular detail. An important verse in this chapter is v.42:.... 'Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me:....'

(See also: Matt. 26, 39; Mark 14, 36). Neither of the details mentioned in this note appears in St John's Gospel. In devotional tradition the cup in the garden was mystically interpreted as the eucharistic cup of the Mass, and so in medieval iconography & art was thus realistically portrayed in scenes of the Garden of Gethsemane. Kennedy's inclusion of this detail in his 'poem' shows not only familiarity with medieval devotional tradition etc., but may also point to his having seen or even been responsible for the inclusion of such detail in a Passion Play or Passion Pageant.

The erd trymbillit, the craggis raif in schunder,
 Grawis^a oppinit for dolour and piete,
 Senturio and his knychtis had wounder
 With sic a woce sa sone that he suld de.
 He trowit^b syne^c and all his company,
 Sayand: 'For suth, the sone of God he wes',

And vthir by for ded sone can pas.³⁶
 Bot fra thai saw that cristynnit kingis face
 All wan & paill, eik closit wes his sycht,
 His bludy body stif in euery place,
 Thai estemit that Ded had done his rycht.
 Throw the richt syd him woundit a blind knyght
 With a scharp speir, quhill blude & watter cleir
 Agane natour his ded hert woundit suith.³⁷

- a. Graves.
- b. Believed.
- c. Then.

The precius blud ranvn to Longeus hand
 And he his eyne anoyntit with it, thous cais.
 Off the tuiching of God sic grace he fand,
 With e and hert that he knew Cristis face.
 He left his office, resignit in that place,
 Als leuit lang in relyiosite,
 Syne hiscope maid, & marter deit he.³⁸

The piece continues, keeping close to the Gospel accounts, concluding with the Ascension and the Coming of the Holy Spirit.

The blind knight referred to in lines.1181-1185 as Longeus is also known as Longinus. He does not feature in the canonical gospels. According to medieval lore he received back his sight on piercing the side of Christ with his spear. The incident occurs in The York, Wakefield, Chester and Cornish cycles as well as in the *Ludus Coventriae*, 'N'- Town Plays.

The episode is also featured in *The Northern Passion* (F.A. FOSTER ed. *The Northern Passion* - Part I, The Four Parallel Texts (EETS OS. No 145, 1912) [see lines 1869-74]; also in *The Southern Passion* (Beatrice BROWN ed. *The Southern Passion* (EETS OS No.169, 1925) lines 1635-6); in *Cursor Mundi* (R. MORRIS ed. *Cursor Mundi* (EETS published in Six Parts, OS Nos. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68 and 99: 1874-92) lines 16835- 40.

Remembrance of The Passion: Anon. 39

The devout are invited to meditate, amongst other items, on the following:

Lines:

- 31. Christ praying in the 'Yard' - that is, the Garden of Gethsemane.
- 66. The Betrayal and taking to the 'Bishop', that is the High Priest (Annas).
- 88. Annas sending Christ, bound, to Caiaphas the 'Bishop'.
- 198. Herod clothing Christ in white like a fool.
- 342. The crowd before Pilate crying, 'Crucifige, crucifige'.
- 457. The 'Knights' (that is, soldiers) dividing Christ's clothes.
- 505. The opening of Christ's side with a spear. (No mention of Longinus.)
- 519. The taking down of Christ's body from the Cross at the hour of Evensong.
- 524. The burial of Christ at the time of Compline.
- 540 To conclude, the Devout are invited to think again on:
Christ's being bound as a thief, his stripping naked, being bound to a pillar, his scourging, the pulling out of the hair of his head and beard, his blindfolding, being struck on the face, crowned with thorns, and struck on the head, the blood running upon his face into his eyes, mouth and ears.

The Thre Rois Garlandis of the Glorius Virgin Mary, Contenant the
Life and Passioun of Iesu Crist: Anon.⁴⁰

Lines:

- 114,5. Jesus Christ led bound to Herod, stripped of
his clothing and dressed in white.
- 117-21. Whilst naked he is bound to a pillar, and
scourged with thorny rods, and knobbed scourges,
so that there was no whole place on his body.
- 137,9. He is falsely accused by the Jews before Pilate,
and they cry:
'Crucifige, crucifige, naile him to the croce.'²

The attaching of Christ to the cross by means of nails is not mentioned in the Canonical Gospels nor in the Apocryphal Gospels. The thirteenth century *Dialogus of Pseudo-Anselm* (see below) gives the use of nails for the crucifixion, and the stretching of the arms and legs. Any later writer could have taken these facts from here. The thirteenth century manuscript of the 'French Passion' made by an Anglo-Norman compiler, held at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS O.2.14, ff. 13a-24b) contains the legend of the making of the three nails by the wife of the smith, who would not make them, and whose hands were smitten with leprosy. This is the earliest record of the story, but it probably depends on an older tradition.

See, *The Northen Passion* (ed. FOSTER), Part II, French text, 49, 50 and 65 (The Old French Text of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O. 2. 14, 102-25): The Legend of the Making of the Nails, 119,20, lines 1227-60; the Use of the Nails, 121, lines 1320-30. For the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* see FOSTER Part II, 59, 66.

Clearly the author of 'The Thre Rois Garlandis' had access to the same sources of devotional literature as were available to writers elsewhere in the Western Church, and probably in particular to Anglo-Norman sources.

41

The Third Bvke of The Monarchie: Sir David Lyndsay.

Lines:

3884-3905. The 'Byschoppis', that is, the High Priests, with the Scribes and Doctors of the Law, with the Pharisees, send their servants with strong cords to bind Christ and then scourge him, 'boith bak and syde', so that his skin could not be seen for blood, and no part of his body was left unwounded. They also made Christ a crown of long, sharp thorns, and beat it down upon his head.

After the scourging and crowning Christ is made to carry his cross to Calvary.

The events recorded in these lines relate to the binding of Jesus after his trial before Herod and his being led bound to face trial before Pilate, and what followed after that. Events have been tightly telescoped together, and when we compare the lines with the Passion accounts in the Canonical Gospels we find several discrepancies. The Gospels give no grounds for the belief that the servants of the High Priests who bound and led Christ from Herod to Pilate were the men who scourged him after his trial before Pilate. The English Authorised Version of St Matthew's Gospel (Chap. 27, 26) says, '.....when he (i.e. Pilate) had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified'. The Latin Vulgate shows this to be incorrect when it says, '.....: Iesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur'. According to

the Gospel tradition Pilates's servants were Roman soldiers, the ones who both scourged and crucified him. As the Gospels show at Calvary they were under the supervision of a Centurion. According to John, Chap. 18, 28, the Jews would not enter Pilate's Judgement Hall 'lest they should be defiled; but they might eat the passover'.

A study of the facts shows that Lyndsay took his facts not from the Canonical Gospels but from untrue medieval tradition, which believed that Jews both scourged and crucified Christ. If he looked to literary sources it would have been to the sources we have discussed above. If he was not dependent on literary sources then he may have been recalling Scenes of the Trial Before Herod and the Trial Before the High Priests which he had seen either in Scotland or when serving abroad.

The Fovrt Bvke of the Monarchie.⁴²

Lines:

5572-81. The Instruments of the Passion:
 The Cross and the Nails.
 The Crown of Thorns.
 The Pillar and The Scourges.
 The Five Wounds.

The Nails, the Pillar, and the Five Wounds, represent information not provided by the Canonical Gospels. Neither are scourges named, but these can be assumed from the words: 'and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified' (Matthew 27, 26, Mark 15, 15^a, Luke 23, 22^b uses the word, 'chastise', and John does not

mention the incident. We have already discussed the use of nails, the scourging, and the crowning with thorns).

- a. The Vulgate, 'flagellatum', 'flagellis'.
- b. " " 'corripiam'.

The *Northern Passion* includes the tying to the pillar, the scourging, the clothing with purple, the mock worship, and the crowning with thorns (see FOSTER Part I, 122-4, lines 1194-1212). These same elements are also to be found in the Old French Passion (see FOSTER Part II, 117,8, lines 1068-96, text of the Trinity College, Cambridge MS O. 2. 14).

This text is in general a paraphrase of the Vulgate, to which have been added legendary and apocryphal elements from the great body of tradition common to the writers of the Middle Ages. As successive writers borrowed from their predecessors it is difficult to name the particular sources to which later writers may have referred. Most of the common legendary incidents are to be found in Peter Comestor's 'Historia Scholastica', but Lyndesay may have had access to other works we have already mentioned, or he may have been recalling 'Passion Plays' which he had witnessed. (On sources of the *Northern Passion* see FOSTER, Part II, 59-79.)

Lyndesay's travels to France are discussed in Volume One, Chapter Two, under the heading, f) PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH AUTHORS AND THE CONTINENT.

On Gude Friday: Richard Maitland.⁴³

The tormentaris wer then so scant
Chryist for to scourge scairis found wer sax.

The Latin Vulgate Gospels of Matthew and Mark do not state specifically who scourged Jesus. The formula in Matthew is:

Tunc dimisit illis Barabban: Iesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur (Matt. 27, 26).

Mark (15, 15) says the same thing in a slightly different way. That the scourging was carried out by Pilate's soldiers, can however, be inferred from these succeeding verses;

Tunc milites praesidis suscipientes Iesum in praetorio, congregauerunt ad eum uniuersam cohortem: et exeuntes eum, clamydem coccineam circumdederunt ei: et plectentes coronam de spinis, posuerunt super caput eius,... (Matt. 27, 27-29).

Mark (Chap. 15, 16-19) says much the same thing. Luke expresses the facts differently and makes Pilate say firstly:

Emmendatum ergo illum dimittam. (Luke 23, 16),

and secondly:

... corripiam ergo illum, et dimittam (Luke, 23, 22).

John taken literally makes it appear that Pilate himself flogged Jesus:

Tunc ergo apprehendit Pilatus Iesum, et flagellauit,

but goes on to say:

Et milites plectentes coronam despinis, imposuerunt capiti eum (John 19, 1,2).

From which John, no doubt, intends us to understand that the scourging was performed by soldiers. In no case are numbers given. Taking all four Gospels into account it seems that the scourging was carried out by an indeterminate number of Pilate's Bodyguard.

b) Extracts from the Harleian Manuscript of the 'Northern Passion'. Quoting from: F.A. FOSTER ed. *The Northern Passion* (EETS., OS., 145 [1912] Part 1) The Four Parallel Texts.

Page 166.

And rathly out of the toun thai ran; Line 785.
thai toke the tre than thare it lay,
the thrid part thai hewed oway
And of the remband haue thai made
A large cros, bath lang and brade;
.....

Pp.121/3.

Than pilat gan a falsshede feine, Line 1188e.
Als he wald thaire will ateyne;
Ihesu to tham deliuerd he,
And bad that he suld beten be.
Than thai toke him tham bitwene,
And [band him als he thef had bene;
Al his clathes fra him thai kest,
And till a peler fast him fest,
And scourges kene thai ordand bare.
Ilkone about thai bete him fast
Ay whils [any scourge might last
Vntill his body als he stode
Was couerd all ouer in blode.
And so when he was al for blod,
With claithes of purper thai him cled,
.....

Pp.187/9.

Thai toke ihesu that naked stode
And layd him down upon the rode,
Both his armis thai laid on brade
Till bores that thai [by fore had made,
And furth also thai laid his fete; Line 1606a
Bot to thair merkes was he noght mete, Line 1606b
The bores war bored so fer fro
His armes might noght reche thame to,
If the tone hand at the bore ware,
That other failed a fute and mare,

And his fete failed fer of the bore, Line 1610a
So wide than war thai made bifore. Line 1610b
.....

Tharfore grete rapes gan thai take,
Thai did a rape at aither hand,
The blude brast out at the band;
On aither side than gan thai draw
Vntill thai might the bores knaw;
The sins brast, that was no wonder,
and lith fro lith all rafe in sunder,
Sunder went both sins and vaine, Line 1620a
To fele that was a ferly paine; Line 1620b
Twa gretre nayles thai toke that tide
And thurgh his handes thai gert tham glide.
.....

2. THE TORMENTORS AND THE SCOURGING/FLAGELLATION OF CHRIST IN ENGLISH CYCLES.

The York Play No. XXXIII, 'Christ Before Pilate 2: The Judgement',⁴⁴ which features the scourging, has a total of six soldiers in its cast,

viz. Miles I, Miles II, Miles III, IV, V, and VI, but only Milites I-IV appear to be actively engaged in the scourging. In the Wakefield Play No. XXII,⁴⁵ 'The Scourging', the cast has a Primus Secundus, and Tercius Tortor, who eventually accompany Jesus to his Crucifixion, Play No. XXIII,⁴⁶ where there are four Tortores, but in Play No. XXI,⁴⁷ 'The Buffetting', there were only two Tortores.

In the Chester Play No. XVI,⁴⁸ 'Christ Before Pilate', there were four Scourgers, who are described as Jews.^a At Coventry the Smiths' Pageant of the 'Trial, Condemnation and Crucifixion of Christ',⁴⁹ for the 'Trial Before Pilate', had four Tormentors. At Hereford, the Register of the Corporation of Hereford under the date 1503, in a list detailing pageants for Corpus Christi, the Senior Sergeant is made responsible for 'The tormentyng of our Lord with iiii Lormentoures...'⁵⁰

- a. Regarding Jews referred to above as Scourgers at Chester, and in the same context elsewhere, there is no authority in the Gospels for identifying the Scourgers as Jews. St John's Gospel makes it plain that the Scourgers could not have been Jews. The trial took place before Pilate in the Praetorium, where also must have been the pillar at which Christ was scourged. The High Priests would not enter the Praetorium lest they became ritually unclean at a time when they were preparing to keep the Passover, and what applied to them applied equally to all other Jews, and no Jew would have defied the laws against 'uncleanness' in the presence of their High Priests.

Whether the 'Pillar of Scourging' was inside or outside the Praetorium may not be very relevant. It is most likely that

on the 'Eve of the Passover' servile work would have been contrary to the Law, and 'scourging' would have been regarded as a breach of the Law and something to be kept back until after the end of the solemn season.

We have studied a large number of Continental 'Christ Before Pilate' scenes but have found no evidence for more than four scourgers. We conclude that because the scene in the York Cycle included six Milites, although only four appear to have had scourging roles, it is the York scene that Maitland probably had in mind when he referred to six scourgers in the lines quoted above.

The subject of the number of scourgers in the Continental pageants and plays is considered in the section that now follows.

3. THE SCOURGING/FLAGELLATION AND CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS ON THE CONTINENT.

a) THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The Expense Account for the General Procession held in Aalst to celebrate the Feast of St Peter and St Paul in 1495 included the following items:⁵¹

- i) Onsen Heer die zijn cruce drouch, iiiis.
(Our Lord who carried his cross, iiiis.)
- ii) Den ghesellen die uustelden tpersonnaige vander jueddrij
(3), xiis.
The young men (or, apprentices) who took the parts of
the jews, xiis).

On the occasion of the annual Corpus Christi Procession at Oudenaarde (Audenarde) in 1555 there were sixty-two Old and New Testament representations mounted on stages and in the Procession there were sixty-six 'tableaux'. The following items, relevant to the Passion, were included in the Expense Account,⁵²

- i) Item, twee schakers voren gaended, xxxii, s.p.
(i.e. two malefactors walking in front)
- ii) Item, ons Heere gheladen metten cruce, xxxii, s. p.
(our Lord burdened with the cross, xxxii, s. p.)
- iii) Item, zes Joden daarmede gaende, xxxii, s. p.^a
(six Jews walking in the midst, xxxii, s. p.)

a. It is possible these were 'tormentors'.

De Potter in his transcription of Expense Accounts (Rekeningen) for Courtrai (Kortrijk) quotes a Procession that took place there on the Third Sunday in Lent which included a 'tableau' of Pilate and his wife with four soldiers dragging behind them Christ as he carried his cross.⁵³ Unfortunately in this rare instance Potter does not give a complete reference. There is no doubt, however,

that the information comes from the Rekeningen van Kortrijk. A detail from a Passion Altar by Hans Memling dated about 1491 shows four soldiers playing for Christ's robe. This, of course, conforms to the incident recorded in St John's Gospel.⁵⁴

b) FRANCE.

The famous Passion Play performed at Valenciennes in 1547 had four tormentors: Claquedent, Malcus, Rouillard and Orillard. Claquedent and Rouillard, as we shall see farther on, also had parts in the Amiens and Mons Passion Plays in a text thought to be a conflation of Greban and Michel, and Rouillard occurs in the Greban text of 1472.

The only Passion Play that Maitland might have seen in Paris is one of Jean Michel performed there according to De Julleville in 1539 (vol.2, 137), after he had completed his studies there. However, he might have seen it in Paris when on diplomatic business on behalf of James V. (1513-1542: bn. 1512). But there were many other Passion Plays performed in other parts of France that Maitland might have witnessed.

In 1549 in the great annual Procession of tableaux in the town of Béthune, among many other items, there were featured:⁵⁵

- a) by the Feroniers, Candrelieurs, Maricaulx, Estamiers, and Orphevres, a pageant of
'comment Dieu fut battu à l'estacq, 12 personnes'

and

- b) by the Merchiers, Julliers, a pageant of
'comment Jesus fur cloié à la croix, 18 personnes'.

We do not know how many tormentors, etc., were featured in these pageants, but four seem to be the most likely number.

Manuscript Y.f.10 fol. of the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, contains amongst other items the text of 'La Passion de N.-S. Jesus Christ, mystère à cinquante-six personnages', thought to be of mid-fifteenth century date, published under the title 'Mystères inédits du XV^e Siècle', by Achille Jubinal, Tichener, Paris, 1837: 2 vols. V tome ii, pp. 139-311. The tormentors in this Passion Play numbered four Jews with names: Pinaguerre, Baudin, Mosse and

Haquin.⁵⁶ Further examples of numbers of Scourgers:

Four Scourgers described as 'Valets' and named Dragon, Bruyart, Dantart and Gadiffe are found in a Breton 'Passion and Resurrection' Drama of the Middle Ages.

Le Grand Mystère de Jésus: Passion et Résurrection Drame du Moyen Age, ed. Le Vicomte Harsart de Villenarque, Librairie Académique, Didier et Cie, Paris, 1865, 106-111.

Four Scourgers are to be seen in a bas relief of the fifteenth century in marble in La Musée des Antiquités at Rouen. Other examples could be cited from elsewhere. This museum unfortunately has no published catalogue of its contents.

Two Scourgers In the fourteenth century 'La Passion du Palatinus', Cayn and Huitacelin, who are both described as Jews.

La Passion du Palatinus: Mystère du XIV^e Siècle: ed. Grace Frank, Paris, Librairie Ancienne, Honoré Champion, Éditeur, 1922, 23-27, lines 22-27

Two Scourgers At Autun Pilate expressed the wish that Christ should be scourged by two men although he found no fault in him worthy of death.

La Passion d'Autun, ed. Grace Frank, Société des Anciennes Textes Français, 1934, 95 & 96, lines 733-759.

The three who made the greatest impression on the fifteenth century French vernacular drama were Arnoul Greban, Eustache Marcadé and Jean Michel. Greban was organist of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris as well as Director of its Choir School.

'Le Mystère de la Passion' of Greban was published by G. Paris and G. Raynaud in Paris in 1878. The oldest and best text is accounted to be that of MS 816 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. A contemporary note on the MS states the play had already been performed in Paris on three occasions.⁵⁷ The MS is dated, '22 février 1472', but the play is believed to have been written a little before 1450. Greban's play has four tormentors, Griffon, Oreillard, Braillard and Claquedent.⁵⁸

The Passion of Jean Michel was widespread throughout France, often combined with that of his predecessor Arnoul Greban, the most notable performances of such a play being that performed at Amiens in 1500, of which there was another performance in Mons the following year using the same text, devices and machinery, loaned by Amiens. What is known about the Amiens and Mons performances is to be found in Gustave Cohen's *Le Livre de Conduite du regisseur et le Comptc des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la passion joué a Mons en 1501*. In the Mons Passion, and hence also in the Amiens performance the total of tormentors in the scourging or flagellation scene were four. They were named Griffon, Dragon and Rouillart, plus Claquedent who tore at Christ's beard.

We have already studied the subject of Scottish pilgrims to the Shrine of St John the Baptist in Chapter Two, under the heading c) SCOTS ON PILGRIMAGE TO CONTINENTAL SHRINES. This shows that in the medieval period pilgrims from Scotland regularly visited this shrine.⁵⁹ Among them there were probably some who influenced Scottish literature, pageantry and plays as a result of seeing the Amiens Passion Play, a cyclic play which encompassed: the Mistère

de la Création du Monde, du Déluge et de la Nativité, Passion et Résurrection de nostre Seigneur 'Dieu...'.⁶⁰

c) GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

The tormentors shown on the map for the first day of the Lucerne (Switzerland) Passion Play are indicated on the left-hand side as: 'die 4 Ritter' in a group with Herod and his wife, Longinus and four others.⁶¹

The Benediktbeuren plays of the *Carmina Burana* include a 'Ludus Breujiter De Passione'. This very short Latin play has an undefined number of Judei and Milites who accuse Jesus to Pilate.⁶² There is no mention of scourging or of crowning with thorns. Neither is there any description of the crucifixion, only the information that a soldier pierces Christ's side with a lance. Brief though the play is it covers, not very imaginatively, the story of the Passion from the preparations for the Last Supper to the final act of burial.

The *Carmina Burana* includes a more comprehensive and elaborate Passion Play, mainly in Latin, but with some small sections in German. An indeterminate number of Jews have a role as a group, but none are singled out as tormentors. There is a scourging, a crowning with thorns, and the putting on of a purple robe, and Jesus is hung on the cross, but nothing is said regarding who does these acts.⁶³

The Donaueschingen Passion Play has four soldier/tormentors as follows: Mosse, Malchus, Jesse and Israhel.⁶⁴ Malc(h)uus occurs in the Valenciennes Passion Play, whilst Mosse is found in the French Passion Play of MS Y.f.10 fol. of the Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève.⁶⁵

In the Procession of 'tableaux' that took place at Zerbst in 1507 the Shoemakers' 'tableau' represented Jesus with four Jews, having a chain about his neck and holding a beam of timber, with Pilate on his right, and two banners in front. The tailors' 'tableau' showed Christ carrying his cross on his back, helped by an old man, together with the two thieves carrying their crosses, led by two Jews.⁶⁶

The Book of Hours according to the Use of Utrecht, commissioned by the Widow of Reynault von Homoet from the so-called Bartholomew Master of Cologne in 1475 has a miniature of the Crowning with Thorns. It shows four tormentors, one pressing the crown of thorns down onto Christ's head with a stick, as two others beat him with their sticks. A fourth tormentor mocks Christ with an ugly menacing grimace. The picture also includes a Jester in the foreground making an obscene gesture.⁶⁷

A wood-cut of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), entitled 'The Great Passion: The Flagellation', portrays three Jews beating Christ with birches whilst secured to a pillar, as a fourth puts a crown of thorns on his head. Dürer's 'The Small Passion: The Flagellation',

shows Christ tied to a pillar being birched by two soldiers or Jews while another stands by, his birch resting on the floor.⁶⁸

Dürer's 'The Small Passion: The Crowning with Thorns', shows one tormentor about to beat down the crown of thorns on to Christ's head, as another, wearing a hat, presses the crown of thorns down with a forked stick. A third tormentor kneels to present Christ with a reed. The man wearing the hat probably represented in Dürer's mind the fourth tormentor. In 'The Small Passion: Christ Nailed to the Cross', two tormentors who probably took part in the scourging can be seen nailing Christ to the cross laid out flat on the ground.⁶⁹ It is probable that in the Flagellation and Crucifying scenes Dürer visualised a total of four Jewish tormentors as he had done in his 'The Great Passion: The Flagellation', and it is possible that he was recalling scenes from Passion Plays he witnessed both in Germany and the Low Countries. The eye-witness account of the 'Ommegang' he saw in Antwerp does not mention tormentors.

In the Rijksmuseum of Utrecht, Holland, in the Catharijne convent there is a painted retable dated about 1410 which is deemed to hail from the Middle Rhine of which Mainz was the centre. It portrays eighteen separate scenes from the history of Jesus Christ, from the Annunciation to His death and burial, Ascension, the Coming of the Holy Spirit, and also includes the Death of Mary. There is a scene of the Flagellation and one of the Crowning with Thorns.

In the Flagellation scene Christ is standing, facing a pillar. Two

brutish men are engaged in the violent whipping of Christ while the third is occupied in securing his wrists on his side of the pillar. This latter torturer is plainly identified by the Hebrew letters that encircle the neck-band of his 'shirt', and by the distinctive hat dangling down behind. Such a hat was compulsory wearing for Jews on the Continent from the year 1267. In the Crowning with Thorns a long, thick, flexible pole rests on the Crown of Thorns on Christ's head, with at either end a tormentor bearing his weight on it. A third tormentor is pummelling the pole on Christ's head, whilst a fourth kneels before him as he sits, proffering him the reed. The third man wears the distinctive hat referred to above and the fourth man has such a hat hanging down behind. One of the other two men is wearing a hat, which is different in design from the other two. What the significance of that is, it would be hard to say.

70

d) ITALY.

In the Chapter Library of the Cathedral of Sulmona, Italy, there is preserved a substantial fragment of a Latin Passion Play. It is the text of the part of the Fourth soldier. From which it may be inferred that the play included probably four soldiers. There are scenes of a) The seizing of Christ when betrayed by Judas in the Garden of Gethsemane; b) The Trials before Pilate and Herod; c) The Crucifixion; d) The 'Planctus Mariae'; e) The Burial; f) The Watch at the Tomb, and g) The Resurrection. This fragment is accounted to be of the thirteenth century.

71

We have been unable to find evidence from Italy regarding tormentors and the parts they played in vernacular Passion Plays.

The city of Florence celebrated annually the feast of its Patron Saint, John the Baptist, with festivities extending over several days. A Greek writer attending the Ecumenical Council in the city in 1439 has left a written account of these celebrations, which included representations of,

- a) The Nativity with the Shepherds and Star, animals and crib;
- b) The Magi;
- c) The Crucifixion;
- d) The Resurrection.

The festivities do not appear to have included the Trial Before Pilate etc., and there is no mention of tormentors in the writer's account.⁷²

Another account of similar festivities held in Florence in 1454 has survived. The *Passion* and the Entombment were omitted rather strangely as they were not felt to be appropriate to a festival: 'non parve si convenisse a festa'. However there was a float of Christ Rising from the Tomb, and there was a mounted troop of Pilate's soldiers detailed as guards to the sepulchre. Again there is no mention of tormentors in the description. The numerous floats performed their plays in the city square before the Signoria, and they embraced the cycle of Creation to the Last Judgement. They lasted until the sixteenth hour: 'in fino alle 16 Ore'. We do not unfortunately know at what precise hour they began, but almost certainly the plays would have been performed at the end of a Procession through the town which began after early morning Mass.⁷³

The evidence from Italian art is that the normal Italian tradition was that of four tormentors for the Passion of Christ.

A detail in an anonymous twelfth century painting in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, of Christ on the Cross and Scenes from the Passion, shows the Flagellation with two tormentors striking Christ as two others stand by to relieve them.⁷⁴

A sculpture by Ghiberti (1378-1455) of the Florentine School, portraying the Flagellation, also shows four tormentors,⁷⁵ as does a painting of the Flagellation by Piero della Francesca (1410/20-1492) dated about 1450-60. The painting by this Italian painter shows one tormentor scourging Christ as three others look on, presumably waiting their turn.⁷⁶

e) SPAIN.

In the sixteenth century an annual Good Friday Procession was founded in the Spanish city of Valladolid, and still takes place in present times. It consists of twenty-four pageant wagons bearing groups of sculpted figures depicting scenes from the Passion, from the Last Supper to the Crucifixion, concluding with the Resurrection and the empty cross, and the Virgin in Sorrow (i.e. the Pietà). It may be presumed that these 'tableaux', although maintained in prime condition, have remained unchanged down the years. The Crucifixion 'tableau' shows Christ hanging on the cross, a man reaching up to Christ's mouth with the sponge soaked in vinegar on the end of a reed, together with four soldiers, one of whom is holding up

Christ's robe which he has evidently just won in casting lots with his comrades.⁷⁷

The Expense Account for the Corpus Christi Procession and Plays that took place on Thursday, 6 June 1493, in Toledo, Spain, includes items as follows:⁷⁸

- i) For making four Jews' masks (caras) and two devils' masks, etc., etc.,.... ten rreales;
- ii) To Four Jews, seven rreales;
- iii) For the hire of four cloaks and hoods for the Jews, two rreales.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'.

1. Lucy Toulmin SMITH ed. *York Plays; The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the Day of Corpus Christi* (OUP, 1885) xlvii; P. KAMANN 'Über Quellen und Sprache der York Plays' *Anglia* 10 (1888) 189-226, 189,90.
2. William CAXTON ed. *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, as Englished by William Caxton* (J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1931, 2 vols.) vol.1, 68-101.
3. J.A.W. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose From MS Arundel 285 and MS Harleian 6919* (Scottish Text Society, Third Series, No.23, 1949) 182-93. A long, rambling highly imaginative account of the Passion, probably Pseudo-Bonaventura, heavily embroidered.
4. BENNETT 208,9. Being a Litany the form takes that of petitions cryptically expressed. A Scots version of an English Litany.
5. BENNETT 214-32.
6. " 299-321.
7. W.Tod RITCHIE ed. *The Bannatyne Manuscript Written in Time of Pest, 1556, by George Bannatyne* (STS 4 vols., vol.2, 1928) vol.2, 81.
8. RITCHIE vol.2, 78,9.
9. James KINSLEY ed. *WILLIAM DUNBAR Poems* (OUP, 1958) 4,5.
10. As n.3. 7-63, 20-23, 24-29.
11. John SMALL ed. *'The Monarchie' and Other Poems of Sir David Lyndsay* (EETS OS 11, 1865) 127,8.
12. SMALL 143.
13. RITCHIE vol.2, 90-5
14. W.A. CRAIGIE ed. *The Asloan Manuscript* (STS NS 16, 1924, 2 vols.) vol.2, 220,1.
15. As n.14 and 227.
16. None of the Gospels specifically name a pillar, ladder, whip or scourge, dice, nails, hammer, pinchers, rope, sponge or reed, known in iconography as 'The Instruments of the Passion'. The 13th.-14th. century *Northern Passion* describes Christ being bound to a pillar for his scourging.

ihesu [than stod befor hem nakid Line 1194a
 to betin him [were scorgis makid Line 1194b
 [& than thei bond him vnto a pilere
 And [tok scorgis strong & stere
 & betin him whil [thei wold laste

See, Francis FOSTER ed. *The Northern Passion Part I, The Four Parallel Texts* (EETS, OS 145, 1912) 122: MS Camb. Dd.1.1.

The tradition of the scourging at the pillar must have been well-established by the time the *Northern Passion* was written and clearly William of Tours who wrote '*The Contemplacioun of Synnaris*' had access to the many devotional works of his time which laid great stress on the physical sufferings of Christ. As we learn a little later he was familiar with the writings of (Pseudo)-Bonaventura. However, our author may also have known of the pillar from Passion Plays which he had witnessed, if not at home in Scotland, then perhaps in Paris where he had spent two years at the University like many of his contemporaries (see, n.18 below).

John Ch.19, 2-5, describes the soldiers putting a purple robe on Christ after he had been scourged. In Matthew Ch. 27, 26-8, again Christ is first scourged before the soldiers take him to 'the common hall, and having stripped him they put on him a scarlet robe'. Mark Ch.15, 17 shows the robe as purple. In respect of colour the English Authorised Version of the Bible agrees with the Latin Vulgate Bible in respect of these particular passages. When, however, we come to Luke Ch.23, 11, the Authorised Version tells how after Christ has been seen and been cross-examined by Pilate, soldiers put on him a 'gorgeous robe'. At this point, however, the Vulgate has 'ueste alba'. There is some significance in this as we shall see later when we deal with poetry of a more strictly devotional nature, where the white robe is seen as the robe of a fool.

17. CRAIGIE 227, lines 1161-68.

18. 'frater Wilelmus Towris' mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls* under date 2 August 1502, and 'Dom Guilhelmus Tours, dyocesis Sant Andree', was a student at Paris, 1470-2.

W. Moir BRYCE *The Scottish Grey Friars* (William Green and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1909, 2 vols) mentions the family of 'Tours' of Inverleith and Gariltoun in his account of the Friars of Edinburgh (see vol.1, 332) but does not give the source of his information. The name 'Tours' does not appear in the Obit Book of the Friary which dates from 1461.

19. Kenneth KIRK *The Vision of God* (Longmans, London, 1931) 46, 364.

20. F.L. CROSS *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (OUP, London, 1957) 184, column 1.

21. CROSS 160, cols. 1 & 2.

22. KIRK 363.

23. See APPENDIX 'A'. 1. THE DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD.

24. RITCHIE *The Bannatyne Manuscript. etc.* (see n.7) 90-5, lines 17-21.

25. Peter HAPPÉ *English Mystery Plays* (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1975) 455-64; 457, lines 41,2; 458, lines 51,2.
26. RITCHIE vol.2, 90,1, lines 25-40.
27. W.Blakemore EVANS 'The Staging of the Donaueschingen Passion Play' *MLR* 15 (1920) Part 1, 65-76; Part 2, 297, 286.
28. RITCHIE vol.2, 91,2, lines 57-64, 73-80.
29. KINSLEY *WILLIAM DUNBAR Poems* (see n.9) 3-5.
30. Richard BEADLE ed. *The York Plays* (Arnold, London, 1982) Play No.XXXV, 'The Pinners, *The CRUCIFIXION*', 315-23.
31. BENNETT *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, etc.* (see n.3) 7-6 (1715 lines).
32. BENNETT 32, lines 757-9, 764,5; 33, lines 785-90.
33. " 35, lines 848,9, 873-5.
34. " 36, lines 883,4.
35. " 40, lines 1030-36.
36. " 42, lines 1072-8.
37. " 45, lines 1177-83.
38. " 45, lines 1184-90.
39. " 213-37, 213-32.
40. " 299-321.
41. SMALL *The Monarchie and Other Poems of Sir David Lyndesay* 127,8.
42. SMALL 143.
43. W.A. CRAIGIE *The Maitland Folio Manuscript* (STS NS 7, 1919) 43, lines 33,4.
44. BEADLE *York Plays* 293-306.
45. George ENGLAND and Alfred W. POLLARD re-ed. *The Towneley Plays* (EETS ES 71, 1897 and various reprints) 243-57.
46. ENGLAND & POLLARD 258-78.
47. " " " 228-42.
48. J. MATTHEWS *The Chester Plays* Part II (EETS ES 115, 1914, reprinted 1959) 289-96, lines 217-384, especially 311,2

49. Thomas SHARP *A Dissertation on the Pageants and Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry* (Meridew, Coventry, 1825, facsimile by E.P. Publishing Ltd., 1973) 13.
50. Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, Appendix W, 368,9.
51. Frans de POTTER 'Extraits de Quelques Documents Historiques Relatifs pour le plupart à des Localités de la Flandre Occidentale' *Annales de la Société d'Émulations*, etc. Bruges, Troisième Série, Tome Troisième, ou Xxe de la Collection, 145-202. See Section IV, Rekeningen van de Stede van Aelst, (Uitbrek), 1495-6, 176-88, 183.
52. Frans de POTTER *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemeentefeesten in Vlaanderen* (Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren, Gent, 1870) Stads-rekeningen van Oudenaarde, 1555, 32 & 36.
53. As n.52. 63.
54. Heinz KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1980). See Plate No.94, 'Kriegsknechte spielen um den Mantel Christi', between 176 & 177.
55. Le Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du Théâtre en France, les Mystères* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 213.
56. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 380-85.
57. " " vol.2, 394-400.
58. Micheline de COMBIARIEU du GRÈS and Jean SUBRENAT eds. *Le Mystère de la Passion, Arnoul Greban* (Éditions Gallimard, Amand, 1987) 329-34.
59. See CHAPTER TWO. c) SCOTS ON PILGRIMAGE TO CONTINENTAL SHRINES; see also, vol.2. APPENDICES. APPENDIX '3'. FRANCE. Item iii) SCOTTISH PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST. AMIENS.
60. The Amiens 'Passion' was that performed at Mons in 1501. For a study of this play see: Gustave COHEN *Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et Comptes des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons, 1501* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1925).
61. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 9 vols., 1957-70) vol.1, 264.
62. Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, 1933, 2 vols.) vol.1, 515.

63. YOUNG vol.1, 518-33, 528.
64. Blakemore EVANS 'The Staging of the Donaueschingen Passion Play' (see n.27) 286.
65. De JULLEVILLE (see n.56) vol.2, 380-85.
66. Friedrich SINTENIS 'Beschreibung einer im Jahre 1507 zu Zerbst Aufgeführten Prozession' *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* vol.2, 1842, 278-97, 288.
67. John HARTMAN *Books of Hours and their Owners* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1977) 160,1. See Plate on 159.
68. T.D. BARLOW *The Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (King Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1948) Plate No.21.
69. BARLOW Plates No.61, No.62 and No.67.
70. BARLOW Plate No.21.
71. YOUNG (see n.62) vol.1, 537, 601.
72. Peter MEREDITH and John TAILBY eds. *Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, 4. Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Michigan, 1983) Appendix, Item No.4, Florence, The Feast of St John the Baptist, 240-2.
73. MEREDITH & TAILBY 242.
74. Juan ALNAUD *Romanesque Painting* (The Viking Press Incorporated, New York, 1963) Plate No.48.
75. Peter and Linda MURRAY *The Art of the Renaissance* (Thames and Hudson, 1963) 32, Plate No.20.
76. MURRAY Plate No.103.
77. Alan H. NELSON 'Easter Week Pageants in Valladolid and Medina del Campo' *METH* 1, 2 (1979) 179, 62-70, and figure 1.
78. MEREDITH & TAILBY (see n.72) Appendix, Item No.8, Toledo, Corpus Christi Procession and Plays, 255-7.

CHAPTER THREE

APPENDIX 'C'

THE HARROWING OF HELL, THE RESURRECTION
AND THE ASCENSION OF JESUS CHRIST;
THE ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF OUR LADY
AS SEEN IN
SCOTTISH PRE-REFORMATION LITERATURE

the part of Hell known as 'limbo', are set free. There has survived an early Middle English dramatic fragment (c. 1250) known as the 'Harrowing of Hell'. (Reproduced in: *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, POLLARD, App.III, 166-172). There is no 'Belial' in this composition. The York Cycle has a play of the 'Harrowing of Hell'. Belial (see line 23 above) is one of a number of minor devils who form the cast. The Wakefield Cycle has a play featuring the subject of the 'Harrowing of Hell'. It is play No. XXV and is entitled 'The Deliverance of Souls'. It has no Belial in its cast, although it is substantially the same as in the York Cycle. The play is included in the Chester Cycle, but this also has no Belial. There is a 'Harrowing of Hell' in the *Ludus Coventriae*, and this does have a part for Belial. Bristol Cathedral has a stone carving depicting this theme, dating from Saxon times and for its age in good condition. Christ is depicted with a halo beating at the 'Gates of Hell' with a heavy long-handled cross.^a A few of the 'Holy Souls' eager for their release can be seen beneath his feet.

The National Library of Scotland now possesses a *Biblia Pauperum* with wood-cuts, printed in the Netherlands in c.1470. The centre-piece of plate 4 depicts the 'Harrowing'. Jesus Christ, with a 'crossed' nimbus and carrying a two barred cross,^a welcomes the Patriarchs out of an animal Hell-mouth. See: National Library of Scotland, *Notable Accessions Since 1925*, Edinburgh, 1965, plate 4.

a. Pictorial representations of the 'Resurrection' usually show

Christ stepping out of a 'box' style tomb of Western convention,
holding a banner cross.

The theme of the 'Harrowing of Hell' also occurs in other Scottish
poetry, examples of which now follow:

Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak: Dunbar.²

Done is a battell on the dragon blak,	Lines 1-8
Our campioun Chryst confoutet hes his force;	
The yettis of hell ar brokin with a crak,	
The signe triumphall rasit is of the croce,	
The divillis trymillis with hiddous voce,	
The saulis ar borrowit and to the blis can go,	
Chryst with his blud our ransonis dois indoce:	
Surrexit dominus de sepulchro.	

The describing of the dragon as 'blak' may represent the recalling
either consciously or unconsciously, of a representation of the
'Harrowing of Hell' that Dunbar had witnessed at sometime, either
at home or abroad.

Similarly the reference to the 'Gates of Hell' being broken with a
'crak' possibly recalls an effects man's very effective arrange-
ments for the breaking down of the 'Gates of Hell'.³

Ane Littill Interlud of the Droichis Part of the Play: attributed
to Dunbar.⁴

My foir grandschir, hecht ^a Fyn Mackcowll,	Lines 33-40.
That dangb the Devill and gart him yowll [*]	
The skyis raind quhen he wald (scowle)	
He trublit all the air:	
He gat my gudschir Gog Magog; ^c	
He, quhen he dansit, the warld wald schogd	
Ten thowsand ellis yeid in his frog	
Off heland plaidis and mair.	

laity would not normally have been present. Thus the authors of such lines would only have seen a 'Descent into Hell' if members of a religious order or on the staff of a Collegiate Church, or had witnessed the performance of a vernacular version of the event out of doors.

In a document known as 'The Paris Resurrection' (Bibl. Nat. fonds francais 972, 1491) there is a scene of the 'Harrowing of Hell' (p.162: f.34) from which we now quote:⁷

Icy tous les diables excepte Sathan portent colevrynes
(cannon)^a et auitres ferremens (various instruments made of
iron) en Enfer et ferment leurs portes a gros correilz. . .

a. Hand-held guns with large barrels that probably made a lot of noise.

Here quite plainly it was intended that Christ should enter Hell carrying a cross. There is thus a possibility that the anonymous writer of the above named poem may have witnessed this Resurrection play when he was a student at the University of Paris.

8

Jerusalem Reioiss For Joy: Attributed to Dunbar.

The deid him knew that raifs vpricht,
Quhilk lang tyme had the erd lyne vndir;
Crukit and blynd declaryt his micht,
That helit of thame so mony hundir;
Nature him knew, and had grit wundir,
Quhen he of wirgyn wes born but wem;
Hell, quhen thair yettis wer brokin asundir;
Illumynare Jerusalem!

Lines 33-40.

Again the breaking down of the Gates of Hell may represent an echoing of a play of the 'Harrowing of Hell' but by the time the

piece was written the concept of the breaking down of the Gates of Hell was probably very commonplace.

The Contemplacioun of Synnaris: Friar William of Tours.⁹

Hell is a hole of horrible myrknefs

Line 228.

....

Gret wonder' Is quhat may thi maker ' meyne
To lichtlie wertew for synnis sensuale
God to contempne obey to beliale

Lines 1467-9.

Of disparans throu blast of beliale^a

Lines 1543-4.

Haue knychtlie corage to conquefs hevinlie crown.

- a. Belial appears as a character in the York 'Harrowing of Hell'; in the English *The Castle of Perseverance* and *The Conversion of St Paul*; in the Low German *Maastricht Passion Play*, the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*; in France in Achille Jubinal's *Mystères inédits du xv^e siècle*, in 'le Nativité', tome 2, 1-78; also in. 'Le Jeu des Trois Rois', 'La Passion de nostre Seigneur' and in 'La Résurrection', tome 2, 139-311, 385.

THE RESURRECTION.

Surrexixt Dominus de Sepulchro: Dunbar.¹⁰

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro!
The Lord is rissin fra deid to lyfe agane,
Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno,
Quhilk for our synnis on the croce wes slane;
Quhame to annoynt went Mary Magdalene,
Ibat Maria Salame cum ea;
Quhen Godis angell this did ansuer plane,
"Surrexit sicut dixit, allalua!"

Lines 1-8.

This angellis weid wes snaweth in culiour,
His face as fyrflacht flawmit, ferly brycht;
The knychtis keparis of Christis sepultour

Lines 9-11.

Ffell down as deid, afferit of his licht, Lines 12-16.
 Quhome to behald thay had no grace nor mycht;
 Et terre motus est factus in Judea;
 The wurd of Jesew is fulfillit rycht,
 Surrexit sicut dixit, allalua.

Behaldin the brichtnes of this angell, Lines 17-24.
 The Magdalene and mare Salamec
 Abasit wer in sprit, as sayis the Ewangell,
 And stud abak. "Be nocht afferd" said he ,
 "The Lord is rissin quhome ye come to se,
 Ipse preceidit vos in Gallelela;
 To his appostellis ga tell the verite,
 Surrexit sicut dixit, allalua!"

The Latin elements of these lines are a reflection of the Easter Morning ceremony of retrieving the Cross and Blessed Sacrament deposited in the Easter Sepulchre after the Good Friday liturgy of Creeping to the Cross and Mass of the Pre-sanctified.¹¹

After the return of the Sacrament and the Cross to the High Altar all the church bells are rung and then the whole choir sing:

Dicunt nunc Judei quomodo milites custodientes
 sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem,
 quare non servabant petram justicie; aut sepultum
 reddant: aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes,
 Alleluya Alleluya.

There follows in the text:

Finita autem Antiphona cum suo Versu a toto
 Choro, dicat excellentior persona in sua
 statione ad altare conversus hunc versum:

V. Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.
 R. Qui pro nobis pendit in ligno. Alleluya.

The above ceremony precedes the recitation of the Office of Matins, i.e. Matutinae, which then follows. The Breviary provides all the material needed for the performance of the 'Visitatio ad

Sepulchrum' by clerks playing the roles of the Maries, but there are no rubrics which say how this is to be performed,¹² unlike the ceremony which precedes Matins which has all the rubrics necessary to ensure that ceremony is performed decently and in good order.

The above Verse & Response occur frequently in the services of the Easter season which ends with the Ascension.

The Sarum Breviary formed part of the Sarum Rite which was universally adopted throughout Scotland once the reforms of Queen Margaret had been established, so that by and large we can say that both countries observed the same liturgical practices.

Rites similar to those referred to above are to be found in 'Breviarium Bothanum'.^a which is dated in the fifteenth century. It was written for use in the Collegiate Church of St Marnock, Foulis Easter.

- a. Its full title is, *Breviarium Bothanum sive Portiforium Secundum Usam Ecclesiae Cujusdam in Scotia*. The printed copy was made from a 15th century manuscript in the possession of John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. It was edited by 'W.D.M.' = W.D. Macray. (Published by, Longman, Green & Co., London, 1900.)

Choir Breviaries provide the complete version of the Divine Office, but the texts of antiphons and verses and responses with their elaborate musical settings are contained in books known as Antiphoners and in many cases only the opening words of these are given in the Breviaries, as in the case of the Breviaries with which we are at present concerned. The Breviarium Bothanum tends to abbreviate rather more than the English versions. Both Breviaries (i.e. the Scots and English Sarum ones) have the Lesson from St Mark's Gospel (Chap.16, 1-7), which begins, 'In illo tempore Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salomee emerunt aromata: ut venientes ungerent Ihesum....' So presumably if there was a 'Visitatio ad Sepulchrum' actually performed, three Maries would have been involved. In the third verse of this poem, lines 17-24, Dunbar mentions only two Maries, Mary Magdalene and Mary Salome.

Karl Young has published a number of versions of

the ceremony of the 'Visitatio ad Sepulchrum'.¹³ In some cases there are two Maries and in others, three. The number of two or three is probably decided by whether the liturgy uses the Gospel of Mark or of Matthew. As we have seen, Mark speaks of three Maries, but Matthew speaks of two. (See, Matthew, 28,1.) Unfortunately Young does not quote the 'Mary' lessons used. Whether there is any significance in Dunbar's use of two as opposed to three Maries it would be hard to say. Perhaps he was influenced by what he had seen on the Continent, or he might have been influenced by a vernacular play of the 'Resurrection' performed in Scotland, possibly out of doors. The reformed Sarum Breviary of Bishop Elphinstone, known as the 'Aberdeen Breviary' (published: February, 1509/10), has similar liturgies for Easter Day, (i.e. Pasch), including St Mark's Gospel (Chapter 16, 1-7).

THE ASCENSION.

The Meroure of Wyssdome: Johannes de Irlandia.¹⁴

...: And for caus that kingis
and princes; eftir victorie and battale: enteris in thar
realmz and townis wt trumpatis: with honour and glor: ihesus
the King of glor of man and angell eftir his gret battale
and triumphe
enterit in his hevinly realme wt gret myrth and blithnes
with trumpatis and vthir maner of melody befor him 'ascendit
deus in jubilaclem et dominus in voce tube' And sene ihesus
for his noble and glorius victorie had that he^a stage and
sete in eternitie prouidit for him: 'psalmus: Parate sedes
tuus deus ex tunc a seculo tu es...'

a. high.

The lines may represent the recalling by the author of an elaborate liturgical or semi-liturgical play of the 'Ascension' he had witnessed in a Continental church. Ireland had spent many years in France.

Abramo, the Russian Bishop of Souzdal, attending the Ecumenical Council in Florence in 1439 saw such a ceremony on Ascension Day in the Church of the Ascension. His colourful description of the ceremony has survived, of which we now give a very brief summary.

In the church is a 140ft. long stone platform, standing on 28 columns, each one foot in height. On the left is a stone castle, with towers and bastions, representing Jerusalem. Opposite, against the wall, is a hill, representing the Mount of Olives, reached by a staircase. 56ft. above this is a wooden scaffold, 28ft. square. On top of this is a round hole, 14ft. wide, covered by a blue hanging, on which are painted the sun, the moon and stars.

The Virgin and the Apostles are assembled on the Mount. At the appropriate moment the blue hanging is lifted to reveal God the Father, wearing a crown, looking down. After an exchange of farewells between the Apostles and Christ there is a clap of thunder, Christ is seen on top of the Mount, the heavens open revealing God suspended in mid-air, enveloped in a great light, with small children all around him, while harmonious music and sweet singing are to be heard. A cloud descends on seven ropes and takes up Christ to a great height as the cloud is illuminated by lamps within it. As soon as he reaches the Father the music stops and it grows dark. The curtain is pulled back and the light returns.

See, *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Meredith and Tailby, Appendix, No.5, 'Florence: Annunciation and Ascension', 243-7.

Had he been actively engaged as Provost of Crichton, Succentor of Moray, or anywhere else in the Scottish Church, after almost thirty years in France, Ireland, as a distinguished scholar and man of letters, would have been well able to influence the production of religious pageantry and plays.

THE ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY: OUR LADY QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

A Ballad of Our Lady.¹⁵

O sterne that blyndis phebus hemes bricht
 With courfs abone the hevinnis circulyne
 Abone the speir' of saturn hie on hicht
 Surmounting all the angell ordouris nyne
 Haile lamp lemand befor the trone devyne
 Quhar' cherubim sweit syngis osanna
 with organe tympane^a harpe and symbalyne^b
 O mater Ihesu salue maria.

Lines 9-15.

a. timpani or kettledrums.

b. cymbals.

The imagery is based on: Revelation 12,1:

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.

The writer of 'A Ballad of Our Lady' has in mind the conception of
 'Mary Queen of Heaven', which is based on the verse from the
 Book of Revelation quoted above. Devotionally the conception finds
 expression in the anthem known as the 'Regina Coeli', still used
 by catholics today during the season of Eastertide. Its opening
 lines are,

O Queen of heaven, rejoice! Alleluia.
 For he whom you did merit to bear, Alleluia,
 Has risen as he said. Alleluia.
 Pray for us to God. Alleluia.

Although the singing and playing of musical instruments is ex-
 pressed in the present there could be reflection here of a scene
 of the 'Assumption and Coronation of Mary' which the author had
 witnessed at some time, when either an actor dressed as Mary, or
 an image of Mary, was greeted as she entered Heaven by the singing
 of a choir and the playing of musical instruments, including

appropriately loud triumphal sounds from percussion instruments.

See further on the Assumption of Our Lady at the end of Chapter Six in Volume 1.

We suggest that pageants-plays of the Assumption were probably well known in Scotland amongst those who had spent time on the Continent.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'C'.

1. W.A. CRAIGIE ed. *The Asloan Manuscript, A Miscellany in Prose and Verse* (STS NS 126, 1925, 2 vols.) vol.2, 271,2.
2. James KINSLEY *WILLIAM DUNBAR Poems* (OUP, 1958) 7.
3. See also, James RITCHIE ed. *The Bannatyne Manuscript Written in Time of Pest , 1568, by George Bannatync* (STS 4 vols., vol.2, 1928) 'Ierusalem reiofs for joy', vol.2, 66-8, lines 38-40. See n.8 below.
4. John SMALL ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (STS 1893, 2 vols.) vol.2, 314-20, 315.
5. RITCHIE (see n.3) vol.2, 71-4.
6. See Note below.
7. Peter MEREDITH and John E. TAILBY eds. *Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, No. 4, Michigan Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Michigan, 1983) Appendix I, 2, The Paris Resurrection, 276-9.
8. SMALL (see n.4) vol.2, 322,3.
9. CRAIGIE (see n.1) vol.2, 187-241, 229, 238.
10. SMALL vol.2, 154,5.
11. PROCTOR and WORDSWORTH eds. *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis ac Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum* (CUP, Facsimile, 1882) Fasciculus I, 'In Die Sancto Paschae', columns dcccvii,viii,ix.
12. As n.11, columns dcccix-xiv.
13. Karl YOUNG *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (OUP, 1933, 2 vols.) vol.1, Chapters VII-XIII, 201-420.
14. John IRELAND *The Meroure of Wyssdome* (STS NS 19, 1926: vol.1, ed. Charles MacPHERSON; vol.2, ed. F. QUIN) vol.2, Liber Tertius, 'Ascendit ad caelos sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis', 47-51, 50.
15. CRAIGIE *The Asloan Manuscript, etc.* (see n.1) vol.2, 271.

CHAPTER THREE

APPENDIX 'D'

THE DANCE OF THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'D'. THE DANCE OF THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.THE DANCE OF THE SEVIN DEIDLY SYNINIS. Dunbar.¹

Off Februar the fyiftene nycht Lines 1-12.
 Full lang befoir the dayis lycht
 I lay in till a trance;
 And then I saw baith hevin and hell:
 Me thocht amangis the feyndis fell
 Mahoun gart cry ane dance
 Off schrewis that wer nevir schrevin²
 Aganis the feist of Fasternis evin
 To mak thair observance:
 He bad gallandis ga graith a gyis,^a
 And kast up gamountis in the skyis
 That last came out of France.

Heilie harlottis on hawtane wyis Lines 25-30.
 Come in with mony sindrie gyis,
 Bot wit luche^b nevir Mahoun
 Quhill preistis come in with hair schevin nekkis:
 Than all the feyndis lewche and maid gekkis,^c
 Blak Belly^d and Bawsy^e Brown^f.

Syne Sweirnes, at the secound bidding, Lines 67-78.
 Come lyk a sow out of a midding,
 Full slepy wes his grunyie;
 Mony sweir bumbard belly huddroun,
 Mony slute daw and slepy duddroun,
 Him servit ay with sounyie:
 He drew thame furth in till a chenye,^g
 And Belliall with a brydill renyie
 Evir lascht thame on the lunnyie; ^h
 In dance thay war so slaw of feit
 Thay gaif thame in the fyre a heit
 And maid thame quicker of counyie.ⁱ

- a. prepare a masque or masquerade.
- b. laugh.
- c. scornful gibes or gibe scornfully.
- d. another form of 'belial' one of the lesser demons.
- e. course.
- f. Sometimes a benevolent sprite, but sometimes as in this context, a malevolent goblin.
- g. chain.
- h. loin.
- i. literally to coin from molten metal.

Note on Shrove Tuesday.

The setting in time for Dunbar's poem is Shrove Tuesday, the Eve of Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent. An alternative name for Shrove Tuesday was 'Fastern's E'en'. The name 'Shrove Tuesday' derives from the fact that on this day the faithful were required to confess their sins in preparation for keeping the season of Lent, that is, they were required by Canon Law to be 'shriven' on this day. The day was the end of the season of 'Carnival' or 'Karneval', the post-Christmas period given over to merry-making (sometimes of a riotous nature) which preceded Lent.

The Seven Deadly Sins are pride, covetousness, lust, envy, gluttony, anger and sloth. Each of these sins is personalised in a masque seen in a vision. To celebrate his conquests the Devil under the name of 'Mahoun' organizes a Highland Pageant and casts them into 'the Deipast pit of hell' where he smothers them in smoke.

The theme is similar to the allegory of the 'Dance of Death', a subject much featured in medieval European art, in which death is represented as a skeleton, meeting various characters in different states of life and leading them all in a dance to the grave. A pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins is featured in some of the Cycles, as for example, in the 'Doomesday Play' (No.XLII) of the *Ludus Coventriae*.³

There is an item of expenditure relating to a dance at the Scottish Court performed on Shrove Tuesday evening, 20 February 1504/5, as follows:

Item, for xij cotis and xij pair hos half Scottis blak half whit to xij dancaris be the More tahronaris devise^a agane Fasteringis Evin,.....xiiij li. ij s. x d.⁴

a. To direct, to order.

We assume this relates to a Shrove Tuesday dance organized by a Morris Dance drummer, and that the form the dance took is related to the particular day, the day of 'general shriving' in preparation for the good keeping of Lent.

The subject of the Drapers' Pageant in the Coventry Corpus Christi Procession in 1534 and in succeeding years was 'Dooms-day'. In the years 1538-56 there were three 'white' or 'saved' souls, and three 'black' or 'damned' souls, the faces of the latter being blackened, one group wearing white coats and white hose, and the other, black coats and black hose.⁵

By their nature 'Doomsday Plays' must be concerned with 'saved' or 'white' souls and 'damued' or 'black' souls. The tradition that 'white' represented 'good' and black 'evil', or 'saved' and 'lost' was so universally strong that there is a high degree of probability that the subject of the Shrove Tuesday dance in Edinburgh in 1504/5 had as its theme the contrasts between good and evil.

In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for 1507/8 there are two items of expenditure which might possibly relate to the performance of a 'Dance of Death' or of a 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins', at the principal Mass in the Abbey of the Holyrood, possibly taking the place of a sermon, or in illustration of a sermon:

5 March 1507/8:

Item the v day of March, to the French menstrales that made
ane dans in the Abbay,.....viij li. viij s.

Item, for thair dansing cotis to the said dans vli.⁶

In the year 1507/8 Lent began on Ash Wednesday, 17 February, which means that the dance took place on March 5th, the Third Sunday in Lent, the Sunday before Mid-Lent Sunday, when Lenten discipline was relaxed for the weekend.

The fact that the dancers were French adds weight to the suggestion that the dance might have been the 'Dance of Death' (or the 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins'), for the dance was popular in France.

In Flanders the Shrove Tuesday 'festivities' embraced all the forms of activity men indulge in when they 'make merry', wining and dining both on the part of town officials and the general populace, roaming the streets lit up by fires (of joy) and torches, dancing, duelling, play acting, etc., but we have not discovered record of a 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins' or of a 'Dance of Death' performed during such public pre-Lent festivities. Probably they were the subject of performances in the churches, which would be more appropriate as they were intended not to be taken as entertainment, but

as devices to excite to penitence and preparation for the Eve of Lent Shrivings.⁷

In Flanders was found also an exception to the custom elsewhere of the observance of a 'Feast of the Bishop of Fools' during the Christmas season. In Flanders the corresponding feast known as the 'Feest van den Ezelpaus en den Ezelbisschop' ('Feast of the Donkey Pope and the Donkey Bishop') was kept on Shrove Tuesday.⁸

In medieval times the 'Seven Deadly Sins' was a subject with which all christians would have been familiar, both clergy and laity. These would be the sins which must be confessed to avoid eternal damnation. These were the sins for which all priests hearing confessions had to be specially attentive.

There are some excellent remains of sculptured figures representing the 'Dance of Death', the 'Seven Virtuous Acts', and the 'Seven Deadly Sins' in Roslin Chapel, near Edinburgh, the latter associated with a 'Mouth of Hell', like a whale, with a devil and a prong inside, open to receive the 'deadly sinners'.⁹

The Third Tale of 'The Three Priests of Peebles', dated in the second half of the fifteenth century, has as its theme the 'Seven Deadly Sins', but the only identity it has with Dunbar's poem, and the 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins' is the basic theme.¹⁰

The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Dance of Death on the Continent.

On the 1st May 1304, there took place on the River Arno in Florence, Italy, an elaborate representation of 'Hell', with a scaffold mounted on boats. On the occasion there were so many spectators crowded on to the Ponte alla Carraia that it collapsed under their weight. It appears to have been a representation of the 'Last Judgment' with devils representing the 'Seven Deadly Sins', intended to serve as a warning against over indulgence at the May festivities.¹¹

There are records of performances of the 'Dance of Death' at the end of the fourteenth century in Spain.¹²

A 'Dance of Death' was performed before Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, in the Castle (i.e. the Burg) at Bruges when he visited the city in 1449. The Account Books of the Court show that in connection with this a fee was paid to the painter Nicaise of Cambrai for 'certain jeu, histoire et moralité sur le fait de la danse macabre'. Nicaise was assisted by friends and others.¹³

A 'Dance of Death' took place in a church in Besançon in 1453, at the time when a Provincial Chapter of the Franciscan Order was taking place.¹⁴

Paintings and performances of the 'Dance of Death' are recorded from Lübeck in North West Germany, the earliest recorded taking place in 1463, when a mural of the theme was put in the Marienkirche by Bernt Notke, to encourage people to make their confessions on account of a new wave of the pest that threatened the city. The Lübeck dance is said to have been based on the French 'Danse Macabre'.¹⁵

The 'Ommegang of the Holy Blood' in Bruges described by Damhouder in c.1560 had a Hell Float with twenty-four devils (sitting as Judges on the Seat of Judgement) roundabout a boiler filled with souls, of which seven impersonated the 'Seven Principal Sins', each bearing the name of one of the Deadly Sins, such as the 'Devil of Pride' as Lucifer, screaming out all the faults due to pride. Mammon represented avarice, Asmodeus unchastity, Beelsebud anger, Belial gluttony, Leviathan wrath, and Behemoth represented sloth, each devil apparently running around screaming aloud the sort of faults stemming from their particular deadly sin.¹⁶

Conclusion.

Dunbar may have met the 'Dance of Death' or the 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins', in art, or in literature, but equally he may have seen a 'Doom Play' in which the subject was featured, perhaps in France, a country in which he spent some time and to which he alludes in line 12 of this poem, and he may have met it as a pre-Lenten performance to encourage resort to the Sacrament of Penance.

If a Pageant, Play or Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins, or a Dance of Death reached Scotland from the Continent, then its most likely route would have been from Italy via Bruges, but some influence from the more remote city of Lübeck cannot be ruled out. Marcus Wagner, who visited St Andrews in 1553 in search of music manuscripts for Flacius Illyricus, the German Protestant controversialist and historian, spoke of Leith as a port to which merchants¹⁷ of the Hanseatic League often sent ships.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'D'.

1. James KINSLEY *WILLIAM DUNBAR Poems* (OUP, 1958) 50-53, 50-52.
2. See separate Note which follows Shrove Tuesday.
3. K.S. BLOCK ed. *Ludus Coventriae* (EETS ES 120, 1917, reprinted 1961) Play No. XLII, and intro. xxvii-xxxv. The text of this unfinished play can also be found in, George THOMAS ed. *Ten Miracle Plays* (Thomas Arnold, London, 1966).
4. *ALHT* vol.2, 477. See also, 386 & 479, and vol.3, 182.
5. Thomas SHARP *A Dissertation on the Pageants and Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry* (Merridew, Coventry, 1825, facsimile by E.P. Publishing Ltd., 1973) 67-70.
6. *ALHT* vol.4, 104.
7. The Flemish text refers only to 'fires', but we presume they were in the nature of 'fires of joy', as used in Edinburgh on festive occasions. See Robert ADAM ed. *Edinburgh, Burgh Records, The Burgh Accounts Part 2, The Treasurer's Accounts. 1552-67* (The Town Council, 1899) 234, 1557-8.
8. Frans de POTTER *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemeentefeesten in Vlaanderen* (Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren, Gent, 1870) see. 'Vastenavondfeesten - Feesten van den Ezelpaus en den Ezelbisschop', 138-52.
9. J.S. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (The Sheldon Press, London, 1936) 61.
10. T.D. ROBB ed. *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* (STS NS 8, 1920) 45-55.
11. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi Editore, Rome, 1891, facsimile, 1966, 2 vols.) vol.1, 94-6; 95, n.1, gives full details of the original source.
12. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1957-70, 9 vols.) vol.1, 345.
13. Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.) vol.1, 462.
14. As n.13, and: W. SEELMANN 'Die Totentänze des Mittelalters, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutschesprachforschung* 17, 1, 461. Further details are to be found in:
15. Christine STÖLLINGER-LÖSER ed. *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasser Lexikon* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York. At 1989 nine volumes had been published) see, Helmut ROSENFELD 'Lübecker Totentänze', vol.5, 935-8.

16. See vol.2. APPENDICES. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. Item i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.
17. J.H. BAXTER ed *An Old St Andrews Music Book* (OUP, 1931) xi.

CHAPTER FOUR

APPENDICES 'A' TO 'G'

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'A'. MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS.

1) THE ABERDEEN BOOK OF HOURS was written in 1499, its calendar showing for the 3 November, the 'Dedicacio ecclesie cathedralis Aberdonensis', in addition to the Feast of St Machar, Patron Saint of Aberdeen Cathedral, under the 12 November. The manuscript is outstanding for the quality of illuminations, surpassed by only a few Continental examples of the same period, but it is thought most unlikely that these are the work of a Scottish illuminator. The illuminations include:-

- i) A youthful, almost boyish figure, kneeling before the Virgin and Child, with standing behind, a Bishop with mitre and crozier.¹
- ii) Placed opposite the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms - a King, kneeling on the grass opposite a large building, probably a cathedral, with his crown and sceptre deposited in front of him, possibly King James IV.²
- iii) Marginal Illuminations after the fashion of³ the end of the 15th century French and Flemish illuminations.

2) THE ARBUTHNOT BOOKS: THE MISSAL, THE PSALTER AND THE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.⁴

The gift of Sir Robert Arbuthnot (died 1506) to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which he founded, within the Church of St Ternan, Arbuthnot, in the diocese of St Andrews.

The writer of all three volumes was James Sybbald, (died 1507), Vicar of the parish. Two of the manuscripts are of some artistic and iconographical interest.

- a) THE MISSAL, contains a full page illumination of St Ternan, first Archbishop of the Picts, in his archiepiscopal robes, facing the Canon, where normally a picture of the Crucifixion is shown. There are some illuminated capitals, but no other full page illumination. The date given for this Missal is 1491. The volume includes Masses for both St Ternan and St Kentigern and the Calendar equally shows the Scottish provenance of the manuscript.⁵
- b) THE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, may have been written in the same year as the Psalter, viz. 1482. This volume contains six full page illuminations as follows:
 - i) St Ternan in his robes.
 - ii) The Salutation of the Virgin.
 - iii) The crowned Virgin and Child, adorned by a chaplet.
 - iv) The Rich Man and Lazarus.
 - v) The Crucifixion.
 - vi) The Mass of St Gregory, crudely painted.^{6 & 7}

3) DEAN BROWN'S BOOK OF HOURS.⁸

This manuscript contains illuminations as follows:-

- a) DEAN JAMES BROWN, the owner, kneeling in prayer in front of an altar of Our Lady with a patron saint and bishop standing behind him. He wears a pink alb and a rich cloth of gold cope. The saint, probably St Machar, is presenting him to the Virgin.⁹
- b) OUR LADY WITH HOLY CHILD, shown half-length in a blue robe within a golden frame on a full page.¹⁰
- c) KING DAVID, in a full page miniature shown kneeling in prayer on the green in front of a church, wearing a white robe and a red overgarment with a gold chain and cross about his neck. On the grass before him are his golden sceptre and red and blue hat.¹¹
- d) A full page representation of the Raising of Lazarus.¹²

4) THE BREVIARY OF JOHN GREENLAW, Prebendary of Corstorphine, printed in 1553, has an 'Image of Pity' on its title page, the printed figure of Our Lord covered with hand applied dots of red ink to represent wounds.¹³

Also popular in devotional books of the period 1450-1550, in Scotland as elsewhere, were depictions of the 'Image of Pity', where Christ is shown surrounded by 'The Instruments of the Passion' as he appears to Pope Gregory the Great when celebrating Mass.¹⁴

5) THE BOOK OF HOURS OF JAMES IV AND MARGARET TUDOR.¹⁵ Included in the illuminations of this Book of Hours are the following miniatures:

a) THE CRUCIFIXION.

The portrayal is reduced to the basic elements of the scene of the Dying Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin bowed in grief on the left, and the sorrowing St John, standing erect on the right. A darkening sky and a desolate scene effect great dramatic intensity.¹⁶

b) THE ENTOMBMENT.

Below the above, the Entombment is portrayed with the white shrouded figure of Christ in stark contrast with the procession of darkly clad, scarcely discernible mourners.¹⁷

c) THE ANNUNCIATION.

The Virgin is depicted sitting on the tiled floor of a marble-columned room, a book of devotions open before her on a red cushion, with a work-basket at her feet. She is wearing a deep blue gown and cloak trimmed with gold, as she gazes devoutly before her.

The Archangel, in white and gold appears behind her, his right hand raised in salutation.

The Holy Spirit in the form of a Dove hovers near the vaulted ceiling.

On a table behind the Virgin is a Pot of White Lilies.¹⁸

d) THE VISITATION.

The Meeting between Mary and Elizabeth takes place in open country, near a large house. Elizabeth dressed in dark blue, with a green mantle and hood, kneels to kiss the hand of the Virgin.¹⁹

e) THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.

Our Lady depicted sitting and nursing her Son by a stream, as Joseph, a little to her left, procures water for them in a jug. A simple meal is ready on a napkin at the water's edge, and their donkey grazes nearby. Behind them, Herod's spies descend on a steep slope, enquiring of a labourer cutting corn the whereabouts of the Holy Family. In the remote distance on the right is a scene of the Massacre of the Innocents.²⁰

f) CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS.

The Doctors are dressed in contemporary Flemish clothes, and stand around listening intently to the Boy Jesus, who dominates the scene.

In the entrance to the Temple stand Our Lady and Joseph on the left, looking anxious.

A Scribe with distinctive face sits at Christ's left hand.²¹

6) THE MONYPENNY BREVIARY.

This is a Breviary not of the Sarum Use of Scotland but of the Roman Use of the Continent. It was written for a Scotsman living in the neighbourhood of Bourges in France.

It is a very fine production in an excellent state of preservation, but as there is no evidence that it was ever used in Scotland it is not considered in detail in this Appendix.²²

The fact that this book is a Breviary rather than a Book of Hours, such as used by the devout laity, probably indicates that the Scot who owned it was a priest, perhaps a member of a religious order, or a lecturer at a university. In which case he may have brought it with him when finally his Continental tour of duty was at an end, and continued to use it at home in Scotland, as other Scots did who had bought Breviaries on the Continent, as for example did James

IV's secretary, Patrick Paniter.²³

Of particular interest in the Monypenny Breviary is a full page miniature of a Corpus Christi Procession.²⁴ (See this volume

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'J'. ILLUSTRATIONS.

7) THE MURTHLY BOOK OF HOURS.

This is a small quarto MS containing the Hours of Our Lady and a Calendar. It has twenty-three full page miniatures of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, illuminated in gold and colours which are said to bear a striking resemblance to sculptures in the Chapter House of Salisbury Cathedral. There are texts in Gaelic on the fly leaves thought to be of the 14th century.²⁵

One authority dates the manuscript as c. 1310 or perhaps a little earlier, and states it was made for an unidentified lady, probably from the Worcester area, who had reached Scotland by c. 1420.²⁶

Another authority draws attention to an illumination of the soldiers guarding the sepulchre, showing the soldiers' shields emblazoned with the coats of arms of Strathearn, Blair, and other Scots families, and from this deduces proof of the Scottish origin of the manuscript,²⁷ but this seems very unlikely.

The subjects of the full page illuminations, which are not in chronological order are as follows:

- i) Cain and Abel offering sacrifice.
- ii) Cain killing Abel.

- iii) The Drunkenness of Noah.
- iv) The Annunciation.
- v) Abraham entertaining the messengers of God while Sarah looks on.
- vi) Lot and his family fleeing from Sodom.
- vii) Joseph recounting his dreams.
- viii) Joseph thrown into a pit by his brothers.
- ix) Herod ordering the massacre of the Innocents.
- x) Joseph and Benjamin before Pharaoh.
- xi) The Annunciation to the Shepherds.
- xii) The Magi on horseback.
- xiii) The Magi before Herod.
- xiv) The Adoration of the Magi.²⁸

THE PASSION (again not in chronological order.)

- xv) The Last Supper.
- xvi) The Entombment.
- xvii) Christ washing the disciples' feet.
- xviii) The Arrest of Christ.
- xix) The Scourging.
- xx) Christ carrying the Cross.
- xxi) The Descent from the Cross.
- xxii) The Risen Christ with the Apostles.
- xxiii) Christ with St Thomas.

There are eleven initial letters, seven of which contain New

Testament scenes as follows:

- a) The Annunciation.
- b) The Nativity.
- c) The Annunciation of the Shepherds.
- d) The Adoration of the Magi.
- e) The Presentation in the Temple.
- f) The Flight into Egypt.
- g) Pentecost.
- h) God the Father enthroned in Heaven between the symbols of the Evangelists.
- i) The first owner of the manuscript at prayer as God gives her his blessing from a cloud.
- j) A funeral service.
- k) A burial.

8) THE BOOK OF HOURS OF ROSS DHU CHURCH.²⁹

This book contains the following miniatures:

- a) Our Lord standing and holding an open book displaying the words, *Via, Veritas, Vita*.³⁰
- b) Ten Memoriae each prefixed by a large³¹ miniature of the subject concerned:-
 - i) The Holy Trinity.
 - ii) St John the Baptist.
 - iii) St Thomas of Canterbury.
 - iv) St George.
 - v) St Christopher.
 - vi) St Anne.
 - vii) St Mary Magdalene.
 - viii) St Catherine.
 - ix) St Barbara.
 - x) St Margaret of Antioch.
- c) CHRIST BEFORE PILATE followed by the Office of Prime.³²
- d) THE FLAGELLATION followed by Terce.³³
- e) CHRIST CARRYING THE CROSS followed by Sext.³⁴
- f) THE CRUCIFIXION followed by None.³⁵
- g) THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS followed by Vespers.³⁶
- h) THE ENTOMBMENT followed by Compline.³⁷
- i) OUR LADY OF PITY illuminates the capital 'I' of a prayer beginning, 'Intermerata et in aeternam benedicta'.³⁸
- j) THE PRESENTATION OF OUR LORD IN THE TEMPLE.³⁹
- k) THE PASSION.⁴⁰
 - i) The Nailing to the Cross.⁴¹
 - ii) The Three Crosses.⁴²
 - iii) The Head of Christ.⁴³
 - iv) The wounded hands of Christ.⁴⁴
 - v) The Arma Christi - The Five Wounds.⁴⁵
 - vi) The wounded feet of Christ.⁴⁶
 - vii) Our Lady and St John at the foot of the Cross.⁴⁷
 - viii) Christ crucified between the Two Thieves.⁴⁸
- l) THE LAST JUDGEMENT.⁴⁹
- m) THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.⁵⁰

- n) OUR LORD OF PITY, surrounded by Instruments of the Passion.⁵¹
- o) CHRIST IN GLORY WITH ANGELS carrying Souls up to Heaven in a Sheet.^{52 & 53.}

9) A SARUM BOOK OF HOURS: PROBABLY SCOTTISH, END OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

This manuscript volume contains coloured illuminations as follows:-

- a) The Virgin and Child, showing Our Lady wearing an exaggerated crown or chaplet, surrounded by three winged angels, two of whom proffer the contents of chalices.⁵⁴
- b) St Ninian, and:⁵⁵
- c) Eleven whole page miniatures.
- d) Fifteen illuminated borders.

10) THE YESTER BOOK OF HOURS.

It was written about 1480, and has an illumination of the 'Image of Pity' and also an illumination of the 'Mass of St Gregory'.⁵⁶ One reason for the great popularity of these devotional representations which Scotland shared with the rest of Europe, was the belief that the Seven Prayers of St Gregory recited before such representations carried with them an enormous Indulgence. The Yester Book of Hours gives the Seven Indulgenced Prayers, ascribing them to St Gregory the Great.⁵⁷

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'A'. MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS.

1. George NEILSON 'Early Literary Manuscripts' *Scottish History and Life* ed. J. PATON (Glasgow, 1902) 264-71, 267,8 and fig. 353.
2. NEILSON fig. 354.
3. NEILSON 268.
4. William MACGILLIVRAY 'Notices of the Arbuthnott Missal, Psalter and Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary' *PSAS* vol.26 (1892) 89-104, 90-2.
- 5 & 6.
William BEATTIE *Trésors des Bibliothèques Écosse* (Bibliothèque Albert I^{er}, Brussels, 1963) 21, Item No. 36.

See for a reproduction of this illumination, which was found in Office Books, etc., all over Europe:-

David McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner: A Scottish Medieval Banner* (John S. Burns, Glasgow, 1957) 15, Illustration No. 8. Or see the same author's *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* opposite page 7. Re this Book of Hours see also, BEATTIE 20, Item No. 34. The manuscripts of the Missal and the Book of Hours are held by the Paisley Museum and Art Galleries.

The background of illuminations of the Mass of St Gregory normally portrays the Instruments of the Passion. An excellent example of an illumination of 'The Mass of St Gregory', featuring a display of the 'The Instruments of the Passion', is in the *Sarum Missal: 'J. Notary: Westminster'* held in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. It is the first Missal printed in England. The illumination is reproduced as Item No. 19 in *Advocates' Library: Notable Accessions up to 1925* (NLS, Edinburgh, 1965).

A Rouen Book of Hours of the late fifteenth century, in the Edinburgh University Library, MS 43 fol 117^r, has a fine illumination of 'The Mass of St Gregory', where the only instruments to be clearly seen are three dice. This illumination is reproduced in *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* ed. anon. (HMSO, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1985) 28, Item No. 11.

In the Rijksmuseum, Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, The Netherlands, there is a painting of the 'Gregorius-mis' (Ref. No. ABM. s. 33) by Meester van de H. Sippe, dated 1468, painted in a life-like style. It has a background showing not only the conventional Instruments of the Passion, but also the 'Human Instruments', such as King Herod and the Tormentors, together with Mary and John. The item is reproduced by the Edukatieve-Dienst of the Rijksmuseum, Utrecht, as Blaadje No. 1.

7. MACGILLIVRAY (see n.4) 99-102.

8. David McROBERTS 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours' *IR* 19, 2 (1968) 144-66. The book is now in the National Library of Scotland under reference MS Acc. 4118. It is in perfect condition. It was written for Master James Brown (c.1456-1505), who was Dean of Aberdeen during the last decade of the fifteenth century, during the early years of Bishop Elphinstone's episcopate. The manuscript was almost certainly made in the Low Countries to Brown's own requirements. Possibly the miniatures were done by Scots resident in Ghent or Bruges.

James Brown spent several months in the Low Countries in 1498, and it is most likely that it is during this period that he commissioned this Book of Hours whose Calendar shows it was meant for someone connected with Aberdeen Cathedral at a time when Aberdeen scholars were focussing their attention on Scottish saints. McRoberts speculates that the Book of Hours and its illuminations may have been produced at the Atelier of Alexander Bening, an illustrious Flemish miniaturist of Scottish antecedents with whom a Book of Hours was commissioned by James IV in 1503. See the McROBERTS reference above (*IR* 19,2) 159 and 164-6.

(See vol.1, CHAPTER TWO. THE SCOTS AND THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT. A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. d) ECCLESIASTICS AND OTHER MEN OF SIGNIFICANCE IN SCOTTISH LIFE ON THE CONTINENT.

9. McROBERTS (see n.8) 159 and Plate No. 2, opposite 153.
10. " (see n.8) Plate No. 3, opposite 160.
11. " (see n.8) 159,60, and Plate No. 4, opposite 161.
12. " (see n.8) 160.
13. " *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* (see nn.5 & 6) 12. See also this volume and chapter, APPENDIX 'G'. THE FETTERNEAR BANNER.
14. McROBERTS as n.13. The term 'Image of Pity' may sometimes appear as 'Our Lord of Pity'. The first of these two forms can be confused with the term 'The Image of Piety', which may also appear as 'Our Lady of Piety', or the 'Pietà'. These latter terms refer to the tradition that after he was taken down from the Cross Christ was laid across his Mother's lap.
15. Leslie MACFARLANE 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor' *IR* 11, 1 (1960) 3-21. The manuscript is held at the Österreichische Nationale Bibliothek, Vienna, under reference, Codex. Lat. 1897.

The book is believed to have been the gift of James IV to his bride, Margaret Tudor, upon their marriage in 1503. Otherwise it may possibly have been the gift of her father, Henry VII of England. The Manuscript is probably the work of John Bomal of Flanders, who probably worked for a group of artists of Bruges and Ghent. Two artists are thought to have been responsible for the art work, one of whom was under the influence of Hugo van der Goes, and the other may have been

under the influence of the Master Mary of Burgundy, that is, Alexander Bening, a distinguished illuminator of Scottish ancestry and Flemish citizenship, through his son, Simon. See MACFARLANE 4-8, 15 & 16, and 16-20.

This manuscript demonstrates the very high standard of calligraphy and artistry that prevailed in the Low Countries, a standard to which Scottish apprentices in the ateliers of Bruges and Ghent would needs aspire.

16. MACFARLANE 11 and Plate of fol 32^v
17. As n.16,
18. As n.16. Full Plate of fol 59^f. A similar 'Annunciation' by the same artist appears in the *Hortulus Animae*. See MACFARLANE 31.
19. MACFARLANE an identical 'Visitation' appears in Bodleian MS Douce 219.
20. MACFARLANE 11 and 12. For an explanation of the legend behind this episode see R.O. HASSALL *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London, 1954) 93,4. The man seen cutting corn and the meal at the water's edge, and the 'Slaughter of the Innocents' may be significant of Christ's death and the Eucharist, the cutting of the corn showing that before we can have bread the corn must first grow and then be cut down, and correspondingly before man could feed on the Bread of Heaven, which is Christ's Body, he must needs first become Man, grow up and as the perfect victim, without spot or blemish, be sacrificed on the altar of the Cross.
21. MACFARLANE 11 and full Plate of fol 109^v. The National Gallery of Scotland has a painting on wood of 'The Christ Child Disputing with the Doctors'. It is by Bernardino Butinone (active 1484-1507) It shows a young boy of about eight or nine years of age, addressing the 'Doctors' with gesticulating hands, as he sits on top of a circular pillar of about five feet in height, reached by ascending a 'corkscrew' incline around its sides. Behind him, on his right, sits a dignified-looking man who may very well be Joseph. On his left sits a figure which seems to be that of a woman, and so could be the Virgin Mother.

The Hamburg Kunsthalle has a 'Flügelaltar' (a wooden retable with wings on either side) known as 'Der Buxtehuder Altar' with a series of paintings by Meister Bertram (c.1340-1414/15). One of the paintings shows, 'Der zwölfjährige Christus im Tempel'. Again the Boy Jesus is sitting on top of a pillar hexagonal in shape.
22. The manuscript is discussed in Albert van der PUT 'The Monypenny Breviary' *PSAS* vol.56 (1901/2) 72-114. See also David McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1953) 13, Item No. 78.

23. R.L. MACKIE ed. *Letters of James IV, 1505-1513* (SHS 1953) n.60.
24. David McROBERTS 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy Illustrated by Surviving Documents' *SES* 15, 1 (1957) Plates between 26 and 27, one entitled 'The Monypenny Breviary'.
25. *The National Library of Scotland, Annual Report, 1986-7, 8.*
The text follows the full-page illuminations and has illuminated initial capitals and decorative borders. Cycles of Old and New Testament scenes are not uncommon in the finest Psalters of the thirteenth century, but are rarer in Books of Hours of about the same period. The manuscript is held in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, under the reference, MS 3239.
26. As n.25.
27. McROBERTS *Catalogue of Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (see nn. 5 & 6) 6.
28. The adornment of the manuscript is by three distinct artists. Two worked on the full-page illustrations and a third on the large initials and borders. The first two worked in the English tradition, but the third shows the influence of the contemporary French painting becoming popular at the English Court. The first artist painted scenes numbered i) to xiv); the second, the Passion scenes that follow, numbered xv) to xxiii), and the third artist, the initial capitals and borders. See Elspeth YEO *Report on Scottish Manuscripts* for the National Art Collection Fund (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1967) 'The Murthly Hours', 97,8.
29. George HAY and David McROBERTS 'Ross Dhu Church and Its Book of Hours' *IR* 16, 1 (1965) 3-17. The author of the section on the Book of Hours is David McRoberts.

Ross Dhu Church of St Mary is situated in the Loch Lomond area in the Parish of Luss. The building is roofless. It was the manorial chapel of the Colquhouns. The manuscript is a well-preserved Sarum Prymer or Book of Hours, written about the middle of the fifteenth century and adapted for use in West Scotland. It contains twenty-five large illuminations surrounded by borders of leaves, fruit and flowers, illuminated in gold and colour. There are also many large illuminated initial letters. The manuscript is now held at the Central Library, Auckland, New Zealand, as MS 48, in the Sir George Grey Collection. See pages 3-7.
30. HAY & McROBERTS 7, fol 7^v.
31. As n.30. 7, fols 12^v - 22^v.
32. " " 8, fol 37^r.
33. " " 8, fol 40^r.

34. As n.30, 8, fol 42^r.
35. " " 8, fol 44^r.
36. " " 8, fol 46^r.
37. " " 8, fol 48^r.
38. " " 8, fol 55^r.
39. " " 8, fol 58^r.
40. " " 8, fols. 61^v - 64^v Devotions in honour of the Passion.
41. " " 8, fol 61^v. A miniature.
- 42-47. As n.30. Details of initial capitals. See *Plate i*, opposite 4.
48. As n.30, 8,9, fol 64^v. Detail of an illuminated capital letter.
49. " " 9, fols 68^r-73^r. Miniature followed by the Seven Penitential Psalms.
50. " " 9, fol 80^r. Followed by Vespers of the Dead.
51. " " 9, fol 105^r. Miniature introducing 'Psalmi de passione dni...'. (See *Plate iii*) opposite page 12.
52. " " 9, fol 96^r. Prefixed to the Office of the 'Commendationes Animarum...'.
.
53. The Book has the usual Sarum Calendar (with additions of some local matter, such as the inclusion of St Ninian as also found in the Perth Psalter (c.1475) and the Arbuthnott Missal (c.1491) and includes the usual Northern French and Flemish saints (it includes St Bavo and St Lieven of Ghent). The contents of the Calendar suggest a continental proto-type for a volume probably written and illuminated in Scotland. The Book was probably in use in the Deanery of Lennox in the Diocese of Glasgow and the Feast of Dedication under 6 April pinpoints St Mary of Ross Dhu as the place where it was used (see HAY & McROBERTS 15).
54. BEATTIE *Trésors des Bibliothèques d'Écosse, etc.* (see nn. 5 & 6) 23, Item No. 40. *Heures à l'Usage de Salisbury* Edinburgh University Library MS 42. See also Appendix, Planche No. 19.
55. BEATTIE as n.54 and Planche en Couleur No.111, facing page 22. See also McROBERTS *Catalogue, etc.* 13, Item No., 76. McRoberts dates this manuscript at about 1500. It contains the customary matter and the rarer Office of St Ninian (fols 74-6). The work may be of Scottish origin but McRoberts suggests it was written in France for a Scottish purchaser. The Calendar contains several Scottish entries.

56. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* (see nn. 5 & 6) 15. See also, McROBERTS *Catalogue, etc.* 12, Item No. 65.
57. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* 15.

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'B'. CARVINGS IN WOOD AND STONE.

1) ABERDEEN, ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL: THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.

According to a book published in Antwerp in 1632 a statue of the Madonna and the Holy Child which formerly stood in the above cathedral was placed over the altar of a chapel in the Parish Church of Finistere, Brussels, subsequent to the Scottish Reformation. It is still there today and is known as 'Notre Dame du Bon Succès'.

The Virgin holds the Infant Jesus on her right arm and with her right hand she holds a silver Sceptre. On her head is a tall open silver Crown. The Child wears a closed Imperial Crown. These and the Sceptre may not be the original items.

Polychrome decoration was renewed in c. 1870, but it is not certain that the original colours were renewed.

Although it is fairly certain that the statue came to Brussels from Aberdeen, it may not in fact be of Scottish origin, possibly being of Flemish craftsmanship, although there is the possibility it was produced in Scotland by craftsmen trained in the Flemish tradition.¹

2) ARBROATH, THE ABBEY.

Carved oak panels commissioned for the above by Cardinal Beaton, known as the 'Beaton Panels', illustrate the following:²

- i) The Annunciation.
- ii) The Tree of Jesse.
- iii) The Arma Christi.
- iv) The Royal Arms.
- v) The Arms of the Patron and his family.

3) BANFF, THE OLD CHURCH; OUR LADY OF PITY.

In 1860 a typical medieval 'Pietà' of the fifteenth century was dug up in the churchyard of the above church. The heads of both Mary and her Dead Son were damaged beyond repair at the time of the excavation.

The piece is typical of its kind, showing Christ's dead body resting on the lap of his Mother as she supports the left arm of her Son with her left hand. Such Pietàs are still a common sight in the Catholic Churches of the Continent.³ (See this volume, CHAPTER SIX. 'J'. ILLUSTRATIONS.)

4) DRYBURGH ABBEY, PARISH OF MERTOUN, CHRIST IN MAJESTY.

In the south compartment of the North Transept Aisle is a carved central boss, somewhat decayed, and representing 'Christ in Majesty'. The shoulders are draped in a flowing gown. Christ's hair is long and his right hand is raised in Blessing. He holds a Book in his left hand.⁴

5) EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, FRAGMENTS OF WOODEN RETABLES.⁵

The Collection embraces the following:

- a) The Entombment.

- b) The Descent of Christ into Limbo, otherwise known as The Harrowing of Hell.
- c) Christ as the Gardener appearing to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection.
- d) The Resurrection, showing Christ wearing a loose robe, stepping out of the Tomb, his right arm and breast bare, and his hand raised in Blessing. The Banner of Victory must originally have been held in the left hand. Three sleeping Soldiers are also depicted.

6) EDZELL CASTLE, ANGUS.

A. One of the rooms of the above castle at one time contained a series of wooden panels carved in light relief. Two of these panels have survived and for safekeeping are kept in the Summer House. They probably date from the latter part of the fifteenth century. They depict:

a) THE CRUCIFIXION.

This shows Christ hanging from the Cross, his head hanging slightly to his right shoulder. His arms are upstretched at an angle, he wears a linen loin cloth. His feet are crossed over and held with one nail. He appears to be wearing a Crown of Thorns. He has well groomed shoulder length hair and a beard.

His Mother, the Virgin Mary, stands on his right and St John is on his left. Both are facing the front. There is a superscription above and the Cross stands on a symbolic Hill of Calvary. 6

b) OUR LADY AND THE HOLY CHILD.

Our Lady wears an open Crown, a robe with a mantle over it. She is holding the naked Infant with both hands as he rests on her lap. She is set against a background of the Rays of the Sun and rests upon a Crescent of the Moon.⁷

B. The walls of the garden completed in 1604 have carved stone panels as follows:

a) PANELS OF THE PLANETS:⁸

- i) Saturn.
- ii) Jupiter.
- iii) Mars.
- iv) The Sun.
- v) Venus.
- vi) Mercury.
- vii) The Moon.

b) PANELS OF THE LIBERAL ARTS:⁹

- i) Grammatica.
- ii) Rhetorica.
- iii) Dialecta.
- iv) Arithmetica.
- v) Musica.
- vi) Geometrica.

c) PANELS OF THE SEVEN VIRTUES:¹⁰

- i) The Three Christian Virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity.
- ii) The Four Moral Virtues: Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice.

7) ELGIN CATHEDRAL, THE CHAPTER HOUSE, EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION.

A. The central moulded pillar of the Chapter House has survived.

The moulded cap of the pillar, still extant, bears shields showing:

- a) The Arma Christi, that is, The Five Wounds.
- b) The Cross and the Crown of Thorns.

B. The vaulting of the Chapter House is of stellar pattern and contains twenty-four carved bosses, one showing Emblems of the Passion, as follows:¹¹

- a) The Cross.
- b) The Crown of Thorns.
- c) The Spear.
- d) The Reed with Hyssop.
- e) The Pillar and Scourge.
- f) The Seamless Coat.

- g) The Ladder.
- h) The Dice.
- i) The Nails.
- j) The Hammer and Pincers.
- k) The Lantern.
- l) The Cock.

8) FOULIS EASTER, THE SACRAMENT HOUSE. ¹²

The following carved stone-work has survived:

- a) A 15th century bust of Our Lord carved in relief, with two supporting angels, one holding the Cross and the other the Pillar of Scourging.
- b) Over the above there is a sculptured Annunciation scene. An angel is writing the Scroll of Salutation on the left. The Blessed Virgin Mary is on the right, and in the centre there is a Pot of Lilies. ¹³

At the back of the church is a finely carved octagonal font dated 1508. The bowl is badly defaced but the side panels are easily decipherable. They illustrate: ¹⁴

- i) Our Lord's Baptism.
- ii) The Arrest in the Garden.
- iii) The Trial before Pilate.
- iv) The Scourging.
- v) The Bearing of the Cross.
- vi) The Crucifixion.
- vii) The Resurrection.
- viii) The Harrowing of Hell.

9) GLASGOW CATHEDRAL, ROOD SCREEN.

A stone Rood Screen in this cathedral of late medieval date is the best surviving example in Scotland, with two side altars and a flat headed doorway entered at the top of a short flight of stairs. ¹⁵

10) IONA ABBEY CHURCH.A. THE CARVED CAPITALS OF THE SOUTH CHOIR ARCADE AND CROSSING.a) THE CRUCIFIXION. ¹⁶

This is portrayed on the West face of the second column from the East. It shows Christ with arms extended horizontally, and his head slightly inclined to his right side. On either side of the Cross are the Virgin and St John, each with one hand raised to support their head in a conventional gesture of grief.

On the left, below the arm of the Cross, is what may be intended to be the Hill of Calvary.

b) THE VIRGIN AND CHILD. ¹⁷

These are portrayed at the side of the above on the right, enthroned between Angels, one of whom plays a harp, while the other holds a long scroll which once extended as a canopy above the Virgin's head. The figure of the Holy Child has almost completely disappeared but he appears to have been seated frontally.

c) THE BETRAYAL. ¹⁸

The South-East of the same column shows a group of four men, three of whom wear knee-length pleated tunics, belted at the waist, and shown in profile. The first person is striking towards the right side of the head of the next man with a two-handed sword. This is probably Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus.

d) ST JOHN THE BAPTIST AND HIS EXECUTIONER. ¹⁹

These are portrayed next to the above. St John is shown full-length with long hair and wearing a garment split at the thigh and held in place by a broad band. If this identification is correct, the next figure, seen facing him and stretching a hand back as if to draw a sword, may be his executioner.

e) THE LAST JUDGEMENT. ²⁰

This is the final scene on the above column. It shows the weighing of Souls. St Michael is clad in a long quilted garment, set in what appears to be a kneeling posture, although probably intended to show him in flight. In his right hand he holds aloft a Balance, each pan of which appears to contain a small human head.

The Archangel's left hand, now badly weathered, probably held a sword with which to ward off a monstrous demon with

distended belly and scaly spine, who is seen advancing in a crouching position. One of the monster's clawed feet is stretched towards the hand in which the Archangel holds the Balance, while the other attempts to pull down the pan containing the evil deeds of the departed soul.

A long-beaked bird, resembling an Ibis or a Curlew is perched on the demon's back and pecks at the base of its spine.

B. THE WEST RESPOND OF THE NORTH ARCH OF THE CROSSING.

THE TEMPTATION OF ADAM AND EVE.

This scene is depicted on the principal capital of the above. The muscular figures of Adam and Eve flank a tree with straggling branches and a complex root system, while a large serpent encircles the trunk and extends its head (not a human head) towards Eve's ear. She holds a dangling branch with one hand as if to pluck a fruit, while grasping two branches of the right limb of the tree with the other. The Garden of Eden is represented by individual trees of differing form on the North and South face of the capital.

C. THE NORTH RESPOND OF THE ARCH BETWEEN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT AND SOUTH CHOIR AISLE.

a) THE FALL.

This is portrayed on the South-East half of the capital, carved on a separate block of stone. Adam and Eve have their hands clasped to the leafy aprons that conceal their nakedness and are standing beneath the spreading branches of a tree bearing leaves and fruit, while the Serpent encircles the trunk. It does not appear to have, or ever had, a human head.²¹

b) THE EXPULSION. ^{22,3}

This is part of the above scene. It shows the Archangel standing behind Adam, clad in a long quilted robe with waist belt, wielding a two-handed sword.

11) LINCLUDEN CONVENT & COLLEGE, PARISH OF TERREGLES, DUMFRIES. ²⁴

The lower order of a Rood Screen at the West end of the Chancel of the above church contains figures illustrating scenes from the

life of Christ. Starting from the north end of the chancel screen the following scenes are depicted:

- i) The Annunciation.
- ii) The Nativity.
- iii) The Adoration of the Magi.

The stonework of the last three is badly worn. They are thought to illustrate:

- iv) The Visit of the Shepherds.
- v) The Meeting of Simon and Anna.
- vi) Jesus in the Temple.²⁵

12) LINLITHGOW, THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

THE SLAYING OF THE DRAGON AND PASSION SCENES.

The following scenes are depicted in the church.

- a) ST MICHAEL SLAYING THE DRAGON is depicted on top of a buttress at the South-West angle of the building. Its date is 1475-90.²⁶
- b) PASSION SCENES are depicted in the church on four sculptured sandstone slabs, of which two are fragments and one is partially mutilated. The following are illustrated:
 - i) The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, shows Christ kneeling in prayer, with a large Eucharistic Chalice before him, while his Disciples sleep. John is behind Peter, and James is in front. A rock and a tree suggest the Mount of Olives.²⁷
 - ii) The Betrayal shows Judas about to kiss Christ as soldiers prepared to arrest him. Peter is sheathing his sword and Christ touches the ear of Malchus with his right hand to heal him.²⁸
 - iii) The Mocking of Christ, shows him seated with hands crossed in front. The accompanying figures are in 15th century dress.²⁹
 - iv) The Scourging of Jesus can be deduced from the fragment of a panel showing a soldier holding a scourge.³⁰
 - v) The Crucifixion can be deduced on a fragment of a panel, showing the lower portions of two figures, one of whom is kneeling while the other is being supported. They

possibly represent the Virgin Mary and John the Apostle at the foot of the Cross.³¹

13) MAINS KIRKYARD, NEAR DUNDEE.³²

THE ANNUNCIATION. The fragment of a retable in the above churchyard depicts Our Lady, wearing a long robe and mantle, standing with hands held in prayer. On her right can be seen the remains of a reading-desk. The Archangel Gabriel wearing a girdled alb genuflects as he presents the Scroll on which has been painted the Salutation. On a heraldic shield, set between the two figures, is the Pot of Lilies.

14) MELROSE ABBEY, THE CORONATION OF OUR LADY.

- a) THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN is depicted in an elaborate niche of the westernmost high buttress. It shows the Holy Mother and her Child, the Virgin defaced and the Child headless.

Mary is veiled and crowned and stands in the swaying pose popular in the fourteenth century in France, Flanders and Germany.

The Mother holds the Infant in her left arm, as with the right hand she holds a flower up to the Child.³³

- b) THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN is also depicted above the East Window of the Chancel. On the outside wall the Virgin is shown seated on a throne on the right-hand side of Christ. Both are wearing Crowns, and are badly worn or damaged. On either side of the group are two angels censuring.³⁴

15) THE PARISH OF MORDINGTON, BERWICKSHIRE.

CRUCIFIXION.³⁵

THE CRUCIFIXION is depicted on a panel which forms part of a burial vault which has survived although the church is now razed to the ground.

It bears an incised inscription IHSUS MARIA and the crucified Christ hangs by his arms with feet separated, this representing a very early convention, the placing of one foot over the other being subsequent to the twelfth century, but in the present instance it is an anachronism.³⁶

The figure of Christ has nothing on the head, and he is shown with a neatly groomed head of hair. The upper part of the figure is 'chubby'. His loins are girt with what looks like a pair of hiking shorts, or breeks. There is no appearance of anguish or suffering in the face.

Flanking the Cross on the dexter side is a figure of the Virgin with hands clasped in prayer and above there is a carved lily.

On the sinister side of the Cross St John the Beloved Disciple is shown carrying a Book with a Thistle carved above. A roundel on either side of the Cross symbolises the Sun and the Moon.

16) PAISLEY ABBEY, CRUCIFIXION.³⁷

THE CRUCIFIXION is represented in small dimensions on the back of a recumbent figure under a canopy in the altar tomb of Margery Bruce in St Mirrin's Chapel.

17) ROSLIN CHAPEL. FORMERLY ST MATTHEW'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH,
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.³⁸

A. THE RESPONDS BY THE DOOR ON THE SOUTH.

a) CHRIST BEFORE PILATE, ON THE EAST RESPOND.

A soldier wearing armour sits as he holds a halberd. Another Soldier, kneeling, supports Christ with his left hand.

Christ is seated with hands crossed on chest.

A third Soldier kneels as he pours water from a pitcher into a basin as Pilate washes his hands.

Pilate is wearing a girdled tunic with long loose sleeves. He is seated on a chair with a scimitar hanging from his belt.

b) THE BEARING OF THE CROSS, ON THE WEST RESPOND.

- i) A Soldier carries a Scourge in his right hand while Christ, wearing a long white robe, holds the Crown of Thorns as the Cross is carried by Simon of Cyrene.
- ii) Veronica displays the kerchief or Sudarium, showing the imprint of the face of Christ.

B. THE WEST RESPOND OF THE NORTH DOOR.

a) THE CRUCIFIXION AND DESCENT FROM THE CROSS. ³⁹

In the centre Christ is shown crucified on a low 'headless', that is 'Tau' Cross. Below its arms are:

- i) Four figures representing:
St John, the Virgin and the Holy Women.
- ii) On either side a man is mounted on a ladder, holding Our Lord with one hand while holding a Clawed Hammer with the other.
- iii) On the left is a figure wearing a cowl, tunic and tight hose. He holds a Spear which is being grasped at its end by a gowned figure wearing a loose crowned cap as he appears to be staying the right arm of the other man with his right hand.

On the right Joseph of Arimathea is shown wearing a cowl and holding the Linen Cloth.

b) THE RESURRECTION. ⁴⁰

The scene shows Christ in Grave Cloths stepping out of the tomb with his right leg, whilst holding a Banner of Victory in his left hand. There are two huddled sleeping Soldiers at either end of the tomb. One is holding a halberd.

C. BANDS OF SCULPTURE IN THE VAULTING OF THE NORTH EAST CHAPEL.

THE DANCE OF DEATH is illustrated by the above.

D. A LINTEL IN THE SOUTH AISLE, THE SEVEN VIRTUOUS ACTS.

The following are illustrated:

- a) Helping the Needy.
- b) Clothing the Naked.
- c) Ministering to the Sick.
- d) Visiting in Prison.
- e) Comforting the Fatherless.
- f) Feeding the Hungry.
- g) Burying the Dead.

At the end of the series St Peter stands with a Key at the door of a Gothic Heaven.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LINTEL SHOWS, THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.⁴¹

- i) Pride.
- ii) Gluttony.
- iii) Anger.
- iv) Sloth.
- v) Envy.
- vi) Avarice.
- vii) Lust.

At the end of the series is a Mouth of Hell, like a Whale, with a devil and prong inside.

E. AN ARCH IN THE SOUTH AISLE AND THE OUTSIDE OF A NORTH WINDOW.

THE APOSTLES.

The Apostles are small in scale and in design are similar to the Glorious Companies of Saints at Rheims or Bruges, perhaps even more the portals of Poitiers or Angers.

F. THE WEST DOORWAY TO THE CHOIR, ST CHRISTOPHER AND ST SEBASTIAN.⁴²

These two saints stand above the capitals to the doorway.

18) ROWDIE, HARRIS, CRUCIFIXION AND LAST JUDGMENT.⁴³

- a) An arch enclosed in a triangular gable has the intervening space filled with figures, culminating with the Crucifixion at the apex of the gable.
- b) Inside the arch of the wall is entirely carved with incised panels featuring angels, hunting scenes, and the Last Judgment.

19) ST ANDREWS, ST SALVADOR'S COLLEGE KIRK.⁴⁴

The following fragments of carved stone retables in high relief have survived:

a) THE ANNUNCIATION.

The lower part of a retable depicts on the right, Our Lady wearing a gown and mantle, seated on a stool set on a platform in front of a desk, on which lies an open Book. She faces outwards and her hands are crossed. On the left, facing the Virgin is the Archangel Gabriel clothed in a long alb and mantle.

b) THE CIRCUMCISION.

This scene appears on the lower part of a retable. The Infant Jesus is seen in the middle upon a plain altar, supported by his Mother, who stands at the side wearing a mantle falling in well arranged folds. On the other side is the High Priest, vested in alb and dalmatic, performing the rite.

20) WEMYSS CASTLE, CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS, THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, AND THE CIRCUMCISION.⁴⁵a) CHRIST BEARING HIS CROSS.

Christ is shown in the midst of a group stumbling under the weight of the Cross, forced down to make it even heavier by one of the Tormentors. On the left is a man with his arm raised in the act of striking with a Scourge. With the other hand he holds a rope attached to Our Lord's waist.

On the right are two nimbed figures, the Virgin Mary and St John the Beloved Disciple.

Behind the Cross is a Tormentor with raised arm as if about to strike with a Scourge or deliver a blow.

The Tormentors wear hose and girdled tunics with serrated hems. Two of them wear cowls, and have bitter, scornful, mocking expressions.

b) THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.⁴⁶

This scene shows the Holy Mother with the Infant in her arms seated on an Ass, following St Joseph, who carries the baggage.

c) THE CIRCUMCISION.⁴⁷

In this scene the nimbed figure of Our Lady stands behind a low altar on which she supports the Infant Saviour, while on the left, the High Priest, vested in cope and mitre, performs the rite.

Behind the High Priest stands a Clerk in a rochet with raised left hand, as he holds a torch in the other hand.

To the right of Our Lady is a woman carrying the customary Offering of Young Pigeons in a boat-shaped basket. On her left stands St Joseph with a raised hand.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'B'. CARVINGS IN WOOD AND STONE.

1. David McROBERTS 'A Scottish Madonna in Brussels' *The Scottish Arts Review* 13, 2 (1971) 11-14 and figure. The statue is approximately three feet in height and is of carved wood in the Flemish style.
2. *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* Anon. (The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1965) 34. The panels were on loan to the National Museum of Scotland for an Exhibition held there in 1982. They incorporate some renaissance forms and details. The authors of this publication think the panels are of French origin, but others think them to be either of Scottish or Low Countries origin.

The eight panels were originally part of a larger section of panelling which has been cut down. The 'Tree of Jesse' shows Christ at the top in the arms of the Virgin represented as the 'Beata Maria in Sole'. The 'Arma Christi' are portrayed on a shield supported by angels, below which is a reed, and above, as a crest, are other symbols of the Passion, and the Crown of Thorns as a wreath.

See also, David H. CALDWELL *Angels, Nobles & Unicorns* (National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1982) 108,9, Item F10.

The panels are believed to have been taken from Arbroath Abbey to Balfour House, Fife, and in recent years have been moved to Newton Don, Nenthorn, Berwickshire.

The compilers of this publication suggest about 1530 for the date of the panels. They are more likely to be of Flemish origin than French as suggested in *French Connections, etc.* Bruges is a likely place. Stalls were made there in 1441 for Melrose Abbey. (See *Annales de la Société d'Émulations, etc.*, Série 2^e Tome 3, Bruges, [1841]) 317, referring to the 'Groenen Bouck', in the Stad-Archiv, De Burg, Bruges (Brugge).

3. Alexander RAMSAY 'Notice of a Pietà from the Old Church of Banff' *PSAS* vol. 20 (1885-6) 356,7.
4. *Sixth Report and Inventory of the Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick* (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, Revised Issue, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1915) 'The Parish of Mertoun', 132-52, 134.
5. J.S. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Medieval Date in Scotland' *PSAS* vol.2, Sixth Series (1927-8) 197-224.
6. W. Douglas SIMPSON revised by Richard FAWCETT *Sumptuous Tastes* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1952/87) 9 and figure.
7. As n.6. The two carvings are not likely to be earlier than the late fifteenth century although they give the impression of being somewhat earlier, say from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Whilst perfectly correct and well-rooted in the

authentic western iconographic tradition, they lack the refinement and developed artistry of good class fifteenth century Flemish work. We suggest they could be the work of a skilled local craftsman who lacked the benefit of an apprenticeship with one of the Flemish wood-carvers - perhaps a man with good natural talents who could turn his hand to wood-carving as a change from making domestic furniture.

8. SIMPSON/FAWCETT 13,14,15 and figures. The panels of the planets, except Saturn, are copied from a series of engravings made in 1528-9, by the Nuremberg 'Kleiner Meister', who was probably a pupil of Albrecht Dürer.
9. As n.6 etc. 16,17 and figures.
10. " " " 18,19 " "
11. J.S. RICHARDSON and H.B. MACKINTOSH *The Cathedral Kirk of Elgin* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1950) 16,17.
12. J.S. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (The Sheldon Press, London, 1936) 63,4, and 210,11.
13. At Mains in Kirkcudbrightshire there was a similar scene very much worn. It is now in the Dudhope Museum. There was an 'Annunciation' at Linlithgow Palace, above the South Entrance to the Courtyard. The angel has gone, but the Virgin and the Pot of Lilies remain in corbels under canopies. Here the Virgin is a very regal figure. At Foulis Easter she is a pretty curly-haired girl.

For illustrations of the Sacrament House see, M.R. APTED and W. Norman ROBERTSON 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' *PSAS* vol.95 (1961-2) Plate XLIV, No. 2, and Plate XLV, Nos. 1 and 2. See also, DAVID MCGIBBON and Thomas ROSS *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1896/7, 3 vols.) vol.3, 194 and figures 113 & 114.
14. COLTART (see n.12) 207.
15. " " " 69. There are also such screens at Lincluden and Melrose, and similar ones existed at Dundrennan and Dunfermline. At Roslin the high wall which terminates the West End of the Choir was once a screen wall, like that at Lincluden. The central opening was made for the Rood and there are corbels for the supporting figures of the Virgin and St John, the Beloved Disciple.
16. *Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments* (The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1982) 'Iona', vol.4, 101,2.
17. As n.16, 102.
18. " " 103,4. Note: The Abbey Church was rebuilt about the middle of the fifteenth century. See page 24.

19. As n.16, 104.
20. " " 107.
21. " " 106.
22. As n.21.
23. The carvings of Iona Abbey may be of the middle of the fifteenth century. The authors of *An Inventory of Monuments* suggest the existence at the time of a native school of stone-carvers. According to an inscription on one of the capitals one of the carvers was Donald O'Brochian, one of a family of Donegal, domiciled in the West Highlands. See *An Inventory of the Monuments, etc.* 107.
24. *Fifth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway* vol.2, 'The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright' (The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1914) 'The Parish of Terregles', 242-58, Item 431, 'Lincluden Convent and College'.
25. As n.24. 246,7.
26. *Tenth Report: Midlothian and West Lothian* (The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1929) 213-16.
27. As n.26, 213 and figure 259.
28. As n.27.
29. As n.26, figure 260.
30. " " 216, and figure 256.
31. " " 217, figure 257. The authors of the Report suggest two female figures.

A more detailed description of the above is to be found in RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables, etc.' (see n.5) 209-15.
32. RICHARDSON (as in n.5) 218, figure 23.
33. J.S. RICHARDSON and Marguerite WOOD *Melrose Abbey* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1949) 15. It is suggested that the statue may be an enlarged copy of a wooden image of continental origin. The canopy over the Virgin is elaborate, being hollowed out and with pierced fenestrations, the whole design being symbolic of the Celestial Jerusalem.
34. As n.33, 16 and Plate No.7, facing page 36.

35. *The Sixth Report and Inventory of the Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick, etc.* (see n.4) 'The Parish of Mordington', 152-5, Items 267-70, Item 268, Burial Vault.
36. As n.35, 152. Various data suggest the late fifteenth century as the probable date for the above.
37. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (see n.12) 68.
38. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables, etc.' (see n.5) 222-4, and figure 30, Nos. 1, 2 & 3.
See also *Tenth Report, etc. Mid Lothian and West Lothian* (see n.26) 98, Item 130, col.2; 106, col.2, and 194, col.1. With reference to b), i) above, the Report gives, 'Christ carrying the Cross, behind a figure carrying the Crown of Thorns', but does not mention Simon of Cyrene.
39. RICHARDSON as in n.38. 222-4.
40. " 224.
41. COLTART (see nn.37 & 12) 61.
42. " 62.
43. The context is the M'Leod Monuments which Coltart says are links with the art of the Celtic and Nordic peoples.
See COLTART (see n.12) 68.
44. RICHARDSON 'Fragments of Altar Retables, etc.' (see n.5) 215, 6.
45. RICHARDSON 216 and 217, figure 20.
46. " 217 and figure 21. The carving is badly weathered.
Sculptures of this subject are said to be rare.
47. RICHARDSON 217, 8 and figure 22. The carving is badly weathered.

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'C'. PAINTINGS ON WALLS, PANELS AND CEILINGS.

1) PROVOST SKENE'S HOUSE, ABERDEEN.

After being concealed for over three hundred years the restoration of the ceiling of the upper chamber of the west wing of the above house which was undertaken in the early nineteen-fifties has revealed a series of highly interesting paintings illustrative of medieval religion and piety, which was probably painted in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

a) Panels in the west side show paintings of:¹

- i) The Annunciation.
- ii) The Adoration of the Shepherds or The Nativity.
- iii) (The Finding of Our Lord in the Temple).
- iv) (The Baptism of Our Lord).

Panels on the east side show:

- v) (Blank Panel).
- vi) (The Last Supper).
- vii) The Crucifixion.
- viii) The Entombment.

On the central space are portrayals of:

- ix) The Resurrection.
- x) (The Ascension).
- xi) The Coronation of Our Lady.

Note: The items placed in brackets are those of which only traces were found at the restoration.

The panels are separated from one another by decorative cartouches, fruit and flowers, and in the intervening spaces appear angels bearing Emblems or Instruments of the Passion associated mainly with the Betrayal and Trial before Pilate:

- b)
 - i) The Thirty Pieces of Silver.
 - ii) The Torch and Lantern.
 - iii) The Sword of Peter.
 - iv) The Ear of Malchus.
 - v) The Cock crowing at Peter's Denial.

- vi) The Ewer and Basin of Pilate's Hand-washing.
- vii) The Column of Scourging.
- viii) The Cross.

Instruments associated with the subsequent story of the Passion are missing. It was probably intended that the Crown of Thorns, the Nails, the Superscription, the Sponge and the Spear, the Dice and the Seamless Robe, the Ladder and the Winding-sheet, should occupy nine vacant spaces that follow the items listed above.

The ceiling decorations also include:

The 'Arma Christi' or Five Wounds within a Crown of Thorns, which is surrounded by a laurel wreath with roses at four points, (N.S.E. and W.), and another two roses and a female head.²

2) THE ABBOT'S LODGING, ARBROATH.

a) THE ARMA CHRISTI AND EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION.

A series of wooden panels of the early sixteenth century, from the above lodging, are now located at Newton Don House, Coldstream, Berwickshire.³ They are from the dais of the Refectory in the Abbot's Lodging, and bear heraldically the most highly developed treatment of the theme of the 'Arma Christi' to be found in Scotland.⁴

Two angels act as supporters of a shield on which there is the centre of a Cross of the 'Tau' type, with a Heart in the middle of the shaft. The Wounded Hands and Feet are placed corner-wise with the Nails and the Dice Box.

Above the Cross is a helm bearing the Crown of Thorns, and the Column with the Whip, and the Scourge, surmounted by a Cock.

b) THE ANNUNCIATION and THE TREE OF JESSE.

These are found on other panels.

3) DUNKELD CATHEDRAL.

a) THE JUDGEMENT OF SOLOMON.

A fine wall-painting of the above subject is dimly visible between the ribs on the North wall of a vaulted chamber in the cathedral tower, formerly used for sessions of the Diocesan Consistory Court.

b) THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY.

The subject is featured in a painting on the West wall of the same Chamber, of which only small traces remain.⁵

4) ELGIN CATHEDRAL.⁶

A screen dividing the nave from the choir once portrayed religious scenes as follows:

a) THE CRUCIFIXION in colour and illuminated with stars of bright gold.

b) THE JUDGEMENT OR DOOM.

5) FOULIS EASTER, ST MARNOCK'S CHURCH, THE SCREEN.⁷

a) THE CRUCIFIXION.

A scene of the above hangs on the north wall. It measures approximately 13ft. by 5ft. and is painted in tempera on oak boards. It contains over twenty figures, including:

- i) A King and a Jester.
- ii) A High Priest.
- iii) The Centurian and Soldiers.⁸
- iv) The Virgin and St John at the foot of the Cross with Three Women.
- v) A soldier piercing Christ's side.

b) GOD THE FATHER, OUR LORD, THE VIRGIN AND VARIOUS SAINTS.

A large painting hangs on the same wall, further to the East, probably formed part of a 'Life of Christ'. Unfortunately much of it is missing. The following subjects can be identified.⁹

- i) St Catherine, on the left, top corner.
- ii) God the Father, a large figure, is alongside the above.
- iii) St John the Baptist, holding the 'Agnus Dei' to which he is pointing.
- iv) The Virgin and Child.
- v) Our Lord being lowered into the tomb.
- vi) The Three Magi, but this identification is uncertain. ¹⁰

c) OUR LORD AND TEN SAINTS AND APOSTLES. ¹¹

The above are featured on another series of painted panels on the east wall, which once formed part of the screen. The following figures are shown, taking them from left to right.

- i) St Catherine with Sword and Wheel.
- ii) St Matthias with Spear and Book.
- iii) St Thomas with Carpenter's Square and Book.
- iv) St Simon with Saw and Book.
- v) St John with Cup from which a Dragon issues.
- vi) Our Lord with foot on Orb, and giving a Blessing.
- vii) St Peter with Key and Book.
- viii) St Anthony with Staff and Book, and with a collared pig at his feet.
- ix) St James the Less with fuller's Club and Book.
- x) St Paul with Book.
- xi) St Ninian, blessing with his Staff, and shown with manacles on his wrist. The Lion of Scotland is shown on his rochet.

6) THE GUTHRIE AISLE. ¹²

The Aisle contains two medieval wall paintings which unfortunately have suffered from neglect and wilful damage. They portray:

a) THE CRUCIFIXION. ¹³

This is portrayed in the iconography customary in the fifteenth century. The hanging, dying Christ is shown with upstretched arms and with bowed head, with straightened crossed-over legs, from which it is evident they were secured to the cross with a single nail.

Longinus, the blind Centurion, can be made out with spear in right hand directed to Christ's right side. The Virgin Mary and Mary Cleophas, together with St John the Apostle, are in the foreground at the foot of the Cross on Christ's right.

Areas to the right and left of the Crucifixion are quartered and depict associated features. On the right can be seen the lower part of a crucified figure with a haloed woman kneeling in prayer wrapt in devout attention to the figure on the central Cross.

b) OUR LADY OF PITY, OR THE PIETÀ.

The quarters on either side of the Crucifixion cannot be positively interpreted because of scanty surviving details. Haloes suggest that both quarters portrayed saints. Both quarters seem to have portrayed one scene, the eyes of the haloed figures all being directed towards what looks like the dead Christ resting on the knees of the sitting Virgin Mother, a scene that according to legend took place immediately after the 'Taking Down from the Cross', and widely known as the 'Pietà'.¹⁴

c) THE ENTOMBMENT.

This can be seen taking place in an arcaded tomb-chest, in the quarter next to the kneeling figure, on the right. Traces of Christ's arms and hands can still be seen.

d) THE HARROWING OF HELL.

The quarter to the right of the 'Resurrection' (see below) shows an identical figure to that seen in this scene, and probably portrays Christ knocking at the Gates of Hell, and if so, it depicted the 'Harrowing of Hell', an event believed to have taken place before Christ's body rose from the tomb.¹⁵

e) THE RESURRECTION.

This is portrayed in the lower left hand quarter. In accordance with contemporary custom as Christ steps from the tomb he holds the Banner of Victory in his left hand as he holds his right hand up in Blessing.¹⁶

f) THE LAST JUDGEMENT, OR DOOM.

This was portrayed on the panel on the other side of the vault from that where the 'Crucifixion' is located, that scene and that of the 'Doom' usually being found in juxtaposition. The 'Doom' panel has been re-erected in Guthrie Castle.

The central and dominant figure in the 'Doom' is Christ, seated on a Rainbow, the landscape on both sides of which shows growing plants with small red flowers dotted about.

The Wounds of the Nails are shown in Christ's uplifted and open hands, as they are also shown in his feet visible beneath the robe which he is wearing, which is parted to show the Wound in his Right Side, inflicted by the Spear of the Centurion.

Christ's head is encircled by a halo containing a floriated Cross. It is flanked by two swords that point inwards, their points touching the side of his head.

To the right, on the inside of the foot of the rainbow is St John the Baptist, and in the corresponding position on the left is the Blessed Virgin Mary. Only the hands and shoulders of these figures have survived. The hands of the Baptist are held up in prayer.

The left side of the painting shows the Walls of Heaven, like the walls of a castle in juxtaposition to a church with a tower and a spire. Four winged angels look down from the walls while a fifth stands on the parapet of the tower.

Another angel has descended to the top of the hill below, whilst keeping hold of the tower parapet with the right hand as he beckons the Redeemer with his left hand.

A rather larger angel with outstretched wings can be seen to the right of the spire sounding a large trumpet.

St Peter the Apostle is standing on 'terra firma' at the foot of the tower, facing the front with upheld hands on the left, clutching a large key, no doubt, the Key to the Gates of the Heavenly City.

The figures on St Peter's left are probably Redeemed Souls on their way to Heaven.

g) HELLMOUTH.

Near the bottom of the composition is what looks like the remains of a Hell Mouth, formed by the widely separated jaws of a large dragon. Damned souls in a state of torment can be seen struggling in the flames, while a claw-footed, long-eared demon, probably with a long tail, and armed with a long cosh, is preventing their escape.¹⁷

SUMMARY OF THE PLATES IN APTED AND ROBERTSON'S, LATE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY PAINTINGS FROM GUTHRIE AND FOULIS EASTER.

THE GUTHRIE AISLE.

Plates:

- XXII: 1. The Crucifixion: the group at the Cross.
 2. The Entombment.
- XXIII: 1. The Crucifixion: the Resurrection of Christ.
 2. Christ's Descent into Hell.
- XXIV: The Doom re-erected in Guthrie Castle.
- XXV: The Doom: figure of Christ - Detail.
- XXVI: The Doom: 1. Mary and 2. John the Baptist - Details.
- XXVII: The Doom: the Ascent to Heaven - Detail.
- XXVIII: The Doom: 1. The Resurrection - Detail, and 2. The
 Descent into Hell - Detail.

FOULIS EASTER.

- XXXIII: The Crucifixion.
- XXXIV: Christ Crucified - Detail from the above.
- XXXV: 1. Longinus and 2. The group at the Cross -
 Details from Plate XXXIII.

- XXXVI: The Robbers - Details (2) from Plate XXXIII.
- XXXVII: The Centurion and 2. Herod and Caiaphas - Details from Plate XXXIII.
- XXXVIII: Loose boards from the Crucifixion Scene.
- XXXIX: Figures of Apostles and Martyrs from front of Rood Loft.
- XL: Our Lord and St Peter and 2. St Paul (?) and St Ninian - Details from Plate XXXIX.
- XLI: Trinity Panel, showing: St Catherine, God the Father, St John the Baptist, The Virgin and Child and Christ being lowered into the Tomb.
- XLII: 1. Trinity Panel: God the Father and St Catherine of Alexandria.
2. St John the Baptist, and Mary and the Infant Jesus.
- XLIII: Trinity Panel: The Dead Christ.
- XLIX: Reconstruction of Rood Loft and Screen - Line Drawing.
- See Appendix 'J'. Chapter Six of this volume for reproductions.

7) THE HOUSE OF KINNEIL: SIXTEENTH CENTURY MURAL DECORATIONS.¹⁸

The Classic Renaissance Style of France was introduced into Scotland in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century and adopted by Craftsmen in wood and stone.

In the above house:

A. THE SOUTH OR PARABLE ROOM contains picture panels illustrating episodes from:

- a) The Good Samaritan, as follows:
- i) The Man who fell among Thieves.
 - ii) The Levite and the Priest passing by.
 - iii) The Samaritan attending the Wounded Man.
 - iv) The Wounded Man being mounted on the Samaritan's Beast.
 - v) The Arrival at the Inn.
 - vi) The Samaritan paying Two Pence to the Innkeeper.¹⁹

- b) St Jerome in the Wilderness.²⁰
- c) St Mary Magdalene in Penance.
- d) Lucretia in the attitude of stabbing herself.²¹

B. THE NORTH OR ARBOUR ROOM.

This room contains picture panels illustrating:

- a) Samson and Delilah.
- b) The Temptation of St Anthony.
- c) The Sacrifice of Isaac.
- d) David and Bathsheba.²²

8) KINLOSS ABBEY.

Three chapels in the Abbey Church at one time had painted panels in them, the subjects being as follows:

- a) St Mary Magdalene.
- b) St John the Baptist.
- c) St Thomas of Canterbury.²³

9) STIRLING, THE CHAPEL ROYAL, OUR LADY OF PIETY.

The Inventory of 1505 includes,

A table of three leaves on which are painted the Image of Our Lady carrying her Son in her arms and two angels bearing musical instruments.²⁴

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'C'. PAINTINGS ON WALLS, PANELS AND CEILINGS.

1. David McROBERTS 'Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen and its Catholic Chapel' *IR* 5, 2 (1954) 119-24, 119, 20.
See also, Charles CARTER 'The Arma Christi in Scotland' *PSAS* vol.90 (1959) 116-29, 123, 4.
2. McROBERTS 121; CARTER 124, and Plate XV, a. & b. See this volume and chapter APPENDIX 'E'. THE ARMA CHRISTI AND THE EMBLEMS OR INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION.
3. CARTER 124, 5. The panels were made for David Beaton (1494-1546), when he was Abbot of Arbroath, before becoming Archbishop of St Andrews.
4. CARTER 124 and Plate XIIIId.
5. J.S. COLTART *Scottish Church Architecture* (The Sheldon Press, London, 1936) 180, 1. See also, Margaret SIMPSON *Dunkeld Cathedral* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1950) 16. Both paintings may be the work of a Flemish artist at the end of the fifteenth century.
6. Robert CHAMBERS *The Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh, third edition, 1874, 3 vols.) vol.2, 138, 9. The screen survived the Reformation until 1640 when the Minister of the Parish caused it to be destroyed. The screen was probably similar to the one at Foulis Easter of which a description now follows (i.e. in vol. one). No detailed description of the Elgin screen as it once was has survived.
7. M.R. APTED and W. Norman ROBERTSON 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' *PSAS* vol.95 (1961-2) 273, 4.
See also David MacGIBBON and Thomas ROSS *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1896/7, 3 vols.) vol.3, 195-99.

This church is in Perthshire, 18 miles South-West of Guthrie and 6 miles North-West of Dundee. It is thought to have been erected in the reign of James II (1437-1460), perhaps c. 1453. It contains four large Pre-Reformation paintings on oak panels. A church may have existed on the site from the 13th century.

8. The Centurion is pointing to a scroll on which are the words, 'Truly this was the Son of God'. The souls of the two thieves are shown issuing from their mouths.

The painting is accounted to be of continental origin and is reputed to date from c.1480. It was shown in the 'Exhibition of Medieval Art' in London in 1923. Refer COLTART (see n.5) 208.

9. The style of the painting at Foulis Easter has been described as Flemish, which is what we might expect even if they were actually painted by Scots. It has also been suggested that the paintings at Guthrie (see below) could be by the same hand as those at Foulis Easter. They show a similarity of technique and both buildings are in the same area and are contemporary collegiate foundations. The founders were also closely linked by the Court and were related to one another. See, Ian C. HANNAH 'Screens and Lofts in Scottish Churches' *PSAS* vol.70 (1935-6) 181-201, 197 and also APTED and ROBERTSON (see n.7) 275.
10. A notable feature of the above two paintings is the large number of horses present.
11. COLTART (see n.5) 210.
12. APTED and ROBERTSON (see n.7) 252,3. The Guthrie Aisle is six miles North-West of Arbroath, Angus, and stands beside a modern church. It is all that remains of the Collegiate Church of Guthrie. It was erected c.1475 as an addition to the church already standing on the site. The paintings are located in the vault of the aisle, each painting occupying the area from the wall-head to the crown of the roof.
13. This occupies the east side of the crown. The altar of the aisle was on the east side, running parallel to the East End of the former church
14. APTED and ROBERTSON 274-7. The Pietà is still a common sight in the Catholic Churches of German-speaking countries. It came to perfection in Italy as witnessed by the Pietà of Michael Angelo in St Peter's, Rome, situated on the South Side close to the main West Doors. A small Pietà forms part of the Burrell Collection at the Art Gallery in Pollok Park, Glasgow.
15. APTED and ROBERTSON 264-7.
16. The details of the other quarters are so poor that no suggestions can be made as to what they might have portrayed.
17. There are no known references to these paintings in contemporary records. The earliest known reference to them occurs in 1790 and they were described in detail in 1817 when scenes of the 'Nativity' and 'The Flight into Egypt' were recognised but which can no longer be identified. See APTED and ROBERTSON 273.
18. J.S. RICHARDSON 'Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Mural Decorations at the House of Kinneil, Bo'ness, West Lothian' *PSAS* vol.75 (1940-1) 184-204, 196.
19. RICHARDSON 190-5, Plates XXXVI-XXXIX.
20. " 195, Plate XLI.
21. " 196.

22. RICHARDSON 198 and 203,4. It is suggested that these paintings could be the work of Walter Bynning, the Edinburgh painter, and that they might date about 1554.
23. *Ferrerii Historia Abbatum De Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club, 1839) 501. See also R. APTED and Susan HANNABUSS *Painters in Scotland, 1301-1700* (SRS NS 7, 1978) 25.
24. F.C. EELES 'The Inventory of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, 1505' *SES* 3 (1912) 310-25, 323. See also this volume and chapter, APPENDIX 'F'. THE IMAGE OF PITY AND OUR LADY OF PITY (THE PIETÀ.)

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'D'. ARTEFACTS IN PRECIOUS METAL.

1. ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL, OLD ABERDEEN.

Inventories of the Cathedral detail items of special iconographical interest as follows:

a) Our Lady of Pity: a Monstrance:

i) The Inventory of 1436:

Item, vnum jocale de auro cum ymagine pietatis datum per dominum Johannem Forstare militem.¹

ii) The Inventory of 1463 lists the above item again but gives a fuller description of it:

Item vnum jocale eukaristie de argento de aurato ad modum castri cum le barillo datum per dominum Henricum de Lychton Aberdonensem in cuius summitate ponitur jocale aurem cum ymagine pietatis datum per dominum Johannem Frostar de Ceystorfyn.²

b) Our Lord of Pity: a Monstrance:

Included in a list of items stolen by one James Forbes in 1544, and which was later returned, is the following item.

Imprimis ane greit monstrance of syluer ou'r gilt for the haly blud mess daly vsit of vj pund veycht. And in the heid of the samyn ane propir vch of gold veil annamalit of our lord of pette craftuilly maid.³

c) Our Lady of Piety: a Processional Image:

The following item is included in an Inventory under date, 1499:

Ymago domine nostre de pietate ponderis centum viginti vncearum argenti cum maiore donata per venerabilem et egregium virum magistrum Andream Lyell thesaurium Aberdonensem per eundem oblata magno altari in die visitationis beate Marie Virginis anno Domini M.CCCC.XCIX. Et ibidem reuerendus in Christo pater et dominus Guillelmus Episcopus Aberdonensis ordinavit dictam Ymaginem honorifice deferri circa ecclesiam Cathedralem Aberdonensem singulis solemnibus festis gloriose virginis, et omnibus precedentibus in processione dictis diebus seu eandem deuote sequentibus singulis diebus prescriptus quadraginta dies indulgenciarum perpetuis temporibus duratur.⁴

The following item in the Inventory of 1549 may relate to the above:

Item, Ymago di'ne virginis Marie de pietate inscripta argenti cum ymagine filij sui crucifixi cum clausura infra septem librarum decem vniciarum cum dimediata...⁵

2) ST NICHOLAS PARISH CHURCH, ABERDEEN.

This church possessed what is described as:

Item, a chalice of Our Lady of Pitie in the vault, 19 ounces.⁶

3) THE CHAPEL ROYAL, STIRLING.

This chapel once possessed according to the Inventory of 1505, in addition to the painted table referred to above (^{Appendix} ~~Section~~ C.9), the following item portraying the same theme:

Also a great and precious jewel of pure gold bearing the Image of Our Lady carrying her Son dead upon her knees, and various other images, and this jewel has the image of the Crucified on the top, and it is skilfully made; it also bears many gems of various (kinds) and pearls, and it is kept in a box of wood for keeping it.⁷

NOTE: SCOTTISH GOLDSMITHS IN PRE-REFORMATION TIMES.

We do not know the dates when any of the above items were made, and neither do we know who made them or their country of origin. The possibility that they may have been made locally need not be ruled out.

Craftsmen who were occupied in diverse ways in the beating of metal up to the year 1457 were members of their town's Guild of Hammermen. By an Act passed in that year Goldsmiths were encouraged to form separate Guilds of their own, but this was only possible where there were sufficient of them. For this reason no separate Guild of Goldsmiths was formed in Aberdeen, and there such Goldsmiths as there were in the town would have continued as members of the Guild of Hammermen, who were officially recognised by the town authorities by Seals of Cause granted in 1519 and 1532.⁸

The names of four Goldsmiths can be traced in the Aberdeen Burgh Records as active in the period, 1450-1506/7, two by the name of Theman, probably father and son, one by the name of Thomas Reburne, and one by the name of David Broiss. There are also two men named Goldsmith, who are mentioned but not in a goldsmith context, and so they may be merely descendants of men who in the past had been goldsmiths. Only one entry (of 1450) specifies the making of a sacred vessel - a monstrance.⁹

Probably most of the larger burghs had one or two Goldsmiths, never enough for them to form a separate Craft Guild of their own, and so they were normally organized under the fairly wide umbrella of the Guild of Hammermen, which embraced craftsmen of various skills and trades, who used the hammer as their fundamental craft tool.

We know of one Goldsmith by name at Perth. He was Gilbert Guthrie who on the 2nd March 1528/9 was admitted a Freeman of the Burgh when William, Lord Ruthven was Provost.¹⁰ At Perth the Goldsmiths were members of the Guild of Hammermen, whose records were privately printed for the Craft in 1889, under the title, *The Hammermen Book of Perth 1518-1568*, edited by Colin Hunt.

At Edinburgh although the Goldsmiths did not have a completely independent Guild, they formed a separate division within the Guild of Hammermen, even being granted their own Altar of Our Lady of Loreto in St Giles Collegiate Church, despite the fact that the Hammermen already had in the church their Altar of St Eloi, Patron Saint of Hammermen. The Edinburgh Goldsmiths were responsible for the annual performance of the Edinburgh Passion Play¹¹ which was normally performed before the Sovereign.

One of the members of the Goldsmiths' section of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen was probably John Mossman, the Royal Goldsmith and Jeweller, who was sent to France by Mary of Guise to buy fifty pounds worth of gold-work. It may be presumed that he was

familiar with French work in precious metals and jewellery, especially that of Paris. One of his commissions was to make a gold crown using 35 ounces of gold, and a silver sceptre, to be gilded with four rose nobles for Mary's Coronation on 22 February 1540.¹²

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'D'. ARTEFACTS IN PRECIOUS METAL.

1. Daniel FORBES ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis: Ecclesie, Cathedralis Aberdonensis Regesta que extant in unum Collecta* (Spalding Club, 1845, 2 vols.) vol.2, 143.
2. FORBES 160.
3. " 196.
4. " 169.
5. " 179.
6. " vol.1, Appendix to the Preface, xci.
7. EELES 'The Inventory to the Chapel Royal, etc.' (see n.24, Notes to App.'C') 324.
8. Ebenezer BAIN *Merchant and Craft Guilds: A History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades* (J. and J.P. Edmond and Spark, Aberdeen, 1887) 198,9.
9. John STUART ed. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, 1844) 1450, 19; 1453/4, 403,4; 1462/3, 405; 1463, 26; 1493, 48,9, 52; 1503/4, 73,4 ; 1506, 434; 1506/7, 434,5.
10. Perth MS Burgh and Head Court Book, fol 63.
11. George HAY 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh' *PSAS* vol.107 (1975/6) 232-60, 257.
12. *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* ed. Anon. (The Royal Scottish Museum, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1985) 257; David LAING ed. *The Collegiate Church of St Giles, Register of Charters: Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1859) 91.

The manuscript *Burgh and Head Court Book of Edinburgh, May-Sept. 1507 - 6*. This volume has no archival reference and is located in Bay 'A', Shelf No.1, The Burgh Archives.

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'E'. THE ARMA CHRISTI AND THE EMBLEMS OR INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION.

The 'Arma Christi' are the wounds to Christ's heart, feet and hands. Representations of them are usually combined with the Emblems or Instruments of the Passion, the latter being especially associated with the 'Image of Pity'.¹

The Mass of the Five Wounds was a popular one, and is to be found in the Sarum Missal which was in use in Scotland. Attendance at it gained an Indulgence.²

There still survive in Scotland at least twenty-nine buildings, mostly churches, but also castles and houses, where 'Arma Christi' can even now be seen in some simple form, and others more elaborate, and in varying degrees of preservation.³

Other 'Arma Christi' in Scotland are known only from literary sources.

This particular imagery was essentially a manifestation of late medieval piety with its great emphasis on devotion to the 'Suffering Christ', as found in the devotional literature and religious poetry of both Scotland and the Continent. Three quarters of the 'Arma Christi' remains are dated in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴

With two exceptions the imagery is found at or near the East Coast, where there were important trade connections with the Netherlands and North Germany, where Passion Symbolism was popular.

The growth in the use of this imagery was co-extensive with the literature of Dunbar, Kennedy and Lyndsay, and with the dissemination of printed books, more especially of Books of Hours and other devotional books illustrated with such emblems.⁵

The use of this imagery owes much to leading ecclesiastics such as Bishop Kennedy, James and David Beaton, and the Hepburns at St Andrews; Bishop Andrew Stewart at Elgin, and Blackadder at Glasgow; and Bishop Elphinstone at Aberdeen, the liturgical pioneer and initiator of building works at St Machar's Cathedral and King's College; and Alexander Galloway, Rector of Kinkell.⁶

The 'Arma Christi' and the 'Instruments of the Passion' with which they are often associated, provide ample evidence of the extent to which Scotland shared with other European countries, especially those North of the Alps, the late medieval preoccupation with the Passion of Christ.⁷

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'F'. THE IMAGE OF PITY AND OUR LADY OF
PIETY OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE PIETA.

THE IMAGE OF PITY.

In England, we are told, many of the Guilds of Corpus Christi had an Image of Pity in their chapels. In England such Guilds were open to all-comers and were essentially organizations that existed to promote the piety of its members through devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.¹

In Scotland there were similar Guilds, especially active in the larger towns and in particular in sea ports on or near the East coast, including Edinburgh. In Scotland they were better known under the name of the Guild or Confraternity of the Holy Blood. They were, however, not open to all-comers, who might wish to show devotion to the Holy Blood or Blessed Sacrament, these two names being interchangeable and referring to the same thing.

In Scotland membership was normally restricted to merchants who were burgesses of the burgh. Only in exceptional circumstances were Craftsmen admitted. Members of the nobility and the Sovereign were also admitted. The most common 'every-day' name for the organization was the 'Guild Merchant'. In practice the members of local Burgh Councils were elected or appointed from the membership of the Guild Merchant, so that in effect the Burgh Council might be the Guild Merchant 'wearing a different hat'.

The Fetternear Banner² has an Image of Pity embroidered upon it, and there is reason to believe that the banner was intended for the Guild Merchant of Edinburgh, but was never adopted by them because it was never completed. Had it been completed, when not in use, it would have been kept in the Guild's Aisle of the Holy Blood in St Giles Collegiate Church, where in a recess there can still be found evidence of the Instruments of the Passion, which are frequently closely associated with the Image of Pity.³ On the Fetternear Banner the figure of Christ is surrounded by these Passion symbols.

OUR LADY OF PIETY. (OR PITY).

The Candlemakers' Craft of Edinburgh were granted a Seal of Cause on 5 September 1517,⁴ but at that time they were not granted an altar of their own, probably because there were none available. They were instead given permission to support any altar of their own choice.

Ultimately in 1522 they were gifted the 'Altar of Our Lady of Pity', by William Bell, on the north side of the entrance to the Choir in St Giles Collegiate Church.⁵

There was also an Altar of Our Lady of Pity in the Aberdeen Burgh Parish Church of St Nicholas. The date of its foundation is uncertain, but it is thought to have been there before 1528, and it has been suggested it was as old as the crypt.⁶

CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDIX 'G'. THE FETTERNEAR BANNER.¹

The Fetternear Banner is the sole surviving example of a pre-Reformation ecclesiastical banner in the whole of Great Britain.

Its probable date is c.1520. The Banner is now held in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

It consists of:

- i) A central panel, thirty-seven inches by nine inches. The principal subject matter is an embroidered 'Image of Pity', showing a full length standing figure of Christ, wearing a loin cloth, and covered with wounds from which drops of blood exude.

In his left hand is the reed given him by Pilate's soldiers as a 'royal sceptre'.

As is common in this type of image his right hand points to the gaping wound in his right side, from which blood trickles down to his thigh. His head is bound with a crown of thorns, sewn in green, and behind is a halo with a golden foliaceous cross, on a blue background.²

- ii) A border immediately surrounding the central panel portrays a large Rosary with the beads arranged in fives, perhaps as an allusion to Our Lord's 'Five Wounds', i.e. the 'Arma Christi'. These do not appear on the Banner, but a vacant space on the Banner may have been intended for these.^{3,4}
- iii) Around the figure of Christ are the traditional 'Instruments of the Passion': the Ladder; the Spear, rising up over the Cross, its blue blade adorned with a red tassel; the Reed and the Sponge; the Hammer and Pincers; and a brightly coloured Cock stands upon the Column of Scourging.
- iv) At Christ's feet is the Sepulchre, embroidered in grey with two bands of yellow, with its lid aslant the opening.
- v) Over the lid lies the Seamless Robe, upon which are superimposed the Dice, giving literal meaning to St Matthew's words, 'and upon my vesture they cast lots'.
- vi) To the right stands the Lantern.

- vii) Close to Christ's left leg is a stave sewn with bronze thread, with golden knops. It would seem to be the handle of a scourge of which the three or four thongs have not been sewn
- viii) Behind Christ stands a 'Tau' shaped Cross, embroidered in dark green. Three nails in blue and white are shown fixed into the Cross. Above the cross-bar a notice in black thread displays the initials, 'I.N.R.I.'.⁵
- ix) Above the Cross is Peter's sword, identified by the 'P' on the blade.
- x) In this part of the design there are two heads, unknown in the few surviving Scottish examples of the 'Instruments of the Passion', quite common however, in German and Flemish woodcuts and paintings.

The head on the left side of the banner is that of Judas Iscariot with a purse, parti-coloured in red and gold, hanging by a blue cord from his neck.

The head on the right hand side portrays a 'mocking or spitting Jew', a curious item that occurs regularly in Passion symbolism. This head has all the usual conventional features assigned by medieval artists to Jews - heavy eye-brows, staring eyes, grotesque nose, protuberant lips, but this particular symbol is unfinished, for the spital which is usually shown issuing from the mouth has not been embroidered.

The Fetternear Banner gives expression to the late medieval devotion to the Passion of Christ which prevailed in Scotland as in other European countries.

The prominence the banner gives to the blood issuing from Christ's wounds suggests the possibility that the particular aspect of the Passion devotion which it was intended to serve was devotion to the Holy Blood, a devotion having its origin in Bruges, where the spectacular ceremonies and pageants associated with the relic of the Holy Blood preserved there must have made a great impression on

all those ecclesiastics and merchants who witnessed them.⁶

It has been suggested that forty embroidered, interlinked cordeliers (resembling the thrice knotted girdles worn by Franciscans) that form a second border around the central panel are an indication that the banner was made for a pious brotherhood, the Rosary of the Five Wounds representing their special devotional exercise, with the central figure of the banner illustrating the particular theme of their devotions which was the Holy Blood. Hence there is the distinct possibility that the uncompleted banner was intended for the Edinburgh Guild Merchant, otherwisw known as the Confraternity of the Holy Blood.⁷

King James IV and members of the Court were Brethren of the Edinburgh Confraternity which had its own Aisle and Altar of the Holy Blood in St Giles Collegiate Church.

Dunkeld Cathedral has also been suggested as a possible place for which the unfinished banner was intended, but on balance St Giles seems the more likely of the two. Dunkeld is not near enough to the sea for it ever to have been a great trading centre. There is no known charter for a Guild Merchant in the town.⁸

There was, however, an Altar of the Holy Blood in the Cathedral, which together with a re-table was installed in 1514-15.⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR. APPENDICES:-

'E'. THE ARMA CHRISTI (THE FIVE WOUNDS OF CHRIST) AND THE EMBLEMS OR INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION;

APPENDIX 'F'. THE IMAGE OF PITY AND OUR LADY OF PIETY (OR PITY) OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE PIETA;

APPENDIX 'G'. THE FETTERNEAR BANNER.

APPENDIX 'E'.

1. Charles CARTER 'The Arma Christi in Scotland' *PSAS* vol.90 (1956-7) 116-129, 116.
2. CARTER 118.
William KENNEDY *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion to the End of the Year 1818; with an Account of the University of Old Aberdeen* (A. Brown and Co., Aberdeen, 1818. 2 vols.) vol.2 [Book II] 35 - year 1520, record of an annual Solemn Mass in Commemoration of the Five Wounds of Christ at St Nicholas, the Burgh Church.
3. As n.1. 119-26.
4. See our VOLUME ONE, CHAPTER THREE. REFLECTIONS OF MEDIEVAL DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE IN PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH LITERATURE. See also VOLUME TWO. APPENDICES. CHAPTER THREE. APPENDIX 'B'. Item ii) References to the Passion: a) Scotland.
5. As n.4.
6. CARTER 128.
7. As n.6.

APPENDIX 'F'.

1. J.W. ROBINSON 'The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays' *PMLA* 80 (1965) 508-14, 512.
2. See APPENDIX 'G'. THE FETTERNEAR BANNER, below.
3. HAY 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh' (see n.11, APPENDIX 'D', above) 251.
4. *Extracts of the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403-1589* (SBRs, 1869-92, 4 vols.) vol.1, 1403-1528, 170-2.
5. J. Cameron LEES *St Giles, Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral* (W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London, 1889) 79. Refer also to LAING *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egedii de Edinburgh* (see n.12, APPENDIX 'D', above) 238.
6. James COOPER ed. *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis* (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1888, 2 vols.) vol.2, lvi.

APPENDIX 'G.'

1. David McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner: A Scottish Medieval Banner* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1957).
2. McROBERTS 5,6. Unusually a painting of the subject in the Hamburg Kunst Halle by Meister Francke (c.1385-1436) named 'Christus als Schmerzenmann' (c.1435) has no Instruments of the Passion. See *Hamburger Kunsthalle Bilderführer* (Prestel Verlag, Munich, 1989) 19, Plate No. 7 - hung in the Alte Meister Gemäldegalerie.
See also David McROBERTS *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Books and Fragments* (John S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1953) 20, Item No. 127 and Plate opposite page 23 - reproduction of title page of a *Breviarium Romanum* (known as 'The Greenlaw -Watson Breviary') with centre page the 'Image of Pity of the Lord'.
3. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* (see n.1) 9.
4. CARTER 'The Arma Christi in Scotland' (see n.1, Appendix 'E' above) 125.
5. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* 9.
6. As n.5, 16. See this volume. CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. Item i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.
7. McROBERTS *The Fetternear Banner, etc.* 18,21 and 23.
8. Charles GROSS *The Gild Merchant, A Contribution to British Municipal History* (OUP, 1890, 2 vols.) vol.1, Appendix D, 203-7. Gross's list of Scottish towns where Guild Merchant Charters are on record does not include Dunkeld.
9. R.K. HANNAY ed. *Rentale Dunkeldense: Being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517) with Mylne's 'Lives of the Bishops (A.D. 1483-1517)'* (SHS Second Series, No. 10 (1915) 238,9 - Accounts of the Granitar (official in charge of a granary) of the Bishop of Dunkeld incurred at Perth, delivered to Sir William Moncur. This may possibly be an indication that there was no Guild Merchant in Dunkeld to handle the exchange and/purchase of goods locally.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPENDIX 'A' THE LOW COUNTRIES

CHAPTER FIVE: APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD
IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.

Translation of:

'Van Den OMGANKCK, geseyt, PROCESSIONIE - concerning the WALK-AROUND, called PROCESSION, from pages: 555-572 of 'Van de Grootdadicheyt der Breedte-vermaerde regeringhe van de Stadt Brugge - Concerning the Magnificence of the Widely-famed Government of the City of Bruges'.

This work was published in Amsterdam in 1648, and the translation given below was made from a copy held in the Brugse Stads-Archief.

The original text was written in Latin by Joost de Damhouder (1507-82) and published in 1564 under the title, 'De magnificentia politiae amplissimae civitatis¹ Brugarum, en beschreef de situatie in Brugge op het hoogtepunte van zijn bloei - Concerning the Magnificence of the widely-famed Government of the Cathedral City of Bruges [as in para. 1 above] and a Description of the State of Affairs in Bruges at the High-point of its Flowering'.

Concerning the 'Walk-around' or 'Ommegang' called Procession.

Meanwhile I have had it in mind, neither irrationally nor in any unseemly way (to show how they order things in the aforesaid town) to describe in short compass that Noble, Gargantuan and for so long celebrated 'Ommegang' (called 'Supplicatie' or 'Processie')² with the Ever-Most Holy Blood of our Lord about which we thought above and finally to give an account (as an Appendix) of the

associated supportive towns of Bruges - called 'Clientele'.

This general Procession of the Town of Bruges was celebrated annually on the Third Day of May, to wit, on the same day as the Invention of the Holy Cross; in no other place was an 'Ommegang' celebrated more devoutly, on a larger scale, or more worthily. This blood is no miraculous blood, of the kind to be seen in many other places, but the very real, Blessed and All Holy Blood poured forth abundantly from the Body of Christ, and which our Saviour Jesus Christ (for the price of our redemption and salvation) poured out profusely in his sufferings; and which having run down in various places adhered to his limbs; furthermore by the efforts of Joseph of Arimathea it was wiped off with a damp sponge, taken away and squeezed out into a basin and is still guarded and watched over with ever-greatest and ever-most devout care by Pious Men. For in the year of our Lord 1148 at the time when Conrad was Emperor of Rome, Diederijk of Alsace, Count of Flanders (with the army of Louis VII, called the Young One, the Fortieth King of France) was engaged in the same effort to retake Asia, Syria and Palestine, together with Fulco of Andegave, King of Jerusalem, from whom he obtained special favours so that this Count Diederijk was joined in bonds of love with My Lady Sibylle, daughter of that same King.

Now when Count Diederijk, Son of the King, was preparing for his journey back to Flanders, King Fulco³ wishing to send his son-in-law away with an everlasting memento and memorable gift gave that

same most fortunate man a portion of the Most Holy Blood which had been preserved by his forefathers and which he had inherited. Adorned with which precious gift Count Diederijk took leave of his father-in-law, the King of Jerusalem, and brought the said relic to Flanders (to the Assembly/college called the College of St Donat) to be received with joyous splendour and honour. There he at once commanded a praiseworthy Chapel to be built in the Burg⁴ at his own expense (to the Honour of God and St Basil, the Great Ones), and so that the relic should be honoured by all he instituted a yearly procession to take place on 3rd May, which 'Supplicatie' or 'Procession' still survives, taking place every year on the same day when great devotion is to be seen in the observing of traditional customs and church services, as here now follows. On the day before the Feast Day (at the time of the Evening Hour, i.e. at Vespers time) all the Pipe-Players of all the Trades Guilds gather at the Church of the All-Holiest Blood of the Lord to sing to Almighty God in Highest-Heaven in praise of the All-Holiest Blood of the Lord which we spoke about above, that is, all together in St Basil's where Evensong or Vespers is at once sung in the choir by the Music Masters in the presence of the whole Brotherhood. At twelve midnight the relic of the All-Holiest Blood is reverently brought forth by a Canon of St Basil's to be joyously adored by the people and be kissed by all the devout. Soon after the Beguines⁵ from the 'Wijngaerde',⁶ together with their 'Shepherd' or Pastor, on receiving a spoken order, begin their Procession from the church at one o'clock and process through the town between the two Forts with a large crowd of people, humbling themselves with great devotion and honouring God Almighty with songs of praise.

On receiving the order they begin to make their way back, at five o'clock making their way into the Church of the Holy Blood where they kiss the relic with respectful reverence and they say or sing the 'Benedicite'. In the morning at seven o'clock the largest bell of the 'Halls' begins to toll and continues to do so until eight o'clock as a forewarning to everyone, for the purpose of preparing⁷ the Procession, to be ready, each according to his particular responsibility (or 'office') and assemble at the places appointed, so as to move off from there. The same bell begins to toll once again, for the third time at ten o'clock. Meantime all the customary Services have taken place and everything has been put in its special place. On hearing the bell the Great Brotherhoods or Guilds move off from the Guild-Houses in an orderly manner and make their way across the Burg: to wit, the Archers (each according to his Order) with their Standards, and go to the front of the 'Halls' on the Market Place where they sit together on benches so ensuring a clear thoroughfare and suitable entrance for the advancing Procession, when necessary suppressing the ill-behaviour of the people sitting at the side.

With the aforesaid Brotherhoods or Guilds sitting together for the reason explained, all the workmen of the Trades with their particular Tokens and Crosses, begin to move off, led by a number of marching Pipe-players, blowing their extraordinarily long silver instruments with gusto. In addition each of the Trades and Order of the Work-people (some four, some six, and others eight) are to be ready with their triumphal staves (usually called candleholders) which are very bright,³ the 'For-ever Most Sublime' also

being ready, with two gleaming Gilt Crosses and two or four Pipe-players. After these Trade-members follows the Deacon with the Chaplain of the trade and his colleagues in orders, accompanied by the remaining members of the same Trade.

This ordering then of the members of the Trades (traditional for many years) was as follows below and according to custom has been proficiently and properly organised by the Official Registrars (or Notaries) and by other subordinate Officials.

The Broom-makers go in front both to sweep with their brooms and to check over the streets through which the Procession will make its way from the word go. Next to the Broom-makers follow some of the Brotherhoods, that is, the small Guilds: to wit,

The Workers from the Krane-brugghe. (Crane Bridge).
 The Workers from the Carmes-brugghe.⁹
 The Bale-makers, or Bale-wrappers.
 The Workers from the Eeckhoud-brugghe. (Oak-bridge).
 The Workers from the Winckel-brugghe.¹⁰
 The Workers from the Walsch-brugghe.¹¹
 The Workers from the Mari-brugghe.
 The Brotherhood of St Catherine.
 The Workers from the Ezel-brugghe. (Donkey Bridge).
 The Brotherhood of St Francis.
 The Brewers' Men.
 The Gardeners.
 The Workers from the Noordt-Zandt-brugghe.
 The Workers from the Zuydt-zandt-brugghe.
 The Workers from the Wulf-haeg-brugghe.¹²
 The Workers from the Meulen-brugghe.¹³
 The Workers from the Stroo-brugghe.¹⁴
 The Workers from the Koninghs-brugghe. (King's Bridge).
 The Workers from S. Jan-brugghe. (St John's Bridge).
 The Rijke Pijnders.¹⁵

Also the small Brotherhoods, or Guilds, assembled by the Franciscan Fathers, called 'Recollecten'.

The Crane-children.
 The Wine-Schroyers. These took care of the wine after it
 had been discharged from vessels onto the quayside.
 The Wine-Boys, called Wine-workers.
 The Picklers, or Wine Measurers.
 The Tilers-men.)
 The Builders'-men.) Together.
 The Lime-Carriers.
 The Carpenters.
 The Builders.
 The Tilers.
 The Plumbers.
 The Plasterers.
 The Thatchers.
 The Sawyers.
 The Sculptors.
 The Canvas/Sail-makers.
 The Coopers' men.
 The Coopers.
 The Wheelwrights, or Waggon-Makers.
 The Polish-makers.
 The Cabinet-Makers' men.
 The Cabinet-Makers.
 The Bow-Makers, called Pijl-Makers; Lit. Arrow-Makers.
 The Rope-Spinners, or Cord-Makers.
 The Potters.

The Trades Placed in Order upon the Market-Place in Front of the Fountain.

The Blacksmiths' men.
 The Blacksmiths or Forgers.
 The Goldsmiths'-men.
 The Goldsmiths, and the Silversmiths.
 The Armourers' or Foil-Makers'-men.
 The Armourers, or Foil-Makers.
 The Tin Casters'-men.
 The Tin Casters.

Other trades from the Burg.

The Weavers.
 The Fullers.
 The Cloth-Porters.
 The Cloth-Cutters.
 The Dyers.

The Trades Placed in Order upon the Market-Place in Front of the House called de Meeuwe - The Sea Gulls.

The Butchers'/Slaughterers'-men.
 The Butchers/Slaughterers.

The Knitters.¹⁶
 The Fish Merchants.
 The Harnessers.¹⁷

Other Trades from the Toon-Staate, called de Steen-Strate - Stone Street.

The Shoemakers'-men.
 The Shoemakers.
 The Black-Leather-Dressers from Dry Leather.
 The Tanners.
 The Tanners in grey¹⁸ or Leather Dressers from Spanish Leather.
 The Purse/Pocket-Makers.
 The White Leather-Dressers from Chamois Leather.
 The Glove-Makers.
 The Stocking Producers or Stocking Makers.
 The Tailors'-men.
 The Tailors.
 The Doublet-stitchers.
 The 'Small Tanners', called 'Vuylvels'.
 The Furriers of Inland Skins.
 The Furriers of Foreign and Wild Skins.
 The Second-hand Clothes Dealers.
 The Old Furriers or Muff-makers.

The Trades Placed in Order upon the Market-Place in Front of the Fountain.

The Bakers'-men.
 The Bakers.
 The Corn Carriers.
 The Millers'-men.
 The Millers.
 The Hat-Makers.
 The Barbers.
 The Harness Makers'-men
 The Harness Makers.
 The Sheath/Scabbard-Makers.
 The Fruiterers or Fruit Merchants.
 The Tapestry-Makers.
 The Basket-Makers.
 The Rope-Makers.
 The Drill/Twill-Weavers'-men.
 The Drill/Twill -Weavers.
 The Wool-Weavers.
 The Candle-Makers.
 The Watermens' men.
 The Watermen themselves.
 The Brokers.

To the Heads of these Trade-Members there were often added other trades-members with their Heads, who were there, either because they were of a kindred trade or were there by chance, as is said 'Accidente'le'.

After these Orders of Citizens follow the Schools of Poor Children, to wit: of young men and young girls who are maintained by the alms of the citizens, cared for and fed splendidly, and devoutly brought up until they reach the age of marrying.

As these (that is the poor young men and young girls) begin their 'ommegang' (Walk-about) at Twelve o'clock, so the Cathedral Church of St Donat's and the whole Magistracy make their way most devoutly and in excellent order to the Church of the All-Holiest Blood of the Lord: where there is set upon the High Altar a Sacred Silver Shrine or Feretory most splendidly ornamented in which the Most Holy Relic is deposited in the presence of the Magistracy and the Burgomaster of the Community, that is the Lord Protectors of the People, all standing nearby, after which the Golden Key is given to the Lord Protectors of the People for safe keeping.

Soon afterwards the Sacred-Box (Shrine), or Feretory is rested on the shoulders of two Canons of St Basil's. Then the Feretory is carried down to the outermost step on the Burg, accompanied by the whole Magistracy and the Brotherhood, or Fellowship, of the All-Holiest Blood, from where the two First Canons of St Donat's carry the above named Shrine, or Feretory, to the High Altar of St Donat's, where it rests for a certain time, the Pipe-players who

are there meanwhile blowing away, until the Ecclesiastical Orders of the Religious Communities and certain other Official Officers, have completed their entrance. They do so in the following order:

The Order of the Communities.

The Capuchins - included after the death of My Lord Joost de Damhouder.¹⁹

The Franciscans, called 'Recollecten'.

The Carmelites, called Brothers of our Lady.

The Augustinians, called Eremites of St Augustine.

The Jacobites, Friars-Preachers, or Dominicans.

The Canons Regular of St Augustine, ten Eeckhoutte, zijnde een Abyde - Lit. 'At Oak-wood, an Abbey'.

The Colleges/Communities or the Assemblies of St Salvator,)

St James,) Together as one

St Walburg,)

The Colleges/Communities or The Assemblies.²⁰

of our Lady,)

of St Catherine,) Together as one

of St Giles,)

of St Donat,)

of St Anne,)

of Holy Cross,) Together as one

with the Prelates,)

After these Ecclesiastical and Religious Communities, or Assemblies (see note above) then follow, (in an Order²¹ most joyful to see) these:

The Lords-Protectors of the People, called Head-men.

A large number of the Old Most Honourable Gentlemen.

The Judges from Warandatie.

The 'Small' Ram-shearers.

The 'large' Ram-shearers.

The Cloth Halls.

The Bread-weighers.²²

The Clerks, or Registrars/Notaries from Deelmannen.

The Deacons from Deelmannen.

The twelve Sherriffs from Gedeelen, or Deelmannen.

The officially employed town workmen.

The Official Physicians, or Doctors.

The Official Surgeons.

The Strangers (i.e. literally), or
 Pilgrims of Promise, in Linen-Clothes.²³
 The young boys from the Poor School at Bogaerde.
 The young maidens from the Foundling School of St
 Elizabeth.
 The Brothers of Jerusalem with Palm Branches, (Lit.
 Date Branches) from the real Palm-tree, in their hands
 moving along in a devout order.

While the forenamed Order of Town Officials is forming up for its
 move off, there comes into view out of the Chapel (now Church) of
 St Donat's a number of Bishops and Abbots to carry the Most
 Worshipful Blood of the Lord with great devotion, who have been
 summoned well before-hand by the Town Messenger (to 'decor' this
 Procession and to carry round this same Holy Blood). These (I say)
 are dressed in (Lit. decorated/ornamented) glistening Neck-hangings
 (called Stoles) and with two-sided Head coverings (called Mitres).
 They come forward reverently out of the Chapel of St Donat's (now
 Church) into the Choir and greet²⁴ the Ever-Most Precious Blood of
 the Lord, and stay there, until it has been announced at what time
 the Bearers should begin to move off, going the one in front of
 the other, to wit:

Six Property-Wardens.²⁵
 Six Town Boys - probably Messengers.
 Two Door-Keepers, Doors-Keepers of the Chambers.
 The Clerks of the Tables.
 Two Speech-Men - perhaps Announcers or Criers.
 Four Pensioners - probably the inmates of a public alms-
 house.
 The Burgomaster of the Community.
 Twelve Councillors, or Council's men.
 The Crosses of all the Trades Members, about two hundred
 in all.

At the end of this Order, the Notary-Criminal informs the Bishops
 that now is the time to follow, THE RELIC, or, RELICS OF THE MOST
 WORTHY BLOOD OF THE LORD. There follow thirty Crosses of the

Brothers of the Holy Blood of the Lord, called the Men of the Holy Blood, thirty flambeau-bearers, wearing the town colours, six Candle-Bearers with the same Brotherhood or Confraternity of the Holy Blood, two armed Escorts or Guards: five Musical Pipe-Players. Then come two Bishops carrying the Holy Blood Shrine, or Feretory. Before and behind these are two Canons, accompanied by a Priestly-Sacristan.

After these follow:

Two Armed Escorts or Guards.
 The Candle-Bearers of the aforesaid Confraternity of the Holy Blood. The above mentioned Eight Property-Wardens.²⁶
 The above Six Town Boys.
 Four Door-Keepers or Doors-Keepers.
 The Clerks of the Tables.
 Two Speech-Men (possibly Town Criers, etc.)
 Six Pensioners (? Four.)
 Burgomaster of the Aldermen, carrying in his arms the town's keys: twelve Aldermen with the whole Magistracy annually dressed in the civic colours.
 The Lord High-Bailiffs of the Town.
 The Lord Sheriffs of the Town.
 The Hussars (themselves), and the Butt-carriers on horse-back.
 The Ushers²⁷ from the Town Clerk; also on horse-back.
 The Deputy Bailiffs.
 The Hussars.

The Order of the Brotherhoods, called Guilds.

The Guild of Fencers.
 The Guild of Gunners.
 The Guild of Junior Crossbow-men.
 The Guild of Senior Crossbow-men.
 The Guild of Archers, or of Handbow-men.

Plays of the Old Times: Performed with Live Characters.²⁸

1. The Giant Goliath, with David the provoker.
 In I Kings, Chap.17.²⁹
2. The Trojan Horse, or Rosbeyder's Horse, otherwise,
 The Horse from Aymesien: with the King of France,
 the provoker.

3. The Rod of Jesse,
the Book of Isaiah, Chap.11.
4. The Earthly Paradise, with Adam and Eve standing under an
Apple Tree, nearby the Serpent giving them an Apple.

Various Representations of the Sufferings of Christ.

5. The House of Simon the Leper, where Christ sat at table with
his Disciples, in the presence of Mary Magdalene, having an
alabaster box full of precious ointment of Spikenard.
The Evangelist Mark in Chapter 14.
6. Martha, much concerned with the cooking and the sizzling fish.
The Evangelist Luke in Chapter 10.
7. The Temple at Jerusalem, with Christ driving out the
Merchants and their Customers.
The Evangelist Matthew in Chapter 21.
8. The Evening Meal (Supper) of the Lord, sitting at table with
the twelve Apostles.
The Evangelist Luke in Chapter 22.
9. Caiaphas)
10. Annas.) Each carried along with their canopies.³⁰
11. Herod.)
- The Evangelist Matthew in Chapter 26.
12. Pilate, with his Canopy ('Baldachin'), and the Servant pro-
ffering the Water-vat and the basin.
The Evangelist Matthew, Chapter 26.
13. The Tableau of Christ³¹ with the Jews mocking Him.
The Evangelist Matthew in Chapter 27.
14. The Tableau of Christ crowned with thorns.
The Evangelist Matthew in Chapter 27.
15. The Tableau of Christ, scourged and brought forth by Pilate
saying, 'Behold the Man;' see the 'Man' (Lit. 'The Human
Being') (Dutch/Flemish Medieval: Mensch = Modern: Mens -
Man/Woman; (Compare: German : Mensch.)
The Evangelist John in Chapter 19.
16. The Tableau of Christ, carrying the Cross to the Hill of
Calvary, a crowd of Jews, women etc. following him.
The Evangelist Luke in Chapter 23.

17. The Tableau of the Crucified Christ, with the two murderers, the one on either side, with various Jews standing under the Cross, and others running back and forth; beyond (i.e. 'a little way off') the Disciples of the Lord, with the Mother of the Lord and her sister Mary Cleophas, Mary Magdalene and St John.
The Evangelist John in Chapter 19.³²
 18. The Tableau of the Tomb of Christ, with the watchers.
The Evangelist Luke in Chapter 23;
The Evangelist John in Chapter 19.
The Evangelist Matthew in Chapter 27.
The Evangelist Mark in Chapter 15.
 19. The Tableau of Christ (now risen from the dead) revealing himself as a gardener to Mary Magdalene weeping at the at the grave (sepulchre.)
The Evangelist John in Chapter 20.
 20. Various Tableaux with a variety of persons as of Devils, dashing up and down, with crowds of Jews striking Christ.
 21. A Representation of Hell with Twenty-Four Devils (sitting as Judges on the Seat of Judgment) round about a boiler filled with souls, of which seven personate the Seven Principal Sins, each bearing the name of one of the Deadly Sins such as the representation or rendering/playing of the Devil of pride as Lucifer, this one screaming out all the faults/defects of pride. Also the representation of avarice as Mammon, this one screaming out all the faults of avarices; the representation of unchastity as Asmodeus, this one screaming out all the faults of unchastity; the representation of anger as Beelsebub, Beel, or Baal, this one screaming out all the faults of anger; the representation of gluttony, as Belial, this one screaming out all the faults of gluttony; the representation of wrath as Leviathan, this one screaming out the faults of Persons inflamed with wrath; the representation of sloth or laziness as Behemoth, this one screaming out all the faults of sloth.
-
1. Pride represented by Lucifer.
Isaiah, Ch.14; Luke, Ch.10.
 2. Avarice represented by Mammon, Ch.6; Luke, Ch.16.
 3. Unchastity represented by Asmodeus, Job, Ch.3; Luke, Ch.11.
 4. Anger represented by Beelsebub,³³ II Kings, (Current Catholic and Protestant Bibles) Ch.1; Matthew, Ch.12.
 5. Gluttony represented by Belial, Deut., Ch.13; Judges, Ch.19; I Kings, Ch.1.³⁴

6. Wrath represented by Leviathan, Job, Chs.3,4; Isaiah, Ch.27.
7. Sloth represented by Behemoth, Job, Ch.4.

In such portrayals (or to put it better), in such Godly-devout representations, our forefathers attempted to provide carefully for the people a union of Godly-devotion and active participation, to wit, that they the people should be moved to attentive meditation on and commemoration of, the sufferings of our Lord, and also furthermore, that they should multiply the Town's³⁵ (basis of) prosperity. They have, therefore, in the course of time, added additional representations: such as the Red Sea with Pharaoh (through his army) pursuing the Children of Israel - hoping thus to encourage more people to come to these spectacles. Nowadays people from Antwerp, Brussels, Malines and from many other towns also participate almost every year. For this reason a good number of the people of Bruges have for some years neglected the devout spectacles (established by our forefathers) to be solemnly represented in order at one and the same time to increase the piety and public spirit of the people and have - I speak with permission - shown neither foresight nor a sufficient sense of duty in regard to matters devotional, nor in public affairs, which things were for the most part multiplied and established by such devotional spectacles and representations. Therefore it ought not to appear a bad thing (in regard to piety and the good of the common people) if the same spectacles and the old customs were called back into use, which now for some years past have been neglected, namely those which relate to the commemoration of the sufferings of the Lord. For it is better for such spectacles to

be increased rather than diminished even in these distressingly constituted facts. For there is nothing stronger and more impressive in historic matters upon the minds of men than when representations of history are realistically portrayed. Men should realise that these things could most easily happen. It is a fact of truth that the town has an excess of articulate poets and painters. Let each Chamber adopt for themselves four or five, such or other representations, and devoutly perform them on the same 'Ommegang' ('Walk-about') of the Procession as they go by the people, whom the town moreover should honour and reward with wine for their labours but not otherwise, just as in olden times it was the custom usually to give a certain painter money for wine in return for his undertaking to put in order all such spectacles at his own costs and on his own responsibility.

Note: according to the aforesaid directions the Order of the 'Ommegang' (Procession) is from the Church of St Donat as far as the Gate of St Julien where everything is brought to a halt. Thus the relic of the Holy Blood is processed around the town by the Canons of St Donat's and St Basil's between both Forts, with Horse-Riders accompanied by a numerous crowd of people, and is once more brought into the Chapel of St Julien. Meanwhile the Magistrates, awaiting the return of the All-Holiest Blood, take their midday meal in a public house of the town over the very Chapel where the mad and the insane are cared for.

The Return of the Ommegang, or Procession.

The Most Holy Blood of the Lord having been thus processsed through the town, and been reverently placed on the Altar of St Julien's, the foresaid Procession again begins to make its way back to the Burg, whence it went forth, almost in accordance with the same order as it went out, except the Members of the Trades who return in almost reverse order. First the great Brotherhoods, called Guilds make their way back, with their War-tokens, Horse-riders, Kings, and the Head-men, as leaders, in this manner,

The Guild of Fencers.
 The Guild of Gunners.
 The Guild of Junior Cross-bowmen .
 The Guild of Senior Cross-bowmen and
 The Guild of Archers, or of Hand-bowmen.

These march in front of all the other Orders who shall follow behind shortly afterwards, and conduct their members to the front of the Halls to the before named benches, intended for that specific purpose, where they sit themselves down and so ensure a clear way for the return of the Procession, which shall follow at once, and also restrain the excitement of the people. After these there then follow thus (almost in the Order in which they went out), the members of the Trades, with their Tokens, the Pipe-players, adorned as we have already shown.

The Brokers.
 The Watermen's men.
 The Watermen themselves.
 The Candle-makers.
 The Fruiterers, or Fruit-merchants.
 The Sheath/Scabbard-makers.
 The Plumbers' men.
 The Plumbers.
 The Barbers.
 The Cotton-weavers.
 The Wool-weavers.

The Ropemakers' men.
 The Ropemakers.
 The Basket-makers.
 The Hat-makers'-men.
 The Hat-makers.
 The Millers'-men.
 The Millers.
 The Corn Hauliers.
 The Bakers'-men.
 The Bakers.
 The Old Furriers, or, Muff-makers.
 The Second-hand Clothes Dealers.
 The 'Small' Tanners, called 'Vuyvel'.
 The Furriers of Foreign and 'wild' skins.
 The Furriers of Inland Skins.
 The Doublet-stitchers.
 The Tailors'-men.
 The Tailors.
 The Stocking Producers, or, Stocking -makers.
 The Glove-makers.
 The Purse-makers.
 The White Leather-dressers from Chamois Leather.
 The Tanners in grey, or Leather-Dressers from Spanish Leather.
 The Leather-Dressers from Dry Leather.³⁶
 The Black-Leather-Dressers.³⁶
 The 'Elsenaren', or, Shoemakers' men.
 The Harnessers.
 The Shoemakers.
 The Fish Merchants.
 The Knitters.
 The Butchers'/Slaughterers'-men.
 The Butchers/Slaughterers.
 The Dyers.
 The Cloth Porters.
 The Cloth-cutters.
 The Fullers.
 The Wool-weavers.
 The Tin-casters' -men.
 The Tin-casters.
 The Armourers', Foil-makers'-men.
 The Armourers, or Foil-makers.
 The Goldsmiths'-men.
 The Goldsmiths.
 The Silversmiths'-men.
 The Silversmiths.
 The Smiths'-men.
 The Smiths, or Forgers.
 The Potters.
 The Rope-spinners.
 The Bow-makers, or Arrow-makers.
 The Turners, with the Polish-makers.

The Wheel-wrights, or Waggon-makers.
 The Cooper'-men.
 The Coopers.
 The Sculptors.
 The Canvas/sail-makers.
 The Builders'-men) Together
 The Tilers'-men)
 The Lime-carriers.
 The Carpenters.
 The Builders.
 The Plumbers.
 The Plasterers, or, Wall-renderers.
 The Thatchers.
 The Lock-makers, or, Clasp-makers.³⁷
 The Picklers, or, Wine-measurers.
 The Wine-lads, called Wine-men.
 The 'Wijnschroyers'.³⁸
 The Crane-children.
 The Wine-carriers, or Sleigh-men.

After the members of the Trades, follow the Religious Orders, in accordance with the above described manner, to wit,

The Capuchins. Arrived after the death of my Lord, Joost de Damhouder. -
 The Carmelites, called Brothers of Our Lady.
 The Communities or Assemblies of St Salvator's, of Our Lady, and St Donat's (together as above).
 The Augustinians, called Eremites of St Augustine.
 The Jacobites, Friars Preacher, or, Dominicans.
 The Canons Regular of St Augustine, at the 'Eeck-houte' (lit. oakwood), being one Abbey.

 The Six Headmen, or, Lord Protectors of the People.
 A large crowd of the Leading-gentlemen.
 The Judges from Warandatie.
 The 'Small' Ram-shearers) who were appointed to judge the cloths.
 The 'Large Ram-shearers)
 The Cloth Halls.
 The Bread-weighers.³⁹
 The Clerks, or, Notaries from Deelmannen.
 The Deacons from Deelmannen.
 The Twelve Aldermen from Gedeelen, or Deelmannen.
 The official workers of the town.
 The official Physicians, or, Doctors.
 The official Surgeons.
 Lit. The Strangers, or Pilgrims of Promise, in Linen-clothes.⁴⁰
 The Poor School - boys from the Bogaerde.
 The Poor School - girls from St Elizabeth's.
 The Brotherhood of Jerusalem with their palm branches (lit. Date branches).

Six Property Custodians.
 The Messengers and the Town-boys.
 The Door-keepers, or, Door-watchers from the Chamber.
 The Clerks of the Tables.
 Two Barkers/Criers.
 Four Pensioners.
 The Burgomaster of the Aldermen.
 The Twelve Aldermen.

The All-holiest Blood of Christ, with Thirty Confrères,
 called, Men of the Holy Blood, with Flambeau-Bearers,
 Pipe-players, and Candle-bearers, in the Order explained
 above.

Six Property Wardens.
 A Number of Messengers & Town Boys.
 Four Door Wardens, or, Doors-Wardens of the Chamber.
 The Clerks of the Tables
 Two Barkers/Criers.
 Four Pensioners.
 Two Burgomasters of the Community.
 The Twelve Councillors, or, Councils-men.
 The Lord High Bailiffs of the Town.) On
 The Lord High Sheriffs of the Town.) Horseback
 Their Servants.
 The Hussars and the Butt-carriers.
 The Plays and Spectacles of the Old Times.

After all these things have processed (in the above described
 manner), and have come back again, each of the Great Brother-
 hoods, or, Guilds, betake themselves from the Halls (where they
 had sat together in order to protect the Procession), to their
 Guild Courts, or, Brotherhood Houses, with their War-tokens,
 drums, Kings, and Horse-riders. Meanwhile the Most-worthy Blood
 of Christ is taken across the Burg by the Bishop and Provost to
 its Chapel of St Basil, reverberating to the sound of a hundred
 Pipe-players, accompanied by continual and most intensive ringing,
 for joy at the incoming of the Holy Blood. Then it was placed upon
 the High Altar, attended by the Abbots, the whole Magistracy, and
 the Most Worshipful Brotherhood of Jerusalem. The Burgomaster of

the Community then approaches to hand over the key of the Sacred Shrine or Feretory (given to him for safe-keeping) into the hands of the Canon of St Basil's. The Sacred Shrine or Feretory is unlocked. Then the relic of the All-Holiest Blood is taken out, and with it hanging from his neck, the Provost or the Bishop, holds it forth, presenting it to the Abbots, Prelates, Office-holders, and the Brotherhood of Jerusalem, to kiss, wishing to give a blessing to them all. The Canon of St Basil's (having received the relic from the Bishop) soon afterwards presented it to the people (in the depths of the Night) so that they might also be blessed. This all having been completed, the All-Holiest relic was put back with great reverence into its usual reliquary, and the Ever-most Devout Procession of the All-Holiest Blood of the Lord was ended. Nonetheless the same Procession and the same 'Omme-gang' (Walk-about/Circuit') of the town took place again daily up to the fifteenth day with the various separate Orders of Religious 'beggars' (called, Mendicants) and with the aforesaid Assemblies, or, Communities, at a time of the day recommended (well advised) for its most devout resumption and completion. For that purpose there was gathered together a great crowd of the most devout people. And in between times the Canons of St Basil's regularly strengthen the people who flood in, with blessings of the All-Holiest Blood of the Lord, from ten o'clock at night until twelve mid-day.

Damhouder does not say who provided the players for the various 'tableaux-vivants'. It does not appear to have been members of the local Craft Guilds but according to a modern local authority the 'tableaux-vivants' in the sort of procession described by Damhouder were members of the local Chamber of Rhetoric.⁴¹

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.

1. R.E. LATHAM *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources with Supplement* (Published for the British Academy by the OUP, 1965, reprinted 1973, 1980/83) re 'clivitatis' translated as 'cathedral city' see 'civis', 89.
2. 'Supplicatie' is no longer in common use in Dutch/Flemish, but the context indicates that here it is equivalent to the English 'supplication'. That being so processions such as this must have been regarded as supplicatory in purpose, i.e. a means of seeking divine favour, blessing and help, and contrariwise hopefully effective in calling off divine disfavour or retribution and its likely effects.
3. Damhouder's account of how the Holy Relic reached Bruges from Jerusalem is now generally rejected by scholars.
4. The Burg was (and still is) situated near the Market Place. Like the latter it is a square reached from the Market Place by the hundred yards long Breidal Straat. The Burg remains very much what it was in medieval times, apart from the space left by the destruction of St Donat's Church in Napoleonic times.
5. An Order of Nuns.
6. Literally 'vineyard' - the name of their Convent, the place where it was and still is situated.
7. Literally 'decorating, etc.' - compare Scots, 'decor'.
8. 'Bright' seems a better translation than 'broad' or 'wide'.
9. Possibly a bridge near the Carmelite Brothers' Monastery.
10. 'Winckel' = shop or stores.
11. 'Walachen' = to waltz or to roll, hence probably a bridge that was rotated rather than raised up.
12. Literally 'wolf-edge-bridge'.
13. " 'mill bridge'.
14. " 'straw bridge', probably because straw was handled nearby.
15. P. de STOOP 'Particularités sur les Corporations et Métiers de Bruges' *Annales de la Société d'émulations de Bruges, etc.* Second Series, vol.1 (1843) 133-166, 163, 'On appelait ainsi les preposes de la balance publique qui avaient sous eux des ouvriers qui transportaient les marchandises à domiciles'.
16. Merely a suggestion. De STOOP, 164, does not attempt a translation into French.

17. 'De Harnessers zijn, die de Wagens laden en ontladen' =
The Harnessers are those who load and unload the waggons
18. De STOOP (as n.15) 147.
19. Evidence that the Latin text of Damhouder may possibly have
received some editing by the publisher of the 1684 Dutch/
Flemish text.
20. Perhaps, 'Fraternities' or 'Sodalities', would be a better
translation.
21. Clearly in this and other similar contexts, 'Orden' relates
not just to being in the right position but also to dress
appropriate to an event both solemn and joyful.
22. Probably officials who were responsible for ensuring fair-
trading on the part of the Bakers.
23. Probably called 'Strangers' because they have been
excommunicated and metaphorically-speaking have been put
beyond the pale, the price of whose restoration to communion
is to walk in the procession in the linen clothes.
24. This probably means that they either genuflected or bowed
profoundly to the relic of the Holy Blood still on the High
Altar.
25. Literally 'damage-preventers'.
26. The number was in fact six.
27. French 'Huissier' = usher, bailff's or sheriff's officer.
28. Taking Dutch/Flemish 'figuur' as equivalent to French
'personnages', not necessarily implying any dramatic activity
or action, perhaps no more than 'tableaux-vivants', i.e.
'tableaux' with live persons.
29. In non-Catholic Bibles see, I Samuel ch.17.
30. Koen ROTSAERT *De Heilig-Bloedprocessie, een eeuwenoude
brugse traditie - Een Historisch Kijk en Leesboek Over
Brugges Schoonste Dag* (Westvlaamse Gidsekring, v.z.w., Bruges,
1982) 16.
Referring to the Holy Blood Procession of the 14th. century,
the author states, '....boven de relikwe werd een 'husekin'
of (English, 'or') baldakijn gedragen...'. We are probably
correct in seeing the 'Huyskens' mentioned by Damhouder as
small floats with baldachin(o)s fixed to them.
31. Like the German 'Bild', the Dutch/Flemish 'beeldt' has a wider
meaning than the English 'picture' which is strictly two-
dimensional. It is difficult to be dogmatic regarding the
precise meaning of 'beeldt' in this case and in the case of
the following items, but in view of the main heading above
(and Items 17, 20 and 21) it seems most likely that we are
concerned here and elsewhere in Damhouder's description with

- 'tableaux-vivants', in fact with living persons in dumb show, and possibly with gestures and even with short utterances, but see Items 17, 20 and 21.
32. The number of 'characters' involved and the other Jews 'running back and forth' implies a rather larger pageant vehicle than others in the procession, possibly two linked together.
 33. } In some older Catholic versions of the O.T. the books more
 } generally known as I & II Samuel and I & II Kings appear as
 34. } I, II, III & IV Kings.
 35. The Dutch/Flemish in the text is 'Assijsen', which we take to be equivalent to the French 'assez' = 'sufficiency', or 'assise', 'basis', 'foundation', rather than French 'assises', = English, 'Assizes', although all these words are linguistically related. As an alternative name for the 'Processie' was 'Supplicatie' this seems a reasonable translation. Note also what follows in the text.
 36. In the earlier 'Outgoing list' these were listed as one trade.
 37. Not included in the 'Outgoing list'.
 38. See also above under list headed 'Also the small Brotherhoods, or Guilds, assembled by the Franciscan Friars 'Recollecten'', see De STOOP (as n.15) 163, who failed to translate 'De Wijnschroyers' into French; list in-toto is on 162-3. Translating Dutch/Flemish into English we suggest: 'Schroien' = 'singe', scald, cauterize' and so 'Wijnschroyers' possibly means 'Wine/Brandy Distillers'.
 39. Possibly indicates officials responsible for checking on the quality and weight of bread. See n.22.
 40. Probably refers to Ex-communicants doing penance before readmission to communion.
 41. Koen ROTSAERT *De Heilig-Bloed Processie - Een Eeuwenoude Traditie* (West Vlaamse Gidsenkring, v.z.w. Brugge, 1982) 41-3.

CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

ii) EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CRAFT GUILDS OF MIDDELBURG.

N.B. Excluding charges (with a few exceptions) relating to banners, standards, etc, and for food and drink, or items connected with banqueting, of which there are a great number of repeated. N.B All the Guilds wined and dined themselves at festivals and all attended Mass on the feast of their patron and at the great festivals of the town. This was universal in the West, including Scotland.

a) Account of the Guild of Hawkers, 1499.¹
No.389.

Holy Cross Day, 3 May.

- i) The Sowers & Reapers and Joseph, 14 gr.
- ii) For making the mitre, 5 gr. iii) For St Nicholas, 7 gr.
- iv) For may (blossom), 12 gr.
- v) For the kettle-drum, both days, 12 gr.
- vi) The Trumpeters, 26 sc. 8 gr.
- vii) Costs for both days for the elephant, 2 sc. 3 gr.
- viii) For taking a vat of beer with us, 5 sc. 2 gr.
- ix) Given away and drunk on the procession 34 flagons of sparkling wine at 4 gr.(ca) and 13 flagons of Poitou wine at 3 gr.

Sacrament Day, 30 May.²

- i) Carrying the torches, 4 gr.
- ii) The elephant.

b) Account of the Carpenters' Guild, June 1518-5 June 1519.
No.470.

Sacrament Day, 3 June 1518.³

- i) Item, for torches, 8 sc. gr.
- ii) Item, for hire of waggon on Sacrament Eve, 4 gr.

The 'Ommegang' Day (i.e in the Octave of SS Peter & Paul).⁴

- i) Paid to those who bore the camels, 4 sc. gr.

Men walked inside the camels which were made of hoops of ash-wood, nailed to lengths of wood, the hump being made of iron hoops - all covered with canvas and serge, over which there was placed a handsome gown. The head and neck of each camel was shaven.

- ii) Paid the pipers for the pipes, 8 gr.
- iii) Paid for a horse, 6 gr.
- iv) Paid the boy, 2 gr.
- v) Paid for the book, 12 gr.
- vi) A further payment to the boy, 2 gr.

c) Account of the Coopers' Guild, June 1518-19 June 1519.
No. 471.

Sacrament Day, 3 June 1518.⁵

- i) Item, charges for organizing waggons, 12 gr.
- ii) Item, for two horses for the Hubert and the habits, 3 sc.
- iii) Item, for painting the heart, 16 gr.
- iv) Item, for sewing the heart on the garment, 4 gr.
- v) Item, the 'steeboën' (?) 2 gr.

d) Account of the Barbers' Guild, 1518-19.
No. 474.

The Treasurer for this year is 'Willem Hil Scoetsman'.

For the Mass on Our Blessed Lady's Candlemas, 4 gr.

Sacrament Day, 3 June 1518.⁶

- i) For greasing the waggon, 1 gr.
- ii) For nails, 1/2 gr.
- iii) For fitting-out the waggon, 2 gr.
- iv) For fetching copes, 6 gr.
- v) For restoring the waggon, 2 gr.
 (i.e. dismantling whatever had been erected on it.)

e) Account of the Bricklayers' Guild, 1518-19.
No. 475.

Sacrament Day, 3 June 1518.⁷

- i) The players, 20 gr.
- ii) For walking three giants, 6 gr.
- iii) For organizing the waggon, 12 gr.
- iv) The Town Crier, 2 gr.
- v) The crown, 2 sc.
- vi) For nails, 3 gr.
- vii) For fetching the costumes and taking them back again, 6 gr.
- viii) For repairing the waggon, 20 gr.

f) Account of the Smiths' Guild (i.e. Hammermen's) Guild.⁸
No. 648.

St Eloi's Day in the Summer, 25 June 1545.

- i) Item, cost for a Said Mass, 4 gr.
- ii) Further, for the young man, for his expenses, 12 gr.
- iii) Item, cost of rose-chaplets, given to the same, 6 gr.

- iv) Item, expenses when we visited the men at Armue, 20 gr.
- v) Item, preparing the waggon at the Begijnhof (a Convent), 3 gr.

St Eloi's Day in the Winter, 1 December 1545.

- i) Item, for the Sung Mass and the expenses of the Singers, 22 gr.
 - ii) Item, for the Organist and the blower, 8 gr.
 - iii) Item, for the 'beyaerden,'* 3 gr.
- *A Low Countries folk tradition with the three bastard sons of Charlemagne riding on a huge horse probably a man-made horse.

Sacrament Day, 24 June 1546.

- i) Item, for painting the wooden cherries, 16 gr.
- ii) Item, for the four dozen small pennons
- iii) Item, for the pennon carriers, a tankard of wine, 5 gr.
- iv) Item, for flagons of beer given out in the procession, 3 sc.
- v) Item, for casting the play, 12 gr.

'Omgangs-Day', In the Octave of SS Peter & Paul, 4 July 1546.

- i) Item, firstly, cost of keeping the waggon at the Bigijnhof, 12 gr.
- ii) Item, for having the waggon ready at the Market, 3 gr.
- iii) Item, for another six pairs of gloves, 21 gr.
- iv) Item, for the Emperor's crown, and the Herald's tunic with the world embellished upon it, 10 gr.
- v) Item, for setting up and dismantling on the waggon, 2 sc.

g) Accounts of the Bakers' Guild, 1550 (January 1 - December 31). No. 668.

Sacrament Day, 6 June 1550.⁹

- i) Item, for hauling St Obert's chest, 2 gr.
- ii) Item, for scouring St Obert's pewter

On 'Ommeganckdach', possibly in the Octave of SS Peter and Paul, 1550.¹⁰

- i) Item, paid for the horse on which Herod rode in the procession, 2 sc. gr.
- ii) Item, paid the Town Herald, 2 gr. (reliquary?), 6 gr.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE. 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES.

ii) EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CRAFT GUILDS OF MIDDELBURG.

1. W.S. UNGER *Bronnen tot Geschiedenis van Middelburg in den Landsheerlijken Tijd* (Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1923, 1926, 1931, 3 vols.) vol.3, 193,4.
2. UNGER, vol.3, 193.
3. " " " 275.
4. " " " 275,6.
5. " " " 277,8.
6. " " " 284.
7. " " " 288,9.
8. " " " 555-8.
9. " " " 583.
10. " " " 584.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPENDIX 'B' FRANCE

CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE.

SOME FURTHER REPRESENTATIONS.

Avignon	1372	La Présentation de Marie au Temple. ¹
	1385	" " " " " "
Bordeaux	1525	The Baptism of Jesus.
		The Beheading of St John Baptist.
		The Conversion of Mary Magdalene.
		The Death and Resurrection of Lazarus. ²
Bourges	1536	La Passion. ³
	1536	Les Actes des Apôtres. ⁴
Compiègne	1451	Sainte Agnès.
	1451	Saints Pierre et Paul.
	1455	Berthe et Pépin.
	1464	Saint Christophe.
	1466	Saint Jame.
	1466	Sainte Virginie.
	1466	Sainte Christine.
	1467	Saint Laurent.
	1475	Sainte Barbe.
	1476	" "
	1476	Saint Alexis.
	1485	" "
	1488	Saint Crépin et Crépinien.
	1490	La Passion. ⁵
	1502	Saint Jacques.
Dijon	1447	Saint Éloi.
	1453	Le Saint-Esprit.
Limoges	1290	Saint Martial.
	1302	" "
	1521	La Passion. ⁶
	1533	Sainte Barbe.
	1533	Théophile.
	1540	Job.
	1540	La Vendition de Joseph.
Lyons	1447	La Passion. ⁷
	1483	Sainte Catherine.
	1485	La Passion.
	1487	" "
	1500	Sainte Marie-Magdelaine.
	1506	Saint Nicolas de Tolentin.
	1518	Conception de N.-D. et S. Jean-Baptiste.
	1538-41	Le Vieux Testament. ⁸
		Le Sacrifice d'Abraham.
		La Passion.

Tours	1485	La Passion. ⁹
	1490	St Genouph.
	1494	'L'Homme Pecheur', ¹⁰

The 'Actes des Apostres' performed in Bourges in 1536 lasted forty days and took place in the local Roman amphitheatre, which to protect spectators from the elements was covered with a canopy painted in gold, silver, blue and 'many rich colours'.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'B'. FRANCE.

1. Peter MEREDITH and John E. TAILBY eds. *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, 4, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Michigan.1983) 207-25.

See also Gustave COHEN 'La Présentation de Marie au Temple', *Revue de la Société d'Histoire du Théâtre* Neuvième Année, vol.3 (1957) 156-67.
2. MEREDITH & TAILBY 275-9.
3. Germain BAPST *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre: Le Mise en scène, le costume, l'architecture, l'éclairage, l'hygiène* (Librairie Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1893) 30.
4. COHEN (as in n.1) 65.
5. Le Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire de théâtre en France* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 55,6. The performance was given at Pentecost. It was produced by Jean Noel, a priest, who was rewarded with 24 sous. There had been regular meetings at 'l'hôtel de ville' to make preparations since 3 March.
6. De JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 111,2. The performance of the 'Passion' was begun on the second Sunday in the month, viz., 11 August 1521, and concluded on the 2 September. It was 'autentiquement représenté soubz les arbres de l'abbaye Saint Martial'. It was a performance of great magnificence, and a witness stated, 'que les vestements, joyaux et autres choses nécessaires à ces actes furent si riches et si précieux que plusieurs Parisiens, Poitevins, Saintongeois, Bourdellois, Tolosains, Lyonnais et autres qui en furent spectateurs, seigneurs, nobles hommes et femmes, confessoient unanimement qu'on n'avoit jamais vu rien de plus magnifique'.
7. DE JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 19,20. According to some the Friars Minor of St Bonaventure represented a 'Passion' to the Fathers of a Council meeting at Lyons. It is said to have been given in the Church of the Friars. Unfortunately we have found no authentic record in support of this and no record of an Ecumenical Council at Lyons in 1447. Such a Council does not appear in Hefele's List [see, *Conciliengeschichte* Second Edition, vol.1, 59 and succeeding pages]. If there was a Council it may have been a Provincial Council, or even a Diocesan Synod, or a Council of the Friars Minor. It is just possible that a Scottish cleric working in France may have been present on the occasion. A religious play had been performed at Lyons in 1435. Unfortunately its title is not known.
8. De JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 135,6; FRANK, 167. The first permanent theatre was established at Lyons, 1538-41. It played both mysteries and farces.

9. De JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 49. The performance took place on or about 30 July, on the occasion of the visit to the city of Margaret of Austria. Two spectator stands were provided for her, her ladies and gentlemen and officers.
10. Gustave COHEN *Le théâtre en France au Moyen Âge* (Les Éditions Rieder, Paris, 1928) 71.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPENDIX 'C' GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

i) GERMAN RELIGIOUS PLAYS - TEXTS AND PERFORMANCES.

A) Titles and Numbers of German-Language Religious Plays of which Texts survive, including Plays mainly in Latin but with some verses in German.¹

a) Passion Plays	49
b) Easter or Resurrection Plays	32
c) The Lament of the Virgin at the Cross, known as 'Planctus' plays, or 'Marienklagen'	24
d) Corpus Christi Plays	10 (see below)

Easter Season plays on individual subjects and episodes:

e) The Life of Mary Magdalene	2
f) The Last Supper	2
g) Christ's Deposition from the Cross	4
h) The Peregrinus Play	3
i) The Ascension	3
j) The Assumption of Mary	2

Plays of the Christmas Season:

i) Various episodes - from the Coming of the Shepherds to the Flight into Egypt	8
ii) The Words of the Prophets	1
iii) The Annunciation	2
iv) Mary's Purification	1

Other Plays - Outside the Christmas and Easter Seasons:

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1) Saint and Legend Plays | 14 |
| 2) Last Judgment Plays | 13 |
| 3) Sponsus Plays, i.e. of the Five Wise
& Five Foolish Virgins | 2 |
| 4) Antichrist Plays | 1 |

B) Performances of Religious Plays in the German Vernacular.²

<u>Date</u>	<u>Data</u>
First half of the 14th century	The so-called 'St Gall Passion Play', domiciled in central German regions. The oldest surviving play of the German speak- ing areas known to have been played in open air. Said to be the most complete Passion Play in German. ³
" "	Vienna Passion Play, mixed Latin and German. Cyclic in conception - beginning with the Fall of Lucifer and that of Man. The text is incomplete and probably originally in- cluded Christ's Passion, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. Action and speeches close to the Benediktbeuren Passion Play, notably in the presentation of Mary Magdalene. ⁴
1350	The Elder Passion Play of Frankfurt: the Director's Script of Baldemar von Peterweil. The 'Dirigierrolle' (or, 'Ordo sive Regis- trum') provides stage directions and cues. Played on an open 'platea' which was used for a variety of scenes, including the 'Ordo Prophetarum' which opens the play, the banks of the Jordan, the desert for Christ's Temp- tation, the Entry into Jerusalem, the road to Emmaus for the 'Peregrinus' sequence and the debate between Ecclesia and Synagoga. Unlocalised action on the main 'platea' is also linked with the numerous fixed locat- ions, many of which are associated through- out with particular figures. Locations are assigned to the Gates of Hell; God or Majestas in Paradise, elevated on an

upper level approached by steps; eventually to be ascended by Christ; Herod's palace; Christ; Jerusalem; the 'locus Iudeorum', from which Jews advance and to which they return. Mary Magdalene, Martha and Lazarus are located at Martha's house ('domum Marthe'). Various other locations can be implied from the text, e.g. one for the High Priest, a Pretorium, and a Palace for Pilate, and many others, e.g. the Hill of Calvary, and a sepulchre.⁵

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 14th Century | The Lucerne Passion Play; MS of the 15th century; two days, performed by a Guild ('Bruderschaft'). |
| Second Half of 14th Century | The wide establishment of Passion Plays performed in the open air in the German speaking areas. |
| 15th Century | The Eger Passion Plays, from the Fall of Lucifer to the Resurrection: 3 days. |
| " " | The Tyrol Passion Play: Hall in Tyrol from 1430: Bozen from 1476. |
| " " | Augsburg Passion Play (the original basis for the Oberammergau play - from 1634). Oldest surviving text 1662. |
| 1431/2 | Vienna - performance of the 'Passion' of Master Zeller and his students in the Ducal palace. Zeller is the first play director of Vienna known by name. |
| 1437 | For the first time in Vienna a sepulchre mounted on wheels made by the painter Ulreich employed in St Stephan's for the Passion and Easter Plays. Playing attested up to 1687. |
| c.1460 | Passion Play in Fritzlar (related to the Elder Frankfurt Passion Play). |
| 1466 | Passion Play in Hamburg. Vol. I, Ch. Five. |
| c.1475 | Performance of a 'Marienklage' play (i.e. a Planctus Mariae play) at Bordesholm. Presumably this play was a complete unit in itself, divorced from the rest of the Passion story. Some Passion Cycles had the Marienklage written into them, e.g. the Alsfeld |

Passion Play had the Trier Marienklage written into it almost word for word.⁶

- 1479 The K nzelsau Passion from the Creation of the Angels to the Last Judgement.
- 1480 Lucerne - The Passion Play of the Lucerne schoolmaster, Jakob Amgrund.
See below.⁷
- 1485 The Donaueschingen Passion Play. This seems to be dependent on the play referred to in the last entry. It was also performed in Villingen in 1585, which performance Chambers gave as taking place in Donaueschingen.⁸
- 1486-1519 The Passion Plays of St Stephan's, Vienna, organized and made artistically faithful by the wood carver Master Wilhelm Rollinger.
- From: 1487 Large scale staging of Passion Plays on the Market Place at Hildesheim.
- 1493 Three day Passion Play at Frankfurt (am Main) entirely in German with 280 performers.
- 1495 Passion Play at Bozen (Bolzano). Manuscript in the Franciscan Monastery at Bozen.
- 1498 Under this date Kindermann shows in his 'Tafel' a Play of the Rich Man and Lazarus, performed this year at Frankfurt am Main, but does not show the Passion Play he says in his main text was performed this year in the same town over several days. Brooks says four days.⁹
- End of 15th Century Gundelfinger's 'Grablegung' (i.e. the Burial of Christ) performed in Lucerne.
- 1501 'Popular' (perhaps dialect speech is meant) three day Passion Play at Alsfeld from the Beheading of John the Baptist to the Ascension. Played in the open air. There are said to be striking similarities between the N-Town (i.e. possibly Lincoln) Plays and those of La Sainte Resurrection, Alsfeld, Villingen and Lucerne.¹⁰

- 1503 Passion Play at Sterzing in which a woman played a part in a play in the German speaking areas for the first time.
- 1505 The Fraternity of Corpus Christi took over the production of the Vienna Passion Plays in St Stephan's.
- 1514 Performance of a seven day Passion Play in Bozen in which almost all the female parts were played by women and girls.
- 1514 The Passion Play of Wolfgang Stückl associated with Heidelberg principally because that is where the MS survives. It is said to have been written for reading rather than performance. There is no record known to show that it was ever given a public performance.
- 1517 The Hamburg Passion Play performed on the Market Place.
- 1523 The Good Friday Play was banned this year in Nuremberg, thus indicating that this had very probably been an annual event for some time.¹¹
- 1560 Detailed plans survive for this year for the Passion Play performed on the Weinmarkt.¹²

C) Names of Places where there are surviving Manuscripts of Texts of Passion Plays and Passion-related Plays in the German Vernacular (a few with German and Latin Texts).¹³

Note: The place name does not necessarily indicate the place where the play was performed. It indicates in many instances where the MS is now preserved. A 'Dirigierrolle', i.e. a director's 'working-copy', whilst covering the full extent of a play, normally only includes the opening parts of the players' dialogue, and not the full text.

- 1) Admont
- 2) Alsfeld, Play text and Dirigierrolle.
- 3) Augsburg.
- 4) Berlin - niederrheinisches.

- 5) Bozen.
- 6) Brixen.
- 7) Donaueschingen.
- 8) Eger.
- 9) Frankfurt, Play text and Dirigierrolle.
- 10) Freiburg.
- 11) Fritzlar.
- 12) St Gall - mittelnrheinisches.
- 13) Canon Matthias Gundelfinger's, Zurzach, near Lucerne.
- 14) Halle.
- 15) Heidelberg - rheinhessisches.
- 16) Himmelgarten - südostfälisches.
- 17) Kreuzenstein - ripuarisches.¹⁴
- 18) Lucerne - Osterspiel.
- 19) Maastricht - ripuarisches.
- 20) Osnabrück.
- 21) Prag - ostmitteldeutsches, play about Mary in the Passion.
- 22) Vigil Raber's Passion.
- 23) Sagan.
- 24) Steinach - Salvatorrolle.
- 25) Sterzing.
- 26) Strassburg - Salvatorrolle.
- 27) Villingen
- 28) Wels.
- 29) Vienna - bairisches.
- 30) Vienna - Kärntner.
- 31) Vienna - St Stephan's Cathedral.
- 32) Benediktbeuren - German/Latin.
- 33) Breslau - German/Latin.
- 34) Kaufbeuren - German/Latin.¹⁵

D) List of Easter Resurrection Plays Employing German Vernacular Speech.¹⁶

<u>Date</u>	<u>Data.</u>
First Half of 13th Century	Trier Easter Play, MS of 14th-15th century. Transitional stage from Latin to German. Latin text sung, and a vernacular translation in rhymed couplets was spoken. '200 Verse' Performed in church. The Maries descended to the crypt to visit the sepulchre. Later parts of the action took place on the crypt steps, at the tomb of Archbishop Theodoric, and in the choir. ¹⁷
From the 13th century	The person of Christ played 'Live' (first in France then in German speaking areas) in the double role of Gardener and then as Christ Triumphant.

From the 13th
century

Religious plays with Latin and German text make their appearance. The Latin text: Hymns and Sequences, was sung, the German text was spoken. The actors at this stage were 'strollers' (vagantes), cloister scholars (Klosterschüler - probably members of the choir school), and clerks.

Middle of the 13th
century.

Easter Play at Muri, performed in the open air.

From the beginning
of the 14th
century

Vernacular religious plays now begin to preponderate in the nations of the Christian West.

First half of
the 14th
century

'Innsbruck' Easter Play. Place of origin of MS of 1391 said to be 'Neustift bei Brixen'. In original Thuringian dialect, with many comic scenes.

c.1450

'Rheinisches Osterspiel', Berlin MS. From the Resurrection to the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

1464

The Redenten Easter Play dated 1464 may have been staged in the Market Place of Wismar, a Baltic city, near the monastery where the play originated.¹⁸ Or alternatively it may have been performed in Lübeck, even possibly in both towns.

1472

MS of the 'Vienna Easter Play'. Of earlier origin and presentation than MS date, revised in the Augustinian Eremitenkloster.¹⁹

From 1480

'Luzerner Osterspiele eingeführt'.²⁰

From 1570

The Brotherhood of the 'Von de Dornkrone' took over the Lucerne Easter Plays, Renwart Cysat both played and directed, 1583, 1597, and 1614. Play text worked on (this could mean revised rather than newly written), 1571 and 1583.²¹

ii) GERMAN CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS.

<u>Place and Date.</u>	<u>Data.</u>
Innsbruck, 1391	Widely regarded as the 'Urform' of such plays, 1391 is the date of the MS but the play is believed to have an earlier origin. There is no agreement as to whether the play was given stationary or processionally. It consists of but 756 lines.

The scheme is a sequence of monologues, or set speeches, called by Dora Franke who wrote a thesis on the play 'kleine dramatische Szenen'. These embrace prophecies of Christ's coming and the Apostles and their Creed. The Prophets, who include some little known ones, are identical with those found in a Rouen play. The incorporating of the Apostles' Creed into the play was something quite new. It established the traditional scope of the Corpus Christi Play as beginning with Creation and concluding with the Last Judgement.

At the beginning there is an interesting rubric which establishes the reason for such plays:

'Incipit ludus utilis pro devotione simplicium intimandus et peragendus in die corporis Christi vel infra octavas, de fide catholica',²²

A Dirigierrolle had survived but has now disappeared. It gave stage directions and the first line of each speech. Said to have been the basis for the Alsfeld Passion Play. One writer has affirmed that the Dirigierrolle indicates a Passion Play but another has said that it indicates a Corpus Christi processional play, and that its various scenes were played at successive stations. There is evidence of a procession at Corpus Christi with 'figuren', i.e. 'tableaux vivants', but Brooks rejects the idea of the play being performed processionally from station to station.²³

Künzelsau, 50 miles
a little S.E. of
Heidelberg, 1479

The date is that of the MS. No general agreement regarding manner of performance. Greiznach thought it was connected with a Corpus Christi Procession, given in one day at three stations. Another suggestion is of

a performance over three days in a meadow on a long succession of platforms. Brooks's view is that the play was performed at three stations in connection with the Corpus Christi Procession. The play has scenes from the Old Testament, and the New Testament - the Nativity cycle, the Life of Christ, the Passion, Resurrection and Harrowing of Hell, and the Last Judgement.

It takes over the whole of the Innsbruck play described above which is its source. It has 4000 'Verse'.²⁴ More information about this play is given below under 'Zerbst'.

Eger, now Cheb
Czechoslovakia,
15th century

A non-processional Corpus Christi drama. Milchsach, editor of the text, called it a Fronleichnamsspiel; Creizenach, however, overlooking its cyclic character, named it simply a Passion Play, a view adopted by most later researchers.

Michael; (1947) says there is much evidence locally for performances going back to 1443. Kindermann (1957), who does not discuss the play, gives the date, 'c. 1480', in his 'Zeit-Taffel'.

Only in the years 1500, 1501 and 1519, was the expression 'Passion' used for performances at Whitsuntide. In the intervening years the play is always called a 'Fronleichnamsspiel'. The entries relating to the Corpus Christi performances give rubrics for single specific scenes, in particular for the Three Kings, then also for the Apostles, the Prophets, St John and Adam and Eve. These last three characters were presumably in a Harrowing of Hell scene, St John being the Baptist and not the Apostle and Evangelist. Michael suggests that besides these scenes there must have been many others of which no mention is made. Nowhere is there any rubric about a procession, nor about a service in connection with the play. The performances lasted three days.

Michael believes that the naming of the play as a 'Passion' in official records is a 'terminological inexactitude', inferring that the whole cycle, Creation to the

Resurrection, relates to Corpus Christi, and that the performances at Corpus Christi were not restricted to a certain limited number of scenes.²⁵

Zerbst, 27 miles
S.E. of Magdeburg,
end of 15th -
beginning of 16th
century, probably
to 1522

On the Octave Day of Corpus Christi in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries an elaborate annual procession. Fifty groups, mostly Trade Guilds, presented scenes from the Bible and from legend. There was no spoken drama, and lines explaining each group were not uttered by members of the groups. Greizenach and others believed that the words were spoken repeatedly at certain stations on the processional route, but it is much more likely that they were spoken at only one time and at one place only, viz. the Market Place, and one person speaking for each group.

Before the procession the 'figuren' i.e. the 'tableaux vivants' were brought to the Rathaus, where the Craft Guilds probably assembled and were put in correct order. That done they formed up in the procession with the clergy and cantors of St Basilus, the cantors out in front, followed by Crafts, and behind them the clergy with the Blessed Sacrament.

Proceeding over the nearby bridge they processed to the Market Place where a raised platform had already been erected for the Blessed Sacrament. Here they made their first and most important station. First a 'Te Deum' was sung followed most probably by the Benediction of the assemblage with the elevated Sacrament. That concluded the fifty-one 'figuren' passed by the stage in order, pausing awhile for the reading of the relevant lines, each group making as it were an 'offerand' in the presence of God himself.²⁶

Of considerable interest is the affinity of the Zerbst procession with that of Künzelsau, and indirectly with that of Innsbruck. If we compare the pages of the text of Künzelsau with that of Zerbst scene for scene we find surprising agreements.²⁷

A copy of the manuscript dated 1507 in the town archives of Zerbst was published in 1842 by Friedrich Sentenis. The occasion for its compilation was the fire which severely damaged the town in 1506. It is thought the play continued performance annually until 1522 when the town took the side of Luther.

We give below the titles of various 'tableaux' and the names of the guilds or others who presented them, first in the original German, followed sometimes by the modern German equivalent, and then with the English translation, doubtful items being prefaced by a '?'.²⁸

Zerbst.

- 1) Die Ölsleger: Die Ölschläger: The Oil Pressers:

The Creation of the World.

- 2) Die Bader: The Watermen.

A Tree with a Snake, Adam & Eve, naked 'mit questen'^a being driven out by the Angel.

a. Probably, 'Quästen', lit. tassels, tufts, mop, brush, and so probably some kind of covering to simulate fig leaves.

- 3) Browerknechte: Brewers' Men:

Cain and Abel, well dressed. Abraham, King Melchizedek with bread and wine, 'fore-shadowing this Sacrament'.

- 4) Regenten: Property-owners:

Abraham with a drawn sword, carrying his son.

- 5) Die Szever vnd dreszler: Die SchHfer und ? Dreschler:
The Shepherds and ? Threshers.

Jonah in the Whale.

- 6) Die Lakenmecher: The Cloth-makers:

David the King with a harp and servant.

- 7) Die Murmeister: Die Mauermeister: The Wall-builders or
Masons:

The Four sent to spy out the land, carrying
a bunch of grapes, a Garden of Engedi going
before them.

- 8) Die Lakenmecher: The Cloth-makers:

King Solomon with his mother and their
courtiers.

- 9) Die Vorstender Vnszer Lieben Frawen: the Committee Members
(or, Governing Body) of the Guild of Our Lady.

The 'Annunciation', carried by people from
Bruch Strasse.

The Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth.

- 10) Die Wantsnyder: ? The Cloth-makers:

The Birth of Christ in the little house,
with Mary and her child inside, carried by
the beer cask-handlers.

- 11) " "

The Three Kings well equipped, pointing at
the star(s) above the house.

- 12) Vnszere Lieben Frawn Vorstender: see 9 above.

Joseph, an honourable man, well dressed,
with a bottle and bags and Mary on a donkey
being led by Joseph with his child.

- 13) Die Becker: The Bakers:

Herod the King, wearing a crown, upon a
horse, with a sceptre in his hand.

- 14) Die Barbierer: The Barbers:

John the Baptist with skin-tights, a lamb
in his arm, pointing to the sign, 'Ecce
agnus'.

- 15) " " :

Jesus tempted by the devil in the wilder-
ness.

- 16) Die Ankunschen: The Inhabitants of Ankuhn, a suburb.

Jesus in the midst of the Twelve Apostles,
all bare-footed, all wearing diadems.

- 17) Die Czymmerlewte: Die Zimmermänner: The Carpenters:

Herod, dressed as a King, with the severed
head of John together with his wife and
daughter, four armed men, and three
disciples of John in choir habit.

- 18) Die Lynwefer: Die Leinenweber: The Linen weavers:

The Resurrection of Lazarus from the grave,
Jesus with two raised fingers, Lazarus in
the grave with folded hands.

- 19) Die Boddeker: ? Die Bodeger: ? Keepers of Wine Cellars.

Jesus upon an ass, with upraised fingers,
twelve Apostles, and two young Jews out in
front throwing down cloths, with two young
Jews throwing down palm branches, and
singing, 'hic est,' etc. (i.e. Blessed is he,
etc.)

- 20) Die Kannengisser: Die Kannengiesser: ? The Water-bearers.

Jesus and Judas - Judas's treachery.

- 21) Die Ackerlewte: Die Ackerleute: The Ploughmen or Agricultural
Workers, or possibly even Graveyard Workers.

The Mount of Olives, Jesus and three
Apostles - Jesus's preparation.

- 22) Die Gerwer and Schuster: Die Gerber und Schuster: The
Tanners and Shoemakers:

Jesus with Judas who kisses him. At this
point the Twelve Apostles from Ankuhn come
up to this 'tableau' and are to stand be-
fore the Sacrament until Jesus is arrested
when they shall run away. Judas is to carry
in his hand a placard inscribed with the
words, 'Hail Master'. Then Jesus shall be
assaulted by four armed Jews, be bound and
taken away.

Annas with Jesus, Jesus walking whilst
still bound, Annas portrayed as a Bishop is
on one side and a Jew on the other lifting
up his hand as if to strike, with a placard
in the other inscribed 'Sic traditur
pontifici'. On the Market Place Jesus is to
fall down.

23) Die Bruwerknechte: The Brewwes' Men:

St Peter wearing a long cloak and a diadem.
In one hand a placard saying, 'Nescio quid
dicis'. In the left hand a placard saying,
'Non noui hominem'. On the either side of him
a framed notice, one saying, 'Et tu cum
Ihesu nazareno eras', the other saying,
'Et hic erat cum ihesu nazareno'.

24) Eyn Erbar Rath: Ein ehrbarer Ratscherr: A Worshipful
Councillor:

Jesus led bound before Caiaphas.

25) Schuster: Shoemakers:

Jesus and three Jews, a chain about
Jesus's neck, Pilate on the right, a white
board in his hand and two banners in front
of him.

26) Eyn Erbar Rath: A Worshipful Councillor:

Herod with crown and sceptre, Jesus before
him wearing a white robe, 'Vnd klatzere
daran'^a four Jews who lead Jesus bound.

a. Klatzere = Klatscherei, lit. gossip, and so
probably words of mockery.

27) Die Schuster vnd Gerwer: The Shoemakers and Tanners:

Jesus at the pillar, thrashed with rods.

28) Die Schuster: The Shoemakers:

Jesus sitting upon a stool, two (Jews)
pressing a crown of thorns upon his head,
a Jew with a cane carrying a notice say-
ing, 'Aue rex Judeorum'.

29) Die Schepfen: ? Die Schäffen(er): Perhaps an alternative
for, 'Schäffer'.

Pilate has already dressed Jesus in a
shroud with a red cloak, and put a crown
of thorns upon his head.

Two soldiers stand one behind and one in
front with a basin.

Pilate holds a placard with the words 'Ecce
homo' inscribed on it.

30) Die Snyder: Die Schneider: The Tailors:

The Way of the Cross:

Jesus carrying a cross upon his back, an old man who helps him, four Jews leading him, two Jews leading the thieves, and two little Jews who cast him down. Where the streets are wide the thieves are to walk near him. but where they are narrow behind him.

31) Die Cramer: The Merchants:

A capable, mature woman, who shall carry the 'Veronica', humbly dressed and holding up a cross.

There is darkness, Mary humbly dressed, John at Mary's side, wearing a white cloak with a naked sword turned towards Mary.

After that Mary Magdalene with a box.

Mary Cleophas dressed in black holding her name in her hand.

The Centurion dressed as a knight on a horse, by his side a servant, in his hand a placard with the words 'Vere filius dei erat', Longinus, well dressed with up-lifted spear, and a young man who leads him.

It is now dark - let the bell in the tower be rung for a short space.

The rubrics which we have so far quoted make no mention of the setting up of a cross nor how the 'crucifixion' is to be carried out, but the verses that follow at this point refer to the setting up of the cross and briefly describe the consequent crucifixion scene up to the point where the Centurion makes his declaration of belief and Longinus inserts his spear into Christ's side.²⁹

32) Vrbanus Richard, a citizen of Zerbst:

The tomb of Our Dear Lord.

33) Die Smede: Die Smiede: The Blacksmiths:

The Resurrection of Jesus, carrying a flag, wearing skin tights, and showing his five wounds.

There shall be at the tomb two well armed soldiers and two angels with white cloths.

Item, two tombs in which there are two persons wearing white hats and with their hands folded.

- 34) Die Ackerlewte: See 21 above:

St Stephen as an Evangelist, two Jews who cast Stephen down. Stephen is to have a reed in his hand.

- 35) Die Boddeker: See 19 above:

The Twelve Apostles with symbols of their martyrdom, wearing albs and with Diadems on their heads, each with their name inscribed on a placard worn on the breast.

- 36) Die Schültmeyster: The Master Gunners:

St Sebastian at a pillar wearing skin-tights, shot through with arrows, someone with a bow, and near him another with a crossbow.

- 37) Vorstender S Valentini: the Committee (or Governing Body) of the guild of St Valentine:

St George upon a horse as a knight in armour. A maiden wearing a beautifully ornamented crown, who shall lead the dragon.

- 38) Vorstender S Bartholomei: The Committee (or Governing Body) of the Guild of St Bartholomew:

St Laurence as a Levite (i.e. as a Deacon), wearing a crown, and carrying a grill in one hand, and a reed in the other.

St Ciriacus dressed as a deacon and wearing a crown, the picture (or representation) of a devil near him.

- 39) Vorstender S Nicholai: see above.

St Levin, Bishop, with mitre, choir habit and staff, a rod with a tongue.

St Nicholas, as a Bishop, with choir habit and mitre, a staff, three bags of gold in one hand, the other lifted up in blessing.

40) Die Korszner: Die Kerzner: the Candlemakers:

St Gregory shown as a Pope with a mitre and a cross

St Jeronimus as a Cardinal with a mitre and cross.

St Ambrose as a Bishop.

St Augustine as a Bishop, a cross having three rays.

They shall all have their names on their hats.

41) Die Slechterkoche: Die Schlächterkoche: The Butchers' Cooks:

St Michael as an Angel finely dressed, a cross before his head, a stole about his neck crosswise, and he shall lead a devil by a chain.

42) Die Szeler: Die Schläler: the Weighman:

St Christopher, barefooted, a child upon his neck, both having a diadem cross upon the head, the child with two uplifted fingers, and a little old man shall carry a lantern before them.

43) Vorstender S Gertrudt: see above:

Anna, dressed humbly, with her a maiden dressed as Mary, with a small child dressed like Jesus with a diadem.

Elizabeth, humbly courteous, with a servant, all with their names in their hands.

44) Die Müller: the Millers:

S Mauritz with drawn sword, wearing armour, with a silk flag bearing the name 'Mauritius', a red shield with a cross on it, all well armoured, crosses before their heads, with aprons over their loins.^a

a. Somewhat confused - the explanation may be in the following verse lines which speak of St Moritz's Legion.

45) Vorsteher der Elenden: the Rulers of the Religious Brotherhoods:

Fourteen Holy Helpers with diadems, and a cross upon their heads, Jesus as a child in their midst.

S Wendelinus, a herdsman, with a horn, a sack and a bag.

46) Vorstender Corporis Christi: see above:

St Katherine, looking beautiful wearing a crown with symbols of her martyrdom.

St Margaret, most beautifully costumed, wearing a crown, and a dragon upon her arm.

St Barbara, with a chalice and Host.

St Dorothea, a small boy holding a basket of roses.

After which there follow maidens, as many as there can be, with martyr symbols, and their names in their hands.

47) Die Lakenscherer: The Cloth Cutters:

St Ursula costumed as a queen, three 'strale'? (lit. beams, rays) in her hand, a boy with a sceptre, who bears her clothes after her.

After which there shall follow as many young maidens as can be organized, dressed in white, crosses before their heads, arrows, 'strale'? (see above) and other heraldry/symbols in their hands, four and four close together.

48) Tisscher vnd Maler: (Kunst) tischler und Maler: cabinetmakers and Painters:

Death, in flesh coloured body tights, with a suitable death cap, shall slowly creep along, in his hand he carries a scythe for cutting down. He now waits in the street.

49) Die Knochenhauer: Die Knochenhauer: the Butchers:

The Heavenly Jesus seen with his five wounds in front on a rainbow, on one side Mary, represented by a maiden, humbly dressed with folded hands. On the other side St John with a diadem, wearing skin tights and with folded hands. In the House of Heaven (or, Heavenly House) people pipe joyful sounds and there is playful activity all round about.

In front of heaven children from all over, dressed in white, are to stand and pipe Pope, Bishop and Cardinal. One half of the children with an angel walk in line to the right hand side in joyful mood. The other half of the children standing above the rest shall quietly lead a devil in a chain, and throw up their hands and shout and cry as in great excitement.

Item, on the right hand side of the rainbow, a lily.

A placard saying: 'Venite benedicti patris mei'.

On the left a sword with a placard saying: 'Ite maledicti in ignem eternum'.

At the Court an Angel is to carry a cross with all the symbols of Christ's Passion.

50) Vorstender des Hospitals: the Committee of the Hospital:

Ten maidens (i.e. virgins), nicely dressed, five, happy with their burning lamps, and five with lamps that are going out, sad and weeping.

51) Die Schoknechte: The School Staff:

Hell.

After the procession of the 'tableaux-vivants', i.e. 'post transitum figuratum', and after the performance of other rites on the Market Place the procession reforms and makes its way to the Church of St Nicolaus, where the 'figuren' go around, and the rest of the procession enters and a second station is made. They then return by the former way, presumably accompanied by the 'figuren', and a final station is made at St Basilius.³⁰

Freiburg-im-Breisgau,
Baden-Württemberg,
late 15th, early 16th
century

A 'Processionsordnung' of the late fifteenth century gives details of 'figuren' probably

mute groups, mostly based on the New Testament, given by twelve Trade Guilds and the Schoolmaster. A second 'Processionsordnung' dated 1516 gives details of an expanded version of the earlier Ordnung. Brief details of this Ordnung now follow.³¹

- 1) Painters:
Adam and Eve, and appurtenancies (i.e. MS zUbehordt = 'zubehör' - subsequent refs. given as 'etc'), Cain and Abel.
- 2) Coopers' Men:
Abraham, Isaac, Joshua and Caleb, etc.,
- 3) Bread-bakers:
2 Prophets, the Salutation, the Emperor Augustus, etc.
- 4) Quill-makers?:
Mary's Visitation of Elizabeth, the Shepherds, the Angel, the Crib.
- 5) The Tailors:
Astronomer, the Three Holy Kings.
- 6) Quill-makers?:
Simeon & Anna, Mary & Joseph at Candlemas.
- 7) Shoe-makers:
Joseph & Mary in Egypt, Herod etc.
- 8) Tailors' Men Brotherhood:
Palm Day with the 12 Disciples, Herr Ludwig Aller with the Last Supper.
- 9) Carpenter People:
The Mount of Olives.
- 10) Shoe-makers' Men's Brotherhood:
The Scourging.
- 11) The Smiths' Men's Brotherhood:
The Crowning.
- 12) Coopers:
Pilate brings Christ forth saying, 'Behold the Man', Annas & Caiaphas, etc.
- 13) Butchers:
The leading forth of the Lord (the Way of the Cross). etc.

- 14) Bernhardt Gartner^a:
Mary and Joseph following behind the Cross.
a. Probably the schoolmaster.
- 15) Goldsmiths & Painters:
The raising up of the cross etc.
The burial of the Lord, Mary lamenting.
- 16) The Brotherhood of St Sebastian:
St Sebastian.
- 17) The Merchants:
St George etc., and St Christopher.
- 18) Sons of the Burgesses?:
St Ursel, etc., St Appolonia and others.
- 19) Paul Horgansz:
'a tableau' not named, possibly - the children who held a canopy over Our Lady, as in 1599.
- 20) Tanners:
Death, the Angels with the emblematic arms of the saints.
- 21) Smiths:
Christ in the rainbow, Mary and John, the Angels with the Redeemed.
- 22) Wine-pressers?:
The condemned souls with the devil.

All the above groups were probably mute groups. The next stage was probably the introduction of short speeches for each 'tableau', leading in 1599 to the introduction into the procession of a continuous play covering the Passion, Death and Burial. ³²

Ingolstadt, near Regensburg,
Bavaria, 1507.

An Order of Procession for Corpus Christi in the year 1507 has survived in the archives of Ingolstadt and gives details of the costumed groups, the 'figuren' representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments and church legend, often given by the

trade guilds as an embellishment to the annual procession of the Blessed Sacrament. These 'figuren' are said to have been largely based upon the *Biblia pauperum*, and for the most part given mute.³³

The *Biblia pauperum* was a kind of picture Bible employing the elaborate medieval typology in which events in the Old Testament were shown to be prefigurations of events in the New Testament. Brooks gives an explanation of the system by means of parallel tables, setting Old Testament types against New Testament fulfilments.³⁴

At Ingolstadt forty-seven groups, mostly trades, presented seventy-four 'figuren'. The 'play' opens with St George and the Dragon, after which follows thirty-four antitypes, from the Old Testament, beginning with the Fall and concluding with King Solomon. The New Testament cycle commences with a 'tableau' of the Virgin Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, and concluding with the Last Judgment gives forty New Testament 'tableaux', a total of seventy-four 'tableaux' in all.

In the Nativity cycle there is a 'figur' of: 'item des Konigs Herodes tochter', i.e. Herod's daughter', and no mention of any other characters. The usual position for the daughter of Herod the Tetrarch is with him and his wife in the St John the Baptist sequence, and not in the Nativity cycle. In that cycle Herod the Great appears in the Slaughter of the Innocents with no mention of a daughter. There is the possibility that the word 'tochter' in the Ingolstadt manuscript has been wrongly transcribed from the original manuscript and that it should have been transcribed as 'doktor', i.e. a 'Consultus' as in the Wakefield (formerly known as Towneley) plays, where there are two such. Even so there remains the problem of no mention of Herod and others.³⁵

Biberach,
Baden-Württemberg.
Date unknown, probably
late fifteenth century.

An account has survived of a Corpus Christi procession of a simple nature held annually in the town of Biberach, to which was added

every ten years a number of 'figuren' mostly of Christ's passion, given by the trades guilds. After the procession each 'figur' was presented with action and spoken words on a platform on the Market Place. It is not clear, however, whether the words were spoken by individual characters, or were no more than explanatory lines spoken by a Lector, as at Zerbst. The use of a stage, however, probably indicates that the characters spoke the words themselves, although these may have been few and simple, and were spoken apparently at the end of the procession, a more convenient position than at Zerbst. There the platform was used only for the Sacrament and those accompanying it.

The following is a brief outline of the performance:

- 1) God the Father with Saints and Angels who sing 'Sanctus, etc...etc.' before Him. Creation of the Earthly Paradise and Adam and Eve. Their Expulsion by the Angel.
- 2) The Salutation, the Birth, the Three Holy Kings with their offerings, King Herod and the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, Our Lord in the Synagogue.
- 3) Our Lord's Entry on Palm Day, the Last Supper and the Foot-washing, the Greeting of Our Blessed Lady, 'seines brosis Usen'?, Mary Magdalene.
- 4) The Mount of Olives, Our Lord's Arrest, His Bringing Before the Judges, when he is brought forth by Pilate, Barnabas, His Crowning, Scourging, Sentence given by Pilate.
- 5) The Way of the Cross with the Thieves, Crucifixion with the Thieves, the Centurion, the Seven Words, the Nailing, Dropping the Cross into the Ground (the German uses only one word for this, viz, 'steclung'), the Taking Down from the Cross, Our Lady at the edge (of the scene), His being laid in the tomb, the Thieves taken from the cross, the Resurrection, the Watch by the Tomb, the Heavenly Paradise, i.e. the place of waiting immediately outside Heaven (German, 'Vorhell'), the Appearance to Mary Magdalene, St Thomas, Judas hangs himself, the Synagogue, 'Wechslung oder Wechselböuckh'?, probably the Harrowing of Hell - departed souls being given their reward, heaven or hell.
- 6) Barnabas, St Christopher, the Last Judgement, the (general) Resurrection. 36

There are also records of Fronleichnamsspiele in Calw, Baden-Württemberg, 24 miles S.W. of Stuttgart, 1498, and Marburg, Province of Hesse Nassau, Prussia, 1499.

We have no details of the 'Fronleichnamsspiele' in either Calw or Marburg. Kindermann says of these, as of the ones we have described above that out of 'Prozessionsveranschaulichungen ganze Fronleichnamsspiele' developed, i.e. complete Corpus Christi plays grew out of the earlier mute Corpus Christi 'tableaux'.³⁷

iii) SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES RELATIVE TO GERMAN RELIGIOUS PLAYS.

1) Cologne.

The Three Kings.

There are many references in English records to the Three Kings of Cologne, in a variety of spellings, details of which are given below: ³⁸

- 1) Beverley, 1520. Kings of Colan.
- 2) Canterbury, 1503/4. Three Kyngs of Coleyn.
- 3) Dublin, 1498, The three kynges of Collin.
- 4) Hereford, 1440, The iii Kings of Colen.
- 5) Lincoln, annual mentions in 16th century of the Three Kings of Cologne.
- 6) Newcastle on Tyne, 1536: iij Kynges of Coleyn.
- 7) Reading, 1539, the Kings of Cologne.
- 8) Shrewsbury, 1518 the Three Kings of Cologne.
- 9) Sleaford, 1477, the Three Kings of Cologne.
- 10) Thame, 1523, iij Kings of Colen.
- 11) The Chester Cycle contained in the 'White Book of the Pentice' (Har. MS 2150, fol 85b) includes in its cycle of twenty-five plays, Play IX, 'The 3 Kinges of Collen'. However, the Chester Cycle according to MS. Harleian 2124, has the title, 'Adoration of the Magi'.
- 12) Norwich, there are MS remains of a cycle of plays given by the Grocers. A list of c.1527 shows that the cycle included a play entitled, 'The Birth of Christ with Shepherds and iij Kyngs of Colen'.

It could be expected that Germany would provide evidence for 'tableaux' or plays featuring the Three Kings in which they would be described as 'of Cologne'. We have not found it so. The following are typical examples of normal German usage: ³⁹

- a) Biberach. die Hayligen drey Khönig.
- b) Freiburg-im-Breisgau. die heiligen trey king.

c) Zerst, die Heiligen drie Konninge.

d) Ingolstadt, refer to the Kings individually as,
König Caspar, König Walthasar and König Melchior.

The French usage is normally either, 'les Trois Rois', or 'les Mages', as for example:

- i) Caylux, Les Trois Rois. Representation.
- ii) Draguignan, Les Trois Rois. "
- iii) Paris, 1431, at the Entrée for Henry VI one of the 'tableaux' was entitled, 'l'Adoration des Trois Rois'.
- iv) Paris, 1504, at the Entrée of Anne of Brittany there was a 'tableau' of 'l'Adoration des Mages'. 40
- v) In Greban's 'Passion' the 'Visit of the Three Kings' is entitled, 'Adoration des Mages', and in the text they are referred to individually as, Melchior, Balthazar, and Gaspard. 41

The normal use in the Low Countries is, 'de drie Conijnghe', as in the Corpus Christi Procession at Courtrai (Kortrijk) in 1417, and at Oudenaarde (Audenarde) in 1555. 42

In Spain the normal usage is 'Magi' (as in St Matthew's Gospel. 2, 1), as for example in the Corpus Christi Processions at Barcelona in 1424 and again at Valencia in 1512. 43

Italy also followed the same usage at: Milan, 1336; Parma, 1414, which refers to 'una Rappresentazione dei Re Magi'; Naples, 1452; Modena, 1500; Ferrara, 1503. 44

2) Danzig - now known as Gdansk.

1522 This year there was much rejoicing in the towns of the King on Shrove Tuesday. The Danzigers made a monk like Luther, and led him to the Pope, Bishop, Cardinal, Clergy and Monks, and other such people. The Pope and his entourage used such things in the play as are customary to Catholics. As soon as Luther saw them he began to shout about such things, questioning whether they were in accordance with the Gospel. Inspired by his action a crowd gathered, burnt up books, and pointed their fingers at the Pope and his company, and each one spoke his lines at the Clergy. This made the Pope angry, he cursed Luther, struck him with candles, and deafened him with the ringing of bells, and Luther responded in the same way. It so happened that there was an Emperor there who sided with the Clergy, and condemned Luther. Upon which Luther threw down a challenge and associated himself with the rabble, whereupon there came the devil and led him away. This play was artistically (kunstlich) presented, the cause of much laughter, but at the same time very mocking of the Pope.⁴⁵

The above is blatant anti-papal propaganda. However it does show there was a tradition of play-acting in Danzig in pre-Reformation times. This play and others like it, came under the condemnation of the Polish Chancellor, Bishop Matthias of Lesslau in Cracow, in a letter addressed to the Danzig Envoy. From this it appears that there was also a play performed in 1521 which gave offence. This play represented the story of Luther from the publication of his Ninety-nine Theses (1517), up to the time of the Diet of Worms. It was performed by the Reinholdsbrüder of the Artushof, and the cast included the artist Michael von Augsburg, a pupil of Dürer's who contended with energy against catholic customs, despite the fact that but a few years earlier he had painted the Coronation of the Virgin for the High Altar of the Marienkirche.⁴⁶

At this time the region was in turmoil ecclesiastically.

Stralsund, Königsberg and Elbing, were all contending against the Pope. It seems that the Fastnachtspiel was changing its character and being used as a propaganda device in the struggle. It became a hybrid of pamphlet-type and satirical literature.⁴⁷

1525 This year there was a performance on the Market Place of a Fastnachtspiel based on the local tragedy of a daughter murdered by her mother.⁴⁸

1529 At Fastnacht the shipping masters processed a beautifully decorated ship through the streets of the town.⁴⁹

1559 A play of 'Isaak and Rebekka' written by Pfarrer Petrus Praetorius of Königsberg was performed in Danzig at a wedding.

1560 Heinrich Moller,⁵⁰ the new Rector of the local Gymnasium, located at the former Franciscan Convent, introduced the custom of the performance of comedies by his scholars, which in Elbing, the Rector Graphaeus had been producing for some years. The piece was a version in German of the Latin version of the Old Testament play of Nabal written fifteen years earlier by the Zürich theologian Rudolf Gualtherus, which Moller had prepared himself. An edition of the play was printed in Danzig in 1564.⁵¹

23 January 1564/6

Another performance at the Gymnasium of the play 'Nabal' by scholars of the Rector, Heinrich Moller.⁵²

6 February 1570/71

The 'Chronicle' of the Danziger Martin Gruneweg (bn.1562) records that this year he saw a Tournament 'Auf dem Langen Markte' at the conclusion of which were performed four comedies, one being a 'Last Judgement' performed by schoolchildren and artisans.⁵³

7 February 1570/71

On this date the apprentice cabinet-makers 'walked' through the town with a comedy, the name of which is not given. They numbered about a hundred. They walked in excellent order, and were a sight to be seen..... Behind them was a sled, on which a beautiful tower had been erected, on which stood players blowing their shawms, and within there sat an old fat woman...

The next part of the record is difficult to translate meaningfully and accurately. Certain activities are described, and the climax of the event is the firing of rockets from the tower and its setting on fire with the old woman inside, 'und dennoch alles vergebens were, liessen darnach rakitte aus dem thrum und verbrannten ihn mitt dem weibe, das also folck ihre freude hatte, ('that thus the people might have their pleasure').

For the above occasion the butchers provided a range of cooked fare from a number of vehicles and, the shipping master led a beautifully fitted-out ship complete with rigged sails through the town, from which there was shooting and jumping over swords through hoops.⁵⁴

From now on comedies of various kinds are performed from time to time.

3) Hamburg. ⁵⁵

1466 (received) 36 lb. 16s. 6d. by means of begging collections from citizens and our parishioners for the purposes of the play of the Lord's Passion.

(Laid out) 85 lb. 4s. 6d. for use in connection with the Lord's Passion, as fully contained in the oblong book.

1 lb. 12s. for entertainment (i.e. refreshments) for those who took part in the play of the Passion of Christ.

2 lb. 2s. to Tilon Nagel for a length of cloth for a tunic (undergarment, skin, coating, covering) for the Saviour in the play of the Passion of Christ.

13s. to Dithmar Krudener, a sewer, for repairing certain garments for the play of the Passion of the Lord.

1480. 31 lb. 8s. to Hinric Funhoff, a painter, for various pictures (pro diversis picturis) for use in connection with the play of the Passion of the Lord.

1481 1 lb. 4s. to Johann Morsz for various garments made for the play of the Passion.

16s. to the advocate for ale at the play of the Passion.

- 1434 A play for Shrove Tuesday, 'Solomon's First Judgement(s)' (Salomons erste gerichte). Said to be the earliest known evidence of a Fastnachtspiel with this title. The text has not survived. 'The judgement of Solomon' became a popular theme for Fastnachtspiele.⁵⁶
- 1436 A play with a strong prejudice against women entitled 'Von der Eselbrücke', in which men were encouraged to give badly behaved women a sound thrashing.⁵⁷
- 1437 Alleged performance of a play of the Annunciation of Mary.⁵⁸
- 1439 A Fastnachtspiel entitled 'von den Fünf Tugend' (i.e. 'Of the Five Virtues') fundamentally a morality in character.⁵⁹
- 1447 Production of a play entitled 'Wie die Löwe vom Thron gestossen ward', a play about loyalty with political overtones.⁶⁰
- 1452 Production of a play in which it was wanted to punish a wolf that had caused great havoc among the herds. One farmer considered the greatest punishment he could give the wolf was to give him his wife.⁶¹
- 1462 Performance of the play, '...van dem olden wyve de denduvel banth'.⁶²
- On the popular theme of the strife between the 'old wife and the devil'.
- 1464 Possible performance of the so-called 'Redentiner Osternspiel'.
- 1466 This year was performed a morality said to be related to the early moralities of the Low Countries. It was performed on a waggon stage by the Zirkelbrüder and was entitled, 'Von der alten Welt, von der neuen Welt und von Rechtfertigung und ihrer Tochter Treue und einem Bruder Wahrheit und Masshalten' (About, the Old World, about the New World, and about Righteousness and her sister Loyalty and a Brother called Truth and Keeping things in Balance).⁶³
- Another play of the 1462 type.
- 1470 Performance of a piece entitled, 'van eynen olden wyve unde van den duwelen, de fochten tosamende umme eynen schatt, de begraven was, unde dat olde wiff vorwan den duvel und sloch en unde banth en sere'.⁶⁴
- 1477 Fastnachtspiel performed this year had in its middle scenes of an Emperor who wished to put his wife to the test with a knight. The Empress accepted the knight's

invitation to a 'rendez-vous' on condition that she met him in the dark, so that he might be thoroughly thrashed. However, instead of the knight the Emperor himself appeared in the dark, in order, as he hoped, to prove his wife, but instead he received the thrashing intended for the knight.⁶⁵

- 1484 The Lübeck play of 'Henselyn' is probably to be identified with the play about 'Rechtigkeit' (righteousness) in the Zirkelbrüder Play List of this year. It is about a father who sends three sons forth in search of 'righteousness'. They take Henslyn, the fool, with the consequence that the audience is often treated to a game of funny questions and funny answers. They make their rounds of all sorts of men, from the Pope and the Emperor at one end of the scale, to farmers and farm-workers at the other end. Town dwellers, however, are passed over, Henselyn thinking that they should not be asked first. The Emperor makes the excuse that he has given his 'righteousness' to the Electors. The farmers complain that they had never heard anything about it, i.e. about 'righteousness'.⁶⁶

This play is classed as a morality.

- 1487 Performance of a Fastnachtspiel entitled 'van der rechtverdicheydt'.⁶⁷

5) Regensburg.

- 1194 In the year of Our Lord MCXCIIII there was celebrated in Ratisbon the ordo of the creation of the angels and the fall of Lucifer and his (angels), the creation of man, and the ordo of the prophets...⁶⁸
- 1469 This year there was a performance of a religious play on Good Friday.⁶⁹
- 1470 It is recorded that Kalman^a was interrogated in a friendly manner on Friday after the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross... Item, how was it that he could so movingly play the part of St Peter on Good Friday a year ago purporting to be a Christian; to which he replied he had not done that, but he had been present on Good Friday this year...⁷⁰

a. Kalman was a Regensburg Jew, who had allowed himself to be baptized, and who was now being cross-examined on account of his return to Judaism.

The Regensburg Latin Spielfragmente - A Miscellany of Short Plays. 71

- a) A Play of Gideon of c. 1188 which tells of the events of Gideon's life in a dialogue between individual performers and the choir, including a two-part dialogue between 'Angelus' and Gideon, a pantomimical scene of the Miracle of the Fleece, and Gideon's God-trusting call to battle.
- b) The Play of Salomo (i.e. Solomon) und Ecclesia., 1184-1189 is based on the Song of Solomon and includes the Daughters of Jerusalem who sing various anthems from the 'Common of a Virgin' (i.e. the Mass used for a Virgin for whom no special Mass has been written).

The Song of Solomon is also known as the Song of Songs and Canticles. Parts are in dialogue, in some cases continuous, and both the first and second person are used, and so many have considered the book a drama. In the Armenian Bible both the speakers and those addressed are indicated by the inclusion of stage directions. Various suggestions have been made for the plot, which is elusive. One suggests that Solomon tries to win the affections of a country maid, who rejects him and remains true to her rural lover.⁷²

6) Stralsund.

Neumann quotes from a document written in a crude form of contemporary Low German, which is difficult to translate with any high degree of exactitude. We give a rough summary translation below.

Before

1523 At Christmas this year everybody made their way to church at the stroke of eleven for the Christ Mass which was to last for four to five hours. There was some great singing and ringing. Young men were there, some standing at the organ, some at the pulpit, some at the throne, others behind the choir. Some of the bigger ones had dressed themselves in women's clothes, some had turned out in white, one was accompanied by a large dog, another by a ram, a third had a stinking goat. They were all gathered together in one area...making noises at one another during the Mass, walking up and down in a disorderly way, and

there were also pigs and oxen, making loud noises... There was dancing and vaulting, not particularly skilful, after they had been occupied by Legion the devil. That was the first part, (or, beginning). This took place, apparently, when the Angel announced the Birth of Christ to the shepherds,...⁷³

Before

1523 There was at St John's a Guardian, named Schlaggert, who had five or six puppets made...one represented Christ before Annas, another Caiaphas, another Pilate, and so forth....

...When the middle of the sermon had been reached Christ appeared with a cross, with many Jews, of pitiful appearance, and the Pope was there, alongside the Jews, as if he would free him from their hands.⁷⁴

7) Vienna.

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The Gottleichnams-Bruderschaft.

The above guild first comes to notice in 1437. It was reorganized in 1479 when it had a membership of a thousand or more drawn from all classes of the community. In that respect it differed from the Scottish Guilds of the Holy Blood found eventually in almost all Scottish burghs, being particularly strong in the burghs of the East Coast. In Scotland the Guild Merchant, whose members normally also constituted the membership of the Burgh Council, took responsibility for the staging of the public pageantry and plays, not taking part themselves as actors, but requiring the Craft Incorporations to provide the actors from their membership. The Scottish Guild Merchants normally took as their Patron the Holy Blood and had an altar with that dedication in the Burgh Church.

Our earliest notice of an outdoor Corpus Christi Procession in Vienna is in 1431.⁷⁶ In course of time 'tableaux' were added and out of these evolved the Corpus Christi Passion Play in the vernacular. No doubt the brethren walked in the procession from

the date of their foundation but they did not take on the responsibility under Rollinger of mounting the Corpus Christi Passion Play until 1505.⁷⁷

Neumann reproduces detailed accounts for the annual outdoor procession and play for the period 1499-1534, quoting for the most part from the Vienna Diocesan Archives. He provides a wealth of detail.⁷⁸

Under the year 1504 he gives details of the various gifts of play properties for the Corpus Christi play given by Wilhelm Rollinger, including a note of the 'mantel for Maria' given by his Hausfrau, and gifts made by Herr Matthew Heupperiger.⁷⁹

Under the year 1513 there is a detailed 'Inventar der Fronleichnamsbruderschaft'.⁸⁰

After 1534 expenses for the Corpus Christi play cease, and are replaced by expenses incurred in connection with the play performed on Good Friday up to the year 1607.⁸¹

Wilhelm Rollinger's Corpus Christi Day Passion Play and the Gottleichnams-Bruderschaft of Vienna.

The Expense Accounts of the Bruderschaft reproduced by Neumann give detailed information about the requisites for the play, costumes, arms, armour, masks, and musical instruments, but provide us with no precise information regarding the text, i.e. the text used for performance at Corpus Christi. We can, however,

form some idea of its extent from the 'Raitbücher' (i.e. lit. 'Ride-books', and so 'Procession Books'). These show that the cast consisted of four groups as follows:

- i) The Lord God with his followers: 50-80 persons.
- ii) Jewry, or 'Synagog': 60-114 persons to whom have to be added the 'Schotten-Schüler'^a who provided the singing. These were on waggons, whilst Annas and Caiaphas rode horses close by.
 - a. Boys from the Schottenstife - lit. Scots Chantry or Foundation, and so possibly sons of ex-patriate Scottish traders.
- iii) The riding Attendants ('Trabanten' - lit. Footmen): 50-60 persons.
- iv) People on foot in harness (i.e. armoured suiting): 40-90 persons.

After these came groups of Angels and the performers of leading roles with individual speaking parts. All we know about the text on which this Processional Passion Play was based is that Meister Wilhelm had a Register in Rhyme in which the whole passion was written.

If we collate all the various sources relative to this Passion Play we find that it was made up of the following constituents:

- i) The College of Jews in which the death of Christ was decided upon.
- ii) The Feet-washing.
- iii) The Last Supper.
- iv) The Treachery of Judas.
- v) The Mount of Olives, i.e. The Agony in the Garden.
- vi) The taking prisoner of Jesus.
- vii) The Bringing before Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate and Herod.

- viii) The Mocking of Jesus.
- ix) Further scenes before Pilate.
- x) The Crowning with Thorns.
- xi) Behold the Man.
- xii) Pilate sentences Jesus.
- xiii) The Hand-washing of Pilate.
- xiv) The Leading Forth of Christ along the Way of the Cross full of spectators through certain parts of the town, including the Meeting with the Women of Jerusalem and Our Lord's several Falls.
- xv) Simon of Cyrene who helped Him to carry the Cross.
- xvi) The two Robbers in the Procession.
- xvii) The Crucifixion of Christ and the two robbers.
- xviii) Christ on the Cross.
- xix) The scene under the Cross.
- xx) The Promise to the Penitent Robber.
- xxi) The Piercing with the Sword, the Taking down from the Cross and the Burial.

The scenes before the Bearing forth of the Cross were played on the Neuer Markt and for this purpose in 1505 four stages were erected. At the 'Bearing Forth' the Procession made its way to St Stephan's Graveyard, where the concluding scenes were acted, again upon a stage, or more possibly a number of stages were erected around the square outside the Cathedral. The Burial took place 'in des von Tirna Cappellen', and that concluded the Procession.

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When in 1505 the Gottsleichnams-Bruderschaft led by Wilhelm Rollinger took over the annual Corpus Christi Play, the religious

theatre of Vienna of the late middle ages was coming to its full blossoming. More than two hundred people became involved and the staging became even more lavish than hitherto.⁸³ Rollinger died in Vienna in 1521.

The Annual Palmesel Ceremony on Palm Sunday at St Stephan's Cathedral, Vienna.

There is a record that shows a new 'Palmesel' was made for the above church in 1435. As from the year 1512 the Account Books record expenses for the 'Riding of Christ' on Palm Sunday, when they provided a wooden ass such as mentioned above, which was pulled around the outside of the church by four men. One of those who helped in the making was Meister Wilhelm Rollinger.

The annual 'Palmesel' ceremony was a special feature of late medieval Viennese life. As was done in other parts of Christian Europe in the early middle ages the Entry of Our Lord into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday was re-enacted by a priest who rode into church upon a she-ass, there to be greeted by the 'Hosannas' of the congregation. Later a carved wooden ass was substituted for the live she-ass, as was, no doubt, done at Cologne (see above). This wooden ass was surmounted by a carved wooden figure of the Saviour, and was led along in the procession on the rollers attached to its feet. In Vienna there is already evidence from the fourteenth century for the use of such a 'Palmesel' in the artistically costumed Entry scene.⁸⁴

8) Basle (Basel).Summary. Extracts from Records.

- a) 1420. When this coming Christmas bishops are appointed, both men and scholars, and those who go about as devils, the authorities state that they are not willing that anybody should go about in the manner of devils, neither in the churches nor about the town, because thereby the service of God is hindered and disorganized.
- b) 1432. The authorities order that nobody is to go about wearing a devil's hat.
- c) 1436. Nobody is to go about wearing a devil's hat, or in the fashion of ghouls.
- d) 1441 and 1447.
In both these years the above prohibitions were renewed.
- e) 1519. This year the teacher Master Martin Vonvillere, a most enthusiastic man, instituted the 'History of the Three Kings'. Besides the Three Kings there was Herod with a great company of Courtiers, including scribes and pharisees of whom I (i.e. the diarist) was one. Anna Bechimerin was Mary. This was acted on the Sunday after the Feast of the Thrae Kings' (i.e. On 9 January), on a very cold day.⁸⁵
- f) The Basler Bruchst  ck (i.e. Fragment).

This has been treated by some scholars as the fragment of a 'Fastnachtspiel' (i.e. Shrove Tuesday Play), a view rejected by others. Neumann says that it is a part of an extensive 'Teufelsspiel' from the second half of the fifteenth century. Creizenach believed the fragment should be taken as part of an Easter Play.

The MS was part of a collection donated by the Basler Chaplain, Vischer von Wolfach to the Basle Carthusians. Linguistically the MS shows marked traces of Basle/Upper Alsatian speech and so the attribution to Basle is probably correct.⁸⁶

Sessions of the Basle Council were attended by the following Scottish clergy:

- i) Thomas Livingston, a Cistercian, and a prominent figure at the Council.
- ii) John Althimer.

- iii) Ingerame Lyndesay, 'familiar priest and acolet' to the Pope, and two attendants.
- iv) Walter, Abbot of Arbroath, and ten assistants.
- v) Master Alexander Lawder, and six attendants.
- vi) Master Adam of Auchinleck.⁸⁷

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'C'. GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

1. Ekehard SIMON ed. *The Theatre of Medieval Europe, New Research in Early Drama* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, CUP, 1991) [Essay by Hansjürgen Linke] 207-24, 208,9.
2. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1957-90, 9 vols.) vol.1, 513-19.
3. William TYDEMAN *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (CUP, 1978) 131.
4. TYDEMAN. 130,1.
5. " 147-9.
6. KINDERMANN (as in n.2) vol.1, 240,56 and 260. re Lichtenthaler see, vol.1, 291.
7. KINDERMANN vol.1, 265.
8. " " 265; TYDEMAN, 145,60; Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, 82-4.
9. KINDERMANN vol.1, 283; Neil C. BROOKS 'Processional Drama and Dramatic Processions in Germany in the Late Middle Ages' *JEGP* 32 (1933) 141-71, 156.
10. TYDEMAN 138,60.
11. " 240.
12. " 139.
13. Christine STÖLLINGER-LÖSER ed. *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters - Verfasser Lexikon* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 8 vols as at 1992) vol.7, 352,3.
14. 'Ripuarisch' - the Franks were a group of Germanic tribal peoples who settled in an area extending from north of the river Main and reaching as far as the North Sea. They consisted of three separate tribes, the Salians, the Ripuarians and the Chatti, or Hessians. At the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century, when the Roman Legions withdrew from the banks of the Rhine, the Salians installed themselves there as an independent people. The Ripuarians settled in the fifth century in compact masses on the left bank of the Rhine and at sometime in that century they seized Cologne, which was subsequently recaptured by the Romans. However, it finally came into the possession of the

Ripuarrians in 463, and they eventually occupied all the territory from Cologne to Trier, Aachen, Bonn and Zülpich becoming their principal centres. As a consequence Roman civilization and the Latin language disappeared from the region. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* eleventh edition, 1910-11, 29 vols., vol.11, 35,6.)

Because of their particular linguistic characteristics certain of the above manuscripts are designated by regional names, as for example, MSS Kreuzenstein (17), Maastricht (19), both classified as 'ripuarisch'. There is one other manuscript in the above list not so classified but which probably ought to be at least classified as a near relation. It is MS Berlin - Niederrheinisches, for the Nieder-rhein area, including Cologne, is the region where the 'ripuarisch' characteristics are to be found. In fact elsewhere in this Verfasser Lexikon this Berlin manuscript is attributed to 'Ein ripuarisch Schreiber' (see vol.1, 727,8) It follows that any manuscript that can be classified either as 'niederrheinisch' or 'ripuarisch' may possibly have had its origin in Cologne or the Cologne area. However we have found no record of such a manuscript being credited to Cologne.

15. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER (see n.13) vol.7, 352,3. Details regarding the various manuscripts assigned to certain regions are to be found in this Lexikon scattered throughout the series under their individual names in alphabetical order.
16. KINDERMANN (as n.2) 511-16. Kindermann's 'Zeittafel' (page 515) gives 1450 for the date, whereas his text (page 266) gives 1480, the date we have quoted.
17. TYDEMAN (as n.3) 55.
18. " 138.
19. KINDERMANN (as n.2) 516.
20. " " 518. (See our n.16 above.)
21. " " 519.
22. Wolfgang F. MICHAEL 'Das deutsche Drama des Mittelalters' *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* 20 (de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 1971) 30-33, especially 31; TYDEMAN (as in n.3) 101; 261, n.59; 265, n.32.
23. BROOKS (as in n.9) 159,60.
24. " " " 162; MICHAEL 33-42, 33, 36.
25. MICHAEL 46-8; KINDERMANN (as n.2) vol.1, 516.
26. " 62-5; BROOKS (as in n.9) 144-6
27. For a detailed comparison see, MICHAEL 63,4.
28. Friedrich SINTENIS 'Beschreibung einer im Jahre 1507 zu Zerbst Aufgeführten Prozession' *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* vol 2 (1842) 278-97.
29. SINTENIS 290.

30. BROOKS (as in n.9) 146.
31. " " " 147-56, especially, 149,50; MICHAEL (as n.22) 52-9.
32. " " " 155.
33. Neil C. BROOKS 'An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession and the *Biblia Pauperum*' *JEGP* 31 (1936) 1-16, 1; MICHAEL (as n.22) 52-9.
34. BROOKS (as in n.33) 2-10, where the writer gives a detailed explanation of the Old Testament and New Testament parallels. See also, 11-16 where the 'figuren' are set out in detail.
35. BROOKS (as in n.33) 13 and n.19.
36. BROOKS 'Processional Drama,..etc.' (as in n.9) 146,7.
37. KINDERMANN (as n.2) vol.1, 251.
38. Merie PEARSON 'The Relation of the Corpus Christi Procession to the Corpus Christi Play in England' *Journal of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 18, 1 (1915) 110-65. Items 1-9, 114-48; or, Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Drama* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, 340,4, 364,8, 378, 385, 392,4. Items 9, 11 & 12, CHAMBERS, vol.2, 395, 408, 425,6. Item 10, Lawrence BLAIR 'A Note on the Relation of the Corpus Christi Procession to the Corpus Christi Play in England' *MLN* 54, 2 (1940) 83-95, 92.
39. BROOKS 'Processional Drama, etc...' (as in n.9) a. 147. b. 149. SINTENIS (as n.28) c. 283; BROOKS 'An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession, etc...' (as n.33) d. 13.
40. L. Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, etc.* (Hachette et Cie., Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, Item i, 46; Item ii, 11; Item iii, 190,1; Item iv, 202.]
41. Arnoul GREBAN *Le Mystère de la Passion* eds. Micheline de Combarieu du GRÉS et Jean SUBRENAT (Éditions Gallimard, Amand, France, 1987) 136-40.
42. Frans de POTTER *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemeente-feesten in Vlaanderen* (Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren, Gent, 1870) 38, 35.
43. N.D. SHERGOLD *A History of the Spanish Stage* (OUP, 1967) 57, 56.
44. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi Editore, Rome, 1891, facsimile, 1966, 2 vols.) vol.1, 197, 277,83, 337,9.
45. Johannes BOLTE *Das Danziger Theater* (Verlag von Leopold Voss, Hamburg and Leipzig. 1895) 1.
46. BOLTE 1 & 2.

47. Joseph GREGOR *Weltgeschichte des Theaters* (Phaidon Verlag, Zurich, 1933) 231.
48. BOLTE 2.
49. " 9. n.1.
50. " 2, 3.
51. " 3.
52. " 3-7.
53. " 7,8 and n.5. Bolte suggests this 'Last Judgment' could be that written by Hans Sachs.
54. " 9.
55. Bernd NEUMANN *Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit zur Aufführung Mittelalterlicher religiöser Dramen im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Artemis Verlag, Munich and Zurich, 1987, 2 vols.) vol.1, 400-2.

On the above pages Neumann reproduces copies of these two items headed 'Bekanntmachung des Rates zu einer geplanten Passionsspielaufführung', i.e. Banns for the forthcoming planned performance. These are believed to relate to the play of 1466.

Collecting on the streets for forthcoming plays was the practise in Perth. See VOLUME ONE. CHAPTER FIVE. 9) PERTH. Public Collections. 13 and 20 June 1520.
56. Eckhard CATHOLY 'Das Fastnacht Spiel des Mittelalters, Gestalt und Funktion' *Hermanaea Germanistische Forschungen, Neue Folge* ed. Helmut de BOOR (Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, 1969) vol.8, 85 and n.2. See also, 260.
57. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (see n.2) vol.1, 430 - a 'Fastnachtspiel'.
58. NEUMANN (as n.55) vol1, 437 and n.2030.
59. KINDERMANN (as n.2) vol.1, 430.
60. As n.59, A 'Fastnachtspiel'.
61. " " " "
62. CATHOLY (as n.56) vol.8, 294 and n.3.
63. KINDERMANN (as nn.57/2) vol.2, 442.
64. CATHOLY *Hermanaea Germanistische Forschungen, etc.* vol.8, 294 and n.3.
65. KINDERMANN (as n.57) vol.1, 430.

66. KINDERMANN (as n.57) vol.1, 442,3.
67. CATHOLY (as n.56) *Hermanaea Germanistische Forschungen, etc.* vol.8, 294, nn.2, 3, 8. The plays of 1484 and 1487 may be the same.
68. NEUMANN (as n.55) vol.1, 610.
69. " " vol.1, 611.
70. " " " "
71. STÖLLINGER-LÖSER *Verfasser Lexikon, etc.* Vol.7, Ulrich MEHLER 'Regensburger Spielfragmente (Lat.)' 1100,01.
72. Charles GORE ed. *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture* (SPCK, London, 1928/37, 2 vols.) D.S. MARGOLIOUTH 'The Song of Solomon', vol.1, 411-18, 413,4.
73. NEUMANN (as n.55) vol.1, 673 and n.2648. Apparently the event took place 'in Pawestdhome', Stralsund, i.e the Cathedral of St Paul.
74. NEUMANN (as n.55) vol.1, 674, and n.2649. Extract of a fragment from a Convent of the Order of St Clare - Ribbentitz, the Chronicler being Lambrecht Slagghert, A Franciscan of Stralsund.
75. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (see n.2) vol.1, 261.
76. " vol.1, 251.
77. " vol.1, 263,5.
78. NEUMANN (as n.55) vol.1,
1499-1503, 703,4 and nn.2813-17;
1504-1512, 705-27 and nn.2820-2994;
1513, 727-33 and nn.2997-3024.
1516-34, 733-66 and nn.3924/1-
79. " vol.1, 704 and n.2818.
80. " vol.1, 727-33 and nn.2997-3024.
81. " vol.1, 767-72 and nn.3326-3330/1-10.
82. KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (as n.2) vol.1, 262 and n.31.
83. " vol.1, 263,5.
84. " vol.1, 515, 261.
85. NEUMANN (as n.55) vol.1, a. and b. 124 and nn.43,4;
c. 124 and n.45; d. 124 and nn.46,7; e. 125 and n.48.
86. CATHOLY (as n.56) *Hermanaea Germanistische Forschungen, etc.* vol.8, 279 and n.3; 289 and n.3; 290.

See also Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.) vol.1, 247;
NEUMANN (as n.55) vol.1, 828 and n.3609.
87. J.H. BURNS *Scottish Churchmen at the Council of Basle* (J.S. Burns and Sons, Glasgow, 1962) 71,2.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPENDIX 'D'.
REPRESENTATIONS GIVEN IN CERTAIN
ITALIAN CITIES
BEFORE THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'D', ITALY.

REPRESENTATIONS GIVEN IN CERTAIN ITALIAN CITIES BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

1) Bologna.

a) According to a letter of 16 July 1496 addressed by Floriano Dulfo to the Duke of Mantua a farce was presented in Bologna in which there was

coperto azuro stellato che ne pictore ne sculptopre, ne ingegno humano saperebe ne pensare ne fare il piu bello.

(An azure starry covering such as no painter, sculptor, or human genius could imagine or excel.)

Nicoll says that stages used at Ferrara (1486), at Rome (1499) and that at Bologna (1496) represent the basis of the Renaissance and of the modern stage.¹

b) In 1506 there took place in Bologna a performance of a morality entitled, 'Contrasto fra Carnevale e Quaresima', in which by means of personifications the conflict between 'Carneval' and 'Lent' were portrayed, i.e. the conflict between indiscipline and discipline, etc. The morality is said to derive from earlier thirteenth century forms.²

2) Ferrara.

a) We have no information on *Laudi* from this city.

b) According to the chronicler Girolamo Maria of Ferrara there took place on Good Friday, 20 April 1481, in the Court Chapel of the Duke of Ferrara, a performance of the Passion of Christ. The Duke and Duchess, ladies and gentlemen of the court, and the Reverend Monsignor Ascanio of Milan, were all present, and the event stirred up considerable devotion. This is a 'Devozione'.

The performance was given after the preaching of the sermon, on a boarded stage near to and in front of the altar, extending from wall to wall, and sufficiently large. On it there was the head of a serpent, made of wood, which opened and closed its jaws. Here was the Limbo of the Holy Patriarchs and a properly made hill.

First Mary Magdalene came forward and spoke some words; then St John, but by the Crucifix; then the Virgin Mary, with the women who accompanied her to the tomb, and she also spoke some words; then came somebody representing the person of Christ. He went over to the place where there was the head of the hydra or serpent, to lead out the Holy Patriarchs from Limbo, and said, 'Atolite portas'; and he himself opened the mouth of the serpent and XIV of them came out from inside, singing and praising the Lord, and kissing the cross...Then came Nicodemus who sang some verses...and Our Lord's Mother, the Virgin Mary, sang as she took her Son's body into her arms, and then wrapped it in linen before laying it to rest in the tomb...³

c) In 1489 on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday the events of both those days were dramatically portrayed, partly in Latin and partly in Italian. It is noteworthy that the news of the arrest of Jesus is brought to the Mother of God by the 'Man born Blind' healed by Jesus. The Good Friday play connected up with the sermon preached on the Piazza; the hanging of Judas Iscariot provided the opportunity for a great Demon scene.⁴

d) On 13 March 1490 (a Saturday, the day before Sunday Lent III) the Passion of Christ was represented most excellently under the

auspices of Duke Hercole^a in the Piazza. Similarly the Assumption was performed on the 25th (March - a Thursday) and it was the most beautiful thing ever seen there.⁵

a. Also appears as; Duke Ercole d'Este.

Items b) and c) are probably correctly classified as 'Devozioni' rather than 'Rappresentazioni'. It is possible, however, that the Assumption referred to above was a 'Rappresentazione'.

For plays at the Cathedral Piazza a huge stage was erected along one of its sides.⁶

e) The revival of classical plays is first heard of towards the end of the fifteenth century in Ferrara in 1486 and again a decade later in Bologna and Rome (see above, Bologna,) when plays of Seneca, Plautus and Terence were produced.⁷

f) At Ferrara under Ercole d'Este, Duke of that city, dramatic performances of classical plays were given with great enthusiasm. A classical play of some sort was given in 1471 and in 1486 there was a revival there of the 'Menaechmi' of Plautus.⁸

A contemporary account of it:

'in lo suo cortile...fu fato suso uno tribunale di legname, con case v merlade, con una fenestra e uscio per ciasouna; poi venne una fusta...e traverso il cortile con dieci persone dentro con remi e vela, del naturale'.

(In the courtyard...was erected a wooden stage with battlemented houses. There was a window and a door in them. Then a ship came in...and crossed the courtyard. It had ten persons in it and was fitted with oars and a sail in a most realistic manner).

g) From Ferrara comes the earliest known firm record of the use of stage perspective with the performance in 1508 of Ariosto's *Cassaria*, in which the scene of Mytilene contrived by Pellegrino da Udine, presented to the audience 'una contracta et prospettiva di una terra cum case, chieses, campanilli et zardini'.⁹

(A painting with a perspective of a landscape with houses, churches, towers, and gardens.)

3) Lucca.

A document dated 9 April 1442 (its provisions reaffirmed in 1443) promulgated by the town council forbade the future performance by pious societies and confraternities of all devotional spectacles, including 'rappresentazioni', on account of certain improprieties referred to in a sermon preached by a German Augustinian monk, Gottschalk Hole, who had spent some time in Italy. In Sermo 54, for Quinquagesima Sunday, he explains that he has read of a blasphemous play performed in Lucca. In the play someone played Jesus, another the Pope, a third the Emperor, a fourth the King of France, a fifth the Lord of Lucca. This latter had summoned all the others, even the Lord Jesus Christ, to come to his throne and pay him homage.¹⁰

4) Pavia.

We know only of 'mystères' with biblical characters played on the streets at the Entry of Charles VIII of France on his way to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, 14 October 1494.¹¹

5) Ravenna.

A 'Quem quaeritis?' trope of the eleventh or twelfth century has survived from Ravenna. A Christmas trope of the Shepherds at the Manger of the eleventh-twelfth centuries has also survived.¹² We know of no other relevant records.

6) Siena.

a) In 1273 there was a 'Rappresentazione' of the life of St Ambrose of Siena to celebrate the Papal absolution of excommunicants. A text of the play was published 23 August 1508.¹³

b) On 14 and 15 June 1450 to celebrate the canonisation of St Bernard a chronicler recorded that 'There was a beautiful festival and 'Rappresentazione' for his (i.e. St Bernard's) canonisation when the whole of Siena made festival and everybody had as much food and beer as they wanted, and the Bishop of Siena sang the Mass in the Piazza'.¹⁴ Details of the 'Rappresentazione' are not given, but it was probably the story of the saint's life, including a rehearsal of the miracles of which evidence had to be provided before canonisation.

c) From Siena also comes the unique 'Sacra Rappresentazione' of the Sienese Saint Giovanni Colombini. We have no precise date for this, but it is probably a product of the fifteenth century.¹⁵

d) From the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century there flourished the famous Sienese dramatist and producer

Nicolo Campari who preferred to be known as Strascino. His name is associated with a species of performances known as Farmer or Peasant Plays. Many of these performances were in the nature of pieces written for performance by individual virtuosos, who performed solo, imitating the voices of various characters. They were given as an accompaniment to wining and dining occasions, and sometimes were accompanied by singing and dancing. This type of performance falls outside our brief and will accordingly be given no further consideration.¹⁶

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'D'. ITALY.

1. Allardyce NICOLL *The Development of the Theatre* (George Harrap and Co. Ltd., London, Fourth Revised Edition, 1958) 82.
2. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1957-70, 9 vols.) vol.1, 433,4, 517.
3. Alessandro d'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Bardi Editore, Rome, 1891, facsimile, 1966, 2 vols.) vol.1, 290,1.
4. D'ANCONA vol.1, 291,2; Wilhelm CREIZENACH *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.) vol.1, 333,4.
5. D'ANCONA vol.1, 295.
6. *Enciclopedia della Spettacola* (Rome, 9 vols. and 2 Supplements) vol.6, 646.
7. NICOLL 81,2.
8. " 82.
9. " 86.
10. CREIZENACH vol.1, 334, n.2, cont'd; D'ANCONA vol.1, 299, 300.
11. Sandro STICCA ed. *The Medieval Drama* (Sunny Press, Binghampton, U.S.A., 1972) 99-119.
12. Karl YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 206,7, and vol.2, 4 and 568, n.3, note regarding page 4.
13. D'ANCONA (see n.3) vol.1, 100 and n.3, 101.
14. " " " vol.1, 282 and n.1.
15. KINDERMANN (see n.2) vol.1, 337.
16. " " " vol.1, 417-19, 433.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPENDIX 'E' SCANDINAVIA

CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'E', SCANDINAVIA.

a) Drama in Denmark.

That pre-Christian cultural forms lingered on in Denmark and Scandinavia generally can be seen in plays performed by the Papageiengesellschaft in Aalborg, where in the 1440's 'knights' in the person of Danish and German merchants, engaged in mock combat to simulate the struggle between summer and winter.¹

The Danish 'miracle' ~~play~~ (i.e. saint's) play of 'Ludus de Sancto Kanuto Duce', was performed at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Ringsted, perhaps even earlier. It had been the custom since the twelfth century to read publicly a eulogy of the country's murdered saint at a solemn annual festival service. Now in the late middle ages the legend was dramatised for performance in the Market Place with the help of simultaneous staging. A herald explains in the prologue that the play is performed four times in the year in Ringsted, and that it was only one of a number of miracle plays performed in Denmark with a view to encouraging the spectators to learn tolerance.²

In 1507 the Danish play of Saint Dorothy, Virgin, ('Comoedia de Sancta Virgine Dorothea') martyred in the fourth century, was published. It is a Danish version of the Latin prose drama of Ritter Killian von Mellerstadt.³ In the play the Saint is whipped, partially burnt at the stake, then stretched with tongs, after the executioner calmly announces to her⁴

I shall now hang you by your feet,
And with the strongest rope you tie
To twist your arms and legs a-wry
And finally torture you to death.

b) Drama in Sweden.

If the prologue to a Tobias comedy of the sixteenth century can be believed representations of religious scenes began in Sweden soon after the advent of christianity at the end of the eleventh century.⁵ An Easter play was performed in church at Linkeping in the thirteenth century for the benefit of the congregation, with parts taken by priests and deacons. The priests were dressed as women. As the Three Maries approached the sepulchre swinging incense, two deacons costumed as angels, sat beside it. Then followed the singing of familiar verses and responses and the display of the grave cloth after which the women joyfully sang the 'Victimae paschali'. The liturgy concluded with the whole congregation singing the 'Te Deum'.⁶

The manuscript of a Mary mystery play of the 14th-15th century intended for public performance has survived.⁷ From the fifteenth century Shrove Tuesday Plays became popular in Scandinavia as they did in German-speaking areas.⁸ Throughout the period 1475-1527 there was performed annually in Flensburg^a an expanded Easter Play in the Marien Kapelle, when the congregation played the parts.⁹

a. Now in the German province of Schleswig Holstein,

In 1507 Pfarrer Hans Jacobi of the Latin school of Söderköping wrote a 'Ludus resurrectionis' for performance by the teachers and pupils before the rest of the school.¹⁰

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE. APPENDIX 'E'. SCANDINAVIA.

1. Heinz KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum des Mittelalters* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1980) 201.
2. KINDERMANN (As n.1) 199, 200. See for description of the play.
3. " " 200.
4. Lise-Lone MARKER 'Aspects of Medieval Theatre in Scandinavia' - replicated typescript of text of lectures given at the Second International Course on Theatre History, organized by the International Federation for Theatre Research in Venice in 1964, Part II, 5.
5. KINDERMANN (as n.1) 199.
6. " " 198.
7. " " 199. See also, Wilhelm CREJZENACH
 Geschichte des neueren Dramas
 (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893
 3 vols.) vol.1, 514.
8. " *Theatergeschichte Europas* vol.1, 514.
9. " (as n.1) 198.
10. " " 198,9.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'A'

EXTRACTS AND SUMMARIES OF RECORDS

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A', EXTRACTS AND SUMMARIES OF RECORDS.

1) ABERDEEN.

1317.¹

The Aberdeen Court Roll for this year groups items under dates as follows,

- a) Die lune in octabis (i.e octave) assumptionis beate (Marie) Virginis.
- b) (curia tenta) die lune proxime ante festum Natiuitatis beate Marie Virginis in domo Andree Bissap in vico.

1358. King David II in Aberdeen for the Feast of the Assumption.²

Et in liberatione facta domino Willelmo Vaus, Senescallo^a domus domini nostri regis, pro expensis eiusdem domini regis (David II), apud Abirden factis in festo assumptionis beate Marie Virginis, anno, etc. $\text{M}^{\text{CC}}\text{LXVIII}^{\text{th}}$, xxxiiij li. viij s. et iiij d., de quibus clericus liberationis respondebit. Et in liberatione facta Waltero de Byger, tunc clerico gardrope, ad idem festum eiusdem anni, pro dicta gardropa, xij li. v s. vij d. de quibus Walterus respondit in compoto....

- a. Steward of the Household.

15 November 1399.

- a) Item nimis Comitis de Crawford, vi s. viij d.³
i.e. - to the players of (David Lindsay, first) Earl of Crawford.... (incurred by the Provost).

- b) i. Meg^a of Abernethy, vi d.⁴
ii. " " " , harper, xii d.
iii. " " " , xij d.
iv. " " " , xvij d.

a. Meg - a rough unsophisticated country girl. These accounts mention various other Megs, whose activities are not named: e.g. Meg of Campsy; Meg of Walchope; Meg Skynnar.

See APPENDIX 'C', The Play of Bele Aelis.

15 November 1399.⁵

Item, ad crucem, xl s.^a

- a. A refund of expenses to the Provost.

6

Extract of Play Expenses, Mons. 1501.

Item, 8 aisselles (boards), de 12 polz (pouce) de
large et 8 piés de long, à la fausse croix Dieu, 24s.

The above was to make a hollow cross with four boards for the upright and four boards for the cross-beam. Such a cross would be light in weight but have the appearance of an authentic cross, and be easier for an actor to carry than a solid cross of the same dimensions.

Later the accounts show an item relating to the cost of making up a false cross,

A Thomas Darpin, escrignier, pur avoir fait le croix
que Dieu porta sur le hourt, xx s.

On which the French scholar Gustave Cohen remarks, 'Sans doute est-celle creuse (hollow) et c'est pourquoi ailleurs le compte l'appelle la "fausse croix Dieu" '.⁷

When the cost of materials and making are added they amount to 44s. which compares with the cost of 40s. for the Aberdeen cross. Whether monetary values were equal in the two countries we cannot say. We suspect that roughly speaking they were. Accordingly we suggest the cross which the Provost purchased was possibly intended for out-door processional purposes and not to ornament an altar in the burgh church. This cross could have been used for an out-door pageant or play, such as might have been performed on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, 3 May, which we know was observed in Scotland, as elsewhere, as a public holiday and religious feast. Indeed the cross could have been used on any occasion when an actor was required to carry what appeared to be a large heavy cross. (See further below: 17 May 1451.)

1433-38.⁸

Item, non allocantur per dictos auditores viij lib.
quas petit dictus Thomas^a pro arris datis super apparatu
pretorii burgi de pannis de arras.

a. An earlier entry shows that the said Thomas was Burgh
Treasurer

The arras may have been erected in connection with some special
event, perhaps for the reception of a distinguished visitor with
an entertainment, possibly the performance of a play.

13 May 1440.⁹

Fees for a burgess-ship to be paid to Richard Kintor, Abbot of Bon
Accord, to meet his expenses in putting on the play of the Holy
Blood at 'ly Wyndmilhill',

Item, eodem die per commune consilium concessum
fuit Ricardo Kintor^a tunc Abbati de Boneacord vnus
burgensis futurus faciendus ad libitum suum quandocunque
ipsum presentauerit pro expensis suis factis et faciendis
in quodam ludo de ly haliblude^b ludendo apud ly Wynd-
mylhill.

a. Richard Kintor was a man of some standing in the
community, a merchant adventurer, who as we learn from an
entry of 1453 became the Dean of Guild.

b. For 'ludus de ly haliblude' understand, 'Corpus Christi
Play'. In 1440 the feast fell on 26 May.

28 July 1440.¹⁰

Robertus Iohannes and Augustus Iohannes admitted as Burgesses and
Guild Brethren, the fees being paid to Richard Kintor for his
expenses for the current year,

Quo die Robertus Iohannes et Augustus Iohannes recepti
fuerunt liberos burgenses et confratres gilde prestito
ab eis solito iuramento ob fauorem Ricardj de Kyntor
Abbatis de Boneacord pro feodo suo anni instantis.

¹¹
1445.

Thomas Lawson made a burgess on the recommendation of Richard Kintor, Abbot of Bon Accord, and the fees to be paid to the latter for expenses incurred in connection with the Play of the Holy Blood at Windmill Hill,

Thomas Lawsons ad instanciam Richardi Kintor fuit ex eo quod fuit eidem per commune consilium concessum nuper quando fuit Abbas de Boneacord pro expensis suis factis in quodam ludo de ly haliblude luso apud ly wyndmylhill et prestitit solitum Iramentum plegio prop eo eodem Ricardo Kintor.

¹²
30 April 1445.

The Council ordained that no fees should be paid Abbots of Bon Accord,

in tyme to cum.....for stancheing of diuers enormyteis done in tyme bigane be the Abbottis of this burgh.....

and no Abbot is to be elected this year, the deficiency to be met by the Alderman and a Bailie of his choice.

¹³
21 February 1446/7.

Four pounds paid to Master Andrew Croudane for preaching and teaching the people of the burgh.

We give below details of similar burgh sponsored public preaching in Edinburgh in the period 1553-8 (see, 6) EDINBURGH). There is information from the Continent on the same subject. There sometimes, especially in Italy, a dramatic spectacle might be used by a preacher to illustrate his sermon as was done at Perugia, Italy, in 1448,¹⁴

On 29 March (1448), which was Good Friday, the said Friar Roberto started again his daily preaching in the Square. On Holy Thursday he had preached on Communion and invited the whole population to come on Good Friday, and at the end of the said sermon

on the Passion he performed this play (i.e. a rappresentazione,.....¹⁴

a. The role of Christ was played by a barber.

The preacher of the above sermons at a time when the area was afflicted by plague was Roberto de Leoce, one of the great preachers of repentance at the time.¹⁵

Records show that during the years 1410-1519 public preachings sponsored by the burgh were of regular occurrence in Bruges, for example,

1410/11.¹⁶

Den xjsten dach van April, ghegheven broeder Fransoyse den Zwartten, broeder ten Predecaers, van dat hi Goeden Vrijdaghe, voor de noene, in den Buerch predikte den volc de passio Ons Heeren, xl s. par.¹⁷

(On 11 April, Good Friday, Brother Francis, of the Order of Preachers (i.e. Black Friars) preached to the people in the forenoon, on the Burg (town square), on the subject of the Passion.)

On Good Friday, 15 April 1457, an Italian Bishop preached to the town from a specially constructed scaffold in the Groote Markt.¹⁸ Sermons were also preached on the town square at the annual Festival of the Holy Blood, when the Aldermen sent ringers through the town to summon the inhabitants. Sermons were often preached on the occasion of 'General Processions' through the town, hopefully intended to ward off some calamity. Such processions were without 'pageants' but normally included the Relic of the Holy Blood, the Blessed Sacrament and Relics of the Saints.¹⁹

At Laval, France, in 1521, the scenes of a representation of the

Passion served as dramatic illustrations to the sermon of a Lenten preacher, Guy de Chartres, a Franciscan brother.²⁰

The 'Prophetæ' in the Nativity Cycle is said to be derived from the 'Sermo Contra Judæos' of Pseudo-Augustine, which had a place in the Offices of the Nativity. This same sermon is also said to be the source of the twelfth century 'Mystère d'Adam'.²¹

In the second half of the thirteenth century the great preaching orders of the Church began to establish houses in Scotland.²²

It has been said that the preacher taught the dramatist and that the scaffolds of the preachers could be seen in the churchyard and market place before ever the actors arrived with their scaffolds.²³ We have no positive documentary evidence for this happening in Scotland but there is a hint that it sometimes did in Dunbar's 'The Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo' where he links 'playis' and 'preachingis',²⁴

I suld at fairis be found new faceis to se
At playis and at preichingis and pilgrim(ages) greit.

13 December 1446.²⁵

The Council ordain that the fee of the Abbot of Bon Accord shall be paid to the Provost in whose term of office he is elected,

Item penes foedum abbatis de bone acorde, consilium
ordinavit quod prepositus in cuius tempore electus fuit
satisfaciet sibi foedum suum secundum consideracionem
consilij.

1449.²⁶

Nicholas Benyng made a Burgess and Guild Brother. His fee paid by

the Provost to Walter Balcancole, Notary, for writing the Corpus
Christi Play,²⁶

Nicholaius Benyng receptus fuit in liberos burgensem et
confratrem gilde ratione paterne libertatis pro v s.
quos prepositus dedit Waltero Balcancole^a pro scriptura
ludi in festo corporis xpi.

a. Like many writers of play scripts of the time Walter
Balcancole was a Notary. He is signatory to a number of
documents in the Aberdeen Diocesan Registers. See, e.g.
Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ed. Forbes, Vol.1,
255, 258, 259.

3 May 1451.²⁷

The Meeting of the Burgh Head Court which should have been held on
this date was deferred to 17 May because 3 May was the Feast of
the Invention of the Holy Cross,

Curia capitalis huius burgi tenta per ballivos in
pretorio eiusdem xvii die mensis maii....et ista
efficitur curia capitalis ex eo quod festum beate
crucis accidebat in die quo curia ista tenere
debuisset. Quo die sectis vocatis et curia affirmata...

See entry below under date 2 May 1475; Chapter Seven of this
volume and Chapter Seven, Vol.2, APPENDIX 'B',
i) St Helena and the Holy Cross.

1 May 1453.²⁸

Four men agree to the deferment of their hearing to Monday
13 May, because the 1 May was a festival day,

The first day of Maii comperand Dauid Dun and Dauid
Hervy..., and John Patounson and George Adamson....,
because it was a festiuale dai thai consentit that the
mater and caus dependand amang thaim..., be continewit
in sic like pli as it was on that dai, to Monoundaii
the xiii dai of this instant moneth of Maii next to
cum,...

1456.²⁹

John Knokynblew made a Burgess and Guild Brother, his fees going
to the Abbot and Prior of Bon Accord,

Ioannes Knokynblew ex gracia consillii at Abbatis
de Bonacorde et prioris receptus fuit in liberum
burgensem et confratrem gilde pro v s. in alba bursa
prestito iuramento solito.

Fourteen similar entries occur in the burgh manuscript records between 1457 and 1553. In addition there are nine similar entries between 1495 and 1533 but with no reference to payment by means of burgess fees. They are not reproduced as they do not enhance our knowledge about pageants and plays. The entry of 13 April 1523 (Vol.11, 272) shows that two Lords of Bon Accord were appointed to be Masters of the Artillery.

14 March 1462/3. ³⁰

Duncan de Byrss made a Burgess and Guild Brother in consideration of two gowns which he gave to the Burgh Players at the Festival of Pasch (i.e. Easter) of this current year,

Eodem die Duncanus de Byrss receptus fuit in
liberum burgensem et confratrem gilde ad fauorem
consili sibi concessum pro duabus togis deliberatis
histrionibus nostris ad festum pasche eiusdem anni
qui prestitit iuramentum solitum.

The date of Easter in 1463 was April 10.

30 June 1467. ³¹

Judgement was passed against John Robertson, called Christ,
on account of,

iniusta spoliacione de certis tabulis de Werstale in
botha sua...

1470-71. ³²

Dean of Guild's Accounts - expenses for building a scaffold and
writing a play,

- i) Item, to the man that maid Scaffold to the candilmes
play...xvi d.
- ii) Item, for the writyn of the play...a mark.

30 July 1471. ³³

Thomas Watson made a Burgess and Guild Brother, the fees for which were passed to Phillip de Drumbrek, a Burgh Sergeant, for his expenses in connection with the Play of Belial,

thomas Watson receptus fuit in liberum burgensem
et confratrem gilde huius burgi ex fauore consilii
concessa phillipo drumbrek seriando pro suis expensis
factis circa ludum de beliyale qui prestitit solitum
Iuramentum.

2 May 1475. ³⁴

Offerings on the Rude Days to be divided between the Chaplains of the Rude Altar and the Brown Cross Altar.

It is possible that the Feast of the Invention of the Cross was celebrated with a Pageant/Play of St Helena and the Finding of the True Cross. A Pageant of St Helena was featured regularly in the Procession for the annual Candlemas Offerand but no details of it have survived.

14 May 1479. ³⁵

The Burgh Council and the Brethren of the Guild ordain that the expenses,

apon the arrayment & vtheris necessaris of the play
to be plait in the fest of corpus xpi nixt tocum....

shall be paid by the Alderman. This year Corpus Christi fell on 11 June.

9 February 1483/4. ³⁶

John and Andrew Lammyton are convicted for absence from the Candlemas Offerand,

John of Lammyntone & Androw Lammyntone convict be
ane assise ar adiugit ilkane of thaim in amerciament
the wrangwiss absenting of thaim fra the offerand on
candilmesday.

The following records relate to absence from or disputes about
order of precedence in the annual Candlemas and Corpus Christi
Processions:

9 February 1484/5. Vol.6, 904.

3 " 1502/3. " 8, 186.

31 January 1507/8. Vol.8, 799: The Skinners are to walk
before the Cordiners in all processions.

3 February 1510/11. Vol.8, 1153.

13 June 1533. Vol.19, 204: The Listers and Barbers fail to
provide pageants on Corpus Christi Day; dispute about
precedence involving Tailors, Smiths, Hammermen, and Walkers
& Websters

31 May 1535. Vol.19, 574: The Listers break the regulations
governing the Corpus Christi Processions and are subjected
to the statutory penalty.

21 June 1538. Vol.15, 659: The Mariners in dispute with the
Hammermen regarding precedence in the Corpus Christi
Procession.

6 June 1539. Vol.16, 266: The Lister Craft guilty of not
walking in the Corpus Christi Procession, but by a Council
Minute of 23 June 1539 (Vol.16, 291) their fines are
remitted.

5 June 1553. Vol.21, 423: Smiths and Bakers in dispute over
their positions in the recent Corpus Christi Procession. Re
the Smiths see also: 9 June 1553, Vol.21, 425.

28 May 1554. Vol.21, 671: Listers accused of not walking in
their proper place with their banner in the Corpus christi
Procession.

14 June 1555. Vol.22, 77: The Baxters allege that the
Bailies denied them their rightful place in the last Corpus
Christi Procession. The same complaint was also made by the
Coopers.

22 January 1484/5. ³⁷

Whenever Robert Buchan goes to Flanders, within four days of
arriving, he is to provide himself with a suitable new gown and

doublet. Furthermore he is to pay his share of xxx s. for the hiring of a cart to the Organ Fund,

The xxii day of Januar, yer of God lxxxiiij, it is ordanit be the alderman and counsale that Robert Buchan sal in tyme to cum, for the worship of the toune and honeste merchandis, quhen and als oft as he passis in Flandris, within foure dais eftir his cumeing thare, mak til himself ane new gowne and doublat accordand for him, under the pane of i lib. gret, to be rasit of him to Sanct Nicholace wark; and quhare ony four of his nychtbours rydis in a cart, that he be fundin passand in the cart rycht sua under the said pain; and for the xxx s. paid be Mastir Adam of Gordon, persoun of Kinkel, for the hiring of a cart, thai haf ordanit the said Robert to pay ten s. Scots assignit be the said Mastir Adam to the organis.

38

4 February 1484/5.

The Tailors and all the other Craftsmen are to wear the tokens of their Craft on their breasts in their best array at the Candlemas Offerand.

39

4 February 1492/3.

John and Andrew William Lammytone fined in wax for the Holy Blood Light for misbehaviour on the occasion of the Candlemas Offerand.

The saide day the assiss ordanit Iohne of Lammytone to bring v li. waxe to the haly blude licht. Ande Williame Lammytone to bring v li. waxe to the saide licht for the brekin of common ordinance in the inordinate passing one candilmes day to the offerand as vtheris thar nichtbouris passit. And atour gif euere the saidez Iohne or Williame brekis commune ordinance in tyme to cum And beis conuikit thairof Ilkane of tham beinge conuikit sal pay xl s. to Sanct Nicholas Werk vnforgevin gif thai occupy the craft.

Below are further references to misbehaviour in the Candlemas and Corpus Christi Processions:

8 February 1492/3. Vol.7. 403 - the Candlemas Procession.
12 or 13 June 1525. Vol.11, 589 - the Corpus Christi Procession

8 December 1493.

Andrew Barker and Andrew Lister convicted for not riding with the Lord of Bon Accord - presumably not in the Annual St Nicholas Riding,

The said day Androw Barkare be his ayne tonge grant was in amerciament of the court becauss he raid nocht with the Abbat of Bonay-corde.

The saide day Androw Lister was conuikit be his ayne grant becauss he raid nocht with the Abbat of bonacord.

Very similar entries to the above, which are not reproduced in this Appendix, occur in the records as follows,

9 December 1499. Vol. 7, 1003.
16 " 1504. Vol.8, 403.
31 January 1504/5. Vol.8, 418.
12 December 1505. Vol. 8, 528.
10 " 1510. Vol.8, 1137.
24 November 1516. Vol.9, 641.
11 December 1528. Vol.12, pt.2, 463.

23 January 1496/7.

Every Craft ordered to make a standard for their Craft,
for the honor and defenss of the tone....

14 July 1497.

The Alderman, Sir John Rutherford, forty-one other burgesses, and the Lister, Cordiner and Flesher Crafts, provide a total of twenty-three carts for the defence of the burgh.

The yer of God, jⁿ iiij^c nyntj and vij yeris,
thir personis vnder writtin furnist thair cartis
vnder for wer, to the resisting of our ald inemys
of Ingland.

A similar entry appears under 22 April 1522 (see, below).

The rest of the record provides full details of names. Clearly there were in Aberdeen sufficient carts available to mount a full scale proccession of pageants. There is nothing, however, in the records to show they were so used.

29 January 1503/4.⁴³

The Skinners and Walkers were ordered by the Alderman and Bailies to,

Vphalde & sustene thare part of candilmess play
and to raise expenses from their membership.

29 November 1504.⁴⁴

Burgesses and their sons to ride with the Abbot of Bon Accord in
the St Nicholas Riding,

The said day it was statut and ordanit be the bailyeis
and counsaile riplie auisit for the vphaliding and
perseuerans of the auld louable honor consuetud and rit of
the said burgh vsit sustenit in tymes bigane in the honor of
thar glorius patrour Sanct Nicholes that ale personis burges
nichtbouris burges and burges sonnys habille to rid to
decoir and honor the toun in thar array conuenient tharto
sale Rid with the Abbot and Prior of Bonacord one euery
Sanct Nicholes day throw the toun as viss and wont has bein
quhen thai ar warnit be the sad Abbot & Prior obefore And
gif ony man hawand tak of wateris and fisching of the said
tone habill to rid be warnit be the said Abbot & Prior
of Bonacord and wile nocht rid sale tyn thar takis quhilkis
thai haue of the toun at the nixt assedacioun bot gif thai
haue anr ressonable causs & Impediment that thai may nocht
rid quhilkis thai sale schaw and be considerit be the
alderman, bailyes and counsaile obefore and ythgir personis
beand warnit habille to Rid and failyes thairin without ane
ressonable causs schawin to the aldirman, bailyeis and
counsaile for the tyme sale pay to Sanct Nicholes werk
xx s. vneforgevin, And viij s. to the bailyes for the
vnlaw.

Other Ordinances containing similar regulations occur in the
records as follows.

17 November 1508. Vol.8, 899.
25 October 1510. Vol.8, 1132.
21 November 1511. Vol.9, 59.
19 " 1515. Vol.9, 520.
17 November 1522. Vol.11, 207 - specifically addressed to
'all Able Young Men' who are to come 'honestlie horsait with
thair watter clokes...'.
.

45
30 January 1505/6.

The Crafts are to take part in the annual Candlemas Procession in accordance with the old custom.

The said day It was fundin be the ald lovabile consuetud & Rite of the said burghe that in the honor of god and the blissit virgin mary the craftismen of the samyn in thar best aray kepit & decorit the processioun one candilmes day yerlie, quhilkis alde & louable consuetude, the prouest, ballies & counsale riplie auisit Ratifeit and approuet the said Rit, And atour statut and ordanit that the saide craftismen & thare successoris sale perpetulie In tyme to cum to obsserue & keipe the saide processioun als honorably as thai cane, Ande thai sale in ordire to the Offering in the play pass tua & ij togidder socialie:

In the first: the flesseris, barhouris, baxturis, cordinaris, skinneris, couparis, wrichtis, hatmakaris & bonatmakaris, togidder.

Walcaris, litstaris, wobstaris, tailyours, goldsmithis, blak smithtis & hammiremen.

And thair craftismen sale furnyss thair pageantis:

the cordinaris, the Messinger;
 wobstaria walcaris, Symeon;
 the smythis & goldsmithtis, iij Kingis of Cullane;
 the litstaris, the Empriour;
 the masounis, the Thre Knichtis;
 the talyouris, Our Lady, Sanct Brid & Sanct Elene;
 And the Skynneris, the Tua Bischopis.

And tua of ilke craft to pass with the pageant that thai furnys to keip thare geire. And gif ony persone or personis happinnis to failye & breik ony pont befor writin & beis conuict thairof sale pay xl s. to Sanct Nicholes werk & the balyeis vnlaw vnforgevin Ande to the obsseruing & keping of the Samyn ale the craftismen was oblist be thar handis vphalding.

46
17 May 1507.

All Young Men, Burgesses and the Sons of Burgesses, to process every Holy Day with the Abbot and Prior of Bon Accord in their Array, and likewise the four 'Officers' are so to process.

47
31 May 1507.

The Skinners to walk before the Cordiners in all processions, both

in the Candlemas Play Procession and any other processions that they may walk in,

The said day the prouest and bailyes statut and ordanit that ale skynnaris sale gang befor the cordinaris in ale processionis baitht in candilmess play & vtheris processionis that accordis thame to gang in.

⁴⁸
29 January 1507/8.

William Walcar, Deacon of the Walkers, guilty of wrongfully withholding from Iohne Reid ij d. for furnishing the Walkers' part of the Candlemas Play.

31 January 1507/8.

The Council require the Deacons of the Crafts to ensure the ordinance of 31 May 1507 is observed.

⁴⁹
8 May 1508.

All persons who are able to be ready to process with Robin Hood and Little John when required to do so

with thar arrayment made in grene and yalw, bowis, Arowis, brass, And all vther conuenient thingis according tharto...

a. Used in archery as guard for the wrist.

⁵⁰
15 December 1508.

David Colp convicted of troubling the Abbot of Bon Accord in the execution of his office.

⁵¹
22 May 1509.

Alexander Hay supports the Abbot and Prior of Bon Accord against the complaints made by the Provost and Council of the Burgh.

52

12 January 1510/11.

The Ordinance concerning the annual Candlemas Procession and the 'Offering in the Play' is reaffirmed.

53

14 January 1512/13.

Every Craft is to have a pair of torches

honestlie made of foure pund of wax
to carry in honour of the Sacrament on Corpus Christi Day, at
Easter at the Resurrection, at Christmas and other needful
times.

54

28 January 1512/13.

Nine persons detailed by the Council to provide candles at
different stipulated values, ranging from vj d. to iiij s.
The date, so close to Candlemas Day, 2 February, suggests these
candles are wanted for the Candlemas celebrations.

55

31 January 1515/16.

The Craftsmen are reminded that the Candlemas Procession is to be
maintained as in years bygone and they are

to furnys thar partis and badgeandis of the samyn.

56

15 May 1517.

Young men are admonished that they are to pass with

Robert Huyd & Little Iohne....to....Sanct Devinnis
all the sondaies of may & vther tymes quhen thai be
warnit...

57

2 May 1519.

Alexander Rudderford and William Turing, Lords of Bon Accord,
granted six marks from Common Funds

to help to thare abellement....

58

28 April 1522.

Seven carts to be provided by the Provost and other Burgesses, and
one each by the Listers, Baxters, Fleshers, Cordiners, Tailors,
Hammermen, and Walkers & Websters, for the carting of the town's
artillery. A similar Order was made on 14 July 1497 (see above).

59

5 February 1523/4.

Most of the Craftsmen were absent from the recent Candlemas
Procession and even those who were present were without their
Craft Tokens. Iohne Pill, singled out for particular punishment
for mispersoning a Bailie and the merchants, is to appear in
church at High Mass, bare-footed & bare-headed, with a candle of
a pound weight for St Nicholas, wearing his Craft Token and
beseeching the forgiveness of the Provost and the town, upon his
knees.

60

4 July 1525/6.

The Order of Procession for the Craftsmen laid down on 12 January
1510/11 is ordered to be maintained in all processions.

9 February 1525.⁶¹

William Lorimer is to check on behalf of the Hammermen whether the Masons and Slaters traditionally walked with them in the Candlemas Procession,

& pait thair dewite with thaim thairfor.

17 June 1530.⁶²

The Provost, Bailies and Council command their Officers to admonish the Craftsmen,

to keep thair pagganis in the processioun on sonday nyxt cumis....

In 1530 Corpus Christi Day occurred on 16 June.

22 May 1531.⁶³

The: Ordour of the corpus xpi processioun.

The said day it was statut and ordanit be the prouest, bailyeis, and counsaile present for the tyme conforme to the auld lovabill consuetudis and ryte of this burgh and of the nobill burgh of Edinburgh of the quhilk rite and consuetude the forsaidd prouest has gotten copy in write, That is to say, that in the honour of God and the Blissit Virgyn Marye, The craftismen of this burgh in thair best array keipe and decor the processioun one corpus cristi dais and candilmes day als honorabillye as thai can. Euerey craft with thair awin baner with the Armez of thair craft thairin. And thay sall pass ilk craft be thame self tua and tua in this ordour, that is to say

in the first,	the flescharis,
and nixt thame,	the barbouris,
nixt thame,	skynnaris and furrowris togidder,
nixt thame,	the cordinaris,
nixt thame,	the tailyeouris
eftir thame,	the vobstaris and valcaris
	togidder,
nixt thame,	the baxtaris,

And last of all, nearest the sacrament, pass all hemmirmen, That is to say: Smythtis, wrichtis, masonis, cuparis, sclateris, goldsmythis and armouraris.

And euerey ane of the said craftis in the candilmes processioun Sall furniss thair pageane conforme to the auld Statut quhilk was maid in the year of God 1m Vc x yeris

quhilk Statut was maid with the awiss of the haile counsaile And approvit be the craftismen of the toune for the tyme for thame And thair successouris And oblist thame to the keping of the Samyn vnder the pane of xl s. and the balyeis vnlaw vnforgivin to be vptakin of thame that beis absent but ane resonabill causs fra the said processioun or that makkis trubill or perturbatioun thairin To the quhilkis thai var oblist be thair handis vphaldin in iugment. And the prouest, bailyeis, and counsaile present for the tyme ratifeis and appreis this present statut and the panez contenit thairin to be kept Inviolablie In all maner in tyme cuming....etc....etc,

The Appendix to the above Order giving details of the pageants each Craft was to provide is reproduced in Volume One, Chapter Six.

Note - the most prestigious position in the procession is at the rear, nearest the Sacrament.

31 May 1532.⁶⁴

The Baxters failed to provide their Pageant of St George in the Corpus Christi Procession because they had failed to elect a Deacon.

13 January 1532/3.⁶⁵

All paid members of the choir discharged as from the coming Candlemas,

for thair demeritis bigane done to God....except Sir Andro Coupor, that is an agit man...

1 June 1534.⁶⁶

Iohne Mor, Master Mason, to require the members of his Craft, and those associated with it, viz. the Wrights, Coopers and Slaters, to provide

thair onest pagane to the towns honour...

The Feast of Corpus Christi was due on 4 June.

5 June 1534.⁶⁷

Iohne Iameson, Skinner, on the coming Monday is to show his reasons for walking before the Wrights and Tailors in the procession.

30 April 1535.⁶⁸

All able young men to accompany the Lords of Bon Accord in
 thair grene cottis and agit men honest cottis efferand
 (i.e. appropriate to them) to thame...

This, no doubt, relates to the 'Bringing in of Summer'.

This record shows that no distinction is to be made between the roles of the Lords of Bon Accord and Robert (or, Robin) Hood (or, Hude/Huyd) and Little John.

21 May 1538.⁶⁹

Robert Arthur and Iohann Arthur are guilty of troubling the Lords of Bon Accord by stopping dancing and other pleasures.

25 May 1538.⁷⁰

Robert Arthur and Iohn Arthur to do public penance in church at High Mass and

 beseyk the prowest in the townis name to forgyf
 thame for the strublanche done thairto be thame in
 tyme of thair solace and play...

The above relates to the 'Bringing in of Summer' festivities.

Corpus Christi in 1538 occurred on 20 June.

27 May 1538.⁷¹

The Bakers are to obey their Deacons and equip

 thair paggane agane Corpus xpi day

each contributing to the cost.

⁷²
14 February 1538/9.

James Litstar adjudged to pay the Lords of Bon Accord the sum of
 vi s.

⁷³
14 April 1539.

Walter Hay and Thomas Scherer, Lords of Bon Accord, request the
 observance of the old custom and that

all able yong men...conwoy ws euery Sunday and haly
 day and wther neidful tyme...and agit men to meit
 ws at the Crabstane or kirkyard

and they request the payment of the usual burgess fee.

a. The Crabstane - 'In the way which goes from Aberdeen
 towards the Bridge of Dec there is a considerable stone,
 standing by the way-syde called the Crabstane'.⁷⁴

⁷⁵
21 April 1539.

Dispute between Waltir Hay and Thomas Scherer, Lords of Bon
 Accord, regarding payment for beer they had drunk in the latter's
 house.

⁷⁶
24 April 1542.

Alexander Kayn to appear before the Court to answer on behalf of
 his wife

for the hawy strublens & yvill myspersoning of Alexander
 Gray & David Kyntoir, the Lordis of Bon Accord & thair
 company....

⁷⁷
25 March 1546.

Master Hew Monro, Master of the Grammar School, to receive an
 annual pension of Ten Marks, and furthermore all Freemen, whether
 Merchants or Craftsmen, are to receive him and the Bishop at Saint
 Nicholastide in their homes and pay him the customary dues.

25 June 1545.⁷⁸

The Listers choose Alexander Fressour as their Deacon and the Bailies ordain that they are to have their Banner and Pageant like other Crafts of the burgh every year on Corpus Christi Day and at Candlemas.

1548-51. Extracts from the Discharge of the Dean of Guild.⁷⁹

- a). Item, to Monsour de Termes and his cumpany in vyne, viij li. viij s.
- b). Item, for bringing ouer of the kaippis* on Corpus Christi dayis, three yeris, xij s.

* Copes as normally worn ceremonially in church were traditionally worn by those who played the parts of Annas and Caiaphas, High Priests, in scenes of the Trial of Jesus, and by the High Priest at the 'Presentation of Jesus in the Temple' (also known as the 'Purification' or 'Candlemas'). At Coventry he also wore a Bishop's mitre (see below, The Presentation Pageant of the Coventry Weavers).

It is also possible that Pilate wore a cope. In this Corpus Christi context when the pageants were of the Passion Cycle only it is probable that the three copes indicate a scene of the 'Trial of Jesus'.

The expression 'bringing over' suggests that the copes were carried from the Burgh Church of St Nicholas to the place where the players made themselves ready.

14 April 1550.⁸⁰

Gilbert Brabaner, who had failed to indicate his willingness to serve as a Lord of Bon Accord, is required to give a firm answer, yes or no, so that the Council may know what course of action to take.

25 May 1551.⁸¹

The Council order their Officer, William Barclay, to ensure that, all the craftismen of this guid tovn (to) obsserue, keip and decor the processioune onc Corpus Xpi day

nixt cumis with thair banaris and baganis ilk craft
in thair avin place conforme to the auld statut....

In 1551 Corpus Christi Day was on 29 May.

14 April 1552.⁸²

The Council having in mind in particular the festivities of the
month of May

witht danssis, farssiis, playis and gamis
decide that because these had been neglected and overshadowed by
excess and superfluous banqueting, all such banquets shall be
discontinued except on Ascension Day, the First Sunday in May and
Tuesday after Easter Day, which are to be observed with sobriety
and good behaviour.

3 February 1552/3.⁸³

The Dean of Guild is to pay Thomas Nicholson Ten Marks towards
expenses incurred by him in May as one of the Lords of Bon Accord,
and likewise to pay William Rannaldsvn x s. and John Howe iiij s.
for Schorchets.^a

a. A kind of sweetmeats.

21 April 1553.⁸⁴

Alexander Scot, one of the Lords of Bon Accord, is to pay his
colleague in that office, Patre Lesly, one half of the expenses
incurred

in making of bankatis, playis, farsis, dansis &
games conforme to the ald and ancient ryt vsit obefor...

1 September 1553.⁸⁵

Patre Menys, one of the Lords of Bon Accord, is ordered to refund

to William Barclay charges incurred by him in the purchase of wine for the Lords of Bon Accord in the year 1552.

26 January 1563/4.⁸⁶

Alexander Scott, one of the Lords of Bon Accord, is ordered to pay the wife of Iohanne Anderson outstanding charges in respect of a banquet made by her at the request of himself and Patrik Lesly, Lords of Bon Accord.

21 May 1554.⁸⁷

On this date there is a very long Council Minute headed
 protestationis of craftismen anent the ordour of the
 procession on corpus xpi day.

It is entirely concerned with disputes about the Order of Precedence of the Crafts in the Corpus Christi Procession and makes no mention of pageants. It is reproduced in full in Anna J. Mill's *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (see pages 129,30).

29 May 1556.⁸⁸

The old Statute concerning the Order of the Craftsmen in processions is to be observed at the next Feast of Corpus Christi.

The said day, the counsell ordanit that the ald statut be obsseruit & keipit Anent the ordour of the Processioune of the craftsmen one Corpus Xpris Day nixt cumis wnder the panis contenit in the said statut.

In 1556 Corpus Christi Day was on 4 June.

The Play of the Presentation of the Coventry Weavers.⁸⁹

The Accounts of the Corporation covering the period 1525-64 provide information on the above play.

The cast consisted of:

Symon (i.e. Simeon).	Symon's Clerk.
Joseph.	Jhesu.
Mare (i.e. Mary).	Angels, including the
Ane (i.e. Anne, Mary's mother).	Archangel Gabriel.

A selection of items for which expenses were incurred:

the woman for her chyld.	payments to players.
the letell chyld.	bread and ale.
Symonis Mytor.	repairs to pageant vehicles.
a grey ames (i.e. amice).	hiring of hall for
hyer of ij beards.	rehearsals.
ij beards with a cappe.	making the play-book.
mendyng of the two Angelis	singers and musicians.
crowns.	mending the musical
paynting of Jesus heade.	instruments.
	tapers.

2) ARBROATH.

28 July 1528.⁹⁰

The Court Book of the Burgh of Arbroath has an entry as follows,

The ordinans to gyf xiiij s. & four d. to the play the quhilk
the balyeis consall & communite hes ordand charles broun to
gif ane merk of monay to al. ly. & his companyonis to by
thaim ane barreill of ayll with to thaire play & the said
merk of monye to be allowit to the said C(harles Brown) in
his compt.

11 and 26 May 1565.⁹¹

Entries in the Court Book under the above dates refer to 'my lord
of rason', indicating that before the Reformation Arbroath
probably appointed an official equivalent to an 'Abbot of
Unreason' as in Edinburgh and Ayr (or equivalent to a Lord of Bon
Accord as in Aberdeen) responsible for organizing public pageantry
and festivities.

3) AYR.

17 May 1496.⁹²

At the Whitsunday Court of the lands of the Barony of Alloway,^a

the 'abbat of unresson' appears as pledge for James Lech in his loft.

a. Ayr was in the Barony of Alloway.

Ayr Burgh Accounts show the following expenses relating to pageantry and plays.

1534-5. ⁹³

Item, defalkit (deducted).....	
for ayll & meitt to the clerk play,	viiij s. iij d.
Item, to georde blayre to bye skynniss with to the clerk play,	xxviiij d.
Instruments and petty expenses, including 'skenye threyd' for Palm Sunday,	vj s. iij d.
(Charge) re: the Town's Gear - from Adam Dunbar and Sybbe Lokart, in the Treasurer's absence, of the town's gear,	xij li. viij s. x d.

1535-6. ⁹⁴

Item, making a sepulchre,	v s.
Item, for two ladders,	j li. vj s. viij d.

1536-7. ⁹⁵

Item, for the small leddir,	j d.
Item, for the grete laddir	iiiij d.
Item, for the reddene of the Calsay on Corpus Christys eyn for honour of the sacrament,	viiij d.
Item, to iiiij men for bering of the greit ladir to the kirk,	iiiij d.
Item, to beir the small leddir to the kirk,	j d.

1541. ⁹⁶

Item, to maister patrik andersoun for his fe the last witsounday,	v li.
Item, plus to the said maister patrik for his expenses in the clerk playis,	xxvj s. viiiij d.
Item, for breid & vyne to the first clerk playis at the baillies command,	xv s. ij d.

97
1541-2.

Item, cellar rent, for keeping the town's gear, j li.

98
1542-3.

Item, for taking home the Blackfriars' ladder, iv d.
 Items, re the town's pavilion: mending its timber, ij s. j d.
 for rope and two mellis (mallets), xij s. x d.
 for bringing it to the Tolbooth, iv d.
 taking it out for the stenting (pitching), viij d.
 Item, cellar-mail (rent) for the town's gear, vj d.

99
1543-4.

Item, for the Jacques playis to the toun, v s. iij d.
 Item, cellar rent for a year and a half, for storing the town's gear, j li. x s.
 Item, timber for the roof of the pavilion, iij s.

100
1544-5.

Item, for the roof of the pavilion, vij s. ix d.
 15 1/2 lbs. of iron, xij s.
 xxxvj fathoms of rope, j s. viij d.
 timber, j li. j s. v d.
 in all, x s.
 for work on the same, j li.
 Item, house rent for the town's gear, j li.

101
1546-7.

Item, for carrying a ladder to the kirk, j s.
 Item, drying and hanging up the pavilion, j s. iv d.

102
1547-8.

Item, mending of Godis hous, ij d.
 carrying and erecting ladders, iv s. viij d.
 Item, arrears, the two unlaws (i.e. fines), ij li. iv s.
 Items, for carrying ladders and timber...
 (total for a number of building expenses), v s. iv d.

1549-50. ¹⁰³

Item, to Adam Nicol, to mak Goddis hous, j li. x s.

1550-1. ¹⁰⁴

Item, for keeping wine at the cross, j li.
Item, sundry odd jobs, such as carrying ladders, xv s.
taking a gun to the kirk, etc.,

1551-2. ¹⁰⁵

Item, for mending Goddis hous, iij s.
Item, candles for Yule, vj s.

1557-8. ¹⁰⁶

Item, for iron-work, including 7 stone
of 'Danskin irne' (i.e. from Danzig), v li. vij s. vj d.
for the great gun, vj s. viij d.
for repairing it, j s. viij d.
bringing it to the kirk, ix s.
j lb of powder, xij s.
Culverin powder bought in Irvine and
expenses there anent,

4) DUMFRIES.

24 July 1532. ¹⁰⁷

The qlk daye the inquest ordenis Schir hare merseer to
hawe ane burgess the first that is maid wt all prewalegis
sa that the gudstone pleiss the man and that he be ane
vnfreman and na burgess air nor fremanis vife.

31 July 1532. ¹⁰⁸

Iohne mertin is maid burgess & suorn thairto & frely
gevin to Schir hary merseer^d for the play of gude fryday
& vitsonday payand xl d. to sanct mychellis werk borcht
Iohn mering.

a. Other local records show that Sir Harry Mercer was
Chaplain of the Lady Altar in the Parish Church of
Dumfries. He was also made a burgess of the burgh.

8 May 1533.¹⁰⁹

Quo die patrik huntar is maid free burgess and suorn therto
payand 5 merkis to the common purss and xl d. to sanct
michell werk qlk is frely gevin to Schir hary merschell
for the makin off a benner to the toun....

5) DUNDEE.

ca.1450.¹¹⁰

re: The grayth of the prossession of corpus xpi deliuerit Sir
Thomas Barbour to kepyng.

This Inventory has been reproduced in full in Volume One, Chapter Six. It is undated. Mill (*Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*, 173, n.4) conjectured 'it probably belongs to the mid-fifteenth century'. Cosmo Innes suggested a date of 'about 1530' ('A Few Notices of Manners from the Older Council Books of Dundee', *PSAS*, Vol.2, Edinburgh, 1859, 347-50, 348). Alexander Maxwell seems to suggest the end of the fifteenth century (*Old Dundee*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, and William Kidd, Dundee, 1891, 383). It is not possible to estimate a date from the period when Sir Thomas Barbour was active in Dundee because this is not known. The most likely date is 1454 when Provost Fotheringhame caused an Inventory of Church Ornaments to be made (see, Maxwell, 13). Accordingly we have chosen to follow Mill's suggested date of about 1450.

There are certain items which the series of scenes we have suggested would have required which are not included in the Inventory. There are, for example, no costumes for any of the characters we have inferred and there are no items detailed for costuming the Apostles who would have been involved in a scene of the 'Arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane' and who would have been on hand during the scene of the 'Trial Before Pilate'. It is almost certain that such characters would have worn albs,

probably with girdles and amices (around the neck) supplied by the church Sacristan from his ample wardrobe of such garments.

6) EDINBURGH.

A. Extracts from the Burgh and other Official Records.

November 1447. ¹¹¹

Charter by King James II (1437-60) to the Burgh of Edinburgh granting the right to hold a fair on the morrow of Trinity Day,

...and for 8 days immediately following; the said fair beginning from noon of the said feast of the Holy Trinity....as the said community possessed their fairs in times past.

See entry under 20 November 1507.

13 August 1456. ¹¹²

Charter by King James II, under the Great Seal, to the Burgh of Edinburgh, of the valley of the low ground between the rock called Craigingalt and the road to Leith (now callit ~~Greysyd~~),

...all and whole the valley and low ground lying between the rock commonly called Craigingalt, on the east side, and the common way and road toward the town of Leith, on the west side, for tournaments, sports and proper warlike deeds to be done and accomplished thereon for ever...

17 July 1490. ¹¹³

Item, on Sondag, in Edinburgh, in the THE^d huis quhen the King saw the Processioun, till him, *iiij Vnicorns,*
iiij li. xij s.

a. Thesaurus, i.e. the Treasury.

Note: There is no feast day of any particular significance immediately before 17 July. This could have been a General Procession with the Blessed Sacrament without any kind of religious or other pageantry with the special intention of warding off some feared calamity, perhaps a visitation of the plague or a

threatened invasion by the English. Such processions took place frequently in Bruges.

A Council of the Scottish Church held in Edinburgh, 19 October 1456, made such processions mandatory.¹¹⁴

Item... And at (i.e. also) the prelatis mak generalc processiounis throu out ther dyoceis twys in the wolk for stanching of the pestilence & grant pardons to the preistis that gangis in the said processiounis.

Burgh Records Continued.

6 June 1503.¹¹⁵

Item, for iij unce sewing sik blak, to be pointis to the capricht agane the Kingis passing to the Corpus Christi play, x s. vj d.

Item, payit to Andro Wod he laid down be the Kingis command to the Abbot of Unresonis menstrales, lvj s.

1504.¹¹⁶

Item, payit to James Dog, that he laid down for girs on Corpus Christi day, at the play, to the Kingis & Quenis chamires, iij s. iiij d.

See Chapter headed Introduction regarding Papal Indulgences which arrived in Scotland in 1429 granting Indulgences to all who participated in the Corpus CXhristi solemnities.

1507.¹¹⁷

The quhilkis day the baillies sittand in jugement chargit Patrick Forbas, William Curroure, Henry Young, Alane Mosman, present, and al the laif of the goldsmiths in general to forneis thair padgeant of the Passioun as thay war wont, for the pleasour of our Soverain lord and Soverain lady, as thay sall ansuer to the Kingis Grace and the Provost thairupoun.

See entry under, 22 June 1553.

118

20 November 1507.

Letter of King James IV (bn.1473, 1488-1513) under his Privy Seal to the Burgh of Edinburgh and to the Provost, Bailies an Community thereof, etc., ...altering the time of holding the Alhalow and Trinity Fairs. The preamble states,

(in)...times past the Alhalow Fair was proclaimed on Alhalow Even & continued for eight days...which was the occasioun and caus of violacioun and breking the halidayis that hapnis with the samyn, sic Alhalow day, Saul mes day, and the feist of the dedicacioun of Sanct Gelis Kirk of our said Burgh quhilk fallis yeirlie on the third day of Nouember, and als ane vther fair haldin yerlie within oure said Burgh at Trinite Sondag...

The date of commencement of the All Hallows Fair is changed, but the date of commencement of the Trinity Fair remains as before:

...and to begyn yeirlie the said Alhalow fair vpoun the ferd (i.e the fourth) day of the moneth of Nouember & for the space of acht dais or fiftene dais next...

Regarding the Trinity Fair it states:

...And likewise thair said Trinite fairs yeirlie to begin on the Monnday next eftir Trinitie Sondag, and sa and fruthinfurth to continew for acht dais...

119

15 May 1509.

The quhilk day the provest, baillies, counsaile and Kirk-maisteris^a hes consentit and ordanit that in tyme to cum baith the craftis, viz. webstaris, wakeris and scheraris,^b in all tymes of processiou quhair euir thair bannaris beis borne, that thai pas togedder and be incorporat vnder ane baner in als formis as thai pleis; and to be maid in this wys, that thair banaris of baith the saidis craftis be paynitt with the imagis, figuris and armis of the webstaris, and principalie becais thai ar found the elder craft and first placit; and with the ymagis, figuris and armys of the said scheraris and wakeris quarternie rynnand togeddir; and the armes of the webstaris, viz. thair signs of the spule to be vnmaist in the baner; and ilk ane of thair craftis to haue thair bymarkis on thair awin bannaris that thai mak principalie cost vpoun for keeping of the samyn; and the said scheraris and wakeris top as vnder the bannar of the webstaris quhill thai may gudlie furnis thair awin, and the armys of the said scheraris and wakeris to be now put in the webstaris bannaris gif thai may be gudlie formit and gottin thairvntill.

a. Kirkmasters were appointed by the Guildry to oversee the care and maintenance of the Burgh Church and deal with other matters affecting the church and community

b. Shearers removed the nap from cloth and thus their craft was kindred to that of the weavers and walkers.

In May 1531 the Provost, Bailies and Councillors had to turn their attention to the business of craft precedence in the procession of the coming Feast of Corpus Christi. Although the entry of 15 May 1509 did not mention the name of that feast it did, no doubt, relate to that event in particular.

19 MAY 1531. ¹²⁰

The Websters, Walkers, Shearers and Bonnetmakers request the Council to arbitrate in a dispute regarding their positioning in the procession on Corpus Christi Day and its Octave Day (i.e. the same day of the following week) and in all other General Processions^a and gatherings. The Council decide that in the future on all such occasions the Deacon and Brethren of the Webster Craft shall allow the Deacon of the Walkers, Shearers and Bonnetmakers to process with them all as one group, displaying their banners, as the custom is, at such times. This place in the processsions is to be known as,

the Wobstaris place and rovme for euir....

^a General Processions not associated with a particular religious festival contained no elements of pageantry. Thus it was in Bruges. See entry above under, 19 October 1456.

(For details of General Processions in Bruges see, GAILLIARD 'De 'Processiën Generael' en de 'Hallegeboden' te Brugge' in *Verslagen en Medelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde* (Gent, 1912) 1061-1203.)

121
1552-3.

Item, on the Sacrament day gevin to the
 Bischof of Ross that bure the Sacrament,
 in wyne and scrottisarttis that extendit to xvj s. viij d.

Item, for bukrem to mend the westments and
 frintell, and for ribbonis and silk x s. vj d.

Item, for dighting of the kirk about at Corpus
 Christpinis day v s.

Item, for dighting of the kirk within, ilk day xv
 days fra Corpus Christpis day to Sanct Gelis day xij s.

122
22 June 1553.

Item, gevin to George Tod for making of ane skaffalt
 on the hill^a to the clerk play, the bering of daylis
 and punschonis^b thairto, and the aill and the wyne
 that daythai playit and furnessing of sax sparris
 thairto xxvj s.

a. Castle Hill which led into or out of the area
 known as the Tron.

b. Large barrels stood on end and used to make a
 scaffold or stage with planks of wood laid across the
 top.

123
1553-4.

Item, to the Blakfreris and to the Grayfreris
 fore thair preching yeirlie twelve barrels
 beir, price thairof xiv li.viiij s.

Similar entries occur under the same reference
 for 1554-5 and 1556 in respect of both the
 Black and the Grey Friars and in 1557 and 1558
 in respect of the Grey Friars only.

124
1554.

Item, payit for beireing of burds and trestis to the
 Queenis lugin^a on Corporis christeis day, to
 Mr. Abraham Creichoun foir horis, and for flouris
 and raichis^b and vj menis lauboris that day awaiting
 thairon, xx s.

a. A pavilion from which the Queen could watch the
 play.

b. 24 May.

c. Rushes, used at that time for covering floors as was regularly done in churches.

Item, the day of the playing of the play at the trone with the convoy of the moris; payit for graithing of the Quenis lusing foiranent the samyn, for flours, beirkis, rocheis, and beiring of furmes and trestis thairto,

xvj s.

15 June 1554. 125

The prouest, baillies and counsale ordanis the thesaurer Robert Grahame to pay the workmen, merchandis, carteris, paynterris, and vtheris that furneist the grayth to the convoy of the moris to the Abbay and of the play maid that samyn day the tent day Junij instant the sowm of xxxvij li. xvj s. ij d. as the compt producit to Sir William Makdougall, maister of werk thair-upoun proportit, providing alwayis that the said Sir Williame deliuer to the dene of gyld the handscenye and canves specificit in the said tikkit to be keptit to the behuif of the toun

27 June 1554. 126

The baillies, counsale and dekinnis sittand in jugement ordanis the thesaure, Robert Grahame, to content and pay to the maister of wark of the makar of the playing place the sowme of xxiiij li. for the compleiting thairof.

20 July 1554. 127

The prouest, baillies and counsale ordanis the thesaurer, Robert Grahame, to pay to the maister of werk the sowme of xliij li. xiiij s. iiij d., makand in the hale the sowme of ane hundreth merkis and that to complete the play field now biggane in the Grenesid.

18 August 1554. 128

The prouest, baillies and counsale ordanis the thesaurer Robert Grahame, to content and pay the xij menstrales that past afoir the convoy and the plaaris on Sondag last bypast,

xl s.

Item, payit on the day of the play,³
for the dennar made to the players,³

xviiij s. ij d.

a. We suggest in Volume One, Chapter Six, the possibility that this was 15 August, the Feast of the Assumption.

Item, payit for the making of the Quenis grace hous on the playfeild, besyde the convoy hous under the samyn, and the playaris hous, the jebettis and skaffauld about the samyn, and burds on the playfeild, careing of thame fra the toun to the feild, and thairfra agane, the cutting and inlaik of greit and small tymmer, with the nallis and workmanschip of vj wrychts twa dayis thairto, pynoris feis, cart hyre, and uther necessaris, as Sir William M'Dougall, maister of wark, tikket beiris,

xvj li. v s. iiij d.

129

12 October 1554.

The prouest, baillies, and counsale ordanis the thesaurer, Robert Grahame, to content and pay to Walter Bynning the sowme of v li. for the making of the play graith and paynting of the handscenye and the playaris facis; providand alwys that the said Walter mak the play geir vnderwrittin furthcumand to the town when thai haif ado thairwith, quhilkis he hes now ressaut, viz. viij play hattis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter, ane fulis hude, ane septour, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaplet of tryvmphe.

130

6 January 1554/5.

Item, on Uphaly day,...for beiring of daillis, greit treis and pinschionis to mak a skaffald in the Tolbuith to play the Clerk play on, and away bringing of it agane,

vj s.viiij d.

131

1555-6.

The expensis maid of the cutting and outletting of the watter in the Play-field:

Item, for twa men ane ouk, ilk man in the ouk, ix s. summa

xviiij s.

Item, to the calsay maker to flag it,

vj s.

1556-7. ¹³²

Item, the xxiiij day of July, for taffitye to be
ane standart to the towne, silk to the frenyeis
to the samin, werkmanschip, painting and bukram
to be ane hois therto,

ix li. v s.

20 November 1557. ¹³³

Item, the xx day of November, be ane precept,
to James Drummond, trumpetour, and thre uthers
with him for thair playing before the Sacrament
on Sanct Gelis day and before the Provost on
All Hallows Evin,

(50 s.) 1 s.

1559. ¹³⁴

Iem, vj werkmen on Corpus Christis day,

ij s.

No information is given as to what the workmen did.

B) Extracts from the Accounts of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen.

Like the other Craft Guilds of the burgh the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen participated in the public processions. Fortunately manuscript records of this guild, alone of all the burgh Craft Guilds, have survived. The manuscript was first transcribed by John Smith and published in 1907. A new transcription ¹³⁵ was made by Anna J. Mill for her *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* in 1924. She returned to the subject in 'The Edinburgh Hammermen's Corpus Christi Pageant' in the *Innes Review*, Vol.21, 1970, Miscellany Section, 77-80.

The Hammermen Craft embraced, ¹³⁶

blaksmythis, goldsmythis, lorymeris, saidlaris, cutlaris,
bucler makaris, armoreris, and all vtheris.....

The Accounts cover the period 1494 -1559 and are highly repetitive. For this reason we do not reproduce them in

full, apart from those of first appearance, given as an example of the remainder. Items that add to our knowledge of pageantry and play are given, but for the most part regular routine mentions of, for example, bearing of standards, torches, and candles decorated with flowers, mentions of minstrels and the players of musical instruments, food and drink, bread, ale and wine, are omitted. It should, therefore, be taken for granted, that the entries we quote, are normally accompanied in the manuscript by such items as these.

Quotations are normally from the MS Accounts and their locations are indicated by the quotation of the relevant folio numbers. Items which are not direct quotations from the manuscript are separately referenced. The numerous references to Robin Hood and Little John and the folk traditions associated with them have been omitted.

Vol.1, 1494. First Quarter.

- fol 5. Item to iij men at bure the standartis in harnes^a
on corpus Xis day viij d.
- Item to the ij men at bure the candilheddis xxxij d.
- Item to the iiij men at bure the iiij tortis^b xxxij d.
- Item to the twa werlattis^c in brecatynis^d xvj d.
- Item for mendin of the iiij gret tortis & makin of
iij gret knoppis of grene walx to thaim & culoryne
of thaim iiij s.
- Item to gilyame and his marrow on corpus xis day &
that day viij days^e v s.
- Item in to the processioune & to the menstralis & the
beraris at thair disione^f in bred & aill on corpus
xis day xvij d.
- Item for bringin of the poyndis^g fra thome Rais
hous ij d.
- Item for payntin of the spere of leicht xij d.
- Item on the viij day quhen thai bure the banaris &
the candill befor the sacrament for tha galloun of
aill at yed^h throw the tovene with thaim & a
galloun quhen thaj come in xvij d.
- Item to the furnesyng of errotⁱ & his vj knyghtis
at the craftis command x s.
- Item on sownday quhen the processioune was playd for
the king - to ane menstrale ij s.

Item to the men at bur the baneris & the tortis
that samen dayin aill to thaim ix d.

- a. Armoured suit. b. Tortis = Wax Candle.
- c. Varlot = a page, eventually to become a squire.
- d. Perhaps, bretacynis = high boots.
- e. The Octave Day. f. Breakfast, or Luncheon.
- g. Items kept in store by Rais until needed.
- h. At yed = That went. i. King Herod.

fol 9. 1495. First Quarter.

Item on corpuscristis day to the iiij men at bure
the four standartis in harnes viiij s.

Item to ij monstralis at yed with ws that day in
the processioun v s.

Item on the viij day quhen the sacrament yeid
throw the toune to the childer at bur the banaris
in drink xij d.

Item the samen day tilld menstrall befor the craft ij s.

fol 12. 1496. First Quarter.

Item gevin to the abbot of narent to furnes herod
& his knyghtis viiij s.

fol 19. 1498. First Quarter.

Item the viij day eftir corpus xis day to gilliam
to play throw the toune befor the craft and his
child to play the bumbart iiij s.

fol 24. Item to herod & his vj knyghtis to the
processioun of corpus X x s.

fol 35. 1500. First Quarter.

Item to ij horss to the ij men at bur the
standartis apone the sovnday forow corpus xis
day befor the craft xvij d.

fol 41. 1502. Third Quarter.

Item for holingis bringin fra Roslyng at sanct
loysmess vj d.

fol 44. 1503. First Quarter.

Item four men in harnes one corpus xis day with
battale axis xxxij d.

fol 48. 1504. First Quarter.

Item to herod and his ij doctours horss iiij s.

Item to the v knyghtis v s.

Item on corpus xis day for aile throw the gait
& at thar incummyn & bred & a quart of wyne
that day ij gallownis & iiij quartis of
aile price vj s. ij d.

fol 51. 1505. First Quarter.

Item to herod iiij s.

Item to his twa doctouris ij s.

Item to the vj knyghtis vj s.

fol 55. 1506. First Quarter.

Item for ane gallone aill one the octaue
day gangand throw the tovne & a pynt wyne &
ane mayne breid ij s. ij d.

Item to the wricht at maid the cart to the
danss of drinksiluer iiij d.

Item to the man at brocht the burdis till him j d.

Item for nailis to the samen cart ix d.

fol 59. 1507. First Quarter.

Item gevin thaim one corpus xpi day in wyne
throw the gait & maynbraid in the proceSSIONe
& one the octaue in aill xxxij d.

Item gevin herod	iiiij s.
Item to his twa doctouris	ij s.
Item gevin to his fif knyghtis	v s.
Item to the four wiffis ^a	iiiij s.
a. The 'Mulier' as in York Play No. XIX, 'The Slaughter of the Innocents'.	

fol 65. 1509.

Item gevin to Cudde for his sport befor the craft maid on the octaue day	xvj d.
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1512-15.

During these years the usual Corpus Christi expenses are incurred, always with the two Varlets, but without mention of Herod and his company.

fol 89. 1516. First Quarter.

Item to Herod	iiiij s.
Item to his twa doctouris	ij s.
Item to the iiiij knyghtis	iiiij s.

fol 95. 1518.

The usual Corpus Christi expenses.

1519-28.

Throughout this period the previously repetitive entries go on being repeated in connection with Corpus Christi Day and its Octave Day. No Varlets are mentioned in the years 1526, 7 and 8.

In 1522, 24, and 1525 a few pence are expended on 'ane lytell buk' but for what the book was to be used we are not told.

After 1529 the Hammermen join with the Wrights and Masons for the Corpus Christi Procession as was often done elsewhere.

137
1532.

Item given to James Cokkor for the mending of
iiij crownis^a

iiij s.

^a. These could relate to Crowns for the Three
Kings of Cologne and for Herod. An item in the
Hammermen's Compt for 1505 reads as follows,

fol 51. Item for plait to mak a pattern for the
crovnis

iiij d.

The context here shows the expense relates to
the Craft's hearse - as used for Requiem
Masses in the presence of the body of the
recently departed.

fol 3. 15 May 1538.

Vol.1. Item for the dekin & masteris for saidis hes thoct
expedient for the honour of this burght & the craftismen
of the samyn hes ordanit that na manner of seruand be fund
on corpus xpi day nor In the octaue of the samyn nor in na
vther processiouis excepad thai be herne^a In thair
clothing eferanent to thair estatis & na vtheris that is
nocht deuodit furth of thair cumpany for that tyme bot
remane in thair buthis or howsis or on staris.

a. That is, dressed in their appropriate clothing for the
occasion. Others it seems were required to 'keep a low
profile', to watch from their booths or from their homes
or from the outside stairs that joined one level to
another.

The above statute appears at the beginning of the
Hammermen's record book where various statutes were
gathered together in 1550.

138
1552.

Item on corpus xpi & the octaue of the samyn betuix
ws the masonis & the wrychtis to menstrales waigis
novnschankis^d disiouns and for breyd and wyne bayth the
dayis in the processiouis and to childer that bur the
samyn and to the men that bure the banaris bayth the dayis
& all vther necessaries the sovme of all is xj lbis
viij s. iiij d. our part thairof v lbis xiiij s. ij d.

a. Afternoon snacks.

7a) THE BURGH OF GLASGOW.

139

2 June 1599.

Item, it is statute be the provest, baillies, and counsale that, according to the proclamatiounes and preparatiounes to the playe and pastyme on Thurisdaye nixt, that ilk persone absent sall paye fyve lib. of penalte.

In 1599 Corpus Christi was on 7 June.,

7b) GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

140

2 May 1462.

At a meeting held on this date the Congregation of the University decided that in future the annual festival of St Nicholas (Patron Saint of scholars) should be kept on 9 May, when masters, licensed bachelors and students are to assemble for Mass at eight am. in the Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, after which each and every one is to take flowers and branches of trees and mounted on horses process through the public streets as far as the Cross in the upper part of the town and return to the College of the Faculty for bodily refreshments and thereafter repair to a suitable gathering place for the performance of an Interlude or some other such suitable entertainmenmt. The University of St Andrews transferred their St Nicholas festivities to the Feast of his Translation by a decree dated, 26 November 1414. See, MS Liber Conclusum Universitatis Sanctandree, fol 1b.

8) HADDINGTON.

141

29 May 1532.

the quhilk day it was delyueit be the consell that the smythis, wrychtis & maissonis sall pass to gydder in procession on corpus cristis day & all other processionis efter the testimoniall of the common clerk of edinburgh & the prowtestis beris in effet And at the smwthhis sal pass onder the tovnis baner quhill thai maik ane of thair awyn quhilk salbe maid betweix the dait heir of & nixt

processione saiffand the octauis of corpus cristis day & to be maid or the assumption of our laydy nixt to cum onder the pane of viij s. fs of ylk craft maister of the craftis.

142

5 November 1532.

The quhilk day the sys ordanis a officiar to pound robyn turnor for xxij s. vj d. for thre playe cottis becaws it was assignit to hym to pa & be Inlowit his covnt.

143

21 April 1534.

The quhilk day the craftis consentit of thair awyn confession to play thair pagis on corpus cristis day.

144

28 May 1537.

The quhilk day The Sys wyt awiss of the bailyes contenuis the crafts to play thir Pagenis quhill^d Midsomerdaye.

a. The meaning of the word in this context must be 'also' as the next entry suggests rather than 'until'.

The quhilk day the sis delyueris that the baxtaris, mawtmen, flechoris, smythis, barbouris, tailyouris, skynaris, furiouris, masonis, vrychtis, vobstaris, cordinaris & all other craftis sall playe thair pagenis yeirly & this yeir one midsomerdaye.

This year Corpus Christi Day was on 31 May.

145

6 May 1539.

The quhilk day the assys delyueris that the thessarer sall vayr^a the fowr pownd he gat fra thomas synclar & thomas ponton on play coittis & thay play coittis to be kept in the common kist quhill the nixt yeir to the abbot & that abbot to deliuer thaim in the common kyst agane vnspwlt and sa furth yeirly to scrue the tovn and na vtheris.

a. Lay-out, expend.

146

14 June 1541.

The quhilk day the bailyies chargit the Dekynis of the craftis of Hadington personalliy present to play thair padyanis this yeir as thai did afoir.

27 April 1542.

The Baillies and Counsall ordains John Scharp and Wm Mason to pass in their lenyn claythis on corpus Chrystis day afoir the sacrament all the tyme of the procession and than to offer to the Baillies in name of the Town ilk ane ane pund of vallx and ask the Bailies forgifnes and oblis tham never to falt to the town again for the brekin of the Knok and to restoir to the town the expensis maid upon mending of hir and gif thai refuse, to be banisht the town for a yeir.^d

a. There are records of penitents walking in General (i.e. public) Processions on the Continent, of which we now give some examples from Bruges:¹⁴⁸

- i) 26 December 1480. Ende daer ghynghe twee mannen barvoed, in lynwaed, unde metten blooten oofde in voorme van amende, deen met eene barnende toordse ende dandre met eener barnende keerse.

And then there passed two bare-footed men in linen clothes, with shorn heads as a sign of penitence, the one carrying a burning torch, the other a burning candle.

- ii) 19 June 1481. Ende daer ghynghe mede in de voorseyde processie twee vrawen in voorme van amende, barvoed ende, met een barnende kaerse van een pond in haer hand.

And in the middle of the aforesaid procession there passed two women in the manner of penitents, bare-footed, and with burning candles of one pound weight in their hand.

HADDINGTON BURGH RECORDS, cont'd

There are references under the following dates concerning the appointment of the Abbot of of Unreason. There is no mention of a Prior,¹⁴⁹

12 August 1534; 20 June 1535; 8 May 1536.

24 April 1547 - 'georg rychartson' fined a total of xl s. for not taking the office.

8, 14, 24, April, 6 and 16 May, and 10 December 1539.

17 February 1539/40; 30 March, 20 July, and 9 October 1540; 16 May 1541; and 23 December 1552 the Office was discontinued.

10) PERTH.

150
10 April 1366.

The above is the date of a Charter granted by King David II to the Burgesses of Perth for a Guild Brotherhood, except for the Walkers and Weavers. It is not actually a new Charter but a reaffirmation or confirmation of previous Charters. It grants the burgess-merchants the usual right of buying and selling in Perth and round about. It says nothing about religious duties or responsibilities and there is no mention of the Holy Blood as Guild Patron.

Note regarding citations of records concerning the Burgh of Perth.

- a) Citations from the MS Guild Book are shown as MS GB plus the page number.
- b) Citations from the Transcript of the MS GB are shown as TS GB plus the page number.
- c) Citations from the MS Hammermen Book are shown as MS HB plus the folio number.
- d) Citations from the *Perth Hammermen Book, 1518-68*, ed. Colin A. Hunt, Perth, 1889, are shown as Hunt followed by the page number.

27 April 1485. MS GB 111.

Curia gilde burgi de Perth tenta in Pretorio ejusdem 27 die mensis Aprilis anno Domini 1485 per Gilbertum Chartris decanum gilde....

Robertus Gallowaye Emit sepulturam suam pro xx s. quos soluit domino Roberto Douthle capellano pro suis laboribus et expensis factis In processione et ludo corporis xpi de mandato prepositi et consulum dicti burgi pro tempore

This is a parallel transaction to that recorded in the Burgh Records of Aberdeen, under date, 13 May 1440.¹⁵¹ There are differences, however. Robert Douthle is a priest, perhaps Master of the Song School. The title of 'Abbot of Unreason' is not applied to him. This record refers to both a procession and a play, in that order, making them distinct but associated events.

13 January 1485/6. TS GB 128.

Under this date John Anderson, Vicar of Perth, was made a Burgess and Guild Member, thus showing that Robert Douthle was not the Vicar of Perth.

30 August 1486. MS GB 115.

Curia gilde tent burgi de Perth tenta in pretorio ejusdem penultimo die mensis Augusti Anno Domini 1486 per Jacobum Drummond decanum gilde.....Andreas Bers Emit sepulturam suam pro xx s. quis soluit domino Roberto Douthle capellano de mandato prepositi et consulum dicti burgi pro tempore pro suis laboribus et expensis factis in processione et ludo corporis xpi.

An almost identical entry to that of the *previous* year, except that here we have the proper Latin formula for both, '...et...et', making it clear that again we have two separate but associated events, i.e. a procession followed by a play.

At the same meeting Father Adam, Abbot of the Monastery of Dunfermline, was made a Burgess and Guild Brother.

7 March 1487/8. MS GB 118.

Donaldus Robertus Emit sepulturam suam pro xx s. quos soluit domino Roberto Douthle capellano de mandato prepositi et consulum pro tempore pro suis laboribus et expensis factis in ludo corporis.

As in 1485 and 1486 Douthle is entitled 'Dominus' which indicates he was a graduate.

Records between the above date and the following date are quoted in full in Volume One, Chapter Six.

23 November 1542. Hunt 47.

Item ressavit be Johne Lufrant^a for the craftis hors.^b 1 s.
(i.e. 50 s.)

a. Composer for the year.

b. It is possible the horse may have been used in a pageant/play. There is no known record to indicate whether this was so. A horse was used regularly in the play of the 'Slaughter of the Innocents' of the Edinburgh Hammermen.

The Feast of Corpus Christi and the Plays of St Obert as disclosed
by the Kirk Session Minute Books.
Summaries from,
Vol.1577-86. (Mill,275-280.)

a) Corpus Christi.

1 July 1577.¹⁵²

Certain men admit to playing 'corpus christeis play' on Thursday, 6 June, contrary to the commandment of the civil magistrate and the Minister.

23 August 1577.¹⁵³

'Thomas thorskaill' admits to being one of the Corpus Christi players and carrying the Ensign.

1 September 1577.¹⁵⁴

'Robert paull' admits to being a Corpus Christi player with the Skinners.

2 September 1577.¹⁵⁵

Eight other men admit to being Corpus Christi players.

16 September 1577.¹⁵⁶

Three other men make the same confession.

16 December 1577.¹⁵⁷

Another four men make the same confession.

22 December 1577.¹⁵⁸

Three other men confess themselves to be 'playars of corpus christeis play'.

b) The Play of St Obert.

20 December 1577.¹⁵⁹

John fywie admits going through the town on 10 December, St Obert's Eve, 'striking the drum....' with two others 'Rydand vpoun ane hors in mumschance....'

5 January 1577/8.¹⁶⁰

William Jak admitted that in addition to being one of the Corpus Christi players he was in 'sancttobertis play rydand'.

15 December 1578.¹⁶¹

...gilbert robertsoun ... sayis thomas rollock bad him
putt on the deuillis cot....

Besides these two or three other men admit processing about the
town on St Obert's Eve,

disagasait In pyping and dansin and tar torchis bering...

Other references to appearances before the Session and conviction
for participating in St Obert's Play are as follows:¹⁶²

25 December 1581 - six named men and some others.

22 January 1581/2 - six men.

5 April 1588 - 'Insolent young men' are accused and six to
be put in ward until they pay a fine.

22 March 1587/8 - 'the players of sanctobertis play' to do
public penance in church.

11) ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY.

MS Liber Conclusionem Universitatis Sanctiandree.¹⁶³

fol 1b. 26 November 1414.

The observance of the Feast of St Nicholas was
transferred to the Feast of his Translation, 9 May.

fol 15. 21 November 1432.

The manner of bringing in May or Summer is to be
reformed.

3 April 1465.

Two 'magistri' elected to collect 'pecunias et sumptus
festi Sancti Johannis evangeliste'.

fol 137. 8 May 1514.

The authorities express their concern on account of
certain scurrilous and infamous plays, which seemingly
had been performed on the Feast of St John Before the
Latin Gate, 6 May.

fol 141b. 13 May 1517.

Insuper conclusum erat vy ordo processionis regalia solita fieri in padagio in festo Sancti Johannis evangeliste deinceps fiat secundum arbitrium et discessionem principalis magistri dicti pedagogii et quorum regentium eiusdem....

fol 163v. 27 March 1534.

The Feast of St John to be observed once again with Sung Mass and Procession,

Ita tamen quod missa publice in capella cum nota solita celebretur processio solita in die Sancti Johannis et alie solemnitates solite fieri eo die fiant et obseruentur.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'A'. EXTRACTS AND SUMMARIES OF RECORDS.

1. William Croft DICKINSON ed. *The Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407* (SHS Third Series, vol.44, 1957) 9, 10.
2. *ER* vol.2, 1359-79, 76,7.
3. DICKINSON 81.
4. " 90,1.
5. " 82.
6. Gustave COHEN *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen Âge* (Libraire Honoré Champion, Paris, Nouvelle Édition, 1826) 501, n.29.
7. COHEN 512.
8. J. STUART 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317-1551' *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* vol.5 (1852) 39-181. Accounts of the Provosts and Bailies, 39-47, 41.
9. Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Records, vol.4, 203.
10. As n.9, vol.4, 207.
11. " " vol.5, Part 2, 708.
12. " " " " " 701.
13. " " " " " 715.
14. Peter MEREDITH & John E. TAILBY eds. *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series, No. 4, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Michigan, 1983) 248.
15. Jacob BURCKHARDT *The Civilization of the Renaissance* (Phaidon Press Ltd., Oxford and London, Second Edition Revised, 1945 - translated from the German original) 250.
16. Edward GAILLIARD 'De 'Processiën Generael' en de 'Hallegeboden' in *Verslagen en Medeeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde* (Gent, 1912) 1061-1204, 1089-95.
17. GAILLIARD 1090 (see n.16); L. Gilliodts van SEVEREN ed. *Inventaire des Chartes de la Ville de Bruges* (Edward Gailliard, Bruges, 1871, Première Série, Troisième au Seizième Siècle) vol.4, Stads-Rekening over 1410-11, 82.

18. GAILLIARD 1090; van SEVEREN vol.5, Stads-Rekening over 1456-7, 381.
19. " 1096-1164, 1103.
20. Le Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France* (Hachette et Cie., Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 206,7.
21. G.R. OWST *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1961) 472.
22. William Moir BRYCE *The Scottish Grey Friars* (William Green and Sons, London, 1909, 2 vols.) vol.1, 5; I.B. COWAN & D.E. EASSON *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (Longmans, London and New York, 1957/76, Second Edition) 116, 134.
23. OWST 473,8.
24. W.A. CRAIGIE ed. *The Maitland Folio Manuscript* (STS vol.1, NS 7 1919; vol.2, NS 9 1920) see vol.1, Poem No.XXXVIII, 98-115, 100, lines 70 and 71.
25. Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Records, vol.5, Part 2, 734.
26. As n.25, 751.
27. As n.25, vol.5, Part 1, 117.
The Annual Procession of the Holy Blood took place in Bruges on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, 3 May. For some years it was repeated daily throughout the Octave, which in due course was increased to a Double Octave. Scottish Ecclesiastics are recorded as walking in the Procession, and it is most likely that Scottish Merchants also did so. See Volume One, Chapter Five, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1) BRUGES. and this volume Chapter Five, APPENDIX 'A'. THE LOW COUNTRIES. i) DAMHOUDER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY BLOOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BRUGES.
28. J. STUART *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, 1844) 403.
29. Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Records, vol.5, Part 2, 793.
30. As n.28, vol.v, 475. This is the reference given by Anna J. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Thesis of 1924) 157.
31. STUART (see n.28) 67.
32. The Dean of Guild's Accounts, 1470-1, fol 4^r. These accounts were discovered in the Beinecke Library (ref. MS II. 540), New Haven, U.S.A., by ~~Prof~~ R.J. Lyall, formerly of Glasgow University.
33. Aberdeen Burgh MS. Records, vol.6, 51.
34. STUART *Extracts of Aberdeen Burgh Records* (see n.28) 407,8.

35. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.6, 596.
36. As n.35, vol.6, 826.
37. STUART (see n.34) 413.
38. As n.35, vol.6, 940.
39. " " vol.7, 399.
40. " " vol.7, 479.
41. Stuart (See n.34) 425.
42. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.7, 741, 814.
43. As n.42, vol.8, 316.
44. " " vol.8, 397, 828.
45. " " vol.8, 543.
46. " " vol.8, 695.
47. " " vol.8, 699.
48. " " vol.8, 797.
49. " " vol.8, 828.
50. " " vol.8, 908.
51. " " vol.8, 962.
52. " " vol.8, 1137. Here the MS is defective - date
inferred from entry of 4 July 1525.
53. " " vol.9, 177.
54. " " vol.9, 306.
55. " " vol.9, 553.
56. " " vol.9, 703.
57. " " vol.10, 72.
58. " " vol.11, 76, 127.
59. " " vol.11, 399.
60. " " vol.11, 594.
61. " " vol.11, 671.
62. " " vol.12, Part 2, 833.
63. " " vol.13, 160.

64. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.13, 453.
65. STUART *Exx. of Aberdeen Burgh Records* (see n.28) 143.
66. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.14, 387.
67. As n.66, vol.14, 388.
68. " " vol.14, 555.
69. " " vol.15, 626.
70. " " vol.15, 626.
71. " " vol.15, 637.
72. " " vol.16, 152.
73. " " vol.16, 213.
74. P.Hume BROWN ed. *Scotland before 1700 from Contemporary Documents* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1893) 193, n.1; for copy of 'The Plan by James Gordon, Parson of Rothemay, 1661', see, John BULLOCH *Aberdeen Three Hundred Years Ago* (D. Wylie, Aberdeen, 1884).
75. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.16, 224.
76. As n.75. vol.17, 65.
77. " " vol.19, 65.
78. " " vol.19, 143.
79. John STUART 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317-1551' (see n.8) Accounts of the Dean Of Guild, Discharge of 1548-51, 52.
80. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.20, 398.
81. As n.80, vol.20, 567.
82. " " vol.21, 387. On Scottish authors and the Continent see volume One, Chapter Two, f) PRE-REFORMATION SCOTTISH AUTHORS AND THE CONTINENT.
83. " " vol.21, 320.
84. " " vol.21, 390.
85. " " vol.21, 496.
86. " " vol.21, 594.
87. " " vol.21, 666.
88. " " vol.22, 325.

89. John Black GRACIE ed. *The Presentation in the Temple, a Pageant as originally presented by the Corporation of Weavers in Coventry* Now printed from the books of the Company with a Prefatory Notice (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh and London, 1836) 19-24.
90. Court Book of the Burgh of Arbroath, 1528-30, fol 5.
91. As n.90, 1563-75, fols 12, 13.
92. The Court Book of the Barony of Alloway, 1492-1535 - quoted in MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (see n.30) 165.
93. George PRYDE *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624* (SHS Third Series, vol.28, 1937) 72,3.
94. As n.93, 75,6.
95. " " 20.
96. " " 85.
97. " " 89.
98. " " 91,2.
99. " " 95.
100. " " 97.
101. " " 101.
102. " " 105,6.
103. " " 109.
104. " " 111.
105. " " 113.
106. " " 115.
107. G.W. SHIRLEY 'A Play and Revels in Sixteenth Century Dumfries' *Transactions and Journal of Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway History Society* (1928-9) 96-107, 103.
108. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (see n.30) 171.
109. SHIRLEY 104.
110. Dundee Burgh and Head Court Register, vol.1, 1520-1544, known as The Book of the Kirk. The Inventory was added at a later date. See fol 170b. This volume and volumes 2 & 3 is held in the Burgh Archives, City Chambers.

111. Cosmo INNES *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh, A.D.1143-1540* (SBRS, 1871) 68-70. 69, Charter No. XXVIII
112. INNES 82, Charter No. XXXVI.
113. *ALHT* vol.1, 170; Robert PITCAIRN *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland compiled from Original Records and Manuscripts, etc.* (Bannatyne Club, 1833, 3 vols.) vol.1, 116.
114. Cosmo INNES *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland etc.* (SBRS, 2 vols., vol.1, 1124-1424, 1868; vol.2, 1424-1707, 1910) vol. 2, 23.
115. *ALHT* vol.2, 229, 374.
116. " vol.2, 438.
117. The Edinburgh Burgh Court Book, May-Sept.1507, 6. This volume has no MS. reference. It is located in the Burgh Archives in Bay 'A', on Shelf 1.
118. INNES (see n.111) 191.
119. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (SBRS, vol.1, 1403-1528; vol.2, 1528-57) vol.1, 122. In 1509 Corpus Christi fell on 7 June.
120. As n.119, vol.2, 48.
121. " " vol.2, 276, 338, 340.
122. Robert ADAM *Edinburgh Records, The Burgh Accounts* [cited by Mill as *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts*] (The Lord Provost, etc., 1899) Bailies and Town Treasurer's Accounts, 76.
123. William MOIR *The Scottish Grey Friars* (William Green & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1909, 2 vols.) vol.1, 286.
124. *Edinburgh Records, etc.* as in n.122, 108,9.
125. As n.119, vol.2, 193.
126. " " vol.2, 195.
127. " " vol.2, 196.
128. " " vol.2, 197.
129. " " vol.2. 198.
130. As n.122, 133.
131. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (see n.119) vol.2, 320.

132. As n.122 204.
133. " " 205.
134. " " 283.
135. John SMITH ed. *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church, Edinburgh, Extracts of Hammermen Recorus, 1494-1558* (William Hay, Edinburgh, 1906). The original manuscript of the Hammermen records is preserved in the City Archives, Edinburgh.
136. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (see n.119) vol.1, 47-9, 47.
137. SMITH 104.
138. MILL (see nn.108 and 30) 234; SMITH, 151.
139. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow* (SBRs, 1876, vol.1, 1573-1642) 193.
140. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, 1854, 2 vols.) vol.2, 39; see also, *The Old College*, The Glasgow University Album of 1869, 327-54.
141. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 247,8.
142. " " " " " 250.
143. MILL 249.
144. Thomas THOMSON 'A Description of the Oldest Council Books and Other Records of the Town of Haddington, with Copious Extracts' *PSAS* vol.2 (1859) 384-420, 384, 420, 398.
145. MILL 251.2.
146. THOMSON, as n.144.
147. " 391.
148. Kannunik C. CARTON *Het Boeck van al 't gene datter geschied is binnen Brugghe sichert jaer 1477, 14 Februarii tot 1491* (Maatschappij der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen, Third Series, No. 2, 1859) i) 27; ii) 30. There are many other references to penitents walking in processions in the same volume, see, 13, 21, 23, 25, 46, 54, 56, 66, 70, 139, 167, 240, 255, 263, 315, and 385. See also GAILLIARD 'De 'Processiën Generael' en de 'Hallegeboden' te Brugge' (see n.16) 1127.
149. MILL 250-3.

150. The Charter is held in the Perth Museum & Art Gallery, listed as, Item No. 1, in the Catalogue of Manuscripts under reference MS 2/1, which is not a single manuscript but a bound volume entitled 'Original Papers & Letters, 1363-1717'. The original Seal of the Charter has survived only slightly damaged. A copy is held at the Town Archives in the Sandeman Library.
151. See this Appendix, 1) ABERDEEN, 13 May 1440.
152. MILL 275; John LAWSON *The Book of Perth* (T.G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1847) 124.
153. " " ; LAWSON 124 (he gives the date as the 13th.).
154. " " : " " (n.8).
155. " 276; " " "
156. " " ; " 125.
157. " " ; " "
158. " 275-7; LAWSON 125,6.
159. " 277; " " "
160. " " ; " 126.
161. " " ; " 129.
162. " " ; " 141-80.
163. Annie I. DUNLOP ed. *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree, 1413-1588* (SHS and St Andrews University, Publication No. 56, 1964) lxxvii-cxxxiii, 37,8, 308,9, 322, 373,4.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'B' CANDLEMAS

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'B'. CANDLEMAS.

An Interpretation of the Orders for the Candlemas Offerand of Aberdeen of 1442 and 30 January 1505/6. (For text of Order of 1442/3 see Chapter Six. For text of Order of 1505/6 see APPENDIX 'A'.)

i) 'the emprioure and twa doctourez' - the Emperor is the Emperor Augustus, and the Doctors are his 'Consulti', as we find in Play No. IX of the Wakefield Plays. To this scene may also be added the Aberdeen 'messyngeare', who appears in the Wakefield play as 'Nuncius. (Lightfote)'. There is no parallel in the York Cycle.¹

Augustus was reputed to have had a miraculous vision of the Virgin and Child by the Tiburtine Sybil, and this was seen as a parallel to the vision granted to Simeon at the time of the Lord's Presentation.

ii) 'moyses' - in religious plays Moses appears in three different roles; as the giver of the Ten Commandments and the Prophet of the Coming of Christ, and as a prefiguration of the Saviour through his setting the ancient Jews free from the bondage of slavery in Egypt and by bringing them through the perils of the Red Sea so that they could enter the Promised Land.

Moses appears in the first two roles in Wakefield Play No. VII, The Prophets, and in the third role in Wakefield Play No. VIII, Pharaoh, which is followed by 'Caesar Augustus', mentioned above.

York Play No. XI, Moses and Pharaoh, is an example of the pre-figuration role of Moses.²

iii) 'Ioseph' and 'Symion' are obvious requirements for a scene of the 'Presentation', but so are Mary and the Holy Child. Neither appears in the list of characters of 1442. We believe this to be an error as far as Mary is concerned. She does appear in the list of 30 January 1505/6, when in addition to finding 'Sanct brid & Sanct elene' the 'talyouris' are required to find 'our Lady'. At Beverley Mary carried an effigy of Jesus in her arms. Probably an effigy was used at Aberdeen too, although we lack the detail of how this was provided.

In the context we are considering a role for the 'three kingis of Culane' is plainly appropriate.

iv) We suggest that the 'twa bischopes' were probably the High Priests, Annas and Caiaphas, normally designated as 'bishops' in the religious plays. These with 'Sancte helene' were there in prefigurative roles of Christ's eventual Passion and Crucifixion.

v) There is nothing in the lists to suggest there might have been a scene of the Visit of the Shepherds. However, 'foure angelez' suggests the possibility of a scene of the Salutation of Mary by the Archangel. This suggestion receives support from the fact that according to Dunbar at the reception for Queen Margaret at Aberdeen in 1511 there was a Pageant of the 'Annunciation' (there were also

Pageants of 'The Three Kings' and 'The Expulsion of Adam & Eve from the Earthly Paradise').³

vi) 'Sancte bride' was there for two reasons, firstly because her feast day was 1 February, the Eve of Candlemas, and secondly because in legend she was seen as a personification of the Virgin Mary. She was supposedly baptized by St Patrick and founded a monastery at Kildare. Her cult spread throughout Europe and many legends about her grew up.⁴

vii) Neither the Order of 1442 nor that of 1505/6 mention a Pageant of the Expulsion of Adam & Eve from the Earthly Paradise, but as stated above, Dunbar saw one in Aberdeen in 1511 at the Reception for Queen Margaret. It may have been newly devised for the occasion but it is possible that at sometime between 1505/6 and 1511 it had been added to the pageants of the Candlemas Offerand.

The 'Presentation' was widely featured in European art, as, e.g., in 'The Presentation in the Temple' of the Master of the Life of the Virgin, active in the second half of the fifteenth century. This painting incorporates features referred to above in various forms. The moment depicted is when Simeon takes the child Jesus from the Virgin and declares, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace...'. Simeon's cape shows in embroidery, figures of prophets and, on the dorsal, the Emperor Augustus being shown the miraculous vision of the Virgin and Child referred to above. The retable of the altar has Old Testament scenes reflecting sacrifice in reference to Christ's future crucifixion, scenes which we

suggest are paralleled by the High Priest conjectured above, and by St Helen.

The Master of the Life of the Virgin was an anonymous artist of Cologne. This painting is one of a series of eight painted around 1460/65. The artist's work is said to owe much to artists of the Low Countries. The iconography of the 'Presentation' at Aberdeen clearly runs parallel to that of the Continent to which, no doubt, it is indebted.⁵

Candlemas and the Scottish Court.

Official accounts record a number of Offerings made by the Court on Candlemas Day. A typical example is

1473 Item, gevin to the King and Qwene to offir on Candle-
masday, ij crownis, xxiiij s.⁶

Note on the Celebration of Candlemas in Scotland.

Generally speaking Scotland followed the rites and ceremonies of the Sarum Rite as used in England. The special ceremony which distinguished Candlemas from ordinary days was the blessing of candles, followed by their kindling and distribution. Then followed a procession around the church, and that concluded, the Mass of the day was begun. According to the Rathen Manual the blessing ceremony took place after Sext.⁷

There are no rubrics in the Mass of the Day in the Arbuthnot Missal (a Sarum Book) indicating that the candles blessed and carried in the procession before Mass were used in any way in that service, such as being kindled and held by the congregation during the recitation of the Gospel.⁸

The text in the Sarum Processional⁹ and the Rathen Manuel are the same, but the former is better rubricated, and helps us to see how the text could easily be used in a dramatic way after the singing of the concluding processional antiphon.

Postea sequitur responsorium,

Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto non visurum se mortem, nisi videret Christum Domini; et cum inducerent eum in templum, accepit eum in ulnas suas, ut benedixit Deum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis, Domine, servum tuum in pace.

The above Responsorium is found in the same form in a thirteenth century Ordo from Augsburg, but there it is followed by this rubric,¹⁰

Et interim unus ex presbyteris in uice Sancti Symeonis accipiat plenarium in ulnas, et portet in ecclesiam pro puero Christo...

The 'plenarium' is the Gospel Book and here is representative of the Infant Jesus. Later the ceremony was revised and instead an effigy of the Infant Jesus was carried on a cushion. Sometimes an effigy of the Virgin Mary was carried in along with the 'plenarium'. (see next section entitled, Candlemas - Representations in other Countries, d) Germany.)

The next rubric in the Sarum Processional says

Tres clerici seniores in pulpito^a conversi ad populum in
capis sericis simul cantant hunc versum.

V. Hodie virgo Maria puerum Jesum praesentavit in templo,
et Symeon repletus Spiritu Sancto accepit eum in ulnas suas,
et benedixit Deum, et ait: Nunc etc.¹¹

a. pulpitum - a platform, tribune for public readings,
debates, etc., and according to Horatius Flaccus, poet,
d.8B.C., for actors, the 'boards' of a theatre.

Then as the choir enter their places they sing the responsorium
beginning, 'Videte miraculum matris Domini, concepit virgo....'.

Candlemas - Representation in Other Countries.

a) England

There is evidence from Beverley of c.1388/9 for a play of the
'Presentation' using live characters. On the day of the feast the
Guild of St Mary processed to the Church of the Blessed Virgin,
carrying lighted candles, led by persons costumed to represent
Joseph, Simeon, two angels, and Mary, with an effigy of Jesus in
her arms. In the church Mary presented 'Jesus' to Simeon at the
High Altar. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of what was said
or sung during the action.¹²

At Barking Abbey they processed with lighted candles, at the head
two priests with an image of the Virgin Mary, preceded by a priest
with a lighted candle, and when the image passed anyone they had

to genuflect. At the Offertory the Abbess offered bread and wine, and after that her candle. Then the others offered their candles.¹³ It is quite possible that an offering of candles took place at St Nicholas, Aberdeen in the same context. It seems most likely that this is when the Aberdeen craftsmen made their annual offering of wax of one pound and provides us with the reason for naming the occasion the Candlemas Offerand.

In other places where an image of the Virgin was processed, the Gospel Book was carried in front of it to represent the Holy Child Jesus.

A Beverley record of c.1520 headed, 'Gubernacio Ludi Corporis Christi', shows that the 'Fyshers' provided for the occasion a pageant/play of 'Symeon'.¹⁴

The Register of the Corporation of Hereford for 1503 includes in a list of Corpus Christi Pageants one entitled, 'The purification of our Lady, with Symeon'. It was provided by 'The belman'.¹⁵

Plays of the 'Purification' are found in the York, Wakefield, Chester and 'N' Town ('ludus Coventriae') Cycles.

b) France

The 'Purification' is found in the Passion Cycles of Mercadé (d.1440); Greban, written c.1450; Michel, 1486-90; the surviving

MS. c.1550 in the Bibliothèque at Valenciennes of the play performed there in 1547.¹⁶

There was a liturgical drama of the 'Purification' at Amiens, probably the kind at Augsburg in the thirteenth century, and elsewhere. (See below re Augsburg, d) Germany.)¹⁷

c) The Low Countries.

In 1427 the priest Judocus endowed in the Church of Saint Salvator in Bruges the processions of the five Marian Feasts of the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, the Nativity and Conception. We have no details but a 'tableau' of the 'Purification' in the procession at the feast is a possibility.¹⁸

The town accounts for 1379-80 of Dixmunde show the following payment:¹⁹

Aen Jacob van Women van de payemente van
lichtmesse, Lib.6.

No further details are available. It might possibly relate to a pageant/play.

d) Germany.

A play for Candlemas written in German but with antiphons/anthems in Latin intermingled in the text has survived in the Tyrol

Collection (i.e. 'Tiroler Sammlung'). As introductory remarks indicate it was intended for performance in church, and everything in the play is to proceed modestly and in good order. The Precursor must 'keine groteske Larve tragen' and Joseph must be decently attired.²⁰

The above would appear to relate to a dramatic or semi-dramatic performance in which the choir continues to be involved.

The twelfth century Ordo from Augsburg prescribes that during the procession with the lighted candles a 'station' is to be made on reaching the church doors when the following antiphon is to be sung,

Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto, non visurum se mortem nisi uideret Christum Domini. Et inducerent puer in templum, accepit eum in ulnas suas, et benedixit Deum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis, Domine, seruum tuum in pace.

After which comes the following rubric:

Et interim unus senior ex presbyteris in uice Sancti Symeonis accipiat plenarium (i.e. the Gospel Book) in ulnas, et portet in ecclesiam pro puero Christo. Et ingrediendo imponat antiphonam 'cum inducerent puerum Ihesum'.

Then follows the Psalm, 'Benedictus Dominus, Deus Israel' and the Mass of the day commences.²¹

According to the service book of 1487 an image of the Infant Jesus is carried on a cushion in place of the Gospel Book of the earlier Ordo:²²

Finita antiphona: ingreditur in templum, ubi obuiam se prebet dignior quidam sacerdos, indutus pluuiali, tenens in vlnis suis ante se imaginem pueri super puluinar, circumstantibus eum duobus ceroferarijs, et locans se ad locum

aptum, vt tota processio pretereat eum, quam, postea vltima
insequitur. Introendo templum...

An appropriate antiphon was then sung.

Sometimes an effigy of the Virgin Mary with the gospel book was
carried in such processions.

The Corpus Christi Processional Ordnung of Freiburg-im-Breisgau of
1516 shows very brief details of two Old Testament pageants which
were to be provided by the Craft Guild with the exception of two,
the Visitation, and the Purification, both of which were to be
under the direction of the 'Kilcher', i.e. the Münster Pfarrer. The
The 'Purification' appears in the Ordnung as follows;

Kilcherr (sic): Simeon vnd anna, maria vnd joseph zur
leichtmess.

There is also a small play which may have been associated with
this pageant at a later stage when dramatic speech was introduced.
It has a cast of the Angel, three Shepherds, Mary, Anna, Elizabeth,
Simeon, and Joseph. ²³

General Remarks.

Throughout Europe there are far more surviving records relating to
the Annunciation and Assumption than to the Purification. Even
where such records are found they are few compared with other
records. Some New Testament cycles in France have no play or scene
of the Purification.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'B'. CANDLEMAS.

1. George ENGLAND and A.W. POLLARD eds. *Towneley Plays* (EETS ES 71 1897/1952) 78-85.
2. ENGLAND & POLLARD 56-64, 64-78; Richard BEADLE *The York Plays* (Arnold, London, 1982) 100-110.
3. See our Chapter Six, Appendix 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN. May 1511.
4. FARMER *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (OUP, 1978) 56,7.
5. Alistair SMITH *The National Gallery Schools of Painting: Early Netherlandish and German Paintings* (The National Gallery, London, in association with William Collins, 1985) 74 and accompanying Plate.
6. *ALHT* vol.1, 64. See also vol.1 - 1488, 103; 1489, 129; 1494, 241; 1495, 268; vol.4 - 1507, 38; 1511/12, 183; 1512/13, 437.
7. Duncan MacGREGOR *The Rathen Manual* (Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, vol.4, Special Issue, 1905) 16, 17, 58-61.
8. A.P. FORBES *The Arbuthnott Missal - Liber Ecclesiae Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott* (A.P. Forbes, Burntisland, 1864) 286-8; J. Wickham LEGG *The Sarum Missal from Three Early Manuscripts* (OUP, 1916) 246-9. Here the Blessing takes place after the Office of Tierce. For the Mass see, 249,50.
9. G.W. HENDERSON ed. *Processionale ad Usus Insignis ac Preclaræ Ecclesie Sarum* - from the edition printed at Rouen, 1508, by M. Morin (M'Corquodale and Co. Ltd., Leeds, 1882) 139-44.
10. YOUNG *DMC* vol.2, 251,2
11. HENDERSON (as n.9) 144.
12. Karl YOUNG 'Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification' *Speculum* 5 (1930) 97-102, 98,9.
13. J.B.L. TOLHURST ed. *The Ordinary and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* - University College, Oxford, MS 169 (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol.66, 1928) 190.
14. Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, 340.
15. CHAMBERS vol.2, 368.
16. Regarding Mercadé see, L. Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du théâtre en France, etc.* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 415-8; re Greban see, de JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 394-411; re Michel, de JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 446-51; re Valenciennes see, de JULLEVILLE, vol.2, 144-56, 418-21.

17. E.A. WRIGHT *The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France* (Dissertation presented to Bryn Mawr College, U.S.A., 1936) 166 and succeeding pages.
18. Reinhard STROHM *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (OUP, 1985) 52.
19. Ernest HOSTEN 'Le Compte Communal de Dixmude, 1380 à 1381' *Annales de la Société d'Émulations, etc.* 66, 2 & 3 (1923) 101.
20. Wilhelm CREZENACH *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1893, 3 vols.) vol.1, 245.
21. YOUNG (as n.10) vol.2, 251 and nn. 3,4,5 and 252.
22. YOUNG (as n.12) 98,9.
23. Neil C. BROOKS 'Processional Drama and Dramatic Processions in Germany in the Late Middle Ages' *JEGP* 32 (1933) 141-71, 149, 151.3.
Wolfgang F. MICHAEL 'Das Deutsche Drama des Mittelalters' *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* 20 (De Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 1971) 54.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'C'

THE PLAY OF 'BELLVALE'

CHAPTER SIX, APPENDIX 'C'.

The Play of 'bellyale'.

We do not know the exact date on which the play was performed, only that the expenses relate to a date prior to 31 July 1471. In 1471 Corpus Christi was celebrated on 13 June. Drumbreck was a 'Sergeant', i.e. a law enforcement officer appointed by the Council to ensure that the legal decisions of the Court were implemented.

Dance-songs about Bele Aelis are said to have been 'all the rage of Paris around 1200 '. One of these was the unsophisticated composition of Baude de la Kakerie, 'Main se leva la bien faite Aelis', which was greatly improved upon in Joseph Bédier's reconstruction of the scenario, with parts for Bele Aelis, her lover, and a chorus, and a narrative thread.¹

The text of the scene has been considered by a number of modern writers, but attention was drawn to it in 1837 by Dr. Heinrich Hoffman who studied it in the text of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich. It has been suggested that the texts of the MS were written in Bavaria and that their original home may have been the Bavarian monastery of Benediktbeuren, where it was discovered in 1803. Doubts, however, exist about this suggestion. As an alternative Seckau in the Austrian Alps has been suggested, and more recently somewhere in the South Tyrol.²

This 'Passio' is very largely written in Latin, making use of the traditional liturgical and gospel sources, but has a scene mainly

in German, which shows the sinful life of Mary Magdalene before her repentance and conversion. She makes her first appearance in the scene in company with a chorus of dancing girls and sings of the pleasures of the world. Then with her girls she goes to buy cosmetics from a merchant, making her request in four lines of verse, to which there is a refrain with a lilting melody in which the chorus of girls join. Then follows a verse in which Mary Magdalene instructs the audience in the art of 'Amour courtois', a theme which is repeated a second time. She is assured by the merchant that his rouge will make the girls lovable.

Mary then retires to bed with a lover, an angel sings calling upon her to repent. After a time she again summons her girls and the visit to the merchant is repeated. She returns to bed and the angel repeats his message. This time she repents, and removing her earthly clothes puts on a black gown of repentance. The lover and a devil who apparently supervised the bedroom depart. Mary then makes a third visit to the merchant and in the traditional words of Latin Easter plays buys the ointment she intends to pour over Christ's feet.

The purpose of the refrains may have been to provoke the men into joining the dance of profane love which would end in an act of repentance.

It has to be said, however, that the Bele Aelis dancing-song play could be allegorized in an opposite sense as was done in a sermon

attributed to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (d.1228)³ but it is more likely to be the work of a French author. Its popularity is shown by its survival in at least five MSS: Trinity College, Cambridge, B.14.39; London, BM Arundel 292; Paris BN lat. 16497; Poitiers, Bibl. de la Ville 97, and London, Lambeth Palace 71. Such survivals must be an indication of the great popularity of the dance from which Christian preachers were trying to wean their congregations. Carolling was often confessed by those put on trial in the witchcraft persecutions of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴

In this sermon the 'carole' symbolizes man's dance with God; Christ is the soloist, man the chorus; Aelis the Virgin Mary, plucking flowers of chastity and charity in the sacred garden. It is most unlikely that the dance was ever performed in this moralized form, but its use, albeit in a different form, strengthens the argument for its use in Aberdeen in the way it was used in the longer 'Passio' of the 'Carmina Burana' MS, with alternative and probably more effective appeal to repentance and reform.

The 'Passio' of the 'Carmina Burana' is the oldest of its kind. Other plays in the area of its origin were influenced by it, for example, the St Gall 'Passion' to which reference has already been made. By which route the scene possibly reached Aberdeen we do not know, perhaps from Benediktbeuren, or from St Gall, perhaps via the 'Passio' of Mercadé which Scots may have seen in Paris. Although texts do not acknowledge their debt to the Belle Aelis song-dance there can be little doubt of it. If our suggestion that

at Aberdeen 'Bele Aelis' is to be read as 'Mary Magdalene' then Aberdeen is unusual in not identifying the play as one about the Conversion of Mary Magdalene.

The 'Marie Magdalaine' section of Mercadé's play after line 9937 has the following stage direction,

Cy apres est comment Marie Magdalaine fut habandonnee a pechiet et dit;

'Then follow lines 938ff in which the Magdalene speaks in character as 'Bele Aelis' but the name is not employed. Between lines 9948 and 9949 occurs the following stage direction,

Adonc chante une chancon amoureuse.

No song text is given. Here we suggest there could have been introduced a song-dance routine of the Bele Aelis type.

Between lines 9988 and 9989 occurs the following stage direction,

Adonc pose une espace puis dit:

Between lines 9996 and 9997 there is a similar stage direction,

Cy pose encore une espace.

We suggest that these pauses were used by the actor to 'ad lib' according to choice, perhaps using words Mercadé deemed unwise to include in his text.

Between lines 10020 and 10021 occurs another direction, allowing a further opportunity for singing a song of the actor's choice,

Adonc chante (i.e. La Magdalaine) une chancon volente.

Yet another opportunity occurs for La Magdalaine to 'ad lib' after line 10026,

Adonc pose une espace puis dit:

The climax of the episode is Mary Magdalene's conversion when dining with Jesus in the house of Simon the Leper.⁵

Some Passion Plays of the Continent contained Interludes within them which had but a remote connection with the main theme. Fragments of Czech and Austrian passion plays have survived where there were such Interludes, involving a Quack Doctor and the Three Maries who come to do business with him.

In a Czech 'Spiel von der heitern Magdalena', discovered at the end of the nineteenth century in the Premonstratenser Stift Schlägel in Upper Austria, after typical 'Fall of Lucifer' and 'Council of Demons' scenes, comes a scene of the worldly life of Mary Magdalene. Here, her sister Martha warns her of the consequences of her loose way of life. Unfortunately the pages that should follow are missing. The Magdalene is apparently also featured in other scenes in this play. One shows her accompanied by an angry devil, singing a lively song and enticing innocent lovers. Her sister Martha responds with a cuff to Mary's ear. Then the two sisters sing a song in Latin, 'Much will be forgiven her for she loved much'.⁶

This 'Spiel von der heiteren Magdalena' has many points of contact with the Vienna Passion Play and with the Erlauer 'Magdalen-spiel' and throughout shows many facets of human life.

Bergmann devotes some space to the consideration of the conversion of a worldly Magdalene as found in the Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel, in the Frankfurter Dirigirrolle, in the St Galler, Maastrichter, Kreuzensteiner and Wienerpassionsspiele. He believes the apocryphal material about the Magdalene began to develop in Germany and the Low Countries in the 12th or 13th century, and he cites in particular texts of the Minne-lyrics for the portrayal of the worldly Magdalene.⁷

Our suggestion that the 'bellyale' of the Aberdeen record might possibly be 'Bele Aelis' is in every sense tentative. Further proof is needed before such a suggestion can be validated.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'C'. THE PLAY OF 'BELLYALE'.

1. Peter DRONKE *The Medieval Lyric* (Hutchinson, London, 1968/78) 192.
2. Eckehard SIMON ed. *The Theatre of Medieval Europe, New Research in Early Drama* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, CUP, 1991) 45.

See also, YOUNG *DMC* vol.1, 518-33; Alfons HILKA & Otto SCHUMANN eds. *Carmina Burana* (Carl Winter, Universitäts Verlag, Heidelberg, 1930/70) vol.1, 152-58, texts with 'Nachträge' by Otto Schumann and Bernhard Bischoff; vol.2 gives a translation into modern German of the Latin and Middle German of the original texts. A facsimile of the *Carmina Burana* manuscript ed. Bernhard BISCHOFF was published by the Institute of Medieval Music, New York in 1967.

3. Karl REICHL ed. *Religiöse Dichtung im Englischen Mittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge* (Series - Münchener Universitäts Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät, Band I, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1973) 386,7.

Regarding Langton's sermon see, R.L. GREENE ed. *Early English Carols* (OUP, 1935/77) 1977 edition, cxiv, cxv.

4. GREENE cxlii.
5. Jules Marie RICHARD [Ancien Archiviste du Pas-de-Calais, Arras] ed. *Le Mystère de la Passion, Texte du manuscrit 697 de la Bibliothèque d'Arras (Imprimerie de la Société du Pas-de-Calais, 1891)* 116-119. See also, Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1954) 181.
6. Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatorgeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller, Verlag, Salzburg, 1957-70, 9 vols.) vol.1, 386,7, 477, nn.9,10.
7. Rolf BERGMANN *Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften*, vol.14, *Studien zu Entstehung und Geschichte der deutschen Passionsspiele des 13 und 14 Jahrhunderts* (Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1972) 242,3.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'D'

NOTE ON THE PERFORMANCE
OF CERTAIN RELGIOUS PAGEANTS AND PLAYS IN PERTH
ALLEGED BY SAMUEL COWAN IN 1904

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'D'. NOTE ON THE PERFORMANCE OF CERTAIN RELIGIOUS PAGEANTS AND PLAYS IN PERTH ALLEGED BY SAMUEL COWAN IN 1904.

A book published in 1904¹ gives details of religious pageants said to have been paraded annually in the Perth Corpus Christi Procession. The facts were said to have been taken from a paper read c.1827 to the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society, which published its one and only volume of transactions at about that time. The Society was closed down in 1914 when a copy of the latter volume and all its papers and manuscripts were transferred to the archives of the Perth Museum and Art Gallery. Some of these were later acquired by the now National Library of Scotland. This legacy of papers etc. from the Perth Society has been checked but in none of them were details found of the pageants described in the above publication. A study of the details of the alleged pageants, however, convinces us that nothing of value has been lost to Scottish records, for the details are quite unrelated to Perth. We believe they come from the well known Dublin Memorandum and List of Pageants written down in 1492.² We give below the relevant extract from the publication of 1904,

Preparation of pageant for the procession of 'Corpus Christi' Day on which the glovers were to represent Adam and Eve with an angel bearing a sword before them; the wrights were to represent Cain and Abel with an altar and their offering; merchants and vintners, Noah and the ravens in the Ark apparently in the habits of carpenters; the weavers represented Abraham and Isaac and their offering and altar. The smiths represented Pharaoh and his host; the skimmers represented the children of Israel; the goldsmiths were to find the King of Edom (viz., one of the three kings). The coopers would represent shepherds with an angel singing 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo Corpus Christi'. Guilds were to find Christ in his passion with (Besides the Virgin, there was Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany and the widow of Nain; all three different persons though they have been confounded with Mary Magdalene.) The tailors were to represent Pilate, with his robes and his wife clothed accordingly; the barbers, Annas and Caiaphas; the merchants, the Prophets; and the butchers, the Tormentors.

This passage matches very closely the corresponding one in the Dublin Memorandum, but it has one serious inaccuracy which makes nonsense in the phrase: 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo Corpus Christi', which can be corrected by inserting a full stop after the word 'Deo'. If we ignore the item 'Peyn, xi s.' in the Dublin Memorandum and ignore the full stop we find the wording matches that in the volume of 1904 allegedly describing Corpus Christi Pageants in Perth.

Our contention that Cowan's description of certain alleged Perth Corpus Christi Pageants does not relate to Perth is supported by the fact that authentic records reproduced in APPENDIX 'A' of this chapter under 10) PERTH show that included in the Perth pageants were pageants of,

- a. St Elói, Patron Saint of Hammermen.
- b. The Martyrdom of St Erasmus, Patron Saint of Seafarers.
- c. The Martyrdom of St Katherine.

These do not appear in Cowan's account. Furthermore Post-Reformation records show that in Pre-Reformation times there was either a Pageant of St Obert (Patron Saint of Baxters/Bakers) and/or possibly a pageant featuring Herod mounted on a horse in a possible scene of the Slaughter of the Innocents. Neither are these included in Cowan's account.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'D'. NOTE ON THE PERFORMANCE OF
CERTAIN RELIGIOUS PAGEANTS AND PLAYS IN PERTH ALLEGED BY SAMUEL
COWAN IN 1904.

1. Samuel COWAN *The Ancient Capital of Scotland* (Simpkin,
Hamilton, Kent and Co., London, 1904, 2 vols.) vol.1, 383,4.
2. Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.)
vol.2, 363,4.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'E'

THE DEATH, BURIAL, ASSUMPTION AND
CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY

The Death, Burial, Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In art the 'Coronation' seems mostly to have been performed by God the Son, as Christ the King, as in the fourteenth century illumination in 'Devotional and Philosophical Writings' held in the Special Collections Department of Glasgow University Library.¹

The 'Coronation of the Virgin' (1441-47) of Fra Filippo Lippi shows the coronation being performed by God the Father, heavily bearded and wearing a cope and mitre. The crown he is about to place on the Virgin's head is of the simplest kind, and is probably correctly described as a 'chaplet'. God the Son is looking on, not wearing a crown, but what might be described as a circlet of thorn-bearing stem.²

'The Coronation of the Virgin' of Enguerrand Quarton (c.1410-66 or later) shows the crowning being performed by both Father and Son, represented as identical twins, both coped but without crowns, bearded and with long hair. The Holy Spirit in the form of a handsome dove, hovers over the crown, which whilst probably representing the chaplet in a more evolved and elaborate form is nonetheless not a crown of the type with which kings were crowned.³

Probably the most famous of all paintings on the subject is Raphael's 'Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin'. Here Christ, Himself without a crown, can be seen placing on the Virgin's head what we believe is properly called a chaplet. It is very like those in the other paintings to which we have referred.⁴

References Suggestive of the Cult of the Assumption/Coronation of
the Virgin in Scotland.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| i) | Aberdeen, 1358 | See App. 'A' of this chapter, 1)
1) <u>ABERDEEN. 1358.</u> |
| ii) | St Machar's Cathedral
Old Aberdeen | See App. 'B' Chapter Four:
Carvings in Wood and Stone.
1) <u>ABERDEEN. ST MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL.
THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.</u> Now in a
Brussels Church.

Item in an Inventory of 1436: 'due
corone de argento deaurate pro
Christo et nostra domina cum lapid
ibus' - see also items under 1463
& 1496, showing damage due presum-
ably to regular handling.
<i>Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis,</i>
<i>etc.</i> vol.2, 144, 161, 166 -
169. |
| iii) | Aberdeen | App. 'A' of this chapter.
1) <u>ABERDEEN. 22 May 1531.</u>
A Pageant of the 'coronation
of our lady' to be provided by
'the tailyeouris'. |
| iv) | Arbroath | App. 'A' of this chapter.
2) <u>ARBROATH. 28 July 1528.</u> |
| v) | Dundee | App. 'A' of this chapter.
5) <u>DUNDEE. c.1450.</u> |
| vi) | Edzell Castle | App. 'B' of Chapter Four.
6) <u>EDZELL CASTLE, ANGUS.</u>
b) <u>OUR LADY AND THE HOLY CHILD.</u> |
| vii) | Glasgow Cathedral | An Inventory of 1432 shows a portion
of Our Lady's Girdle, supposedly let
down from heaven to reassure,
'Doubting Thomas' (in this context |

usually referred to as 'Thomas of India'). Dowden, *Inventory of Ornaments etc.*, 298, section iii, item 7.

- viii) Haddington App. 'A' of this chapter. 8) HADDINGTON.
29 May 1532.
- ix) Iona Abbey Church. App. 'B' of Chapter Four.
10) IONA ABBEY CHURCH.
A. b) THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.
A stone carving of the Virgin, enthroned between angels, with the Holy Child.
- x) Melrose Abbey. App. 'B' of Chapter Four.
14) MELROSE ABBEY. THE
CORONATION OF OUR LADY.
A stone carving depicted the Coronation of the Virgin.
- xi) Terregles Church. App. 'C' of Chapter Four.
Painting of the Virgin on wood.
See, Coltart, *Scottish Church Architecture* 90.
- xii) Provost Skene's House, App. 'C' of Chapter Four.
Aberdeen. 1) PROVOST SKENE'S HOUSE,
ABERDEEN. Painted panel of
the Coronation of Our Lady.

Pageants/Plays of the Assumption/Coronation outside Scotland.

ENGLAND.

Beverley

The Coronation was featured in a Corpus Christi Procession in 1520.

Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol.2, 340,1.

Chester

Record of performances of the Assumption & Coronation, 1489/90 and 1498/99.

Records of Early English Drama - Chester, ed. Lawrence M. Clopper, Manchester & Toronto University Presses, 1979, 21,2, 3.

Lincoln

A play of the Assumption & Coronation performed regularly in the Cathedral; earliest record, 1458-9.

Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama*, 269,70.

Death and Burial; Assumption & Coronation.

Ludus Coventriae, A Collection of Mysteries formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi, ed. J.O. Halliwell, Shakespeare Society, 1941;

Ludus Coventriae ed. K.S. Block, EETS ES 120 (1917/61)
Play No.41, 354-73.

London

A pageant of the Assumption featured in the annual Midsummer Watch and Lord Mayor's Show in the City of London. A record of expenses in 1520 gives interesting details of staging. Repeated year following with more pageants and again in 1522 for King of Denmark.

Wm. Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, London, 1834, vol. i, 454.

York: The York Cycle

Plays of the Death, the Funeral (no longer extant),

Assumption and Coronation.

Plays: XLIV, XLV, XLVI.

Beadle, *The York Plays*, 386-405

THE CONTINENTFRANCE

De Julleville gives dates for about 300 performances of religious plays performed in the period 1290-1603, but of these only two are 'representations' of the Assumption.

No performances are given under the heading, the Coronation.

Le Petit de Julleville, Histoire du théâtre en France, les Mystères, vol.2, 181.

There were probably many more than this, as the survival of four MSS of the Assumption would suggest.

De Julleville, vol.2, 470-74.

Bayeux

A performance of a 'Mystère de L'Assomption' is recorded for 1351, but where it was performed is unknown.

De Julleville, vol.2, 3,4.

Dieppe

In commemoration of the lifting of the English siege on the Eve of the Assumption, 1443, there was instituted that year on the feast day, an annual 'Mystère Mime' of the Assumption

in the Church of St Jacques, with roles played by priests and laity, assisted by many 'figures mecaniques et mués par des ressorts...'.
 De Julleville, vol.2, 193.

Dieppe was the principal French port for Scotland. A sizeable Scots colony grew up there, and a Scottish chaplaincy was established.

Montauban

What appears to have been a well established representation of the Assumption appears in the records in 1442 because of a dispute over it involving Religious Canons and the Carmelites.

De Julleville, vol.2, 15,16.

GERMANY

Halle

Young reports a sixteenth century liturgical Assumption play for this town.

Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol.2, 256.

Ingolstadt

The Corpus Christi Ordnung of 1507 includes a pageant of the Coronation of Mary.

Brooks, *An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession*, etc., 15, 16

ITALY

Rome

The Feast of the Assumption was already being observed annually in Rome in the eighth century, together with its procession, and legends of the Assumption were known throughout the West in the Middle Ages.

Young, vol.2, 255. .

Siena

On the Feast Day, 15 August 1458, there was a spectacular representation of the play of the Assumption and Coronation on the Town Piazza in the afternoon.
(The earliest on record in Italy).

D'Ancona, *Origine del Teatro Italiano*, vol.1, 282.

Viterbo

The Corpus Christi Procession of 1462 in which Pope Pius II took part concluded with High Mass in the Cathedral. After the service the tomb of the Virgin erected on the Cathedral Square became the focus of attention, when it was opened up and she ascended up to Paradise where she was crowned by her Son and led into the presence of the Eternal Father.

Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance*, 251 (296,7 in German version).

THE LOW COUNTRIESAntwerp

The Annual 'Ommegang' in honour of the Feast of the Assumption could have begun as early as 1398.

The 'Assumption Cycle' consisted of Our Lady's Death; Our Lady being carried to the grave; her Assumption and her Coronation. The image of Our Lady from the Parish Church was carried on a litter.

De Antwerpsche Ommegangen in de XIVe en XVe Eeuw Naar Gelijktijdge Handschriften, ed. de Burbure, 1878, viii & ix.

Bruges

What may be inferred to have been a play of the Assumption & Coronation took place in 1490

Het Boek van al 't Gene Datter Ghesciedt is Binnen Brugghe sichert Jaer 1477, 14 Februarii, Tot 1491, ed. C(arton), BL, Ac 9035/2.

Brussels

From c.1455 every seven years there was a performance of the Assumption on the Lower Market Place.

K. Stallaert, *De Sevenste Bliscap van Maria - Mysteriespel der XVde Eeuw*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie, etc., Ghent, 1887, Intro, I, n.2.

Dendermonde

An ommeegang in honour of Our Lady's Assumption is reported here from the beginning of the thirteenth century. An image of Our Lady was processed. Great emphasis was placed on the large participation of musicians from far and wide, including a Scot, Jan Smeelijnc in 1403. New Testament 'tableaux' first appear in 1408. Our source does not name one of the Assumption, etc. A church service followed the procession and then the Rhetoricians performed a play on the Groote Markt - a different one each year. A Play List for 1443-1563 never mentions the Assumption etc., but in 1470 there was a play of 'Our Lady in the Rays of the Sun'. Juul Van Lantschoot, *De Ommegang Van Dendermonde Door De Eeuwen Heen*, J. Van Lantschoot-Moens, Dendermonde, 1930, 11,14,21,22.

Lier

From 1377 there is a record of a Procession of the Blessed Sacrament and the relics of St Gummariis, which may mean it took place at Corpus Christi. It evolved into an elaborate procession of Old and New Testament scenes, which embraced scenes of the Death and Coronation of Mary. An Assumption scene is not named, but this would, no doubt, have been a preliminary to the Coronation.

A.O.Vermeiren, *De Oudste Liersche Ommegang*, Lier Vroeger En Nu, No. 1, Lier, 1927, 34-60, 35.

Louvain (Leuven)

A procession through the streets of the town was already well established when in 1394 costumed Prophets and Apostles took part. In course of time a Pageant of the Assumption was added, complete with elevator.

Chapter Five, A. THE LOW COUNTRIES. 7) Louvain (Leuven).

Malines (Mechelen)

From 1427 there is increasing evidence of pageants of the Death, Burial and Assumption of Our Lady in the annual Town Ommegang.

Archief van Mechelen, Stads-Rekeningen, 1426-7, f.168; 1427-8, f.160f.; 1429-30, f.174f.; 1477-8, f.132f.; 1458-9, f.144f.; 1466-7, f.140f.; 1460-1, f.146; 1463-4, f.144; 1453-4, f.137; 1522-3, f.219.

Volks feesten En Rederijkers Te Mechelen, ed. E. Van Autenboer, De Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie Voor Taal-En Letterkunde, Gent, 1962, 32-9.

's Hertogenbosch

There are records from 1423 and 1427 of processions in honour of the 'Assumption' when a 'Canopy of Heaven' was carried over Our Lady by the 'Seven Brethren'. In the Processions were also pageants of : the Three Kings; the Twelve Apostles; Twelve Prophets; Three Maries; Four Little Angels; Two Angels, who carried silver candlesticks; the Saviour; the Baptist; St Christopher & The Hermit.

The Kings probably rode horses; Our Lady was probably carried on a dais/platform; the pageants may have been on wheeled waggons. They processed to the Market Place where Our Lady was placed on a scaffold, and all gathered around. The Kings came and made their Offerings, and sang eight anthems, before the Procession a sermon was preached.

Gallée, *Bijdrage Tot Geschiedenis der Dramatische Vertooningen in de Nederlanden Gedurende de Middeleeuwen*, 83, 84 & nn.2,4, referring to C.R.Hermans, *Geschiedenis Der Rederijkers In Brabant, 's Hertogenbosch*, 1867, page no. not supplied.

Turnhout

In 1548 the Onmegang on the occasion of the Annual Town Fair included a Pageant of the Coronation of Our Lady.

E. Van Autenboor, *De Turnhoutse Rederijkers in de 16de Eeuw*, Taxandria, Petriodieke Uitgave, Nieuwe Reeks, xxvi, 1,2;3,4, 1954, 122-37, 133,4.

SPAINCatalan and Valencia

Among the earliest vernacular plays of the Assumption is a late fourteenth century play from Catalan and there are plays of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries from Valencia.

Alexander A. Parker, 'Notes on the Religious Drama in Medieval Spain and the Origins of the 'Auto Sacramental'', *MLR* 30 (1935) 170-82, 174.

H. Merimée *L'art dramatique à Valence*, Toulouse, 1913, 45ff.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'E'. THE DEATH, BURIAL, ASSUMPTION
AND CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

1. Nigel THORP ed. *The Glory of the Page: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library* (Harvey Miller Publications for Glasgow University Library and the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987) 25 and notes, Plate IX; 79, Item 27 (reproduction of MS Hunter 231 (U.3.4.)).
2. Peter and Linda MURRAY *The Art of the Renaissance* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1963) 92, Plate 72.
3. MURRAY 164, Plate 135.
4. " 269, Plate 239.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'F'

JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES
AND OTHER PUBLIC SOLEMNITIES AND ENTERTAINMENTS
FOR ROYALTY AND OTHER EXALTED PERSONS

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES AND OTHER
PUBLIC SOLEMNITIES AND ENTERTAINMENTS FOR ROYALTY AND OTHER
EXALTED PERSONS.

i) SCOTLAND

1) Aberdeen.

July 1448.

James II (bn. 1439, Kg. 1437-60) made his first visit to the burgh, and was appropriately received by the Magistrates, the citizens manifesting their great joy. A propine was made to him of two tons of Gascony wine, six lights of three stones of wax and twelve half pounds of scorchets.¹

1453. Item, to the expensis made apone the King in tua dayis, 42 lib. 3s. 5d.

Item, to the Kingis officiaris, 2 lib.²

January 1455/6.

The Queen visited the burgh and was appropriately received. She was given a propine of 100 merks.³

c. 1492.

First visit of James IV (bn. 1473, Kg. 1488-1513). He was given a propine of wine, wax and spiceries to the value of thirty crowns (L.4 16s. Scots), to meet which expenses the Magistrates had to borrow money from two citizens.⁴

1492. The King made a further visit to the burgh, accompanied by the Earl of Bothwell and other noble lords. He was given a propine of Malmsey wine, wax and sweetmeats.⁵

1497. In the course of his pilgrimage to the Shrine of St Duthac, Ross-shire, during the Christmas season, James IV made another visit, accompanied by nobles. Great preparations were made for their suitable reception. He received a propine of wine, wax and spiceries, besides L.32 in money. Generous donations were made to his companions. The King remained for some time.⁶

May 1511.

Queen Margaret made her first visit to the burgh. She was received with a salute of guns and 'menstrallis blawing to the sky'. On this occasion there were religious pageants in procession.⁷

a) The Annunciation.

b) The Offering of the Three Kings.

c) The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Earthly Paradise by the Archangel.

d) A large representation of 'the Bruce', 'Richt awfull, strang, and large of portratour',...

1527. James V (bn. 1512, Kg. 1513-42) visited the burgh at the time of the Justice Aire. Great preparations were made for his reception, and he was received with the customary ceremonies. He was made a present of wine, wax, and spices.⁸

1541. (After leaving St Johnstoun/Perth):

The King efter with the nobilitie nochts a few til Aberdine gane to the Quene conuoy and (til) the College thair: quhair the Burgesses and skolleris in diuerss offices, sum in publick triumphes, others in pruat exercises, intendet to set furth thair myndes and wilis efter thair power, as tha mycht, ffor na daypast quhen outhir tha had nocht a comedie or sum controuersie, or orisounis in Greik or latin tounge artificiouslie said; with quhilk kynd of office, quhen the King and Quene fyfteine dayes, out and out, with gret plesour, and grett prayse of the skolleris, to the Bishop gret thankes tha gaue and infinit, nocht onlie because he sa lang and sa weil had treited thame, and so honorablie bot; Bot also because first he was author of the College sa weil drest and sa weil put till ordour, fra that place thay retorne til Edr.⁹

The Thomson edition provides information at the end not given by Dalrymple, viz.,

... and eftir they had bene weil interteynt thair (i.e. in Aberdeen), they returnit to Dundye, quhair wes ane coistly entres preparit for thame alsua. And fra that to Falkland, and so to Edinburgh.¹⁰

3 October 1541.

(Certain persons chosen, including the Provost and Bailies) to dewyss and certaine sowme of money for the decorying and preparing of this gud toune agane the quenis cuming and to propyne hir eftir thair power, as the ald wss hes bene within the burght at the first cuming of princis And to consult & consider the mayst eisy way quhow the said sowm of money ma be gottin...¹¹

24 November 1550.

The Earl of Arran, Regent, made his first visit to the burgh and was received by the Magistrates with the greatest marks of respect and attention. He received a propine of wine, wax and spices, to the value of one hundred merks.¹²

May 1552.

The Regent, accompanied by Mary, Queen Dowager, and many nobility, on the occasion of the justice court. They were received with the usual ceremonies, and were given propines by the magistrates. Nothing was neglected that could contribute to their amusement, as was the custom. The Regent received three tons of wine, and two lasts of beer, with spiceries. The Queen received two tons of wine, with wax and spiceries and the Lords Componitors received a ton of wine and half a last of beer.¹³

August 1556.

The Queen Dowager, now Regent, visited the town at the time of the justice court, accompanied by Monsieur D'Oysel, commander of the French troops. The Magistrates made them generous presents of wine, wax and spiceries, and paid the Regent three hundred & twenty merks as a composition for past offences.¹⁴

2) Ayr.

16 May 1515.

The Duke of Albany landed at Ayr with eight ships:

to the gret comfort and Joy of al ... from Air sailis about to Dumnbriton, quhair that day he rested, the neist day gairdet with the special nobilitie of the West, quha cam to do him honour, is conuoyet to Glasgw; ... tha cam to Edr, and the xxvi of Maii tha entir in the toun,...¹⁵

See, Edinburgh, 1515, below.

1540. Item, deliuerit to william nesbit at command of the provost & baillies for the expensis made at the triumphe of my Lord the princis birth, xvij lib.¹⁶

1541. Item, gevin to robert boymann for powdir at the birth of my lord prince vjs.

Item for sewing of the townis arrass workis, vd.

Item, to william nesbit for vyne to the quenis grace, v lib.¹⁷

3) Dundee.

1541 See Aberdeen, above 1541.

4) Edinburgh.

7 August 1503.

Joyful Entry for Margaret Tudor:

- a) At the Entryng of the said Towne was maid a Yatt of Wood painted, with Two Towrells, and a Windowe in the Midds. In the wich Towrells was, at the Windowes, revested Angells syngyng joyously for the Comynge of so noble a Lady; and at the sayd middle Windowe was in lyk wys an Angell presenting Kees to the said Qwene. (Verbatim quotation)

This should be compared with c) below.

- b) Near the above Clergy of the College (Chapter) of St Giles presented the relic of the arm of St Giles for the King to kiss, which he did and then began to sing the 'Te Deum Laudamus'.
- c) Near the Town Cross there was a scaffold with Paris and the Three Goddesses with Mercury. with the Golden Apple for Paris to give to the fairest of the three, which he gave to Venus.

On the same scaffold was also represented, the Salutation of the Archangel Gabriel, as he recited the 'Ave Maria' to the Virgin, and 'sens after',^a followed by 'the varey Maryage betwix the said Vierge and Joseph'.

a. Presumably a thurifer from St Gils incenses the 'Virgin' to indicate her absolute holiness as being 'Full of grace', and worthy of the highest honour.

- d) Another Gate with benches (probably, podia) where were shown the four Virtues triumphing over representatives of the contrary vices.

1) Justice, holding a naked sword and balances, Nero under her feet.

2) Force, holding a shaft, Holofernes under her feet, armed.

3) Temperance, holding a horse-bit, under her feet Epicurus.

4) Prudence holding a taper, under her is Sardenapalus.

'With thos war Tabretts that playd merrily,
whill the noble Company past through'.18.

Underneath the above were heraldic symbols, a unicorn - supporter of the Scottish Royal Arms; a greyhound - a white greyhound courant collared azure, denoted Henry VII's maternal descent from John, Duke of Somerset; a Chardon, i.e. a thistle - represented Scotland, and 'a Red Rose entrelased..', presumably represented the House of Lancaster.¹⁹

e) Description of a pageant provided by John English (he provided three altogether) at Westminster Hall, London, to celebrate the marriage in 1501 of Katherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur.

It was:

Made round after the fashion of a lantern, cast out with many proper and goodly windows fenestered with fine lawn, wherein were more than one hundred great lights. In the which lantern were twelve goodly ladies disguised and right richly beseen in the goodliest manner and apparel that hath been used. This lantern was made of so fine stuff and so many lights in it that these ladies might perfectly appear and be known through the said lantern.²⁰

As evidenced by Leland John English and his men were in attendance at the festivities in Edinburgh for the wedding of Margaret Tudor:

11 August 1503.

After soupper, the Kynge and the Qwene being togeder in hyr grett Chamber, John English and hys Companions playd, and then ichon went his way.

13 August 1503.

After Dynnar, a Moraltie was played by the said Master Inglisshe and hys Companyons, in the Presence of the Kyng and Qwene, and then Daunces war daunced.²¹

Expenses incurred by the Court for the wedding festivities included the following:²²

1503. Item, to viij Inglis Menstrales,... xxviij Li.
 Item, to the Inglis spelair, that playit the supersalt,
 ... iij Li. x s.
 Item, to the bere ledair of England,...v Li. xij s.
 Item, to the thre gysaris that playit the play,...
 xxj Li.^a

a. Probably John English and his companions.

Of the celebrations for the marriage of Princess Margaret to James IV Pitscottie wrote,²³

the heill nobillities and commonis of the realme war verie blyth and reioysed and resaut hir with gret reverence and honouris in all the borrowis tounis of Scotland quhen that scho maid hir entres everie ane according to thair estait maid hir sic bankattis feirceis and playes that nevir siclykk was seine in the realme of Scotland for the entres of na queine that was resavit afoirtyme in Scotland and speciallie Edinburghe Stiruilling Sanctandrois Dundie Sanct Johnestoun aberdeine glaskow linlythgow... all the inglis lordis and ladyis that war with hir (for thay) trowit nevir to haue seine sic honour and honestie in scotland with mirrines and bancatting and greit cheir and speciallie in stiruilling...

Leland, vol. iv, 288,²⁴

As was customary at that time the festivities included a joust of which a record was made by John Younge. It took place in a meadow where there was a pavilion from which there came out an armed knight, on horseback, accompanied by his Paramour. These were approached by another knight who stole the Paramour. Then followed a dialogue as a consequence of which the knights fought each other, first with 'spears' and then with swords. Eventually the fighting was stopped by the King, and it was agreed to appoint another day to settle the matter.

The one unusual feature in the above is the introduction of dialogue.

4 April 1507, Easter Day.

Today the principal nobles and ecclesiastics crowded into Edinburgh when the Papal Legate, Antonio Inviziati of Alessandria, brought the Great Sword of State from Pope Innocent VIII to King James IV.²⁵

This event was treated by the King and his Counsellors as of the highest importance, and great preparations were made to observe the occasion with the attendance of the nobles and high ecclesiastics from all over Scotland, with the most splendid ecclesiastical and royal pomp and ceremony, but there were no farces or plays or anything of that kind.²⁶

June 1507.²⁷

Bernard Stuart of Albany, or D'Aubigny, the famous Marshal, who had been appointed Governor of Naples by the King of France came to Scotland 'quhair he was weil resawit witht the king and counsall thair of'. James IV encouraged by D'Aubigny organized a 'justing and turnament' at Holyrood House lasting forty days.

This event became known as 'the turnament of the black knight and the blacklady'. At the conclusion of the tournament the king,

causit to mak ane gret triumphe and bancat in halyrude-
hous quhilk lastit the space of thrie dayis... bot
betuix everie service thair was ane phairs or ane play
sum be speikin sum be art of Ingramancie quhilk
causit men to sie thingis aper quhilk was nocht. And
so at the hennest (i.e. final) bancat pheirs and play
vpone the thrid day thair come ane clwdd out of the
rwffe of the hall as apperit to men and opinit and
cleikit vp the blak lady in presence of thame all that
scho was no moir seine bot this was done by the art of

Ingramancie for the kingis pleasour (by) ane callit
Biscope Androw forman quha was ane Ingramanciara^a and
seruit the king at sic tymes for his pastyme and
pleasour...²⁸

a. In this context, 'conjuror'.

A Brief Summary of Persons and Requisites for the Tournament of
the Black Knight and the Black Lady.²⁹

- 1) A 'chair triumphale' for the Black Lady.
- 2) The Black Lady with Squires.
- 3) The Wild Knight and Lackeys.
- 4) 'Squires for the barres': Thomas Boswell, Patrick Sinclair
and James Stewart: plus wildmen.
- 5) One small and one large pavilion of canvas.
- 6) Musicians: Minstrels, Trumpeters and Shawmers.
- 7) A Tree of Esperance, with artificial leaves, flowers and
pears.
- 8) A number of man-made beasts, with wooden wings, saddles and
reins.
- 9) A castle.
- 10) Spears, bows, artillery, fire balls.
- 11) The 'barres'.

26 May 1515.

The Duke of Albany arrived in Edinburgh where he was
honorabilie receuit be the nobilitie round about. Als the
burgessis in Comedies, al gem and plesure to behauld; to
declare how thankful to thame was his returne and how
welcum.³⁰

See, Ayr, 16 May 1515, above.

1517 The Hammermen of Edinburgh played a part in a 'Joyful Entry'
arranged for the French Dauphin:

Item, for the berinn of the baneris throw the toune that day
the processiounn passit for the dolphin of France... ijs.

- Item, for the menstralis franchmen... viijs. ³¹
1524. Item, at the entrance of the King to the menstrall, viijd.
- Item, at the King's entrance to thame that bur the standouris, xxxijd.
- Item, to the boy that playit on the swas, viijd. ³²
1537. Triumphs, farces and plays to be made for the entry of the new Scottish Queen, Madeleine of France, as at Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, Brechin and Montrose, Aberdeen, St John's Town of Dalry, Stirling, Glasgow and Ayr, Linlithgow, St Andrews, and Cowper of Fife, were cancelled because of her sudden death. ³³
1537. Some idea of Sir David Lyndsay's plans for the reception of Queen Madeleine are to be found in his poem, 'Of the Deploration of Quein Magdalenis deith': ³⁴
- v. 16.
- Thow (i.e. death) saw mankand richt coistlie scalff-
alding
- Depainted weill with gold and assur fyne
Reddie preparit for the vpsetting
with fontanes following (i.e. flowing) watter
cleir and wyne
Disaguysed folkis lyk creatures dewyne
On ilk scalffauld to play ane sindrie storie
Bot all in greitting turned now thair glorie.
- v. 17.
- Thow saw mony and lustie fresch galland
weill ordourit for resawing of thair queine
Ilk trenchman with bent bow in his hand
full galyartlie in schort cleithing of greine
The honest burges cled yow sould haue seine
sum in scarlet and sum in claith of graue
for to haue met thair lady souerane.
- v. 18.
- Prowestis baillies and lordis of the toun
The senatouris in ordour consequent
Cled into silk and purpur blak and browne;
Syne the gret lordis of the parliament
With mony knichtlie barroun most potent
in silk and gold in cullouris comfortabill
Bot now alaice all turned vnto sabill.

v.19.

Syne all the lordis of religioun
 and princes of the presitis venerabil
 full plesandlie in thair processioun
 with all the cunning clairkis honourabil
 bot thiftuouslie thow tyrane tresonabil
 All thair gret solaiice and solempniteis
 Thow turned vnto duffull deirgeis.

v.20.

Syne nixt in ordour passand throwch the toun
 Thow sould haue hard the din of instrumentis
 of tabrowne trumpet Schalmes and Clairioun
 with reird redoundand throche the elementis
 The heraulds with thair awfull westmentis
 with maseris vpone ather of thair handis
 To rewle the preis with burnest siluer vandis

The following year: (See, St Andrews, 1538, below.)

1538. Leaving St Andrew the King and Mary of Guise travelled to Edinburgh via Cowper of Fyfe, Stirling and Linlythgow and then...

went to Edinburgh quhair thair the king and the quen ws
 weill resawit witht great treumphant in the castell and
 toun and in the palice and thair he was honestlie and
 richlie propynit witht the provost and communitie of
 the toun baitht wotht spyce and wyne gold and silluer
 and also greit triumph phraissis maid and playis wnto
 the quenis grace on the expenssis of the said toun.
 (And swa was thair inlykwayis in Dundie the space of
 sex or aught dayis verray magnificentlie treattit be
 the towne quhair the quein made her entre... And sa
 in lyke wyse in Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun ewerie ane
 of thame according to thair nobilitie resawit thair
 quene and maistres as it became them to do.) 35

Item, the provost baillies and counsale ordanis Robert
 Hector to compleitt the wark taikin on hand be him
 vpoun the croce at the entrie of the Quenis Grace...

Item, it is devysit that thair persouns following, viz,
 James Bassenden, Alexander Spens, for the Nether Bow:
 Robert Graham, William Tod, for the Trone to ansuer;
 Patrik Lindsay, Jhone Purves, George Leche, for the
 Croce to ansuer; Robert Hector, Robert Watsoun, for the
 Tolbuith to ansuer; Maister David Ireland, Willian
 Symssoun, and Jhone Symssoun, for the Over Bow to ansuer;
 the Archidene of Sanctandros, William Loch and James
 Hill, for the West Port to ansuer; David Lindsay and
 Robert Bisschope, and awaitt vpoun the grathing of
 thair rowmes in skaffetting personages and ordour

thairof, ilk ane for thair awin rowme, and quhat expenssis thai mak thairvpoun ordanis Thomas Vddart thesaurer to ansuer thame at all tymes as he or his chaplane beis requyrit, quhilkis expenssis sall be gevin in to him in writt, and this to bedone with avyse of the said Dauid Lindsay anent all ordour and furnesing.

Item, it is devysit that Maister Henry Lawder be the persoun to welcum the Quenis grace in sic abulyement, and with the words in Fransche, as sall be devysit with avyse of Maister Adam Otterburne, Maister James Fowlis and Dauid Lindsay.³⁶

The Incorporation of Hammermen participated in the Queen's home-coming and incurred expenses as follows:

Item, gevin for birkis quhair the baneris stud to ijd.

Item, to the iiij men that wes in harnes apone the tolbutht hed in drink, iiij s.

Item, gevin to the men that wes in harnes & for graithing of It to our part ijs. viij d.

Item, gevin to henry lorymer (drummer) at the maisteris command, xxxs. ³⁷

28 December 1554.

... the prouest, baillies and counsale findis it necessar and expedient that the litill farsche and play maid be William Lauder be playit afoir the Quenis grace, and that scho be propinit to hir nether gift with sum cowpis of siluer. ³⁸

3 July 1558.

'the solemniztion of the mariage of our Soverane Ladie to be conterfete in Edinburgh the thrid day of Jullii nextocum...'. ³⁹

A selection of items relevant to the performance of plays in connection with the repeat wedding ceremony of Mary Queen of Scots to the French Dauphin in Edinburgh.

The marriage had already been solemnised in Paris, 24 April 1558.

A.

- i) Item, to Walter Baynning, painter for his panting and all his lawbouris takin be him in the tryumphe maid at our Souerane Ladyis mariage the sown of xxv merkis.

- ii) Item, to William Lauder the sown of aucht lib, by (i.e. in addition to) the fourtie schillingis quhilkis he has ellis ressaute for his travell and lawbour tane vpone him in setting furth of the play maid at our Souerane Ladyis mariage;
- iii) Item, to all the wrychtis quilkis wrocht the play grayth in the play maid at the tryumphe of our Souerane Ladyis mariage for thair tymmer and workmanschip the sown of five lib. four s. nyne d.
- iv) Item, to Patrick Dorane for his travell takin on him for making certane claythis agane the tryumphe of our Souerane Ladyis mariage the sowne of four lib.
- v) Item, to Adam Smyth, takkisman of Andro Mowbrays yarde the sowne of vjs.viiij. for the dampnage and skayth sustenit be him in tramping down of his gers of the said yard be the convoy (i.e. procession) and remanent playeris the tyme of the trumpe. ⁴⁰

B.

- i) Item, gevin to ane officiar two syndrie dayis at the inwarning of the vij men quha wes the vij planets to gif agane thair play & claythis, xij d.^a
- a. In the MS '&' appears thus '&/'.

The heading for the List of Play Expenses is as follows:

The expensis maid upone the 'Triumphe and Play at the Marriage of the Quenis Grace', with the Convoy the... (blank) day of 'Julij anno' 1558.

(N.B. We have omitted most of the expenses relating to entertainment of the players and others.)

- ii) Item, gevin Patrick Durhame for making of the said anseyne (we have omitted other refs. to this item) with the freiris clayths, iij li.
- iii) Item, gevin to William Adamsoun for writting of ane part of the play, and for the recompane of his part of the play, quhilk he had keping, at the presidents command, iiij li.
- iv) Item, gevin to William Lawder for the making of the play and wrytting thairof, x li. ⁴¹
- v) Item, gevin Walter Bynning for paynting of the vij planets of the kart with the rest of the convoy, xvj li. xiijs. iiij d.

- vi) Item, for xxiiij elnis of small canves tilbe the vij planets coitts and hoiss, with cupid, price of the ell iijs; summa is, lvjs.
- vii) Item, deliverit to the vij planets with cupid, xxiiij ells of forbati taffeteis of syndre sorts of hewis, price of the ell xijs; summa is, xiiij li. viijs.
- viii) Item, till William Ury, ij elnis iij quarters of greinn taffeteis of the cord, quha was ane of the said planets, price of the ell xxiiij. s.; summa is, iij li. vjs.
- ix) Item, gevin for vij reid skynnis tilbe thair schort brotykynnis, price of the pece, iijs.; summa is xxjs.
- x) Item, gevin for four golden skynnis bocht fra ane skynnare tilbe ane crown to ane of the planets, vjs.
- xi) Item, for xiiij elnis of blak and qhyt grathis to be the freiris weids, lixs.
- xii) Item, gevin for twa ledderone skynnis till be ane pair of breiks to the gray freir, iijs.
- xiii) Item, gevin ane tailyeour for making of thame, xijd.
- xiv) Item, bocht iij dosoun fyrsparis to mak symmer treis with birkis about thame on the Nether Bow & Butt, and Nether Trone, xxvs. vjd.
- xv) Item, for upbringing of thame furth of Leith be vj men, iijs.
- xvi) Item, gevin for xij laid of byrks with vj byrk treis to cleyth the But, Trones and Croce, xxxvjs.
- xvii) Item, gevin for vij skenyc of flanderis gyrthis till put round about the convoy horss, xs. xjd.
- xix) Item, gevin for iij^{xx} arrowis, xs.
- xx) Item gevin to twa men for funessing of clay and wodbynd to clay the Trone agane the said play for upstikin of jonet (i.e. yellow) flowers upone the samin, viijs.
- xxi) Item, gevin for als mekle clayth till be freris hoiss, and making of thame, ijs.
- xxii) Item, gevin for xxiiij elnis of quhyt taffeteis and reid taffeteis forbati to be the vj dansors claythis, price of the ell xijs.: summa is xiiij li. viijs.

- xxiii) Item, gevin to Robert Gray, merchand, for xxxj dosoun of bells till the said dansors till be put apone thair bodyis and leggs, price thairof, xxxvijs.
- xxiv) Item, gevin for making of thir vj stand of claythis with thair breiks, and on setting of the said bells all the parts of thair bodyis thvis, xlvij.
- xxv) Item, gevin for vij elnis and $\frac{1}{2}$ boukram of syndrie hewis till be the fuillis coit, xxijs. vjd.
- xvi) Item, for making of it, ijs.
- xxvii) Item, for vj elnis and $\frac{1}{2}$ boukram tilbe twa copittis, ij pair of breiks and to be thair bonets till the twas men that callit (i.e. that drove) the cart, xixs. vjd.
- xxviii) Item, for twa dosoun of cachepull (i.e. tennis) balls cled with gold fuilye till hing upone the tre upone the Trone, price viijd.
- xxix) Item, for ane hundreth cheryis till hing upone the said tre, xijd.
- xxx) Item, for ane barrell of aill till the playaris of the skaffetts, contenand v gallonis and one half, xiijs viijd.
- xxxi) Item, for casting and leding of ij^c scheiratts (i.e. green turfs) till the skaffetts for latting of dyn to be maid be the playaris feit, price of the hundreth casting and leding vijs. vijs.: summa xiijs.
- xxxii) Item, gevin to Robert Fynder and his servand iij dayis wage, and Johnne Stewart, William Stevinsoun, George Tod, Gilbert Cleuths servand ij dayis wage at the upputting of the skaffetts, xliiis, iiijd.
- xxxiii) Item, gevin to viij workmen for bering of daills, grit tymmer, puntionis and byrkyn of the But, Trone, Croce, with the ovir trone, and upputting of skaffetts and away taking thairof be the space of ij dayis and iij nychts, ilk man in the day and nycht, ijs. vjd.: summa is xls.
- xxxiv) Item, for grit garroun naills, plancheour naills and dure naills to the said skaffetts, xvjs.
- xxxv) Item, gevin to the wrychts for v dosoun viij staffs to convey the playaris, iij li. viijs.
- xxxvi) Item, gevin Andro Williamsone, wrycht, for making of the convoy kart with sparris, rauchteris, gyrstingis, naills, werkmanschip, and all: v li. iiijs ix.

- xxxvii) Item, gevin to Patrick Vernor, for labors done be him quha had the blak freris part of the play, xxs.
- xxxviii) Item, gevin to Paul at kirk dur and to yther twa men for certane bells quha wes stowin of the horss in the convoy Kert, xxxvijs. xd.⁴²

1579. Edinburgh, continued,

At the Entry of King James VI;

...At the east port was erectit the conjunction of the planets, as thay war in thair degreis and places the tyme of his Majesteis happie nativitie, and the sameivelie representit be the assistance of King Ptolome;...⁴³

The above is also mentioned in Johnston's MS History of Scotland:

...At the trone... the aff spring grie be grie of the king quhom of he was cumeit. At the nether bow the significatioun of the sewin planetis howe grie be grie thay rang the tyme of the kingis birth as exposatour tholomeus, set furth Not foryetand the preparatioun of the haill forstairis with Imaidgis and fyne tapestrie...⁴⁴

5) Lanark.

21 August 1488.

James IV visited the burgh for the Justice Aire and the Court incurred expenditure for its entertainment,

Item, in lannerik, to dansaris and gysaris, xxxvjs.⁴⁵

6) Perth.

1541. See i) Aberdeen, 1541.

7) St Andrews.

8 June 1538.

On arriving in Scotland from France Mary of Guise was given a
Triumphal Entry at St Andrews by...

...the Kingis grace and the haill lordis baitht spirituall and temporall, money barrouns, lairdis and gentillmen quho was convenit at St Androis ffor the tyme in thair best array raid and resawit the quens grace with great honouris and mirienes witht great treumphant and blythnes of phrassis and playis maid to hir at hir hame comming. And first scho was resawit at the New Abey yeit. Wpoun the eist syde thair was made to hir ane triumphant frais be Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the Mont, lyoun harrot, quhilk caussit ane great clude come out of the heavins done aboue the yeit quhair the quene come in, and oppin in two halffis instantlie and thair 'appeirit ane fair lady most lyke ane angell havand the keyis of haill Scotland in hir handis deluerand thame into the quens grace in signe and taikin that all the heartis of Scotland was opnit to the resawing of hir grace;... (next day after solemnities in the Abbey Kirk)... this being done, the king resawit the quen in his palice to the denner quhair thair was great mirth schallmes draught trumpattis and weir trumpatis witht playing and phrassis efter denner quhill tyme of supper... then the king and quein remanit in sauctandrois the space of fourtie dayis and witht great merrienes and game and iusting and ryoting at the listis, archorie, hunting and halking witht singing and danceing, menstrelling and playing, witht wther princleie game and pastyme according to king and quein.

See, iv) Edinburgh, 1538.

8) Stirling.20 August 1543.⁴⁷

... the lordis convenit at Stiruiling the xx day of August in the yeir of god Im Vc xliij yeiris and thair convenit the young quein (i.e. Mary) with gret solemnitie, triumphe, playis, phrassis and bankatting and great danceing befor the quene with greit lordis and frinche ladyis...

ii) ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

1456. Coventry:

For Queen Margaret, scaffolds of 'Jesse with Isaiah and Jeremiah', 'St Edward, and St John the Evangelist', and also for the first time in England, 'The Four Cardinal Virtues', 'Righteousness, Temperance, Strength, and Prudence'. Besides which there were pageants of 'Worthies', and 'St Margaret and the Dragon'.⁴⁸

28 April 1474. Coventry:

For Prince Edward, a number of scaffolds with biblical scenes, including '... in the Croschepyng a fore the Panyer (an inn) a Pageant and 'iiij Kyngs of Colen' therein wt other divers arraied and ij knyghts armed wt mynstralsy of smal pypis'. One of the kings spoke the eulogy.⁴⁹

17 October 1498. Coventry:

For Prince Arthur, representations of the 'ix worthys and Kyng Arthur' & pageants of 'the Quene of Fortune with dyvers other virgins...' and 'seynt George kyllyng the dragon'.⁵⁰

1528. Dublin:

Entertainment for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by the crafts of Dublin, at Christmas - a new play for him every day in Christmas: the Taylors, 'Adam and Eve'; the Shoemakers, the story of 'Crispin and Crispinian'; the Vintners, 'Bachus', (sic); the Carpenters, 'Joseph and Mary'; the Smiths, 'Vulcan'; and 'comedy of Ceres', the goddess of corn, the Bakers. In addition the priors acted two plays on a stage erected on Hoggin Green, the 'Passion of Our Saviour', and the 'several deaths which the apostles suffered'.⁵¹

9 February 1432/3.

Henry VI returns from his coronation in Paris:

In London, from a 'toure' there emerged representations of three empresses, the first called Nature, the second her sister Grace, and the third Fortune. When the King entered London at Cornhill he found, a 'tabernacle' richly arrayed: it was made for Dame Sapience, before whose face were the Seven Liberal Sciences - Grammar, 'which had afore her old Precyane'; Logic, before whom stood Aristotle, 'most clerkly disputing'; Rhetoric had in her presence Tully, called 'Mirror of Eloquence'; Music had 'Boece, her clerk', with his scholars playing many instruments. 'Arsmetryk' with 'Pyktegoras'; Geometry with Euclid, and Aastronomy with Albmusard. Before Sapience was a 'scripture' telling that kings reign by her, and prosper with her help.

At the conduit at Cornhill a child, arrayed like a king, sat on a throne, with Mercy and Truth on either side, and

Clemency 'aloft did abyde'. At the conduit at Chepe, three virgins, Mercy, Grace and Pity, drew up wine at three wells, Mercy of temperance; Grace of good governance and Pity of comfort and consolation, which they gave to the king.

Also represented were, a glorious Paradise with Enoch and Elias, and a castle with a tree of the King's ancestry, and a tree of Jesse. Approaching the cathedral, at the Conduit was a 'lykenes made of the trinite' and a multitude of angels stood about.⁵²

1501. London:

For Princess Katherine of Spain come to marry Prince Arthur; on her way to Westminster there were set up various 'beautiful pageauntes', 'Saynt Kateryn' and 'Saynt Vrsula'; a castle with 'two knights', Policy and Nobleness, a Bishop, Virtue; a third pageant held Raphael, the angel of marriage, Alphonso, Job and Boethius; a fourth had the sun and many angels, many carrying 'scriptures'. In the fifth was the God-head, with four prophets at the corners, and in the sixth Honor and the Seven Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, Justice, Temperance, Prudence and Fortitude.⁵³

6 June 1522. London:

For the Emperor Charles V, representations of giants, Sampson and Hercules, pageants of Jason and the Golden Fleece (the beginning of the classical element in English pageantry); Charlemagne, with Roland and Oliver, and the Pope, the King of Constantinople, the Patriarch of Jerusalem; various genealogical representations; the four Cardinal Virtues, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance; the Emperor and Empress, various Kings, and a 'pageant representing hevyn wt son, mone & sterrys shynynge and wt angellys...' and various English saints, including kings, the Assumption of Our Lady, achieved by means of a mechanical device whereby there was shown 'a clowde openynge wt Michael and Gabriel angellys knelyng and dyuers tymes sensynge wt sensors and wt voyces off yong queretters synng psalmys and ymynys (hymns) wt chalmys and organs wt most swetust musyke tht cowed be devysede'.⁵⁴

31 May 1533. London:

For Ann Boleyn 'en route' to Westminster for her coronation: the pageantry included, at Gracechurch 'a... pageant of Appollo with the Nine Muses among the mountains, sitting on the mount of Parnassus', at Leaden Hall, St Anne with her progeny, i.e. 'the three Maries with their issue'. At the conduit in Cornhill, 'a sumptuous pageant of the Three Graces, i.e. Hearty Gladness (Aglaia), Stable Honour (Thaleia), and Continual Success (Euphrosyne).

At the lesser conduit at Chepe, a pageant with five costly seats upon which sat Juno, Pallas, Venus, Mercury, and Paris, who gave the Queen a ball of gold. 'The Judgement of Paris' spoken in this pageant was almost a play.

This show and that of Edinburgh in 1503, are rare examples of the 'debat' in pageantry. The need to avoid long pauses in the procession militated against it.⁵⁵

1469. Norwich:

For Elizabeth, Consort of Edward IV:
staged 'tableaux-vivants', including the Salutation of Mary and Elizabeth.⁵⁶

iii) THE LOW COUNTRIES.

1520. Antwerp:

For Charles V, Emperor, the decor of this Entry was entirely in the contemporary humanist mode, inspired by Cornelius Schrijver (i.e. Grapheus or Scribonius, a friend of Erasmus, of Sir Thomas More, and artists such as Quentin Metsys), much encouraged by Pierre Gillis (Aegidius), Principal Clerk (i.e. 'greffier') to the City Court.

From stages erected on the streets thirteen 'tableaux vivants' were presented: the Genius of the town, the Three Graces, each holding a golden apple in the left hand; under them between the supports of the stage were Truth and Love; on the second stage Jupiter, the Counsellor, was between Themis, on the right, who gave the Ruler a sword, and Kratos, who presented him with a Golden Diadem. The 'tableaux' of the succeeding scenes showed the well known qualities of the Ruler contrasted with their opposites; Humility and Godlessness, Prudence and Folly, Justice and Tyranny, Mildness and Cruelty, Philology, i.e. Knowledge and Barbarism, etc. The final 'tableau' was very elaborate and represented the Emperor as semi-divine as a consequence of the practice of all the virtues; encompassing Europe in a protective gesture, offering Greek Christians a helping hand, Africa and Asia kneeling down stretching out suppliant arms towards him in token of adoration; two military chiefs carry on the ends of their lances, the one the head of a Turk and the other that of Mahomet, and Peace laying Bellona (Goddess of War) low, completes the scene, where inscriptions declare, that the Golden Age announced by Virgil has at last arrived.⁵⁷

1549. Antwerp:

For Prince Philip, (Fr 'Phillipe') son of the Emperor, written in Latin by Cornelius Grapheus (see, 1520, Antwerp), with foreign participation, as at Bruges in 1515; a series of 'arcs triomphantes' featured statuary, etc., portraying classical, historical, allegorical, biblical and contemporary themes, Christian hagiography.

Some of the characters featured were:

Apollo, Argus, Augustus, Bellerophon, Charles V and Phillippe, Force and Justice, Giants, Hercules, the Temple of Janus, Jason, Jupiter, Mercury, Monsters, Neptune, Pallas, Pan, Saturn, Susanna, Turks, the Seven Virtues.

The foreign nations who provided 'arcs' were: Spaniards, Genoese, Florentines, and English and Germans together. There was no Scottish contribution.

There were a number of staged 'tableaux-vivants', on platforms by which the procession passed, or at an arch underneath which they went. They were of an allegorical or classical nature.

A twenty-three foot tall giant was also featured 'le redoutable geant Antigone, ... avec son chapeau de roses blanches et rouges, son manteau d'escarlante, sa cuirasse à l'antique et son sabre recourbé', which inclined its head as the prince passed by, and swore to submit to his rule and authority. ⁵⁸

1549. Arras:

For Prince Philip (Phillipe), son of the Emperor, Charles V, the decor 'placée sous les auspices de Virgile'; including 'tableaux-vivants', one of the 'tragedie ... de Didon', and another scaffold with a group of ten young maidens, dressed as Sibylls or Phebades, priestesses of Apollo, who prophesied to Phillipe, that which Virgil foretold in his fourth eclogue, of the reign of Augustus, traditionally associated with the idea of imperial renewal. ⁵⁹

1430. Audenarde: (*Audenarde*)

For Princess Isabella of Portugal, when a Rod of Jesse, was staged, and the princess was made a gift (Scottish 'propine') of wine. ⁶⁰

1429. Bruges:

For Philip the Good (i.e. Fr Philippe le bon) and his wife Isabella of Portugal - the only information we have is that the Entry was accompanied by solemn ceremonial, and that the facades of the houses were hung with tapestries. ⁶¹

8 January 1430/1. Bruges:

When Isabella of Portugal made her Joyous Entry on arriving to marry Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, there was great public joy, display and celebration, hung tapestries in the streets and all the like, with an abundance of all sorts of musicians, but no 'tableaux' or 'tableaux-vivants' of any kind, neither religious, allegorical, classical, nor historical.

Educated men's familiarity with the classics is shown by the institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Bruges by Philip the Good on 10 January 1430/1, and may account for ⁶² the subsequent occasional appearance of Jason in pageantry.

1440. Bruges:

For Philip the Good - a very elaborate Entry with many 'tableaux-vivants' in dumb show, at fixed points round the town: John the Baptist, Job, prophets (eight in all); Abraham and Isaac; the Rod of Jesse; Esther and the King Assuerus; Mary Magdalene in the house of Simon the Leper; the Nativity of Our Lord with angels and shepherds; Mary with St Dominic; Christ and Zacchaeus; David, the Seven Works of Mercy; Peter being released from prison by the angel; Mermaids, and the Spaniards provided the Resurrection of Our Lord. ⁶³

1454. Bruges:

A banquet was given to Philip the Good by the Flemish knights with the intention of persuading him to strike against the Turks who were persecuting the Christians. The room where they met was hung with tapestries, which portrayed the deeds of Hercules. In it were three 'tableaux':

- 1) In the middle near where the Duke sat was a church with windows, bells and an organ which accompanied the singing; at the front was a fountain with the figure of a naked child which spouted rose water; a ship with masts and sails, and sailors climbing the rigging; a meadow with flowers and bushes around its borders; ruby and sapphire rocks; in the middle was a fountain with a figure of St Andrew on his cross.

- 2) An area in the middle with an orchestra of twenty-eight musicians; the Castle of Lusignon, with its towers, bridges and walls, at the top of the highest tower the water goddess Melusina with her serpent's tail; a (wind)mill set on a hill and a magpie which served as a target for the crossbowmen; a vineyard, with the barrel of good and bad, out of which a finely dressed man drew sweet and bitter wine, and offered it to the guests; a wilderness with a tiger pitted against a lion; a wildman on his camel; a bear ridden by a madman climbing up an iceberg; a lake surrounded by villages and castles, with a boat rocking on the water, and a man who drove birds out of a bush.

- 3) Smaller than the other two with evil things, a pedlar selling his wares in a village; an Indian forest with wild animals; a lion tethered to a tree, and a man beating his dog. 64

1463. Bruges:

Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI of England, was received with her infant son as a fugitive from England by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who arranged a Joyful Entry for her into Bruges. It was apparently entirely in the Renaissance mode. The pageantry included a castle in which was Venus with many beautiful maidens, all finely costumed, and there was also a group consisting of: Paris, Venus (i.e. a further one), Juno and Pallas, all finely costumed. 65

10 July 1468. Bruges:

For Princess Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV, at the time of her marriage to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders. The Princess arrived at Sluis (or, Sluys) Saturday, 2 July 1468, where she stayed for a week. A subtly curtained stage had been erected opposite her lodging where three 'tableaux-vivants' were presented, of which a chronicler complained he had an inadequate view due to the over-speedy operation of the curtains. He believed the scenes were of i) Jason and the Golden Fleece; ii) Queen Esther,

second wife of Ahasuerus; iii) Vashti, first wife of Ahasuerus.

Saturday, 9 July 1468, she went to Damme by boat, where the marriage ceremony took place at 5 a.m. in the parish church on Sunday, 10 July. After which they proceeded to Bruges where the Princess made her Joyful Entry. She was met by most of the Florentines, then the Venetians, and the Genoese and by diverse other nations, such as Easterlings, Spaniards, Luccans, and Scots - 'and all were on horsebacke savyng the Scottes, which were all on fote'. At various points there were 'tableaux-vivants' on stages:

- i) The Creation of Adam and Eve and their marriage, including God.
- ii) Alexander the Great and his marriage to Cleopatra.
- iii) Our Lady and St Joseph - 'and evyn by the same a pageaunt of a yonglyng lik to a bridecrome wt mony yonglynges; and he hilde a rolle in his hand, wherein was writtyn, 'O tu pulcra es, amica mea et sponsa mea' (i.e. 'my betrothed') And there was a maid wt many other maydyns like to bryde...'.
 - iv) The Miracle of Our Lord turning water into wine, at Cana of Galilee.
 - v) The Song of Songs, the Third Chapter, 'wherin was a bridde wt maideyns'.
 - vi) The Crucifying of Our Lord.
 - vii) Moses wedding Tharbis, daughter of the King of Egypt.
 - viii) A maiden sitting between a lion and a leopard, bearing the arms of Burgundy, 'the which Arcules (i.e. Hercules) conquered from the bestes... and above the maidyns hedde there was a grett flourdellis (i.e. fleur-de-lys)...'.
 - ix) The Ninth Chapter of Tobit - another wedding context, e.g. verse 6: 'And early in the morning they went forth both together, and came to the wedding; and Tobias blessed his wife'.

There were no pageant-cars in the procession, and the only representation of any sort included in that appears to have been St George, on a horse, suitably costumed, with St Margaret and the Dragon - provided by the Genoese.

In all the festivities lasted nine days. Subsequent to the Joyful Entry there were various banquets and jousts, the banqueting halls being decorated with tapestries, one illustrating the Old Testament, a wide variety of heraldic devices and novelties, and the presentation of 'entremets', the most ambitious performance being 'iiij ystoriez of Erculez, countenauncyng and no speche', i.e. it was mimed.⁶⁶

1515. Bruges:

For Charles the Bold, included in a wide variety of features were scaffolds on which were represented 'tableaux-vivants' 'des histoires ou mysteres', most of the latter based on the Old Testament, and there were also featured classical subjects, Saturn, Cybele, Pan, Jupiter, and Juno, the goddess of wealth, at whose feet were twelve beautiful maidens, the Graces and the Muses. There was also a scaffold showing Bruges at the bottom of The Wheel of Fortune.

The Spaniards provided the two 'tableaux', one represented the Four Virtues, and the other 'un jardin de plesance' in the middle of which Orpheus played on the lyre.⁶⁷

1496. Brussels:

For Joanna of Castile, including a 'tableaux-vivant' of The Judgement of Paris, in which three carefully posed goddesses turned slowly past Paris on a revolving stage. There was also a 'tableaux-vivant' of the Marriage of Solomon. These two 'tableaux' are illustrated in a MS held in the Museum of Theatre in Munich, and have been reproduced by Elie Konigson.⁶⁸

1549. Brussels:

For Prince Phillip, son of the Emperor, Charles V, features included scaffolds and stages on which were presented four 'tableaux-vivants', paternal and filial love; Abraham 'instituting' Isaac; Joseph visiting Jacob and receiving his blessing; Tobias received by his father on returning from a long journey; Solomon crowned King of Israel with the consent of David.

The decor 'trionphal' took the form of pictures and allegorical statues set up on scaffolds and stages.⁶⁹

1549. Doornik (Fr Tournai):

For Prince Philip, son of the Emperor, Charles V, with as usual at this time the decor of the 'trionphes' expressive of classical, historic and biblical (Old Testament) motifs;

with a number of 'tableaux-vivants' with 'personnages' either in the nude or wearing flesh-coloured tights, representing, Neptune, a Triton (sea deity, son of Neptune), the mermaid, Parthenope, combing her blond tresses; the beautiful Cimothee, calming the waves. ⁷⁰

1502. Ghent:

On the occasion of the public festivities for the baptism of Prince Charles (later to become the Emperor Charles V), son of Philip, Duke of Burgundy and amongst the scenes staged on a public place was one of 'Holophernes', before 'Nabuchodonozor', puffed up with pride and full of the glory of the hero. ⁷¹

1549. Ghent:

For Prince Philip, son of the Emperor, Charles V, with four 'arcs de triomphes', with classical themes, and nine scaffolds or stages (i.e. theatre), there being four at the Town Gate, on three of which there were allegorical scenes, and five other stages which came after the 'arcs de triomphes', which had historic scenes. Each stage of the first group of four was set aside for one of the Cardinal Virtues. One of the stages at the Town Gate consisted of two sections, on the lower of which was Prudence and those faculties or virtues which promise it; also below was the Maid of Bruges with her Lion. ⁷²

April 1468. Lille:

For Charles the Bold, a performance of the 'Judgement de Paris', written by 'un conseiller du duc, maitre Patoul' For his production of this 'histoire de Paris et trois deesses, Pallas, Venus et Juno, ledict maistre Patoul prit, pour se faire, trois femmes dont celle estoit Venus se nommait la grosse Julienne,...'. ⁷³

1549. Lille:

For Prince Philip, son of the Emperor, Charles V, included were various historic scenes, but it is not clear whether these were portrayed by 'personnages'. Justice was represented by an effigy, as were no doubt, the Seven Virtues which went in front of the 'Triomphe a Rome de Titius, fils de Vespasian'. There was a 'Temple de la Vertu', reached by a steep way, where were featured some of the great and notorious figures of history, presumably in the form of statues or paintings.

There were also 'tableaux-vivants' which constituted a 'Triomphe de l'Eglise sur l'Hérésie', featuring Pope Gregory, St Jerome, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Charlemagne, Godfroy de Bouillon, Saint Louis, Ferdinand and Isabella, Prince Philip, all defenders of the faith, and also the heretics from the time of Julian the Apostate up to the time of Luther and Zwingli. ⁷⁴

1549. Louvain:

For Prince Philip, son of the Emperor, Charles V, on which occasion stage representations dominated the festivities, requiring firstly a stage (or 'theatre') divided into probably as many as four parts, and for one part of the performance two stages ('theatres') situated in a different place, to allow 'des actions continues'.

The theme of the Entry was valiance and gallantry, portraying on the stages: Hector, Alexander, Caesar; David, Judas Macchabaeus, Joshua; Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfroy de Bouillon.⁷⁵

1457-77. Mechelen (Fr. Malines):

The high spot of the annual festivities in the Middle Ages at Mechelen was the 'peis-processie' which processed through the town on Wednesday in Holy Week. Records show that in the above period included in the pageant was one of the 'helle van Olifernes': accounts for 1457-58 show that he sat on a camel. in 1476-77 the camel was given a new head, indicating the animal was a man-made animal, no doubt of wicker-work.⁷⁶

15 November 1470. Mons:

Reception for Margaret of York, now Duchess of Burgundy, in company with the Duke, when during the proceedings the duchess was addressed by Amand Mattieu, 'conseiller communal' who recited four ballads specially composed for the occasion. In the first, Margaret was compared with Judith 'qui coupa la tete a Holopherne'...⁷⁷

1540/41. Valenciennes:

For Charles V accompanied by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, including 'un spectacle eleve a l'antique' with three beautiful maidens representing the theological Virtues. On the approach of His Majesty, Faith descended in a velvet chair by means of a device set up nearby, and coming with a prayer for good grace presented the keys of the town to the Dauphin, who returned thanks. In the town a number of arches and stages in the classical mode had been erected, decorated with emblems and painted pictures; doves, kissing each other; an elm sustaining a vine; an angel announcing the Nativity to the Shepherds, at the same time showing Charles embracing Francois, 'the union between David and Jonathan, his great love, the son of Saul, King of Juda', the meeting of Mercy and Truth, Justice and Peace, and embracing each other, as the three Graces confer their accolade. There was also a Bacchus sitting on a barrel, offering drinks to passers-by.

Next day the citizens began 'des jeux, farces et ebatementes', in accordance with Flemish customs...⁷⁸

iv) FRANCE.

1466. Abbeville:

For Charles the Bold, with eleven scaffolds, representing the stories of: Job, Gideon, the Death of Jesus, the Last Judgement, and the Annunciation of Our Lady. 79

17 June 1493. Abbeville:

For Charles VIII of France, eight 'tableaux-vivants', mainly from the New Testament, including the Annunciation.⁸⁰

1539. Fontainbleau:

For Charles V, Emperor, who entering the forest was met by a troop of persons disguised as gods and goddesses, who performed a rustic dance; going on his way he came to a triumphal arch, where there was 'Francois' dressed in antique costume, accompanied by 'Peace' and by 'Concorde', where he stopped to listen to the music before being conducted to the château.⁸¹

1313. Paris:

Edward II of England and his wife, Isabella of France: processional 'tableaux-vivants' of: the Fall of Man, The Birth of Jesus, His Resurrection, the Last Judgement. ⁸²

1420. Paris:

At the entry of Charles V and Henry VI there was 'devant le palais, un moult piteux mystère de la Passion de Nostre Seigneur au vif (probably means with live characters), selon que elle est figurée, ^{au tour} du cuer de Nostre Dame de Paris; et duroient les eschaffaulx environ cent pas de long,...' ⁸³

1431. Paris:

For Henry VI, King of England and France, 'tableaux-vivants' of: Our Lady's Birth, Annunciation and Marriage, and also of The Three Kings, the Innocents and the Good Man who sowed his seed. ⁸⁴

An English Chronicler described the scaffold thus;

and then in the same strete was made a scaffold; and thereupon men disgysed after the wedding of oure Lady, and of the birthe of oure Lorde Ihesu Crist, fro the begynnyng to the ende. And there was neyder man nor childe that any wight myght perceyue, that euer chaunged any chere or countenance all the tyme duryng; bot held their countenance, as they had been ymages peynted; so that all peple that saw hem, seyde that they sawe neuer in their lyves suche a noder sight. ⁸⁵

2 July 1498. Paris:

For Louis XII, 'mystères... de pures allégroies' were represented on a large number of scaffolds in various places, apart from performances given by 'les confrères' in front of 'la Trinité', The Sacrifice of Abraham, Jesus on the Cross between the two thieves. Blood could be seen issuing from the Saviour's wounds.

The 'mystères' were in the nature of mute moralities ('moral ('moralités muettes)'), and represented vices and virtues the Kings of France, and the three estates.⁸⁶

1504. Paris:

For Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, scaffolds with 'mystères' of 'la transfiguration de Notre Seigneur et quelques scènes de la Passion. À la fontaine Saint-Innocent les fripiers représentèrent l'adoration des Mages', produced by Jehan Marchand and Pierre Gringore.⁸⁷

1513. Paris:

for Louis XII's Queen, biblical 'tableaux-vivants' on scaffolds, including the Annunciation; allegorical figures, e.g., King Bacchus, Minerva, Diana, Phoebus.⁸⁸

6 November 1514. Paris:

For Queen Mary of England, all the representations were of an allegorical nature, except for Queen Sheba's Visit to Solomon; even the Annunciation was represented allegorically, for which a banner may have proclaimed, 'Ave Maria gratia plena'.⁸⁹

12 May 1517. Paris:

For Queen Claude of France, Gringore and Jean Marchand produced 'mystères... exclusivement allegoriques'.⁹⁰

23 April 1531. Paris:

For Charles V, Emperor, the items features included, a 'mystere' of Peace and Concord, with other Virtues and 'personnages' who presented the Queen with the keys of the town; a 'morisque' with dancing Satyrs, Virtues and 'Personnages' speaking and offering praises to this Lady; a 'mystere' of the Four Estates, where a 'Dame dhonneur' gave the Peace, and a 'grant mystere plaine plusieurs personnages signifians et representans la reddition de Messeigneurs les Dauphin at duc Dorleans du Roy'.⁹¹

1 January 1540/1. Paris:

For Charles V, Emperor, including two 'théâtres', the first where the traditional theme of Parisian 'entrees' of planting an orchard with lilies was combined with a gushing fountain and the ancient theme of the temple of Janus (most ancient King of Italy).

The features of the second 'theatre' included a representation of two double-headed eagles, one holding in his claws an aspic (small serpent) and a basilisk, the other a lion and a dragon. Beneath coming out of a cloud was a woman called Divine Will holding in each hand a roll bearing quotations from Psalm 91 (verse 13) 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: The young lion and the serpent shalt thou trample under thy feet',... Under the one on the right was Accord who carried a hive of bees; under the one on the left, Discord, armed, and with a fierce look, holding fire and water. Between them was Peace, carrying a branch of olive, and seated upon an antique throne.⁹²

1549. Paris:

For Henry II, King of France, consisting of nine triumphal arches, with displays of inanimate images or figures, which overall illustrated the themes of: classical mythology, e.g. Jupiter, by means of inanimate images and figures, such as Force, the Four Estates of the Realm, the Fortunes of the King, Nobles and People; also, Gallic antiquity, French history, and at the final arch there were figures of Belgius, Brennus, Mauors (i.e. Mars) and Dis, all in some strange way identified with Gaul.⁹⁴

24 April 1558. Paris:

In the evening of the day of the marriage of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin, after supper followed by dancing, triumphas as grand as those of Caesar departed from 'la Chambre dorée'. Parading in the procession were,

- 1) The Seven Planets costumed in the manner described by the poets: Mercury, herald and interpreter of the gods; Mars, equipped with arms (or, wearing armour: 'vestu en armes'); Venus, as a goddess, and likewise the other planets.
- 2) Twenty-five beautiful triumphant horses made of wicker-work, covered and equipped so that they looked more beautiful than the real thing. On each was mounted a young prince.
- 3) Two beautiful white palfreys, led by a gentleman, pulling with ropes made of silver cloth, a triumphal car, constructed in the antique mode, on which were 'personnages' richly dressed in diverse colours, and performing on various musical instruments.
- 4) Two beautiful unicorns, on which were mounted young princes, richly dressed.
- 5) Two more beautiful white palfreys pulling another beautiful triumphal car of the antique style, on which were nine Muses, with a number of beautiful women

finally dressed, who sang sweetly, softly and harmoniously.

6) Yet more horses as beautiful as the others.

It took the said triumphs and mummeries more than two hours to pass by, 'mais, pour la grande beaultée qu'on trouvoit à voir lesdicts triumphes passer, on trouvoit le temps bien court'.

The procession concluded, the princesses once again began to dance for about a half hour. After which there left the 'Requestes de l'hotel' six fine ships, each with a mast, and a silver sail, which were blown along by wind mechanically produced, of a kind which caused them to turn wherever wanted; in each was a prince dressed in cloth of gold and masked, sitting upon a seat in the middle of the ship, and behind this seat another seat, empty and prepared. Each of these ships moved by compass just as if they had been upon the sea. They passed by in front of the 'Table de marbre' where the ladies were sitting, and as they passed by each prince sitting in a boat, took into his vessel, the one the Queen, another the bride, another the Queen of Navarre, another Madame Elizabet, another Madame Marguerite, and another Madame Claude, second daughter of the King, each one sitting upon the seat prepared and ready, and thus took them away to go to bed, and so the festivities for that day were concluded.

... Après ladicte dance finye,
sortirent de la chambre du plaidoyé,
appelée 'la Chambre dorée', des
triumphes plus grandes que celle
de César, que ung chacun qui estoit
présent à peu voir. Premièrement
marchirent les sept planettes vestue
selon l'habit que les poëtes leur ont
baillé, à savoir:~ Mercure, hérault
et truchement (interpreter) des
dieux, ayant deux elles (wings),
vestu de satin blanc, ceint d'une
ceinture d'or, ayant son codicée
on verge (wand) en la main; Mars,
vestu en armes; Vénus en déesse
(i.e. as a goddess)...., et ainsi
des autre planettes, et marchoient
pieds chantans mélodieusement et
musicallement, le long de la salle
du Palais, chansons composées à
propos qui donnoit a l'ouye (ear)
extérieure ung plaisir et délectation
autant grant qu'on le sauroit
descripe... 95

9 December 1539. Poitiers:

For Charles V, Emperor, included were 'Certains théâtres i.e. spectacles) et mystères moraulx et historiaulx'. On 'la place du Vieux Marché' the university put up an 'arc de triomphe' on a low scaffold, from which hung a large crown ornamented with gilded flowers, and bearing escutcheons with the arms of the sovereign and the university; on either side of the crown were two 'personnages', 'Maiestas honoris,' (côté français) et 'Honor maiestatis' (côté impérial), dressed in cloth of gold, piped, the one with blue satin, the other with orange satin, and below as it were supporting the crown, a third 'Unitas', representing the university, dressed in crimson satin piped with white taffeta, crowned with a chaplet of olive wood, holding two links proceeding from the heraldic arms of the Emperor and of the King, and with devices representing concord and love.⁹⁶

1550. Rouen:

For King Henry II of France, when the Goddess Fame was seated on a waggon drawn by four white horses, ^{the} ~~she~~ sounded a trombone as she held by a chain Death who was sitting before her; at her feet on the platform of the waggon, were trophies of war, and dead warriors, thus celebrating by this Entry a former victory. On such occasions as this in Rouen there were often waggons with symbols of antiquity, with Orpheus and the Muses, with Hercules or with the Planets and their good fortune bringing gods, also a Triumph-waggon of Religion, holding the replica of a church in the hands. There was also a 'Forest of Brazil' in which a whole action (or, campaign) was portrayed.⁹⁷

v) ITALY.Joyful and Triumphant Entries and associated Entertainments, such as Banquets, etc.

Note: the data that follows concentrates on 'tableaux' and 'tableaux-vivants' either represented on stationary stages or on moving processional cars. Much of the Italian records is concerned with details of statuary in the triumphal arches, and here we have to keep in mind some words of Jacob Burckhardt: '... characteristic of the time, (was the fact) that human beings who at all festivals appeared as statues in niches or on pillars and triumphal arches, and then showed themselves to be alive by singing or speaking, wore their natural complexion and a natural costume...', sometimes statues were supplemented by paintings.

11 November 1506. Bologna:

For Pope Julius II after retaking the city for the Papal States. He entered in a very elaborate procession with Cardinals, other prelates and city officials. The Entry was a deliberate echo of ancient triumphs with thirteen triumphal arches along the route. These were hastily prepared, uncomplicated, and with simple iconographical content. The Pope processed seated under a purple throne canopy mounted on a huge waggon.⁹⁸

24 October 1529. Bologna:

For Pope Clement VII coming to Bologna for two coronations of the Emperor Charles V and processing through a number of arches ornamented with statuary, notably: the anointing of David by Samuel; God the Father, St Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Petronius, Saint Ambrose, Clement VII, and several Virtues.⁹⁹

5 November 1529. Bologna:

For the entry of the Emperor, along the route arches with statuary of the triumphs of Neptune and Bacchus, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Scipio Africanus and other figures of ancient Roman history, a Janus before his closed temple, Apollo and the Muses, Victory and Glory, columns topped with statues of the Emperors Constantine, Charlemagne, Sigismundus and King Ferdinand and the Catholic of Spain.

In the procession after the coronations was a triumphal chariot drawn by griffins carrying an angel who is blowing a trumpet and holding a crown; twelve Burgesses of the town walked in the procession carrying the town flags, followed by mounted Jurors; the university was represented by sixteen students with their red banners, and twelve doctors of law and theology, dressed in velvet with large golden chains around their necks; the Governor of Bologna was mounted on a

tall horse, leading the Municipal Guard and the Justice Court Officials, with their standards emblazoned with the device, 'Libertas', and in addition many papal officials.

The foreign countries represented were those of the Holy Roman Empire, England, France, Hungary, Savoy, Lorraine (here cited as Lothringen) and from various other territories of the Duke of Burgundy. No mention of Scotland.¹⁰⁰

4 or 8 March 1529/30. Bologna: the same context.

Agostino's Ricchi's comedy, 'I tre tiranni' played in a room of the Palazzo Comunale before the Pope, the Emperor, and Beatrice di Portogallo, Duchess of Savoy.¹⁰¹

24 June 1509. Cremona:

For Louis XII of France, victorious over the Venetians, making him Lord of the City; procession through the town Gate with its figures representing the City in an attitude of reverence, with Peace and Justice; then through triumphal arches, the principal one with inscriptions and statues representing the King's virtues.¹⁰²

1-8 February 1501/2. Ferrara:

For Lucrezia Borgia, new bride of Alfonso d'Este, son of Duke Ercole I, along the processional route actors on four stages, many representing mythological characters, recited verses to the bride. On the following days five comedies of Plautus in Italian translation played in the Palazzo della Ragione: The 'Epidicus', the 'Bacchidi', the 'Miles Gloriosus', the 'Asinari' and the 'Cassina'.¹⁰³

1471. Florence:

For Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, spectacle of Our Lady's Annunciation in San Felice; also spectacle of Our Lord's Ascension in San Maria del Carmina, and Pentecost in Santo Spirito.¹⁰⁴

1473. Florence:

For Eleonora of Aragon, spouse of Ercole I, passing through to Ferrara; in the Piazza, seven biblical representations, of God giving the Law to Moses, the Annunciation, Our Lord's Nativity, his Baptism, Resurrection and Descent into Limbo, and Pentecost, Our Lady's Assumption, and four giants, two male, and two female.¹⁰⁵

1494. Florence:

For Charles VIII of France on his way to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, a 'sacra rappresentazione' of the Annunciation in San Felice.¹⁰⁶

1513. Florence:

This year Leo X was elected Pope and two 'Trionfi' 'famous for their taste and beauty', were given in the city by rival companies. One represented the Ages of Man, the other the Ages of the World, which were ingeniously set forth in five scenes of Roman history and two allegories of the Golden Age of Saturn and its final return.

The adornment of the chariots by great Florentine artists made the scene so impressive that such representations in time became a permanent element in the popular life of the city. 107

At Florence the Carnival included great fantastic chariots, upon each an allegorical figure or group of figures, for example, Jealousy with four spectacled faces on one head; the four temperaments with the planets belonging to them; the three Fates; Prudence enthroned above Hope and Fear, which lay bound before her, the Four Elements, Ages, Winds, Seasons, and so on. 108

6-8 February 1513/14. Florence:

Carnival parades celebrating the return of the Medici several months before; with large contribution from the Medici family including chariots representing the Seven Triumphs of the Golden Age, the ages of Saturn, Numa Pomphilius, Titus Manlius, Torquatus, Julius Caesar, Caesar Augustus, Trajan and the Return of the Golden Age, alluding to the return of the Medici. On another day: the chariots included the Three Ages of Man, Pueritia, Virilitas, and Senectus. Leading artists, and 'litterati' made important contributions. 109

7-12 September 1518. Florence:

Festivities for the marriage of Lorenzo De' Medici, Duke of Urbino, entertainments at the Palazzo Medici included one, two or three comedies, of which one may have been a first performance of the Machiavelli's, 'La Mandragola.' 110

28 April 1536. Florence:

For Charles V, Emperor, combining the diverse 'motifs' of preceding Entries, 'Tableaux de bataille: Siège de Vienne, prise de Tunis (qui couvrent une façade entière, place San Felice); scenes de couronnement: Ferdinand roi des Romains, roi de Tunis restauré; héros traditionnels de la cour de Bourgogne: Hercule terrassant l'Hydre, Jason conquérant la Toison d'Or....' 111

31 May-13 June 1536. Florence:

Festivities for marriage of Duke Allesandro De' Medici, on 13 June in the hall of the Compagnia dei Tessitori, Via San Gallo, a performance of the learned comedy, 'L'Aridosia' of Lorenzo De' Medici, the staging was very elaborate. 112

29 June-9 July 1539. Florence:

Festivities for the marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, on 9 July. On 6 July there was a great Allegorical Triumph in the courtyard of the second Palace of the Medici which was covered over with an artificial sky made of blue flannel which was decorated with a huge frieze of arms painted by Bastiano di SAN Gallo. The stage, upon which three days later the comedy, 'Il Commodo' by Antonio Landi, was performed, was set up on the north side. The bridal pair and their guests sat at a table on the south side.¹¹³

c.23-26 June 1545. Florence:

A more elaborate celebration of the Feast of St John the Baptist, the city's patron saint, than was customary: it included two triumphal arches, and other important constructions in the streets, the Parade of Trionfi on the eve of the feast, prepared by various 'compagnie' included a triumph of Peace, one of the Liberal Arts and one of The Trinity.¹¹⁴

12 August 1529. Genoa:

For Emperor Charles V en route to meet Pope Clement VII in Bologna at the end of a newly constructed pier, a globe of the world which opened to scatter scented water, and from which stepped a young man representing 'Justice', who recited certain unrecorded verses.¹¹⁵

c.26 November-11 December 1548. Genoa:

For Prince Philip of Spain, 'en route' to Germany and the Low Countries; a triumphal arch with a large iconographical content, of figures from ancient history and classical mythology, e.g. Publius Scipio and Hercules; a machine in front of the palace, in the form of a globe of the world, emitted fireworks when the prince entered; on another day there were at several Portae, two giants, statues of Faith, Liberty, and the god Janus.¹¹⁶

25 March - 19 April 1530. Mantua:

Entry and sojourn of the Emperor, Charles V, 'en route' to Germany after his coronation in Bologna; included arches with statues of the goddess Iris, (representing War) being put to flight by Mercury, (Peace); also to be seen was a winged statue of Victory; one or more comedies may have been presented.¹¹⁷

7-29 November 1532. Mantua:

Entertainment for the Emperor Charles V coming from Germany, 'en route' to meet Pope Paul III in Bologna, comedies, perhaps including 'la Calandria' of Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena.¹¹⁸

13-17 January 1548/49. Mantua:

Entry and sojourn of Prince Philip of Spain 'en route' to Germany and the Low Countries, included three triumphal arches with statues of Vergil (born Mantua), Ocno, (legendary founder), and of mythological figures: e.g. Argos, Mercury and Janus, and personified virtues; statues of Hilaritas, Publica and Hercules, were also featured.¹¹⁹

22 October 1549. Mantua:

For Caterina d'Austria, bride of Duke Francesco Gonzaga, in days following the marriage entertainments including, jousts, a naumachia, and the playing of comedies of which no details are known.¹²⁰

21 October 1535. Messina:

For the Emperor Charles V, when the pageantry included, 'Un petit char trainé par six Maures précédé l'empereur; il transporte un autel où est placé un trophée offert à Jupiter; nous dit une inscription, par le père de la patrie, grâce auquel Astraea la Justice) est redescendue sur la terre. Dans le cortège figure aussi un grand char où se tiennent les quatre Vertus Cardinales at où sont placées deux roues représentant les hemisphères célestes; plus haut quatre anges soutiennent un Monde environné d'angelots qui tournent avec lui, et au sommet de cette pièce montée dresse un empereur en armure blanche tenant une victoire en sa main..' and also three arches of greenery representing, Concord, Peace and Victory; an arch with winged Victories and figures of Saints.¹²¹

1423. Milan:

At the porta Ticinese there was a representation of the story of the seven planets of heaven.¹²²

1490. Milan:

A festival directed by Leonardo da Vinci, one of whose machines represented the heavenly bodies with all their movements on a grand scale. Whenever a planet approached Isabella, the Duke's bride, the divinity whose name it bore stepped forth from the globe and sang some verses written by the court poet, Bellinconi.¹²³

1493. Milan:

At a festival held this year the model of the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza appeared with other objects under a triumphal arch on the square before the castle. We can learn from Vasari of the ingenious automata which Leonardo invented to welcome the French kings as masters of Milan.¹²⁴

24 May - mid June 1507. Milan:

For Entry and sojourn of King Louis XII of France after reconquest of Genoa, the Entry included a triumphal chariot with characters representing the four Cardinal Virtues and

a Victory, one of whom spoke verses to the King; also a living group, representing Jupiter, Mars, and a figure of Italy, caught in a net, after which came a car laden with trophies.¹²⁵

1 July 1509. Milan:

For King Louis XII of France after victory over Venice, an elaborate Entry which included a dramatic skit in which personages representing five conquered cities were brought before the king.¹²⁶

29 December 1512. Milan:

An elaborate Entry for Duke Massimiliano Sforza after expulsion of French from city, including a triumphal arch with characters representing the four Cardinal Virtues and Fortune the last of whom recited verses to the duke.¹²⁷

11-c. 28 October 1515. Milan:

Entry and sojourn of King Francis I of France, after regaining Duchy of Milan, a procession to the cathedral where there was suspended from the ceiling a machine with a Virgin and Child, and a personage representing Milan, with an inscription extolling the virtue of clemency.¹²⁸

20 December - January 1548/9. Milan:

Entry and sojourn of Prince Philip of Spain, 'en route' to Germany and the Low Countries: several triumphal arches with various statues, including: David, Goliath and other biblical characters, Mercury and Minerva; a stage setting of Venice with the comedy 'Gl'inganni', and another stage setting of Pisa and the comedy 'Alessandro' of Alessandro Piccolomini.¹²⁹

1443. Naples:

For Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, who forced a forty ell gap in the city walls through which he drove four white horses hauling a golden waggon, on which he sat enthroned like a Roman Emperor, through the town until he reached the cathedral. Both Neopolitans and Florentiners took part in the 'Triumph', which included participation by Florentiners. Their contribution consisted of a group of elegant young riders, who skilfully swung their lances; also a pageant car with Fortune, and the Seven Virtues mounted on horses. At the feet of Fortune was a Genius who portrayed the gentle melting away of Good Luck ('leichte Zerrinnen des Glücks'). The last of the virtues was Justice, on a pageant car, with a sword in one hand and scales in the other.

Religion was represented by twelve Prophets, probably walking, and there was a lofty pageant car with a revolving globe of the world above which was a belaulled and crowned Julius Caesar.

There was also a huge tower, apparently on a pageant car, before the car of which an angel with sword stood on guard,

and above were Four Virtues, who addressed their song to the king in particular. 130

8 May 1494. Naples:

Coronation celebrations that took place the day before the marriage of the king's daughter, included a ride from the Castello to the Duomo, elaborate coronation rites, and afterwards a solemn ride around the city. At the Mint there was a representation of Orpheus with his lyre charming animals and inanimate objects. 131

25 November 1535 - 27 March 1536. Naples:

Entry and sojourn of Emperor Charles V after the victory of Tunis; rich in iconographical content, the decorations of the Porta Capuana included statues of San Gennaro and Sant'Agelo, patrons of the city; a triumphal arch and many statues, including Scipio Africanus Major, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and four Hapsburg emperors; mythological creatures, and emblems of abstract qualities; colossal statues along the route included Mars and Jove; on the Strada della Sellaria was a machine showing Giants mounting up to Heaven to challenge Jove being struck by a thunderbolt launched by an imperial eagle. Entertainments provided for the Emperor included a comedy, possibly the 'farsa cavaiola', entitled 'Ricevuta dell'imperatore alla Cava'. 132

14 October 1494. Pavia:

For Charles VIII, King of France, on his way to conquer Kingdom of Naples, triumphal arches and performances of some 'mysteres' with biblical characters in the streets. 133

1453. Reggio:

For the Duke of Borso, met at the town gate by a great machine, on which St Prospero, patron saint of the town, appeared to float, shaded by a baldacchino held by angels, with below a revolving disc with eight singing cherubs, two of whom received from the saint the sceptre and the keys of the city, which they then delivered to the Duke, while saints and angels sang in his praise. A chariot drawn by concealed horses advanced, bearing an empty throne, behind which stood a figure of Justice attended by a Genius. At the corners of the chariot sat four grey-headed lawyers, encircled by angels and banners; by its side rode standard bearers in complete armour. A second car drawn by a unicorn bore a Caritas with a burning torch. Between the two came the classical spectacle of a ship moved by men concealed within it. All processed before the Duke and halted before St Pietro where the saint attended by two angels descended from the facade in an aureole to place a laurel wreath on the Duke's head, and then floated back again.

The clergy provided an allegory of a religious kind. Idolatry and Faith stood on two lofty pillars, and after Faith,

represented by a beautiful girl had uttered her welcome, the other column fell to pieces with the lay figure upon it. Further on Borso was met by Caesar with seven beautiful women who were presented to him as Virtues, which he was exhorted to pursue. After the service in the cathedral all was concluded when three angels flew down from an adjacent building and amid songs of joy delivered to the Duke branches of palm as symbols of peace.¹³⁴

1473. Rome:

For Leonora of Aragon, bride to be of Prince Hercules (i.e. Ercole) of Ferrara, entertained by Cardinal Pietro Riario with religious mystery plays and mythological pantomimes, Orpheus with the beasts, Perseus and Andromeda, Ceres drawn by dragons, Bacchus and Ariadne by panthers, and finally the education of Achilles. Then followed a ballet of the famous lovers of ancient times, with a troop of nymphs, which was interrupted by an attack of predatory centaurs who in their turn were vanquished by Hercules and put to flight.¹³⁵

1500. Rome:

At Carnival in this Jubilee Year, Cesare Borgia celebrated his victory over the Romagna with a Triumphal Procession of Julius Caesar, made up of eleven waggons, which assembled in the Piazza Navona and then processed through the streets of the city to St Peter's Square where it defiled before the Pope. Cesare Borgia accompanied the procession on a horse.¹³⁶

23 December - 6 January 1501/2. Rome:

Festivities for marriage of Lucrezia Borgia and Alfonso d'Este, son of Duke Ercole I of Ferrara:

30 December 1501, marriage ceremony at Vatican; games, with a 'naumachia' in the Piazza San Pietro; in the evening at the Vatican, a banquet, a ball, and the presentation of two comedies of dramatic skits, in Latin.

31 December 1501.

Allegorical skits in the houses of the Cardinal San Severino and Cesare Borgia;

1 January 1501/2.

In the evening performances in the Vatican of comedies and 'moresche'.

2 January 1501/2.

Cesare Borgia took part in bull fight in Piazza San Pietro, in the evening performance in the Vatican of Plautus's 'Menaechmi',¹³⁷ and of an allegorical skit featuring Rome and Ferrara.

1506. Rome:

For Pope Julius II on returning to Rome after overrunning Bologna, a dazzling triumph in the antique style with

triumphal arches adorned with statues and paintings; in front of the Vatican was a replica of the Constantine Bow (in the sky) where the warlike achievements of the campaign against Bologna were represented, on the Angel Hill the Pope was received by a Triumph-waggon harnessed with white horses, and where an Oak tree towered above with golden fruit of large dimensions, while ten Genies stretched out their palm branches before him. Bonner Mitchell says that the streets approaching St Peter's had decorations that evoked both a classical triumph and the entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. The triumph waggon mentioned above had a globe on it.¹³⁸

11 April 1513. Rome:

Procession for Pope Leo X, extremely long and elaborate with many remarkable street decorations; there were a number of arches depicting among other things, Apollo and the Muses and the consignment of the Keys of the Church to St Peter; and arch of the Florentines depicted St John the Baptist and SS Cosma and Damian, patrons of the Medici.¹³⁹

13-18 September 1513. Rome:

Festivities on granting of Roman citizenship to Giuliano and Lorenzo De'Medici, joined to an out of season celebration of the Roman patriotic festival of the 'Palilia', various activities including performances in a temporary theatre of dramatic skits planned by Camillo Porzio, with the roles played by boys of patrician families, one of which featured Roma with the allegorical characters of Justice and Fortitude, all reciting verses written by Vincenzo Pimpinella, and finally the principal feature of the entertainments, a play in Latin of Plautus's 'Poenulus' by Roman boys under the direction of Inghirami.

18 September, apparent repetition of all the skits and the 'Poenulus' before the Pope at the Vatican.

At Carnival the Street Theatre of Rome with the help of Guilds and Sodalities, and expenses defrayed by the citizenry, celebrated Pope Paul III as besieger of Constantinople entirely with symbols culled from the ancient history of Rome.¹⁴⁰

5-18 April 1536. Rome:

Entry and sojourn of the Emperor, Charles V, on triumphal progress through Italy after the victory of Tunis. In Rome the features included triumphal arches with sculptures, statues and paintings evoking Roman history. On the Ponte Sant'Angelo were statues of SS Peter and Paul, the four evangelists, and four Old Testament Fathers. Peter and Paul also featured at the door of the Vatican Palace, with the Emperors Augustus and Constantine.¹⁴¹

1545. Rome:

The Roman Street Theatre for Carnival, with the help of the

Guilds and Sodalities, and with the wherewithal provided by the citizenry, celebrated Pope Paul III as the besieger of Constantinople, by means of Symbols taken from ancient Roman history.¹⁴²

1465. Siena:

Gigantic animals from which a crowd of masked figures suddenly appeared were featured in the mainly secular representations given in the princely courts, as this year in Siena, when at a public reception a ballet of twelve persons emerged from a golden wolf.¹⁴³

1477. Siena:

To celebrate the alliance between Ferrante and Pope Sixtus IV the authorities caused a chariot to be driven around the city with 'one clad as the Goddess of Peace, standing on a hauberk (i.e. a coat of mail) and other arms'.¹⁴⁴

24 April 1536. Siena:

For the Emperor Charles V; here as at Messina 'se trouvent juxtaposés la statuaire à l'antique et le merveilleux chrétien'. Presumably, 'Les chars des fêtes de la Vierge, avec leurs anges qui mantent et Descendent...' represented the Annunciation and the Assumption. A triumphal arch at the city gate bore inscriptions and statues of Faith and Charity.¹⁴⁵

5 September 1494. Turin:

For King Charles VIII of France on way to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, several 'mystères' in the medieval tradition of French royal entries, were played on platforms erected in the streets, characters portrayed include, Abraham, Isaac, Lancelot of the Lake, Jason and Hercules, Thus biblical, chivalric and mythological themes were combined. D'Ancona says there were many scaffolds of Old and New Testament subjects, including the Nativity of Our Lord, but makes no mention of the Salutation of the Virgin.¹⁴⁶

For the Duchess of Ferrara, a Triumph of Grace on her arrival, with Triumph Ships in place of pageant cars, accompanied by thousands of barks with citizens of Venice, forming a Triumphal Procession of Ships, accompanied by numerous other vessels decked with tapestries and garlands, occupied by magnificently costumed youth. There followed ships upon which Genies with the attributes of gods were moved by mechanical devices. Likewise moving tritons and nymphs followed - everywhere song, sweet odours (incense), and the fluttering of gold-painted flags, and finally there was a regatta 'of fifty strong maidens'. Burckhardt says there was also a splendid pantomime called 'Meleager', performed in the Ducal palace.¹⁴⁷

31 July - 22 August 1502. Venice:

For Anne de Foix, new Queen of Hungary, 'en route' to join her husband in his Kingdom, 5 August. At a ball at the Palazzo Ducale there were mummeries depicting episodes in the Trojan War, two of which were, the Judgement of Paris and the Rape of Helen, the movements of the mummeries being done in time to music. 148

February 1520/21. Venice:

Some of the performances given at the Triumphs and Entries were of the genus 'mummery', as seen in that given at this time by the Compagnia degli Immortali on the Grand Canal, before the Foscari Palace: A stage had been erected on the ground, partly covered over, by means of which entry could be gained into the palace through the windows; it was connected to a bridge formed by boats which were stretched across the Grand Canal, lit up by torches; there were fireworks; a grand procession headed by the Herald of 'Memoria', arrived from the other side of the Canal; there was a joust, a variety of mythological representations, such as, Laocoon (a son of Priam and Hecuba, or of Antenor or of Capys), the Hydra, the building of Troy. These scenes were presented on raised platforms so that it was possible for the maximum number of people to witness the spectacle. It is reported by Sanudo, an Italian diarist, that the nobility of Venice always ensured the performance of mummeries such as, 'Un mundo piccolo da una parte con quattro grande giganti, uno per angelo' (A Small World/Globe.... Four Great Giants and an Angel) (1527), or 'Un mondo a forma di sfera, una citta in forma de Venezia et li inferno' (A World in the Form of a Sphere, a City fashioned after Venice, and the Inferno.) (1530). 149

1 January 1529/30. Venice:

In a procession to celebrate the conclusion of peace with the Emperor the pious brotherhoods ('scule') took part. They provided a car on which Noah and David sat together, enthroned; then came Abigail, leading a camel laden with treasures, and a car with political figures - Italy - sitting between Venice and Liguria - and on a raised step three female symbolical figures with the arms of the allied princes. Then followed a great globe with constellations, as it seems, round it. 150

1541. Venice:

At the festival of the 'Sempeterni', a round universe floated along the Grand Canal and a grand ball was inside it. 151

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES
AND OTHER PUBLIC SOLEMNITIES AND ENTERTAINMENTS FOR ROYALTY AND
OTHER EXALTED PERSONS.

1. Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Records, vol.5, 731.
2. J. STUART ed. *Misceilany of the Spalding Club: Volume Fifth* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1852) Accounts of the Dean of Gild, 51.
3. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol.5, 790.
4. As n.3, vol.7, 472.
5. As n.4, 492.
6. As n.4, 722.
7. John SMALL ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (STS 1893, 2 vols.) vol.2, 251,2. See also vol.1, xlvi.
8. William Kennedy *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion to the End of the Year 1818; with an Account of the University of Old Aberdeen* (A. Brown and Co., Aberdeen, 1818, 2 vols.) vol.1, 65.
9. CODY & MURISON ed. *Ihona Leslie; The Historie of Scotland* [translated, John Dalrymple] (STS 1895, 2 vols.) vol.2, 246,7.
See also:
Joanne LESLAEUS *De Origine Moribus et gestis Scotorum*, Libri Decem, Romae, 1578, 430, and Thomas THOMSON ed. *Bishop John Lesley, The Historie of Scotland, 1436-1561* (Bannatyne Club, 1830) 159.
10. As n.9.
11. Aberdeen Burgh MS Records, vol. 17, 5.
12. As n.11, vol.20, 496.
13. " " vol.21, 160.
14. " " vol.22, 325,97, 425.
15. CODY & MURISON (see n.9) vol.2, 156.
16. George PRYDE *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624* (SHS Third Series, vol.28, 1937) Treasurer's Accounts, 84.
17. As n.16, 85.
18. Iohannis LELANDI (John Leland) *de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, Cum T. Hearnii praefationibus, etc. Accedunt de Rebus Anglicis Opuscula varia* (B. White, London, Second Edition, 1774, 6 vols.) See vol.4, 289-91, for the account of John Younge, an English Herald.

19. Guy Cadogan ROTHERY *A Concise Encyclopedia of Heraldry* (Bracken Books, London, 1915) 67, 128, 225, 6, 339.
20. Gordon Kipling *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden University Press, 1977) 106.
21. Iohannis LELANDI (see n.18) vol.4, 299-300.
22. *ALHT* vol.2, 387.
23. Aeneas J.G. MACKAY ed. *Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, 1437-1575* (STS 3 vols., 1899-1911) vol.1, 240.

Note also the following in the Treasurer's Accounts (vol.2, 387) relating to the marriage:

Item, to viij Inglis menstrales, xxviiij lib.
 Item, to the Inglis Spelair, that playit
 the super salt, iij lib. x s.^a

- a. This probably relates to John English and his men:

After Soupper, The Kynge and the Qwene being togeder in
 hyr grett Chamber, John Inglis and hys Companyons playd,
 and then ichon, went his way. (11 August).

After Dynnar, a Morallite was played by the said Master
 Inglishe and hys Companyons, in the Presence of the Kyng
 and Qwene, and then Daunces war daunced. (13 August).

See, LELAND (n.21) vol.4, 299, 300.

See also *ALHT* (vol.2, 387):

Item, to the bere ledair of Ingland, v lib. xij s.
 Item, to the thre gysaris that playit the play,
 xxj lib.

24. LELAND (n.21) vol.4, 288.
25. David McROBERTS 'The Greek Bishop of Dromore' *IR* 28,1 (1977) 22-38, 34.
26. Charles BURNS *Golden Rose and Blessed Sword: Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs* (John S. Burns, Glasgow, 1970) 28,9, 30.
27. MACKAY *Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie* (see n.23) 241,2.
28. As n.27, 244.
29. *ALHT* vol.3, 258-40. See also, xlvij-lij.
30. CODY & MURISON *Ihone Leslie: The Historie of Scotland, etc.* (see n.9) vol.2, 156,7; *Leslaeo De Origine, etc.* 359; THOMSON *Joanne Leslaeo* (see n.9) 102.

31. Manuscript Records of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen, fol 94.
32. John SMITH ed. *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church, Extracts of Hammermen Records, 1495-1588* (William Hay, Edinburgh, 1906) 75.
33. MACKAY *Lindsay of Pitscottie* (see n.23) vol.1, 369.
34. As n.28, 370-6, 373,4.
35. As nn.33 & 23, vol.1, 378,9.
36. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (SBRs, 4 vols., 1869-82) vol.2, 1528-57 (1871) 89-91.
37. Anna J. MILL *Medieaval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Publications, William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., Edinburgh & London, 1927 - Thesis submitted in 1924) 234.
38. As n.36, vol.2, 206.
39. *ALHT* vol.10, 360.
40. As n.36, vol.3 1557-71 (1875) 26.
41. See Item A. ii) above. That and Item B. iii) must relate to the same event.
42. Robert ADAM ed. *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts* (The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1899, 2 vols.) vol.1, 241, 269-73.
43. Thomas THOMSON ed. *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext* (Bannatyne Club, No. 13, 1825) 178,9.
44. *Johnston's MS History of Scotland* (Advocates' Library [now the NLS, Edinburgh] Adv. Lib. Hist. MSS 35.4.2.) vol.2, fol 524.
45. Robert RENWICK *Extracts from Records and Charters of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, 1150-1722* (Carson and Nicol, Glasgow, 1893) xxiii. See also, *ALHT* vol.1, 93.
46. MACKAY *Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie* (see n.23) vol.1, 378-81.
47. As n.46, vol.2, 15.
48. Robert WITHINGTON *English Pageantry, An Historical Outline* (Cambridge and Harvard University Presses, 1918, 2 vols.) vol.1, 149,50.
49. WITHINGTON vol.1, 153.
50. " " 164,5.
51. " " 179,80.

52. WITHINGTON vol.1 141-47.
53. " " 166-8.
54. " " 174-79. See also, Heinz KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1984, 2 vols.) vol.1, Part II, 'Das Strassentheater-Publikum der Renaissancezeit, 73-75.
55. WITHINGTON vol.1, 180-4.
56. " " 152.
57. Jean JACQUOT *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance - études réunies et présentées par Jean Jacquot* (Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1956, 2 vols.) vol.2, 455,6. See also, Karl HEGEL 'Der Einzug Kaiser Karl's V In Antwerpen' *Sybil's Historische Zeitschrift* 8, 3 (1880) 446-59, 458,9.
58. JACQUOT vol.2, 464.5. See also, KINDERMANN (as in n.54) vol.1, 78-80.
59. " " 454.
60. Frans de POTTER *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Gemeente-feesten in Vlaenderen* (Koninklijke Maatschappij van Schoone Kunsten en Letteren, Gent, 1870) 101.
61. De POTTER 97.
62. L.P. GACHARD ed. *Collection de documents inédits concernant l'histoire de la Belgique* (L.P. Gachard, Brussels, 1833-5, 3 vols.) vol.2, 63-91; B. Janssens de BISTHOVEN 'Het feest van het Gulden Vlies in Sint-Donaas op 1 en 2 december 1432' *Genootschap voor Geschiedenis onder de Benaming Société d'Émulations te Brugghe* vol.108 de la Collection 3 & 4 (1971) 238-44, 238.
63. De POTTER 101-3.
64. " " 118,9.
65. Van SEVEREN *Inventaire des Chartes de la Ville de Bruges* (Edward Gailliard, Bruges, 1871) vol.5, 532-5, 533, quoting Accounts in the Stad-Archiv, 1462-3, fols 52-55.
66. S. BENTLEY ed. *Excerpta Historica, Illustrations of English History, Extracts from Documents* (S. Bentley, London, 1831) See, Cotton MS Nero, cix, fols 173b-177b, 223-39, 232,3,7; *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maître de l'Hôtel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles Le Téméraire* (Publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France par Henri Beaune et J. d'Arbaumont, Librairie Renouard, Paris) vol.3 (1885) 114, 143-7, 166-71, 184-7; vol.4 (1888) 104,5, 138.

See also, *Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to*

- Antiquity* (The Society of Antiquaries of London, vol.31, No. 21 (1846) 327-38, 'Ceremonial of the Marriage of Princess Margaret of York, etc.').
67. JACQUOT (see n.57) vol.2, 414-18. Easterlings, Spaniards, Florentines and Luccans, all took part. Scots are not mentioned.
 68. Gordon KIPLING 'The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: A Medieval Script Restored' (*Medieval English Theatre* 4, 1 (1982) 5-27, 6;
Elie Konigson *L'Espace Théâtral Médiéval* (Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1975) 284,5 and Plate VIII.
 69. JACQUOT (see n.57) vol.2, 445.
 70. " " " vol.2, 454.
 71. De POTTER (see n.60) 112.
 72. " " " " 150. See also KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance* (see n.54) vol.1, 77.
 73. Léon LEFEBVRE *Fêtes Lilloises de XIV^e au XVI^e Siècle, Jeux Scéniques, Ébatements et Joyeuses Entrées, le Roi des Sots, et le Prince d'Amour* (Imprimerie Lefebvre-Ducrocq, Lille, 1902) 10.
 74. JACQUOT (see n.57) vol.2, 452,3.
 75. " " " Vol.2, 449.
 76. E. van AUTENBOER *Volksfeesten en Rederijkers te Mechelen, 1400-1600* (Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal en Letterkunde, 1962) 40 and nn.93,4.
 77. L.G. 'Marguerite de York, Duchesse Douairière de Bourgogne, 1468-1503' *Annales de la Société d'Émulations, etc.* Fourth Series vol.3 [vol.xxx de la Collection] (1879) 188-213, 213.
 78. JACQUOT (see n.57) vol.2, 439,40.
 79. Le Petit de JULLEVILLE *Histoire du Théâtre en France, etc.* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 196,7.
 80. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 199, 200.
 81. JACQUOT (see n.57) vol.2, 436.
 82. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 186-8.
 83. " " " 189.
 84. " " " 190,1.
 85. F. BRICE ed. *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England* (EETS OS 131 & 136, 1906 & 1908) 459.

86. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 200,1.
87. " " vol.2, 202.
88. WITHINGTON *English Pageantry, etc.* (see n.48) vol.1, 171,2.
89. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 205. See also, Jerome TAYLOR and A.E. NELSON *Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual* (University of Chicago Press, 1972) 'Some Configurations', 119-21.
90. De JULLEVILLE vol.2, 206.
91. JACQUOT (see n.57) vol.2, 437.
92. " " vol.2, 437,8.
- ~~93.~~ " " ~~vol.2, 46,7~~
- ~~94.~~ " " vol.1, Annexe I, 'Les Inscriptions de l'Entrée', 46-53.
95. Alexandre TEULET *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse au XVI^e Siècle* Nouvelle édition [1862]
'Correspondences Françaises, 1515-1560' (vol.3 of Veuve Jules RENOQUARD ed. Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1862) 309-11.
Note: the procession took place 'le long de la Salle du Palais, chantant mélodieusement et musicalement'.
The text gives a full description of the costumes.

Archives de l'Empire, Registres de l'Hôtel de la Ville de Paris, vol.6, fol 283^v Item XXXIV: 'Mariage du Dauphin et de Marie Stuart, 1558, 24 Avril', 302-17.
96. JACQUOT *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, etc.* (see n.57) vol.2, ~~434~~, 435.
97. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance, etc.* (see n.54) vol.1, 62; 98. MITCHELL (see n.99 below) 15.
99. Bonner MITCHELL ed. *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance - A Descriptive Bibliography of Triumphal Entries and Selected Other Festivities for State Occasions* (Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, LXXXIX: Leo S. Olschki Editore, Florence, 1979) 19; KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance, etc.* vol.1, 59.
100. MITCHELL 19,20; JACQUOT vol.2, 419.
101. KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance, etc.* vol.1, 70-3; MITCHELL 20.
102. MITCHELL 26.
103. " 28.

104. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano* (Editore Bardi, Rome, 1891 - facsimile 1966, 2 vols.) vol.1, 272,3.
105. D'ANCONA vol.1, 272,3.
106. D'ANCONA vol.1, 273; MITCHELL 35.
107. MITCHELL 38.
Jacob BURCKHARDT *The Civilization of the Renaissance* (Phaidon Press Ltd., Oxford and London, Second Edition Revised, 1945 - a translation of the original German) 257.
108. BURCKHARDT 259.
109. MITCHELL 38.
110. " 43.
111. JACQUOT vol.2, 433; MITCHELL 46,7, who gives the date 29 April 1536.
112. MITCHELL 48,9.
113. " 50,1; KINDERMANN *Theaterpublikum der Renaissance* (see n.54) vol.1, 50.
114. " 55.
115. " 60.
116. " 61,2.
117. " 68.
118. " 70,1.
119. " 72.
120. " 74.
121. " 76,7; JACQUOT vol.2, 429,30.
122. Alessandro D'ANCONA *Origine del Teatro Italiano, etc.* vol.2, 138.
123. Jacob BURCKHARDT *The Civilization of the Renaissance, etc.* 252; Heinz KINDERMANN *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance, etc.* (see n.54) vol.1, 61.
124. " " 252,3.
125. " " 256; MITCHELL 81,2.
126. MITCHELL 64.
127. " 85.
128. " 86,7.

129. MITCHELL 91; JACQUOT vol.2, 443.
130. KINDERMANN (see n.54) vol.1, 43.
131. MITCHELL 95.
132. " 101; JACQUOT vol.2, 430.
133. " 105.
134. BURCKHARDT 253; KINDERMANN (see n.54) vol.1, 57.
135. " 252; " vol.1, 59.
136. KINDERMANN vol.1, 59.
137. MITCHELL 113.
138. " 114,5; KINDERMANN (see n.54) vol.1, 59. MITCHELL gives the date as 27-28 March 1507.
139. " 117.
140. " 119,20.
141. " 125.
142. KINDERMANN vol.1, 61.
143. BURCKHARDT 251,2.
144. " 258.
145. JACQUOT vol.2, 422; MITCHELL 136,7.
146. D'ANCONA vol.1, 297,8; MITCHELL 141; BURCKHARDT 250.
147. KINDERMANN vol.1, 58.
148. MITCHELL 144,5.
149. KINDERMANN vol.1, 58,9.
150. MITCHELL 146.
151. BURCKHARDT 258.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'G'

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND JOSEPH

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'G'. THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND JOSEPH.

- 1) Like the Salutation of Gabriel this may have been a scene in the Edinburgh Nativity Cycle, possibly featured in Corpus Christi festivities. The scene occurs in various places outside an Entry context.

- 2) We know of but two occasions when the Marriage of Mary and Joseph was represented at an Entry, and these are much earlier than that given in Edinburgh. The earliest was on the occasion of the Entry of Henry VI, King of England and France, into Paris in 1431.¹ It is quite possible that it was part of the repertoire of the Parisian Confrérie de la Passion. The other occasion was at the Entry of Margaret of York into Bruges in 1468, when the inscription on a roll read: 'O tu pulcra es, amica mea et sponsa mea'. In this context we believe the subject matter is the marriage of Mary and Joseph and not merely their espousal for a future marriage. Of the various people who described this Entry the only one to record this 'tableau' was an English chronicler.²

- 3) It seems probable that this particular scene from the Nativity Cycle is of French origin. Although there is not a single mention of the scene in de Julleville's comprehensive catalogue of representations the scene is to be found in a number of surviving French MSS and printed editions of religious plays.

- 4) The fifteenth century MS Y.F. 10 fol 'de la bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève', to use de Julleville's reference (Frank refers to MS 1131 of the same library but is apparently referring to the same MS - see her *Medieval French Drama*, 136) has at the beginning

a play entitled 'La Nativite de N.S. Jesus Christ, mystere a vingt-cinq personnages', which includes a scene entitled 'Joseph epouse Marie',³

The plays in this collection in their present form date from different times and seem to be by different authors. It is believed that the plays of biblical derivation in some cases go back to the mid-fourteenth century. Whatever its date it would seem that the scene of the 'Marriage of Mary and Joseph' antedates its appearance in the Entry of 1431. The scene of 'The Good Man who sowed his seed' is also to be found in this play of the Nativite.⁴⁹⁰

5) MS Bibliothèque Nationale fr., 904, 'La Création, La Passion, La Résurrection' also has a scene of the 'Mariage de la Vierge', which is followed by scenes of the 'Annonciation', 'Visitation', 'Nativité' and 'Adoration des Bergers et des Mages'. According to a note on the MS it was completed on 18 May 1488.⁵

6) Five printed editions of a play entitled 'La Conception, La Nativité, Le Mariage, L'Annonciation de La Vierge, Avec La Nativité et L'Enfance de Jésus Christ' have survived, and the text is believed to be of the fifteenth century. This text forms the play for the 'première journée' of a Passion Play published in 1507 which incorporates elements of the passion plays of Greban and Jean Michel.⁶

7) The scene or play of the 'Marriage of Mary and Joseph' receives only a few mentions in known records. The Order for the Corpus

Christi Procession at Ingolstadt, dated 1507, consists of no less than a total of seventy-four items. One is recorded as 'Item als Maria vermehelt ward Joseff'.⁷

8) There is record of such a play written and performed probably at Roermond in the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century. It was apparently performed in the course of a procession, and appears to have been a play rather than a 'tableau-vivant', having as its cast, Maria; Ysachar, the Bishop; Anna; Abiathar, the Archbishop; two angels and Joseph; ten or twelve maidens, who lived in the Temple, and some young men who are named as supernumeraries.⁸

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'G'. THE MARRIAGE OF MARY AND JOSEPH.

1. See, this Volume and Chapter, APPENDIX 'F'. JOYFUL AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRIES. iv) FRANCE. 1431, Paris.
2. As n.1. iii) THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1468, Item iii.
3. Le Petit de JULLEVILLE. *Histoire du théâtre en France, etc.* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1880, 2 vols.) vol.2, 380,7.
4. Grace FRANK *The Medieval French Drama* (OUP, 1854) 137,8.
5. As n.3, vol.2, 413-15.
6. " " " " 427-30, 439.
7. Neil C. BROOKS 'An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession and the *Biblia Pauperum*' *JEGP* vol.35 (1936) 1-16,12.
8. J.A. Worp *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Toneel in Nederland* (J.B. Wolters, Groningen, 1904/08, 2 vols.) vol.1, 46,7.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'H' THE SEVEN PLANETS

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'H'. THE SEVEN PLANETS.

References to Information contained in Appendix 'F'.

1) Scotland, iv) Edinburgh:

a) 3 July 1558: items, iv) - xi):-

i) A pageant cart having the Seven Planets painted on it - probably a horoscope or 'nativity' of the Sovereign, as below.

ii) Seven persons costumed as the Seven Planets

b) 1579: The Conjunction of the Seven Planets - the horoscope or 'nativity' of Mary Queen of Scots.

2) France:

a) Rouen, 1550:

It is possible the Seven Planets were impersonated on waggons.

b) Paris, 24 April 1558: items, a) and b):-

In a public procession the Seven Planets were to be seen costumed in the manner described by the poets.

It is very likely that the Edinburgh representation on 3 July of the same year resembled the above.

3) Italy:

a) Milan, 1423:

A representation of the 'history' of the Seven Planets at a city gate, and so possibly a 'tableau' of persons or puppets, representing the planets as gods rather than a machine or model.

b) Milan, 1490:

On the occasion of a festival a machine devised by Leonardo da Vinci represented the heavenly bodies with all

their movements. It was a working model in which the planets moved in their orbits. It was very large.

c) Venice, 1 January 1529/30:

Included in a procession was a great globe with constellations.

d) Venice, 1541:

A round universe floated along the Grand Canal in which a ball took place. If we take the word 'universe' literally then the artifice was a globe of the world with constellations;

The Annunciation, 1439, Florence.

The Russian Bishop, Abraham of Souzdal, present at the annual play of the Annunciation (he was attending a Council) described how the throne of God was surrounded by seven globes in which small oil lamps burnt, whose diameter increased successively in size. These represented the planets. This was the work of Brunelleschi who completed the building of the church.¹

The Planetary Deities.

According to medieval cosmogony the earth was regarded as the kernel of the universe, enclosed by nine concentric revolving crystal spheres or heavens. Of these the first seven were each the seat of the planet, thus: the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Beyond the heaven of Saturn was the heaven of the fixed stars. Outside all these revolved the ninth or imperial heaven, the throne of God.²

Astrology.

The science of forecasting the fate and future of human beings from indications given by the positions of the sun, moon and planets,

was popular in the sixteenth century. Its history can be traced back to the remotest past, as far back as 3000 BC. The belief in a connection between the heavenly bodies and the life of man has played an important part in human history. An important practise in the art of astrology was the casting of a horoscope or 'nativity', i.e. a map of the heavens at the hour of birth, showing the positions of the heavenly bodies, from which their influence might be deduced. Each of the twelve signs of the Zodiac was credited with its own characteristics and influence, and is the controlling sign of its 'house of life'. The sign exactly at the moment of birth is termed the ascendant. The benevolent or malignant influence of each planet, together with the sun and moon, is modified by the sign it inhabits at the nativity; thus Jupiter in one house may indicate riches, fame in another, beauty in another, and Saturn similarly poverty, obscurity or deformity. The calculation is affected by the 'aspects', i.e. according as the planets are near or far as regards one another.³

Carved stone panels of personalised concepts and abstractions are still to be found at Edzell Castle, Scotland, where there are representations of the Planetary Deities, the Liberal Arts, the Theological Virtues & the Cardinal Virtues (sometimes known as a group of Seven Cardinal Virtues, made up of three Christian Virtues - the Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope & Charity & the Four Cardinal Virtues of Justice, Prudence, Fortitude & Temperance. These latter were derived from the classical authors and were adopted and sanctioned by the Christian Doctors). Edzell Castle was the

home of successive members of the Lindsay family. The oldest part was built in the fifteenth century, and the additions were made in the sixteenth century. According to an inscription the formal garden where the carved panels are located was established in 1604. The Planets, except for Saturn, are copied from a series of engravings made in 1528-30 by the Nuremberg 'Kleinmeister' who is known by his signature as 'Meister I.B.', who is generally identified with Dürer's pupil Georg Pencz (or, Jörg Bentz). These initials can still be seen carved on the halberd of Mars.⁴

The Edzell Planetary Deities are portrayed thus:

- i) Saturn: clutching a baby by its leg - an allusion to the myth of his slaying his own children; as the patron of cripples he has an amputated foot, and as the god of agriculture a scythe. Behind him a goat represents the Day House, Capricorn. The Night House Aquarius, is not shown.
- ii) Jupiter: a mailed figure, with the Day House, Sagittarius the Archer on his shield; below the Night House, Pisces, represented by two fishes.
- iii) Mars: clad in armour; at his feet the Night House, Aries the Ram; the Day House, Scorpio, is omitted.
- iv) The Sun: carries a torch and displays a sun in glory on his shield. Leo, his 'house of heaven', crouches at his feet.
- v) Venus: holds in her right hand a heart aflame, gashed with a love wound; in her left hand the dart with which she has inflicted it. Taurus, the Bull, her Night House, crouches at her feet. Libra, the Scales, her Day House appears to be missing.
- vi) Mercury: the messenger of the gods, with customary attributes, staff entwined with winged serpents, winged hat, winged sandals and bugle. Behind, the Day House, Virgo, carrying a lily as the emblem of virginity, and Gemini, the Twins, represented by naked children embracing.

- vii) Luna: carrying her astronomical sign, a crescent of the moon, in one hand, in the other a spear, in her aspect as Diana, the Huntress. Her feet rest on a lobster, a mistake for her 'House of Heaven', Cancer, the Crab.

Costuming - Plays/Pageants of the Seven Planets.

Representations of the Seven Planetary Deities would probably have costumed the actors much as they appear in the Edzell panels. For such a representation, however, to cover the total concept of these deities and their affect on human life it would have been necessary to include representations of human beings who had come under their influence, whether for good or ill. A famous painter can help us here.

Bosch painted on the closed wings of his 'Haywain', a beggarly, unkempt figure of a man, with a heavy pack on his back, shuffling along a path. Behind him in the middle distance, on one side a man is being robbed of all his goods, and most of his clothes, and tied to a tree, while on the other a man is being pursued through the fields by a shrew. The outline of a gallows can be seen against the skyline, while in the foreground lies the skeleton of a dead horse. The subject of both this version and a more mature picture painted with delicate greys and yellows and now in Rotterdam has been assumed to be the Prodigal Son, a wanderer or a vagabond. It is highly likely, however, that he is, in fact, an astrological figure the child of the Planet Saturn. The Saturnine character is said to be withdrawn, melancholic, slow to respond, and vacillating. If we look at representations of the Saturn-Child amongst the prints and drawings of the second half of the fifteenth century, especially the series of the early German woodcuts of the 'Planetenkinder',

and in the famous series of drawings by the Master of the House-Book, an artist of the Middle Rhineland, active c. 1465-1500, we can see that Bosch has followed these models in many particulars. The earth is Saturn's element, and the pig, one of its animals, can be seen in the paintings at Rotterdam. Saturn, often identified with time, was considered to be the bringer of misfortune and violence, ruling over men's destinies and judging their misdeeds.⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'H'. THE SEVEN PLANETS.

1. Orville K. LARSON 'Bishop Abraham of Souza's Description of Sacre Rappresentazioni' *Education Theatre Journal* No.9 (1957) 208-13.
See also, Heinz KINDERMANN *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1957-70, 9 vols.) vol.1, 335,6;
VASARI'S *Biography of Brunelleschi*.
2. W. Douglas SIMPSON *Edzell Castle* revised by Richard FAWCETT (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1952/87) 13-19.
3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911 edition) vol.2, 795,98.
See also, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OUP, 1949) 110.
4. SIMPSON/FAWCETT (as n.2) 5-21, 13-19.
5. John ROWLANDS *Bosch* (Phaidon Press, London, 1975) 7 and Plate No. 14.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'I'
THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS

CHAPTER SIX, APPENDIX 'I'. THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS.

A) BURGH BY BURGH SURVEY.

The Scottish Craftsmen and Pageantry and Plays:

Data regarding their involvement as indicated by Seals of Cause and similar documents.

Note: Our concern is precisely as defined in the above title. We restrict ourselves in citing records to matters which have a bearing on pageantry and plays. Seals of Cause and other official documents intended to regulate the conduct of the crafts normally deal with only the regulation of the craft's day to day working activities, and with its obligation to maintain its altar and chaplain. Such documents normally make no reference to pageantry, plays, or the important matter of precedence in relation to the place a craft was to occupy in the public processions where such references occur these are quoted. Details of a Craft's participation in the pageant processions will be found in Volume One, Chapter Six.

1) Aberdeen:

Introduction: at the time that concerns us the crafts of Aberdeen were divided into seven separate guilds: Hammermen, Baxters, Wrights and Coopers, Tailors, Cordiners (or, Cordwainers, Shoemakers). Websters (or, Wobstaris, Weavers), and Fleshers (or, Butchers). These seven guilds, however, embraced a number of other crafts. At one time the Hammermen included Cutlers, Pewterers, Glovers (Skinners), Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Gunsmiths, Saddlers, Armourers, Hookmakers, Glaziers, Watchmakers, White-ironsmiths, to whom were added presumably rather later, the Engineers. At one time the Wrights and Coopers embraced the Cabinetmakers and Wheelwrights, and the Tailors embraced the Upholsterers.

In addition to these seven incorporated guilds there were separate societies formed by the Litsters (or, Listers, Dyers), the Masons and the Barbers.¹

Seals of Cause etc.:

- i) Baxters: first recognised as a corporate body in 1398. Records show that in 1458 eleven baxters operated with the sanction of the Council. The date of the earliest Seal of Cause is unknown. One was granted 25 April 1534.²
- ii) Cordiners: certain powers were first conferred on the craft by an Act of 1424. A burgh record of 27 May 1484 records the dissatisfaction of the Council with the Cordiners and the putting down of their Deacon with the annulment of all the powers conferred in 1424. On 31 September 1495 some new regulations were made by the Council for the Cordiner Craft which anticipated the more detailed ones contained in a Seal of Cause granted on 13 June 1520, the provisions of which included support for the guild altar of SS Crispin and Crispian (i.e. St Crispinian). No mention is made of the yearly offering of one pound of wax by masters. In 1523 the craft applied to the Cordiners of Edinburgh for a copy of their regulations and these were supplied under date 10 June 1523. It is annexed to a copy of the Grant of 1520.

In 1495 the Cordiners founded their altar of SS Crispin and Crispinian in the Parish Church of St Nicholas.³
- iii) Fleshers: this craft first received recognition by the Burgh Council by an act of June 1444. A Seal of Cause was granted them on 25 April 1534. Bain reproduces this in full.⁴
- iv) Hammermen: two Seals of Cause were granted to this craft, one dated, 17 September 1519, the other, 6 February 1532/3. Bain gives the text of both in full. Included in their annual dues was a levy on each master of one pound of wax. They were also required to make a weekly offering of one penny to their patron St Eloi. The offering of wax was probably made at the annual Candlemas Offerand.⁵
- v) Masons: this craft is coupled with the coopers and wrights in a Seal of Cause granted on 5 August 1527. On 6 May 1541 the privileges of 1527 are confirmed, and now the Masons are coupled with other crafts as follows: '... wrichts, messownis, cowpers, carvers, and painters...'. Both Seals of Cause make the Crafts named responsible for the maintenance of the Altar of St John and its appurtenances in the Burgh Church of St Nicholas.⁶

Bain gives copies of the above documents. He also makes mention of a Seal of Cause of 1532, but gives no details or references for it.

Beyond being coupled with them in the same Seals of Cause the Masons never became part of the other crafts named. Included in the levies detailed in 1527 each master is required to give annually a candle of one pound weight as follows:

... quhilk maisteris and ilk ane of thame sall yeirlie decoir the said patroun with a honest candill of a lib. of wax,...⁷

- vi) Tailors: this craft first received the recognition of the Council 16 February 1511/12. Its first Seal of Cause was granted 9 June 1533, on the same terms as that granted the Smiths (i.e. Hammermen), which obliged it among other things to ensure that each Master made an annual Offering of one pound wax, as in the case also of the Masons and others, presumably in the form of an 'honest candill' to 'decoir' their patron.

The Tailors' patron saint is not named in their Seal of Cause.⁸

- vii) Weavers: in 1444 Robert of Petit and William Hart were sworn in as Deacons of this craft. It was officially recognised by the Council in 1449, and this was renewed in 1533, and 1536. They appear not to have sought a Seal of Cause.⁹

- viii) Wrights: (and Carvers, Coopers, Slaters and Painters).
(See, vi, above re Offerings of wax.)

Craft Precedence, shown in descending order.

For the Procession of the Candlemas Offerand, 1442:

Listers.
Smiths (i.e. Hammermen).
Tailors.
Skinners.
Websters.
Cordiners.
Fleshers.
Baxters.¹⁰

For Candlemas 1505/6:

Hammermen, including Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths.
 Tailors.
 Websters.
 Listers.
 Walkers.
 Hat and Bonnet-makers.
 Wrights.
 Coopers.
 Skinners.
 Cordiners.
 Baxters.
 Barbers.
 Fleshers.¹¹

For Candlemas and Corpus Christi, 1531, based on an Order of
 Precedence obtained from Edinburgh:

All Hammermen.
 Baxters.
 Websters and Walkers.
 Tailors.
 Cordiners.
 Skinners and Furriers.
 Barbers.
 Fleshers.¹²

2) Ayr:

It was not uncommon for crafts to hold their Masses at an altar whose dedication was different to that of their particular patron saint. It seems that at Ayr there was an altar for their use dedicated to 'God', the Virgin Mary, and All Saints, to St Anne, and St Eloi, and other saints, the patrons of their respective trades. The upholding of their altar was confirmed by James V in 1532. We have no information on the constitutions of the Ayr craftsmen.¹³

3) Dundee:

- i) Baxters: Maxwell tells us that the Baxters founded and endowed St Cuthbert's altar in St Mary's the Burgh Church, at an early time. It is a common error to transcribe the Baxters' patron saint as done here. The Baxters' patron in the West was St Obert, as we find in a number of places in Scotland, for example, Perth. An altar of St Towburt appears in an inventory of altar furnishings made in 1454. A deed of 1486 details items purchased by the Baxter Craft for use at this altar.¹⁴

About 1521-3 there were as many as fifty Master Baxters within the burgh. Items concerning individual baxter apprentices occur in the burgh records in 1524 and 1534.

There is no surviving record of a Seal of Cause for this craft. Its Locked Book commences 23 November 1554. In that year and in 1555 its Chaplain was 'Schir Thomas Wedderburne'.¹⁵

- ii) Bonnet (or Hat-) makers: The craft's original Seal of Cause has been lost. There is a mention of the craft in the Burgh records in the year 1521. Its earliest surviving Locked Book commences in 1567.¹⁶
- iii) Cordiners: These were protected in the exercise of their craft by a charter from the Burgh Council granted in 1522. Their earliest surviving record is a Locked Book in which the entries commence in 1560.¹⁷
- iv) Dyers, including Fullers or Walkers, with the Listers: According to Warden these crafts originally consisted of two distinct and separate bodies. The history of the Listers prior to their union with the Walkers in 1693 is almost unknown. As two separate bodies they were, a) the Dyers, and b) the Fullers, etc. There are a number of references to individual Fullers in the burgh records between 1520 and 1560.¹⁸

A charter by King James V of 26 March 1527 ratified 'verbatim' a charter by William Doig in favour of John Thomson, Deacon of the Walker Craft. Dated 12 September 1525 it set out the craft's responsibilities in regard to its altar as follows:

...to the honour and loving of God Almyctie, and of the glorious ladye the Virgyne Mary, and of Sanct Mark, oure patrone, and of halikirk, and to the reparatioun of ane Altar to be biggit and reparalit befoir the pillar now foundit nixt befoir Sanct Michaelis Altar, be west the said Altair, and for the uphald of Goddis

seruice dailie to be done at the said Altar, and the honest sustentatioun of ane Chaplane dailie to sing and say at the said Altair. The quhilk Chaplane sal cum to the festuale seruice of the Kirk and queir of Dundee in ganand habeit, as vther Craftis Chaplanis dois, and that Chaplane, yeirlie to be feit be ws and remouit be ws...¹⁹

The charter also contains clauses regarding dues to be paid in the form of money and in the form of wax, also of fines to be paid in wax to Our Lady's or St Mark's altars.

The oldest document belonging to the Walker Craft is a charter dated 27 January 1514, and there is an Instrument Sasine in favour of Sir Finlay Young, Chaplain of the Altar of St Mark, dated, 12 September 1525, the same date as the Charter of 1525 referred to above. The witnesses were Sir Andrew Mill, Sir Thomas Wedderburn, Sir Ptk. Fleming, Sir Andw. Kincraig, Chaplains, with several others, and also Patk. Barrie, Notary.²⁰

- v) Fleshers: The original Locked Book and Seal of Cause have both been lost, as also a Charter of Incorporation. The craft's oldest surviving document is a book of accounts commencing 1713/14.²¹
 - vi) Hammermen: A membership roll of 1587 shows that its membership was made up of: Smiths, Lockmakers, Swordslippers, Guardmakers, Cutlers, Gunmakers, Goldsmiths, Pewterers, and Lorimers.²²
- The Craft's only surviving document is a Locked Book commencing 1567.
- vii) Skinners: Their earliest Seal of Cause is dated 12 January 1516, and their patron saint was Saint Martin. Their Masses were celebrated at St Duthac's Altar.²³
 - viii) Tailors: An entry in the burgh records dated 29 January 1522/3, regarding a dispute about the Craft's privileges shows they already had the official recognition of the Council. Their earliest surviving record is a Locked Book commencing in 1567.²⁴
 - ix) Weavers: The Craft's earliest Seal of Cause may be that dated 1 April 1512, but burgh records show that the Weavers existed as a corporate body in 1492, the year in which they announced their intention to found an altar in honour of their patron, 'Sanct Severyne', which appears in the Seal of Cause as, Sanct Soueryne'.²⁵

Four Locked Books have survived, the oldest commencing in 1557.

Listers, Maltmen, Coopers, Masons, Wrights and Slaters: Barbers and Wig-makers: These crafts were all created pendicles of the Guildry (i.e. Guild Merchant). Each existed as a distinct craft long before being formally constituted into fraternities by the fiat of the magistrates. Only then were they legally authorised to perform the functions and enjoy the liberties, privileges and immunities of craftsmen. The Masons, Wrights and Slaters were not incorporated until 1741. The Listers, however, were united with the Walkers in 1693.²⁶

Craft Precedence: Warden gives details of this for Dundee as follows: Skinners - third; Tailors - fourth; Bonnet-makers - fifth; Fleshers - sixth; Dyers - ninth. Hammermen were normally first in the order of precedence. We are unable to give the order for the Baxters, Cordiners and Weavers at Dundee.²⁷

4) Edinburgh.

- i) Barbers: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause, 1 July 1505, which contains provisions commonly met with in these documents, such as for the collection of the quarterly dues and 'ouklike pennies'.

The following is an extract from this document:

... and that we haif power to cheise ane Chaiplane till do devyne sevice daylie at our said alter at all tymes quhen the samyn sall vaik, and till cheis ane officiar till pas with ws for ingathering of oure quarter payment and ouklike pennies, and to pas befoir ws on Corpus

Christy and the octauis thairof, and all vther generall
processionis and gatheringis, siclike as utheris craftis
hes within this burgh;...²⁸

- ii) Baxters: The Craft founded an altar dedicated to their patron saint, St Ubert, in St Giles Church, in 1450/51, the same year as the Skinners and Tanners founded an altar in honour of their patron, St Christopher.²⁹

The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause, 13 September 1456, and again, 20 March 1522/3, where their patron is shown as St Ubert (or St Obert).³⁰

- iii) Bonnet (or Hat) - makers: A Seal of Cause was granted the Craft, 18 February 1473/4. A further Seal of Cause was granted, 31 March 1530, to cover not only the Bonnet-makers, but also the 'Walkaris and Scheraris'. The patron saint of the Bonnet-makers' altar was St Mark.³¹
- iv) Candle-makers: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause, 5 September 1517. The Craft is to maintain the altar of Our Lady in St Giles until they obtain an altar of their own, all possible sites being already taken up. In 1522 they were granted the altar of Our Lady of Pity.³²
- v) Coopers: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause, 6 August 1489.³³
- vi) Cordiners: The earliest known Seal of Cause was that granted to this craft in 1449. A further Seal of Cause was granted, 4 February 1509/10. It is solely concerned with the proper maintenance of the Craft's altar of SS Crispin and Crispinian in St Giles:

...Consonant to honour and policy accordinge to the use
and consuetudes of gret townis of honour in vtheris
realms and provincis...³⁴

A further Seal of Cause was granted to the Craft, 6 December 1513. Others followed, 17 September 1533 and 22 September 1536.³⁵

- vii) Fleishers: A Seal of Cause was granted to this craft, 11 April 1488.³⁶
- viii) Hammermen: The altar of St Eloi, the Craft's patron saint, had been founded in St Giles at an earlier date, but is first mentioned in a Deed of Augmentation in 1477. In 1496 the Craft was granted the use of the Chapel of St Eloi.

The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause, 2 May 1483. It defines the society as consisting of

blacksmys, goldsmys, lorymeris, saidleris, cutlaris, buclar makaris, armorieris, and all vtheris... (the latter probably include the 'pewtereis': see, Smith, ed. *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church.*)

Another Seal of Cause was granted in 1496.³⁷

According to Smith from 1524 up to 1541 the Hammermen had an interest in two other saints or altars, viz. Our Lady and St Luke. The first may have been Our Lady of Piety or Pity, and the second Sancti Crucis de Lucano.³⁸

In 1529 the Hammermen were joined with the Wrights and Masons for the purpose of the public processions, to provide a common pageant and share expenses.³⁹

The accounts of the Hammermen dating from 1494 have survived. Many extracts from these were published by John Smith in *The Hammermen of Edinburgh etc.*

- ix) Skinner and Tanners with the Furriers: The Skinner Craft were the first to found an altar in St Giles, the Altar of St Christopher, founded, 1450/51. They were granted a Seal of Cause on December 1474. A further Seal of Cause was granted, 22 August 1533.⁴⁰

Minute Books of the Skinners have survived for the period, 1549-1603. They were printed in vol. vi of the Old Edinburgh Club.

- x) Tailors: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause 26 August 1500, and another followed, 20 October 1531, and this year they were allotted the Altar of St Anne in St Giles.⁴¹
- xi) Walkers: A Seal of Cause was granted the Craft 20 August 1500, and yet another was granted 22 September 1520, ratifying a contract between the Walkers and Shearers, and the Bonnet-makers. The same year the group was granted the altar of St Mark in St Giles.⁴²
- xii) Websters: This Craft was granted a Seal of Cause, 31 January 1475/6. A Council Order of 15 May 1509 ordered the Walkers and Shearers to process with the Websters. The several crafts were still allowed to carry banners, but on these the arms of the Websters were to be dominant.

... and to be maid in this wys, that thair baneris of baith the saidis craftis be payntitt with the imigis figuris and armis of the webstaris and principalie becaus thai ar found the elder craft and first placit; and with the ymages figures and armys of the scheraris and walkeris quartenie rynnand togedder; and the armes of the

webstaris, viz. thair signe of the spule to be vpmaist in ilk baner; and ilk ane of thair craftis to haue thair bymarkis on thair awin bannaris that thai mak principale cost vpoun for the keepinge of the samyn...⁴³

A further Seal of Cause was granted to the Craft, 27 February 1520/21 on more or less the same lines as that granted in 1475/6.

The Order of 1509 was not liked by the participating parties and the Websters, Walkers, Shearers & Bonnet-makers brought their grievance before the Burgh Council, 19 May 1531 for its judgement in regard to various matters in dispute:

and in speciall anent the ordering of thame to pas in the processioun on Corpus Christi day and the octuais tharof, and all vthir generall processionis and gatheringis in all tymes tocum.⁴⁴

The Council ordained:

that the saidis dekin and brethir of the Wobstar craft sall ressaif and suffir the saidis dekin ouerman and brethir of the saisis Walkaris, Scheraris and Bonet-makaris to resort and pas with thame all togidder in ane place on Corpus Christi day and octuais tharof and in all vther generall processionis and gatheringis in alltymes tocum, without ony stop or impediment to be maid to thame tharintill, and als to spley and bere thar baneris ilkane with vtheris as the maner is in syk tymes, quhilk place and rowme salbe callit the Wobstaris place and rowme for euir, and the saidis Walkaris, Scheraris and Bonnetmakaris and the successouris to be with thame in bretherheid and bruke the said place of license and tollerance of the saidis brethir of Wobstaris and thare successouris in tymes tocum....⁴⁵

- xiii) Wrights and Masons: The Crafts were granted a Seal of Cause 15 October 1475. It included provision for them to be represented in public procession:

... Alsua the saides twa (i.e. crafts) sall caus and haue thair placis and rowmis in all generale processions lyk as thai haf in the towne of Bruges or Siclyk gud townes.⁴⁶

At the same time the two crafts were granted the use of the Chapel of St John the Baptist in St Giles. In 1529 the Wrights and Masons were formed into a co-partnership with the Hammermen for the purposes of the public processions, providing one pageant and sharing expenses.⁴⁷ A rough Minute Book and a few loose pages with sparse entries for the period 1547-54 has survived.

Consolidated List of Craft Altars in St Giles Church.

- 1) Barbers (including surgeons) - St Mungo.
- 2) Baxters - St Obert.
- 3) Bonnet Makers - St Mark.
- 4) Candle-makers -
Our Lady of Pity.
- 5) Coopers (shown with the Masons & Wrights)
St John the Baptist & St John the Evangelist.
- 6) Cordiners - SS Crispin & Crispinian.
- 7) Fleshers - St Hubert.
- 8) Hammermen - St Eloi.
- 9) Skinners and Tanners with the Furriers - St Christopher.
- 10) Tailors - St Anne.
- 11) Walkers & Shearers - SS Philip & James.
- 12) Websters - St Severiane.
- 13) Wrights and Masons with the Coopers - see 5) above.
- 14) Goldsmiths - Our Lady of Loreto.
- 15) Taverners & Vintners - St Anthony. 48

Precedence: In 1) Aberdeen, 11) Cordiners, above we refer to the application made by the Craft to the Cordiners of Edinburgh for a copy of their regulations which were duly supplied. In 1532 the Wrights and Masons of Haddington applied to Edinburgh for particulars of the Order of Procession observed in that city. They received replies from the Common Clerk and from the Crafts. The details given in the Clerk's reply may be summarised as follows:

- 1) All the Brethren of the Hammermen 'of all kynd of sortis' with the Masons, Wrights, Glaziers and Painters, who process 'all to gidder wyth thair bannaris nixt the sacrament....'.
- 2) The Baxters
- 3) Websters and Walkers together.
- 4) The Tailors.
- 5) The Cordiners.
- 6) The Skinners & Furriers.
- 7) The Barbers.
- 8) The Fleshers & Candle-makers.

The following is an extract from the reply of the Wrights and Masons: ⁴⁹

... the ordour & passag in the procession on corpus cristis day & octauis of the samyn & all other generall processionis amangis the saidis craftis wythin the said bruche is all to gidder wyth four baneris viz twa pertenyng to the said hamyrmen & otheris twa pertenyng to the said maissonis & Wrychtis equale befor the said craftismen And the said brether of craftismen pass thair eftir in otheris oixstaris as thai wor brether of ane craft And quhat expenss ar maid in the said processionis ar equale payit the tane half be the said hamyrmen the tother half be the maissonis & wrychtis.

The Burgh of the Canongate.

- i) Baxters: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause in 1536.
- ii) Cordiners: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause in 1538.
- iii) Hammermen: The Craft was granted a Seal of Cause in 1535/6.

It had an Altar of St Eloi in Holyrood Abbey.

A Canongate record of 22 May 1546 details a Bond of Mutual Support made by the incorporated trades of Hammermen, Baxters, Tailors and Cordiners. Each of the last mentioned crafts had an altar in Holyrood Abbey. ⁵⁰

5) Elgin:

The only information we have from this burgh concerning crafts comes from the burial ground to the south of the cathedral ruins. In a seventeenth and eighteenth century burial enclosure against the graveyard walls are numerous slabs and memorials to members of the Glovers' Guild showing their heraldic achievements, a cutter surmounted by St Crispin's crown and by the symbols of their trade, and the shears. ⁵¹

6) Glasgow:

We list below crafts in respect of which the only information we have is the date of a Seal of Cause.⁵²

- i) Barbers, c. 1559.
 - ii) Dyers & Bonnet-makers, c. 1597.
 - iii) Fleshers, c. 1580
 - iv) Gardeners, c. 1690.
- i) Baxters: Date of Seal of Cause unknown. The Craft had an altar of St Obert (normally but mistakenly cited as St Cuthbert) in the cathedral in pre-Reformation times.⁵³
 - ii) Coopers: A Seal of Cause was granted the Craft in c. 1569, but a Seal of Cause had been granted the Masons, Coopers, Slaters, Sawyers and Quarriers in 1551 in the same terms as one granted to the Hammermen in 1536. The altar of this group of trades was that of St Thomas the Martyr in Glasgow Cathedral, granted in 1551.⁵⁴
 - iii) Cordiners & Barkers: On 27 June 1460 Council approval was given to a document entitled 'Regulations By The Provost, Baillies, etc. of Glasgow In Favour of The Craftsmen of Cordiners and Barkers'. The earliest known Seal of Cause is that of 27 February 1558/9. They were granted the use of the altar of St Ninian in the Cathedral. Their patrons were the traditional ones for their craft, viz. SS. Crispin & Crispinian.⁵⁵
- This charter is fully discussed in Robert Lamond, *The Scottish Craft Guild as a Religious Fraternity*, *SHR*, vol. xvi, 191-211.
- iv) Hammermen: A Seal of Cause was granted on 11 October 1536, when membership was defined as consisting of Blacksmiths, Goldsmiths, Lorimers, Saddlers, Bucklemakers, Armourers and others. They were granted the altar of St Eloi, their patron saint.⁵⁶
 - v) Masons: Earliest date of official recognition said by Cruikshank Campbell to be c. 1057. See, ii) Coopers, above.⁵⁷
 - vi) Skinners & Furriers: A Seal of Cause was granted 28 May 1516. and they were given use of the cathedral Altar of St Mungo and as was customary, 'Each master to pay a penny weekly to the adornments of the altar and vestments of the priest'.⁵⁸
 - vii) Tailors: The earliest known Seal of Cause for this craft is dated 3 February 1546/7. They had the use of the Cathedral Altar of St Anne from at least 10 October 1527.⁵⁹

- viii) Websters: Their earliest known Seal of Cause is dated 4 June 1528, but a Minute Book of the Craft for the period 1611-83 under the date 8 February 1658 shows that the Websters Incorporation was already in existence in 1514.⁶⁰

7) Haddington:

There is not much information available regarding crafts of this burgh. From the Book of the Court of Counsale from June 1530 to April 1555 we learn the names of some of the Haddington crafts and of their mandate from the Burgh Council 'to play thir Pagenis':

28 May 1537. The qlk day The SYS wyt awiss of the bail-yes contenuis the crafts to play thir Pagenis qll Midsomerday. The qlk day. The Sys delyveris that the Baxters mawtmen fleschors smyts Barbers Tailycours Skynnaris Furiors Massonis wryts wobstaris Cordinaris and all other craftis sall playe thir pagenis and yeirly this yeir on midsomer daye.

14 June 1541. The qlk the bailyies chargit the Dekyns of the craftis of Haddington personally present to play thair padyanis this yeir as thai did afoir.⁶¹

See, 4) Edinburgh, Precedence, re. the application of Wrights and Masons of Haddington to their opposite numbers in Edinburgh.

8) Lanark:

The old craft records for this burgh have not survived, but it is thought that all the crafts may have been granted a Seal of Cause by the early sixteenth century. In 1570 at least seven crafts were well organized with their Deacons, Boxmasters (Treasurers), Clerks and Officers.

9) Peebles:

The existence of incorporated crafts cannot be substantiated from pre-Reformation documents. The following extracts from burgh records of 1561-62 indicate that prior to that date such crafts were active in this burgh in the same way as in other Scottish burghs:⁶³

2 March 1561/2: Johne Wilsone is electit dekyn to the wobstaris quhill Michaelmas nixtocum conforme to the ordour of vtheris burrowis...

5 October 1562: the quhilk day, William Recher stone wes creat dekyn of the wobstaris craft and wes sworne and maid his aitht as vse is...

There are subsequent mentions of the craft in the volume.

10) Perth.

According to certain documents in the Perth Burgh Archives in the period 1520-1547 the following were the crafts recognised by the burgh authorities:

Hammermen, Skinners; Baxters; Cordiners; Tailors; Wrights; Waukers; Weavers, and Fleshers.⁶⁴

- i) Cordiners: c. 1164 King Malcom IV made a grant to the Abbot of a Smith, a Skinner and a Shoemaker for the service of the Abbey with all the privileges such tradesmen enjoyed in the town of Perth.⁶⁵

On 19 July 1540 regulations regarding the relationship between Sadlers and Sowters (i.e. Cordiners) concluded thus:

And for mair securetie the haill Saidlairs for the tyme hes subscrivit this statute with thair hands on the pen, led be the notar underwriting.⁶⁶

See below: the Literacy of the Perth Craftsmen.

The only historic document of this craft to have survived is the

MS 'Cordinar Buik of Perth', which is incomplete and contains sparse entries from 1545.

ii) Fleshers: A record of 2 February 1503/4 shows that two Fleshers, John and David Rattray, endowed the altar of St Peter in the Parish Church of St John the Baptist.⁶⁷

iii) Hammermen: This Craft embraced the following:

Gold and Silversmiths, Potters, Blacksmiths, Saddlers, Armourers, Gunsmiths, and also workers in brass and pewter, White-ironsmiths, Clock-makers, Carriage-makers, Watch-makers and Bell-hangers.⁶⁸

On 30 April 1431 Andrew Lufe, goldsmith, burgess of Perth, granted certain tenements for the endowment of a chaplain to celebrate Mass at ~~this~~ ^{the} altar.⁶⁹

An entry in the Burgh Court Book of 7 January 1520/21 gives the names of Hammermen, Baxters, Malsters, and others who were that day admitted as Burgesses. Another entry of 12 March 1528/9 gives the names of a Goldsmith, a Maltman and a Skinner, admitted as Freemen.⁷⁰

See, i) Cordiners, above, 19 July 1540. Although a distinct craft, the Saddlers were included under the broad umbrella of the Hammermen.

On 15 September 1548 Andro Brydie appeared before the whole Craft in 'Sanct Annis Chapell' for non-payment of his 'net silver' (probably a levy for fishing rights) and was fined one stone of wax for 'Sanct Eloy', no doubt, to provide candles for use on the pricket stand before the image of the Craft's Patron Saint, St Eloi, and on the Altar of St Anne.⁷¹

The above illustrates the confusion that could arise when the altar or chapel granted for use by a craft does not bear the same name as its patron saint.

The accounts of this craft have survived for the period 1518-1568, and extracts from these have been published: see, Hunt, *The Hammermen Book of Perth*.

- iv) Skinner's: (Frequently referred to in local records as, 'Glovers'): see i) Cordiners, above, showing that a body of recognised Skinners already existed in Perth in 1164.

The Perth Museum and Art Gallery hold certain historic relics of the Perth Glovers. These include a silk banner and a St Bartholomew's Tawse, a leathern lash of several thongs, named after the patron saint of the Glovers, which features prominently in the Craft's records, as an instrument to punish apprentices. Because of the legend that he was flayed alive St Bartholomew was adopted by medieval leather workers as their patron saint. He is usually shown with a skinner's knife, and sometimes with his skin draped over his arm. The tawse does not give the impression of being of a great age. The banner may be from the early seventeenth century.⁷²

A relic in the possession of the Perth Glovers of special interest is a painting on wooden boards of the saint which could very well have stood behind the altar of the Craft in the Burgh Church of St John the Baptist.⁷³

The oldest surviving Minute Book of this craft commences in 1593.

- v) Tailors: The Book of the Incorporation of Tailors commences with the year 1530, but as indicated at the head of this Perth section they had already achieved the recognition of the Burgh Council by 1520. The Craft's accounts were kept in a separate volume which has been lost.

- vi) Walkers and Hat (Bonnet)-makers: At the head of this Perth section we showed that included in a list of officially

recognised crafts for the period 1520-1547, one entitled simply the 'Waukers'. Other records show that this craft included also the 'hatmakaris and bonatmakaris'.⁷⁴

On 30 July 1546 'Iohannes walcar alias hatmaker' was made a Burgess and a member of the Guild. For these privileges he was charged no fees in 'consideratioun of the surfat and gret expenss mayd be Iohne walcar alias hatmaker apone gemmys ferchis and clerk plays making and plaing in tymes bigane for our pleissur and tha hail communitie herof as is notourlie knawin/And is of gud mynd to continew and perseueir in the samyn in all tymes to cum...'⁷⁵

- vii) Wrights: On 14 June 1968 the Incorporation of Wrights of Perth handed over to the Perth Museum and Art Gallery for safe-keeping, a Processional Banner with the Craft's emblems painted on it, and also a Processional Iron Fan with emblems painted on both sides. As indicated above the Craft had achieved recognition by the authorities by 1520.⁷⁶

There survives a MS with some confused entries for the period 1519-1618, and a mutilated Minute Book with entries from c.1537 to 1641.

The membership of this craft was made up of

'Scrowgis (perhaps, parchment makers), bowris (perhaps bow-makers), cowparis and masons.'⁷⁷

8) The Literacy of the Perth Craftsmen.

The archives of the Perth Museum and Art Gallery contain a document which shows that while certain craftsmen were literate and could at least sign their name without help there were others who could only sign if their hand was guided, usually by a Notary. We now quote this document:

Commission to Patrick Murray and George Johnnessoun, bailies of Perth, to appear and represent the said burgh of Perth in the ensuing convention of Burghs; signed by the magistrates and inhabitants of Perth.

Dated at Perth: 11th January 1560/61.⁷⁸

We bailycis, Counsall, decanis of craftis and communitie of the burght of Perth undirwritin In absence of our provest Hes maid constitut and ordanit and be the tenour heirof makis constitutis and ordanis our welbelovittis Patrick Murray and george Johnesoun bailveis our commissionaris gevan grantand and committand to our saidis commissionaris conjunctlie for us and in our names our full plane powar express bidding mandment and charge for us and in our names to compeir befoir the nobilitie of our Souerane Ladeis Lordis of the Counsall at Edinburgh the fiftene day of Januar... (1560/61)... signed Patrick Justice, Patrick Inglis, tua of the counsall with our hands at the pen led be Allane Justice, notar; ita est Allanus Justice, notarius in premissis de mandato dictorum Patricii Justice et Patricii Inglis, manu sua: Jone Cok, James Andersone, James Gardin, Vylame Catro, Waltar Tournour, Andro Dog, Lorence Daweson, Rogeir Jonson, Ewne Ryns, Andro Stannus, Wm Mercheill; James Davidsone, dekin of hammirmen, wt. my hand; Williame Wentoun, decane of the skynnaris led be Allan Justice, notar; Archibald Olymphand, dachene of scrowgis bowris Wrachescowparis and massons wt my hand; Robert Pipar, dakyn of flescharis; Johne Rannaldsoun, decane of the cordinaris, led be Allane Justice, notar; Johne Conqueror, decane of the tailyeours, Mychell Ochiltree, decane of the walcaris, hatmakeris and bonatmakaris, led be Allane Justice, notar; Walter Pyper, Master of Vark; William Cok, Thomas Robertsone; Andro Trumpet; Andro Malcum; Androw Moncreif, wt. my hand; Johne Villson wt. my hand; Alexr. Peblis wt my hand; Androw Anderssone, wt. my hand; Johne Daveson wyt my hand; Dewyt Saddlar wt my hand; Dande Donaldsone wt my hand; Andro Small wyt my hand; Wyllam Jak wt my hand; Johne Tendell vt my hand; Thomas Ray vyt my hand; William Scrogis vt my hand; David Bylle...

There now follow two hundred and sixteen further names against which appears the note, 'with our handis at the pen led be Allane Justice, notar'. An entry in the M^S Hammermen Book under date, 23 May 1553⁷⁹ gives a list of players for the forthcoming play. There are some differences between the names in the cast and corresponding names in the document from which we have quoted, but it seems evident to us that every player named was illiterate in as much as the hand of each had to be guided when 'signing' by Allane Justice, Notary. This means that none of the players could have learned their parts for themselves from a play script. It is possible the lines were of

the simplest kind and that parts could have been painstakingly taught over a period of some weeks, or a prompter could have been employed on or near the stage. There is the further possibility that the performance was given with miming and gesture.⁸⁰

There follows a list of names of players in the play of 1553:

george allan - trinitie.
 Andro brydie - adam. dauid horne - eue
 patrik balmen - the mekle devill.
 Robert colbert - the serpent.
 Williame - the angell.
 Andro kelour - the litill angell.
 Williame kynloch - ane vther.
 Iohne allan - the devillis chepman.
 Iohne robertsoun - sanct eloy.
 Andro thorskaill - marmadin.
 Iohne rogie and thome pait to bear the banneris.

The above names appear in the document of 1560/61 exactly as shown except for the following which show differences which were commonly met at the time and can be ignored:

Hammermen Records.

Document of 1560/61.

patrik balmen	Patrick Bowmen.
Robert colbert	Robert Cowart.
Iohne allan	John Allane.
Andro thorskaill	Andro Forskaill
Iohne Rogie - may have been Johnne Ray.	

It is not possible to be definitive regarding 'Williame'. It is possible he was a Lorimer, whose name first appeared on a Hammermen membership list 14 October 1546, and who with David Horn was a compositor for 1551-52. There is only one Hammerman contemporary with him who bears the name 'William/e'. He was 'William Guffen/Giffen/Gevan'.

In 1555 'Williame Young' was elected to the Council of his Craft, and the following year was elected Deacon. In 1557 he was elected a Burgh Councillor. On 5 October 1559 he signed the accounts for 1558-59 with others, but 'with our handis on the pen, led by Johne Kynloch.⁸¹

ii) Stirling:

The old craft records for this burgh do not appear to have survived. A certain amount of information about them can, however, be gleaned from the burgh records.

The names of deacons of eight different crafts are known for 1521-24, but the names of their crafts do not appear with their names. Six deacons are named for 1529-30, but without names of crafts.

For 1545-46 names of deacons and their crafts are recorded as follows:

David graheme, dekin of smythis; Thomas Lokert, dekin of skynneris; Andro Neleson, dekin of cordenaris. 'The remanent dekennis chosin be the counsall, and haldin able to serve the touin, deprivand the ignorantis chosin be the craftis thairto:- Alexander Benne, elder, for wobstaris, Robert Lowdean for tailyouris, Thomas Michell for maltmen, Bris Duncansoun for flescouris'.

For 1549-50 names of deacons and their crafts are recorded as follows:

Johne Cowan, hammerman; Andro Neleson, baxter; Thomas Ker, skynner; andro Neleson, maltman; George Gardner, tailor; Walter Watsoun, cordiner; David Wrycht, webster; Robert Irrewin, flesher.

The above list includes two 'Andro Nelesons'

In 1554-55 there is a record of an election of deacons for the same eight crafts as detailed above. In 1555-56 the crafts were not allowed to elect their own deacons, and the Council appointed Visitors to act in their stead. This was in response to an act of parliament passed in June 1555. This may have been prompted by the illiteracy of the craftsmen. This was obviously a problem at Stirling in 1545-46: see above. The act of 1555 caused so much contention that the Queen repealed it, 16 April 1556, and in 1556-7 deacons were elected by each of the eight crafts mentioned above.⁸²

- i) Baxters: An entry in the burgh records of 20 January 1555/6 gives details of a baxter who for the future refused to be answerable to the Deacon of his craft, and wished to be answerable only to the Provost and bailies.⁸³
- ii) Fleshers: On 28 April 1522 the Council made certain regulations concerning the conduct of this craft.⁸⁴
- iii) Maltmen: 17 March 1521/2: Johen Hendersoun hails promosit to gife four schilling yeirly at twa termes Whitsonday and Mertimes be evinly porciounis, to the dekin of the maltmen that beis for tyme to the vphald of dyvyne service to be doun at the altar of Sanct Mathow fundit and situat within the parocht kirk of the said burgh.⁸⁵

C) THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF THE CRAFTS OF BRUGES.

A Flemish author (P. De Stoop) gives an order of precedence for Bruges as it applied in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as follows. We quote only the name of the principal craft, ignoring the names of the many associated crafts:⁸⁶ (*see page 501.*)

We refer now to 4) Edinburgh, xiii) Wrights and Masons, above. Further information shows that the injunction does not mean that the Wrights and Masons are to take the same relative position in the processions in Edinburgh as that craft did in Bruges, but merely that as the crafts of Bruges were under obligation to take part in the public processions so were they in Edinburgh. Scottish records show that it was the Burgh Council that decided these matters. Clearly in time an Order of Precedence grew up, which may have taken some account of the way they did things on the Continent, but which in the long run depended on the Burgh Council and the extent to which they could be pressured by crafts into making changes. Clearly in Bruges the leading processional position of the Weavers in relation to the other crafts was due to the pre-eminent position of the Weaver trade in the town.

The reference to Bruges in the Seal of Cause of of the Wrights and Masons of Edinburgh of 1475 referred to above shows that at least at that time the Edinburgh Authorities looked to Bruges as an exemplar in matters concerning crafts and this probably extended to public pageantry which some of the Merchant Burgesses may have witnessed personally.

Webster.
 Walkers, shearers and Dyers.
 Butchers.
 Wrights (this has many dependent crafts).
 Hammermen.
 Cordiners.
 Tailors.
 Baxters.

We have not been able to reconcile this exactly with Damhouder's very complete description of a sixteenth century Procession of the Holy Blood (see, Appendix 'A', Chapter Three). Craft groups and others before moving off are stationed, two groups at two different places on the Market Square, and others at the Burg. The most obvious thing, taking into account the local geography, would be for the crafts in the Market Place to move off first, but we are not informed which of the two groups were moved off first, and neither are we given an account of the order in which the crafts walk once they are walking one behind the other along the street. Damhouder does give a detailed order for the return journey, which he says is more or less the same order as that in which they went out, but not exactly the same.

We have 'juggled' with Damhouder's information in many different ways but cannot achieve the same order as De Stoop.

Neither can the list sent to Haddington from Edinburgh in 1532 be reconciled either with De Stoop's list or with the details in Damhouder's description. Two noticeable features on which De Stoop and Damhouder agree is in giving first precedence to the Weavers and placing the Hammermen somewhere in the middle of all the crafts. In ^{Edinburgh} ~~Bruges~~ the Fleshers were placed in the lowest grade.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'I'. THE SCOTTISH CRAFTS.

1. Ebenezer BAIN *Merchant and Craft Guilds: A History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades* (J. & P. Edmond and Spark, Aberdeen, 1887) 115.
2. William KENNEDY *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion to the End of the Year 1818; with an Account of the University of Old Aberdeen* (A. Brown and Co., Aberdeen, W. Blackwood, Edinburgh, and Longmans and Others, London, 1818, 2 vols.) vol.2, 245,6; BAIN, 216.
3. KENNEDY, vol.2, 249,50; BAIN, 265-8; Aberdeen Burgh Manuscript Council Register, vol.6, 848 (1484); vol.10, 264 (1520); vol.7, 663 (1495); with reference to 'yearly offering of one pound of wax by masters' see below, iv) Hammermen.
4. KENNEDY, vol.2, 250,1; MS Council Register, vol.10, 680 (1444); BAIN 306-08, text: 307,8.
5. BAIN, 198,9; KENNEDY, 236, 242-5; MS Council Register, vol.10, 112; vol.14, 109.
The Weekly Offering of One Penny by the Masters was the common custom of all the Crafts.
6. BAIN, 118, 236, 241. MS Council Register vol.16, 785 (1541); vol.12, 208 (1527). KENNEDY, vol.2, 247 (1527).
7. See above, iv) Hammermen.
8. KENNEDY, vol.2, 247,8; BAIN, 253,4. MS Aberdeen Council Register, vol. 4, 79 (1511/12); vol.14, 198 (1533).
9. BAIN, 292-304; KENNEDY, vol.2, 250; MS Council Register, vol.15, 235, 431 (1533 & 1536).
10. MS Council Register, vol.5, Part 2, 661.
11. " " " vol.8, 543.
12. " " " vol.13, 160.
13. James PATERSON *The Obit Book of the Church of St John the Baptist, Ayr, with a Translation and Historical Sketch, Illustrated and with Notes, etc.* (Thomas G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, and John Dick, Ayr, 1848) viii.
14. Alexander MAXWELL *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register with Additions from Contemporary Annals* (William Kidd, Dundee, and David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1884) 557, 30.
15. A.J. WARDEN *Burgh Laws of Dundee with the History, Statutes and Proceedings of the Guild Merchant and Fraternities of Craftsmen* (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1972) 326,32,33.
16. WARDEN, 444.

17. MAXWELL, 337.
18. " 328-33; WARDEN, 364, 552.
19. " 30; " 542.
20. WARDEN, 540.
21. " 464.
22. " 471; MAXWELL, 341, 2.
23. " 406, 7; " 29, 336.
24. " 421; " 335, 6.
25. " 503-6; " 27, 326.
26. " 572; " 339-41. On Listers see, iv) Dyers; re 1693 see WARDEN, 552.
27. " 406, 44, 64, 539.
28. *Extracts from the Records of The Burgh of Edinburgh* (SERS 1403-1589, 4 vols., 1869-82) vol.1, 1403-1528, 101-04.
29. J. Cameron LEES *St Giles, Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral* (W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London, 1889) 32.
30. John SMITH ed. *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church, Extracts of Hammermen Records, 1495-1588* (William Hay, Edinburgh, 1906) xi; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (see n.28) vol.2, 1528-1557, 214, 5.
31. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* vol.1, 26-8; vol.2, 22-4.
32. As n.31, vol.1, 170-2; David LAING ed. *The Collegiate Church of St Giles, Register of Charters : Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1859) 238.
33. *Edinburgh Burgh Records* (as n.28) vol 1, 57, 8.
34. " " " " " vol.1, 127-9; Harry LUMSDEN *A History of the Skinners, Furriers and Glovers of Glasgow* (John Wylie, Glasgow, 1837) 3; Cameron LEES, 78, gives the date as 15 February 1509/10.
35. *Edinburgh Burgh Records* (as n.28) vol.1, 145; vol.2, 64-6, 78-80.
36. " " " " " vol.1, 54-6.
37. SMITH (as n.30) xii, xiii, xv, xvi; Cameron LEES (as n.29) 58; *Edinburgh Burgh Records* (as n.28) vol.1, 47-9; SMITH (as n.30) x, 183, 4-7 and lxx.

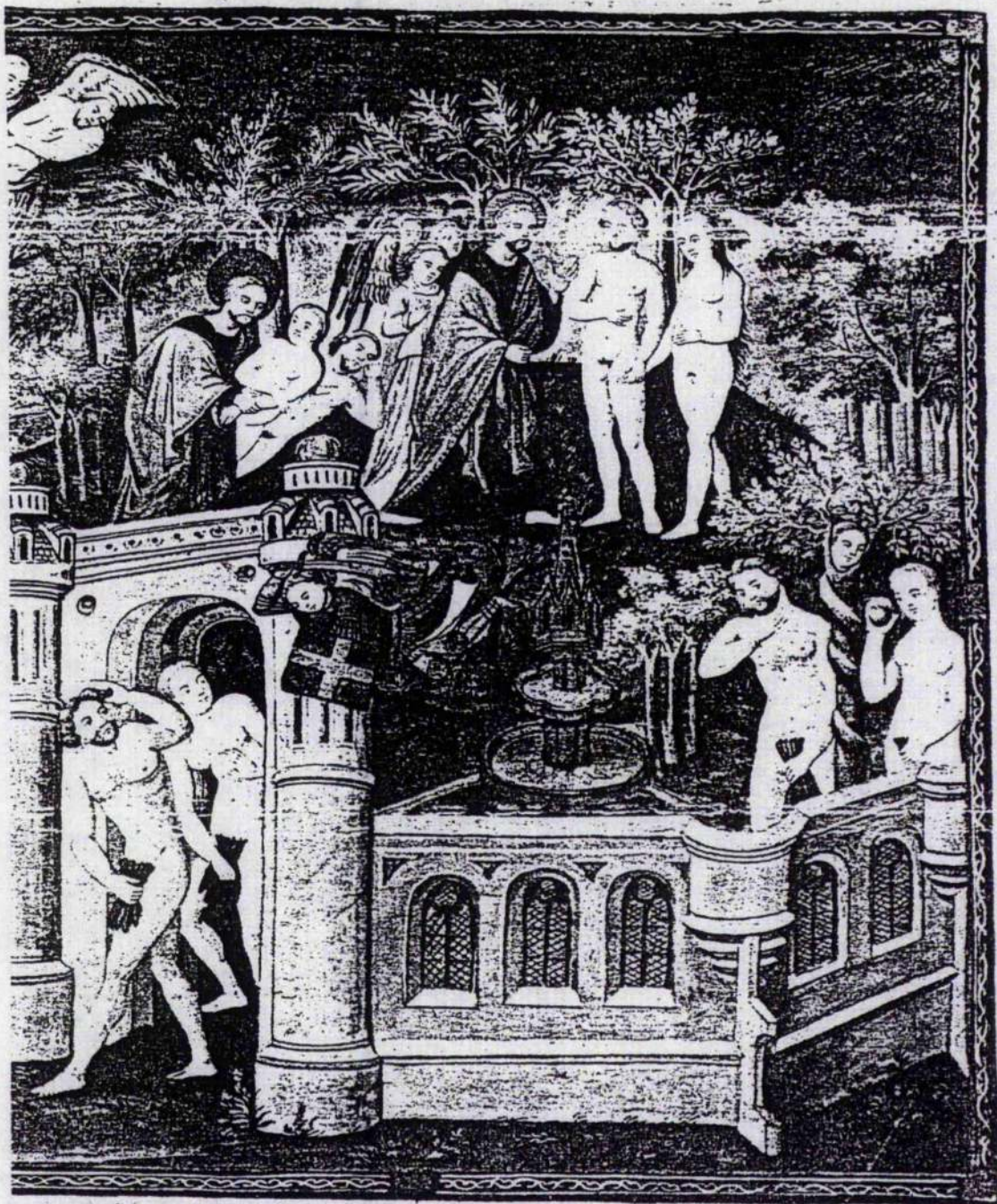
38. SMITH (as n.30) 131.
39. " " " lxx.
40. Cameron LEES (as n.29) 32; *Edinburgh Burgh Records* (as n.28) vol.1, 28-30, 61-4.
41. *Edinburgh Burgh Records* (as n.28) vol.1, 83,3; vol.2, 52-5; Cameron LEES (as n.29) 254.
42. " " " " " vol.1, 80,1, 198-201; Cameron LEES (as n.29) 80.
43. " " " " " vol.1, 33,4, 122.
44. " " " " " vol.1, 203,4.
45. " " " " " vol.2, 48.
46. " " " " " vol.1, 31,2;
James MARWICK *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts* (SBRs Edinburgh, 1909) 48,9.
47. Cameron LEES (as n.29) 57; LAING *Charters* (as in n.32) lxxviii; SMITH (as in n.30) lxx.
48. re 3) Bonnet Makers, see iii) Bonnet (or Hat) -makers, above; re 2) Baxters, shown by HAY (see below) as St Cuthbert, a common error in Scotland where the usual patron is St Obert; Candlemakers, see iv above; re Wrights & Masons with the Coopers, see xiii, above. For all other numbers see, George HAY 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh' *PSAS* vol.107 (1975-6, 242-60, 254.
49. Haddington Burgh Council MS Records, 4 June 1532. The reply of the Common Clerk of Edinburgh is dated 27 May 1532. That of the Wrights and Masons of Edinburgh is dated 26 May 1532. See Anna J. MILL *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Thesis of July 1924) 248,9; see above, 4) Edinburgh, xiii) Wrights and Masons.
50. SMITH (as in n.30) xvii, 187-9; Marguerite WOOD ed. *Book of Records of the Ancient Privileges the Canongate, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1955) 4 and Chart No. 39.
51. J.S. RICHARDSON and H.B. MACKINTOSH *The Cathedral Kirk of Moray, Elgin* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1950) 17,18.
52. William CAMPBELL *History of the Incorporation of Cordiners of Glasgow* (Robert Anderson, Glasgow, 1883) 11.
53. John DURKAN 'Notes on Glasgow Cathedral' *IR* 21, 1 (1970) 46-75, 55.

54. CAMPBELL (as n.52) 11; re Masons, etc. see, James MARWICK *Charters and Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow. A.D. 1175-1649, Part I* (Corporation of the City of Glasgow, 1897) 17. For full text of Seal of Cause, see, James CRUIKSHANK *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons and the Lodge of Glasgow St John* (William Ferguson, Glasgow, 1876) 3-6; see also, Robert RENWICK and Sir John LINDSAY *The History of Glasgow* (Macklehose and Co. and Jackson, Wylie and Co., Glasgow, 1921-34, 2 vols.) vol.1, 382; DURKAN (as n.53) 60; William CRAIG *The Cooper Craft: A Compilation of the Acts of Parliament, of the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer and of the Magistrates of Glasgow: from A.D. 1124 to A.D. 1707; Relating to the Laws, Regulations and Privileges of Burghs and Burgesses, the Guild, the Cooper Craft, and the Cooper Craft of Glasgow* (Charles Glass and Co., Glasgow, 1899) x, 145-7.
55. CAMPBELL (as n.54) 248-51; MARWICK (as in n.54) 18, 19, 249, 50.
56. MARWICK (as in n.54) 15; DURKAN (as in n.53) 61.
57. See above, ii) Coopers. See also, CRUIKSHANK (as in n.54) 3-6; CAMPBELL (as in n.52) 11, 50.
58. MARWICK (as in n.54) 12; DURKAN (as in n.53) 66, 7; H. LUMSDEN *A History of the Skinners, Furriers and Glovers of Glasgow* (John Wylie, Glasgow, 1837) 211.
59. MARWICK (as in n.54) 16, 17; DURKAN (as in n.53) 60; RENWICK etc. (as in n.54) vol.1, 349, 50.
60. MARWICK (as in n.54) 14; Robert D. McEWAN *Old Glasgow Weavers, Being Records of the Incorporation of Weavers* (Casons and Nicoll, Glasgow, 1905) 1, 2.
61. Thomas THOMSON 'A Description of the Oldest Council Books and Other Records of the Town of Haddington, with Copious Extracts' *PSAS* vol.2 (1859) 384-420, 398.
62. A.D. ROBERTSON *Lanark: The Burgh and Its Councils: 1469-1880* (Lanark Town Council, 1974) 68.
63. W. CHAMBERS *Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Peebles and Extracts from Records of the Burgh, A.D. 1165-1710* (SBSR Edinburgh, 1872) Part Second, 276, 85.
64. Perth Burgh MS Court Records MS 59/12/1, fol 43, 7 January 1520/21; MS 59/12/2.8. 1546 and 3 October 1547.
65. Robert LAMOND 'The Scottish Craft Guild as a Religious Fraternity' *SHR* vol.16 (1919) 199, quoting, *Liber Ecclesiae de Scone* Nos. 5 & 8.
66. Colin HUNT *The Hammermen Book of Perth, 1518-68* (The Craft, Perth, 1889) 42.

67. John LAWSON *The Book of Perth* (T.G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1847) 61.
68. HUNT (as n.66) xxiv.
69. LAWSON (as n.67) 61.
70. Perth Burgh MS Court Book, fols 43 and 63.
71. LAWSON (as in n.67) 69.
72. Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Archives Catalogue No. 1, Bundle No. 37 - letter of 7 September 1936.
73. David McROBERTS 'A Sixteenth Century Picture of St Bartholomew from Perth' *IR* 10, 2 (1959) 281-6.
See reproduction of painting facing page 275.
74. Perth Museum and Art Gallery *Original Papers and Letters concerning the Disputes at Various Times between the Trades and the Merchants of Perth, 1356-1717* bound together to form MS 2/1.
75. Perth MS Guild Book, 231.
76. Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Archives Catalogue No. 1, Bundle No. 37.
77. As n.74.
78. As n.74 - the document being considered here is No. 23A.
79. MS Hammermen Book, fol 29.
80. Philip BUTTERWORTH 'Book Carriers: Medieval and Tudor Staging Conventions' *Theatre Note Book* 46, 1 (1992) 15-30; Richard CAREW (1555-1620) *Survey of Cornwall* ((Simon and Stafford, London, for John Jaggard, 1602, reprinted 1769, 1811) 71-2; Edmund K. CHAMBERS *The Mediaeval Stage* (OUP, 1903, 2 vols.) vol.2, 140.
81. As n.79, fol 29; HUNT (as n.66) 57, 72,8, 81,2, 84-6, 92.
82. R. RENWICK ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1519-1666; with an Appendix, 1295-1666* (The Glasgow and Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society, 1887) 274-9.
83. As n.82, 66.
84. " " 15.
85. " " " .
86. P. de STOOP 'Particularités sur les Corporations et Métiers de Bruges' *Annales de la Société d'Émulations de Bruges, etc.* (Series Two, vol.1, 1843) 133-66, 135-48, including two page Plate of La Chapelle des Maçons à Bruges.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'J' ILLUSTRATIONS



eue premier chapitre commençant en latin eduardum nostrorum. et cetera.
 onsidere et pense en
 anieres les ploura
 rtez de noz predeces
 Le fin que du grant nom
 lare se arresterent deuant moy si tres
 eagiez et si ancians quil sembloit que
 ilz ne pussent trahiner les membres
 tremblans. Et l'un de ces deux vieillan



A York Psalter of c.1175. MS Hunter 229, Glasgow University Library, f.2r.

The Creation of Adam.

Eve encouraged by the serpent
tempting Adam.



Same MS, f.8r.

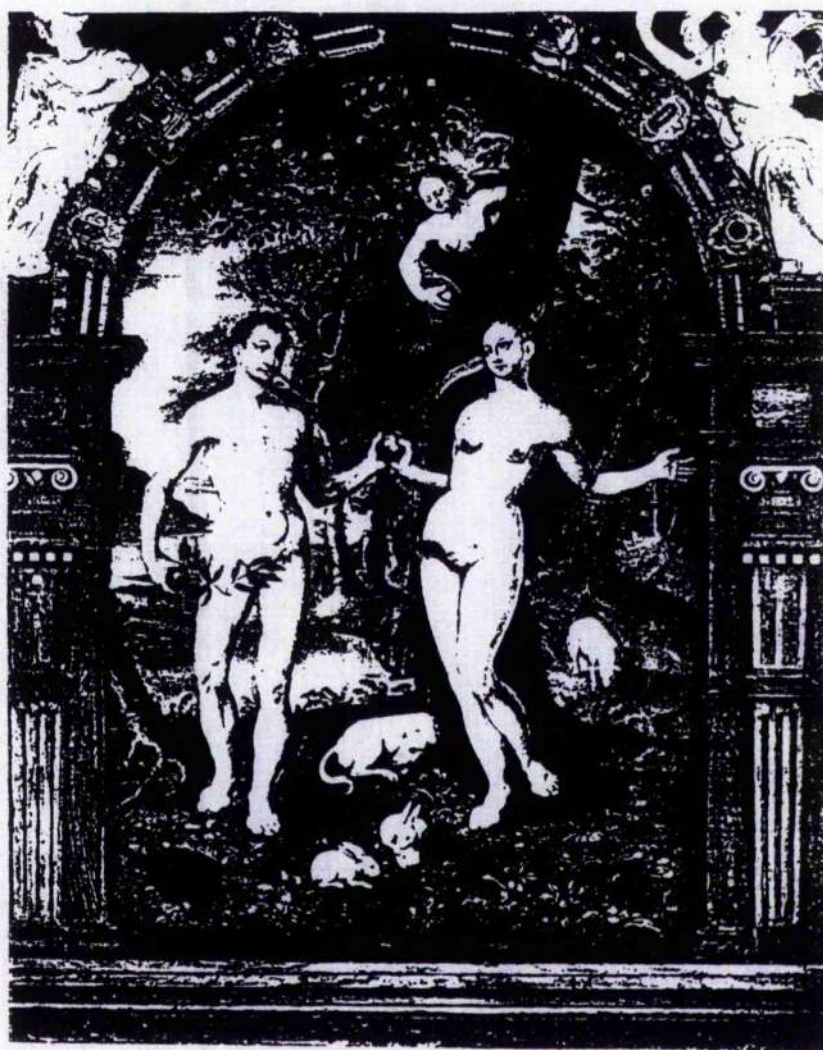
The Expulsion of Adam and Eve
from the Earthly Paradise.

Eve at the distaff,
Adam digging the soil.





Paradise on Earth, copy of miniature (in colour) showing God telling Adam and Eve they may live off the fruits of the garden but not of the tree in the middle of the garden; the Human-headed serpent. a female, telling Eve it is in order to eat from that tree and passing her fruit; Eve tempting Adam with one of the fruits. From: Les Très Riches Heures Du Duc De Berry, 15th Century Manuscript, Texts by Edmond Pognon, Chief Curator, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Productions Liber SA, and Éditions Minerva SA, Fribourg-Genève, 1979/83. See pp.48,9.



The Temptation and Fall from a panel in the Choir of the Aegidienkirche, Lübeck, the work of Meister Tönnies Evers the Younger, 1586/7.



The Expulsion of Adam
and Eve from the
Earthly Paradise.

Adam working on the land
and Eve at the distaff.



noch tûn parrman sol sich in küniglich klei
der gûren; dîn em ighelich sol sich gebräuch
an in dîm küniglichen; doch lûte sich em in



Flemish, fifteenth century,
Adoration of the Shepherds,
National Gallery of Scotland.



Lorenzo Monaco, before 1372 - 1422/4,
Madonna and Child, c.1418-20,
National Gallery of Scotland.



The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, fifteenth century, Edinburgh University Library.

The Adoration of the Magi.

From the Murthly Book of Hours, Plate 20, page 26,

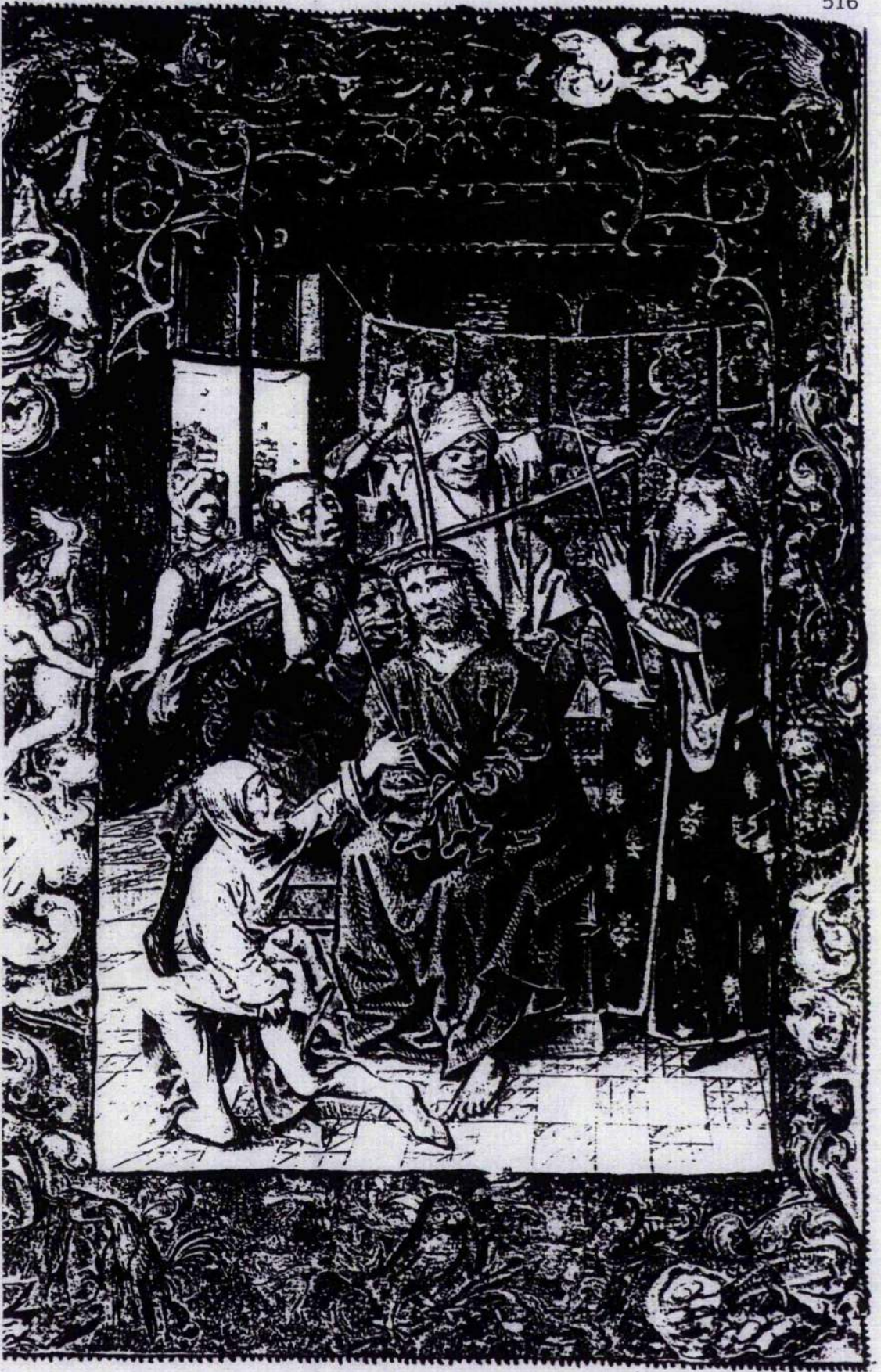
Adoration of the Magi, c.1300.



See: Rarer Gifts than Gold, Catalogue of Fourteenth Century Art In Scottish Collections, at the Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Pollok Country Park, Glasgow, organized by the Department of History of Art of the University of Glasgow, 28 April-26 June 1988.



THE PURIFICATION: copy of illuminated miniature from: *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, 15th century manuscript.



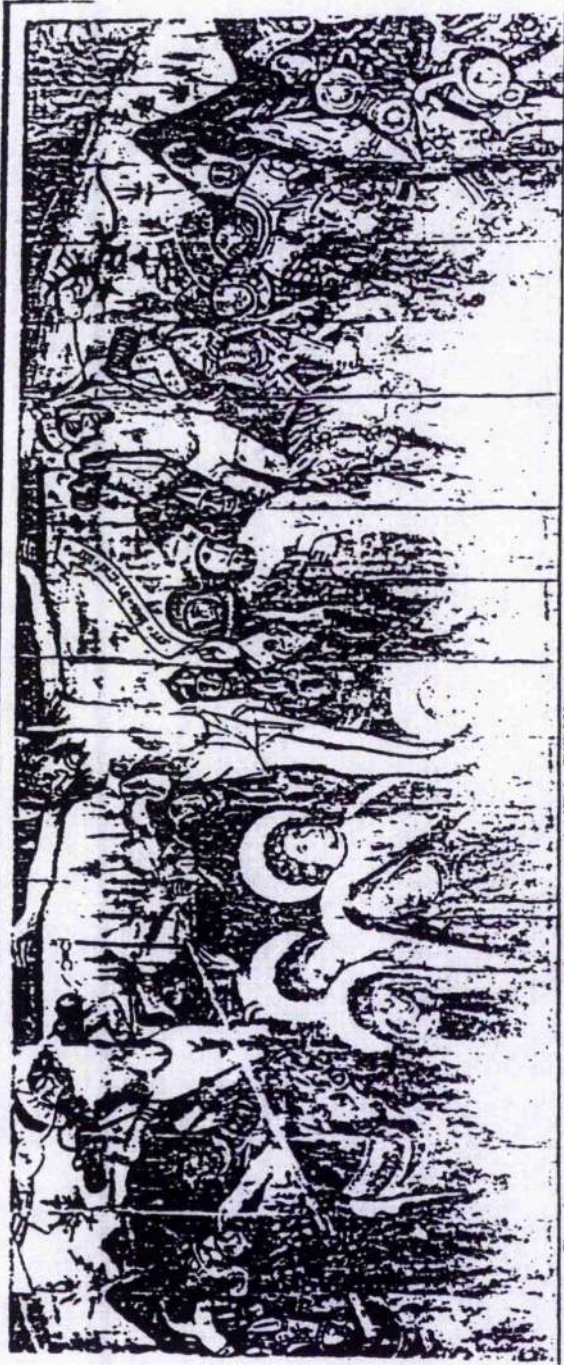
THE CROWNING WITH THORNS: copy of illuminated miniature from:
The Hours of Reynalt von Homoet, Use of Utrecht, 1475.



Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, het kruisbeeld van Eekhout, eikenhout, omstreeks 1250, detail.

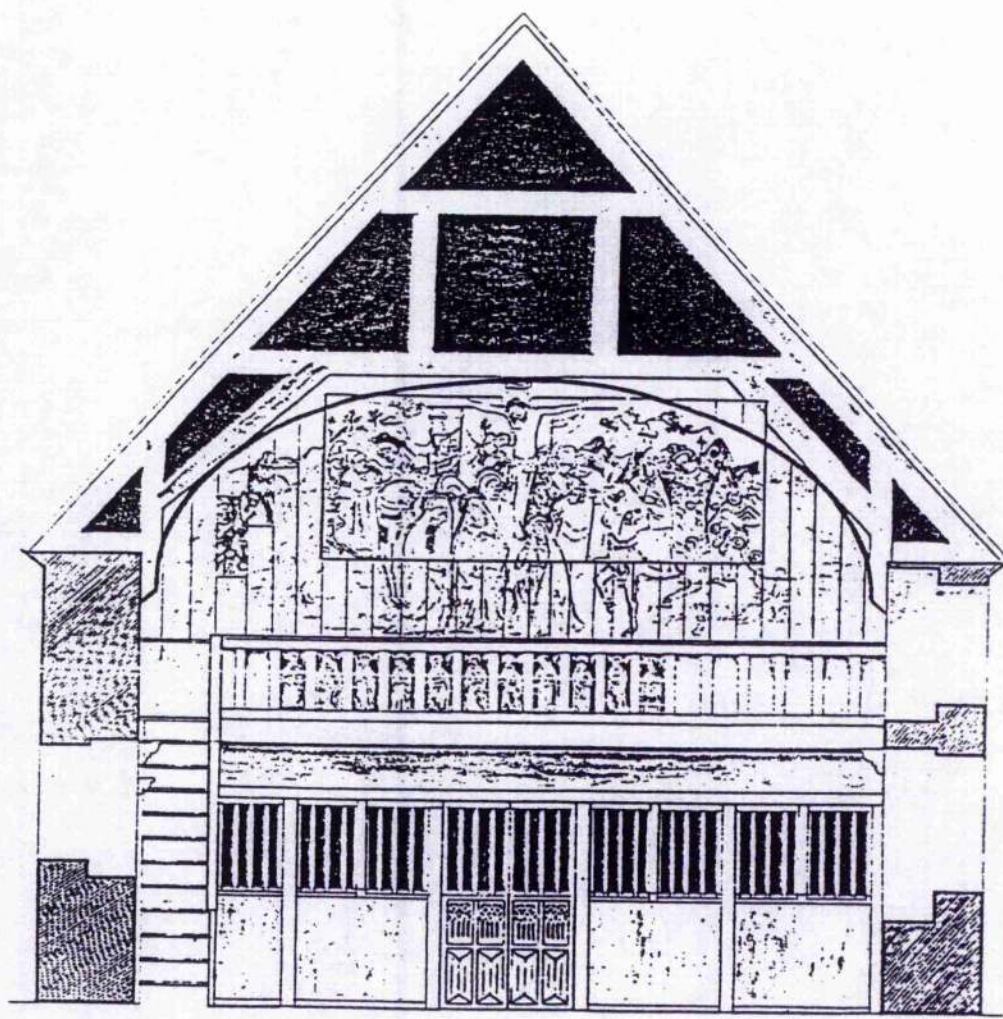
Here the crucified Christ appears to be wearing a skin such as worn by actors when on the cross.

See: Frans Vromman, ed. Kunstwerken in de Brugse Kerken en Kapellen, Westvlaamse Gidsenkring, v.z.w., Bruges, 1986, 22.



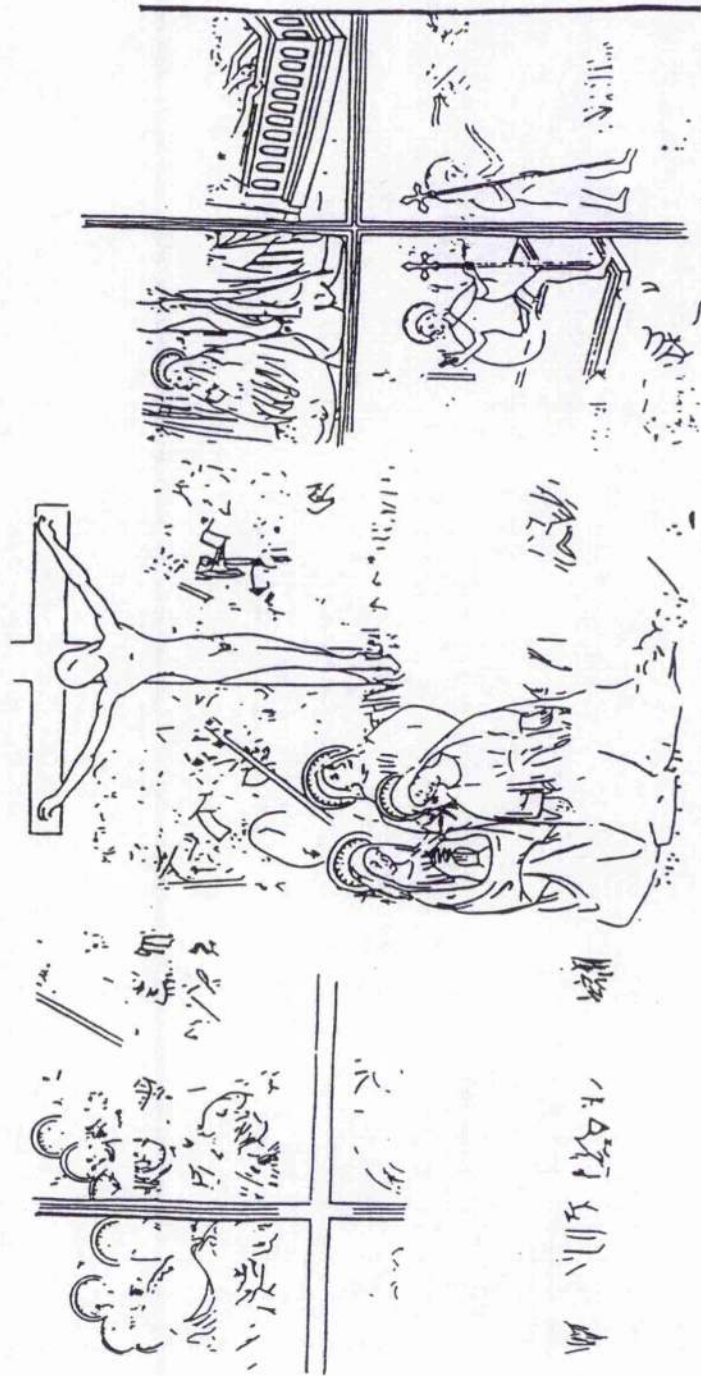
Fouli: the Crucifixion

See: Apted and Robertson, op. cit., *ibid.*



Church of Foulis Easter: reconstruction of Rood Loft and Screen

See: Apted and Robertson, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*



Guthrie Aisle: reconstruction of Crucifixion

See: W.R. Apted and W.Norman Robertson, 'Late Fifteenth Century Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter', PSAS, vol.xcv, 1961-2, 262-79.



Pietà-Oberammergau

in the Pfarrkirche of SS.Peter and Paul.

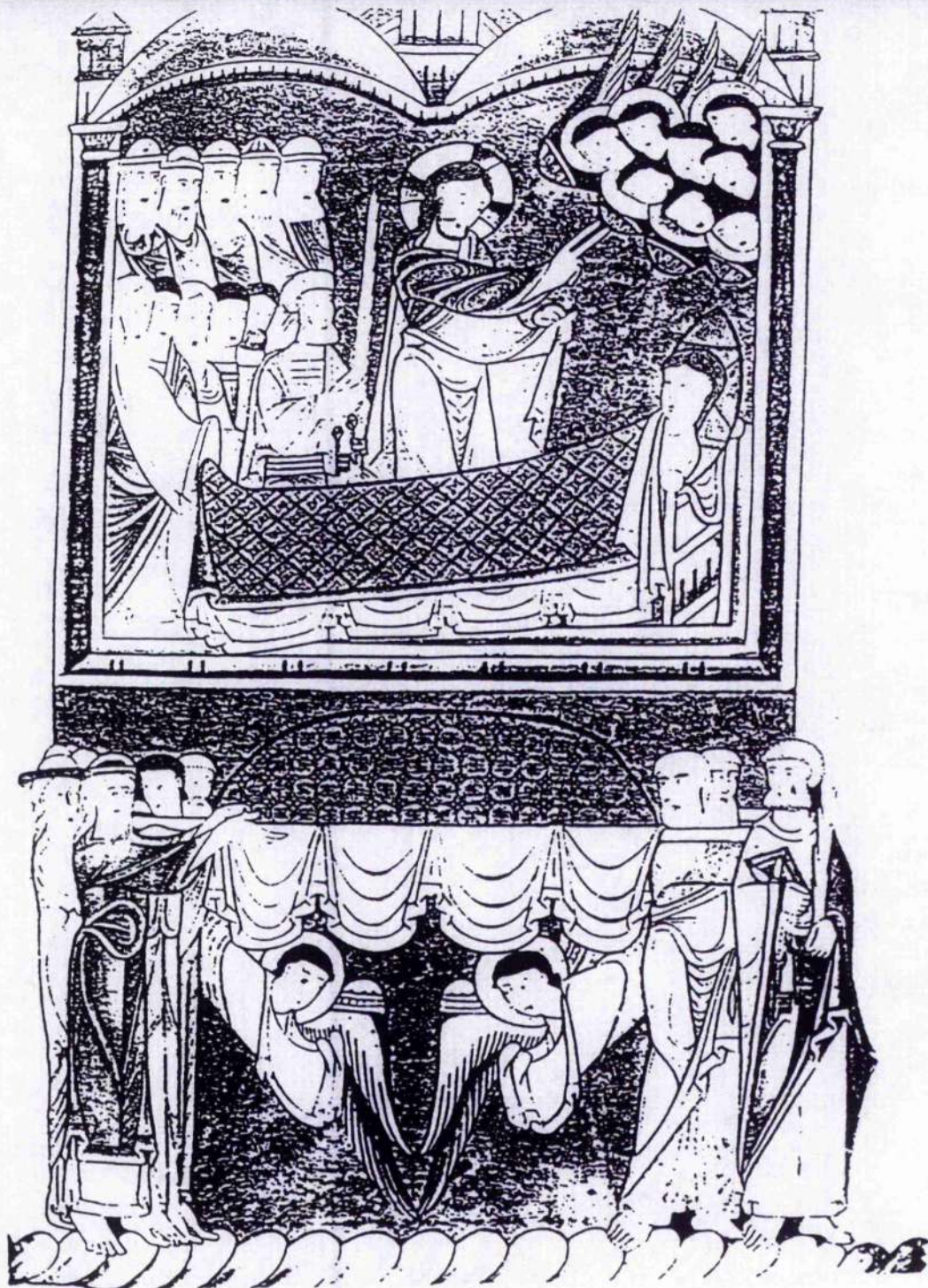


Fig. 1. Pietà from the Old Church of Banff.

See: Alex. Ramsay, 'Notice of a Pietà from the Old Church of Banff', PSAS, vol.xx, 356.

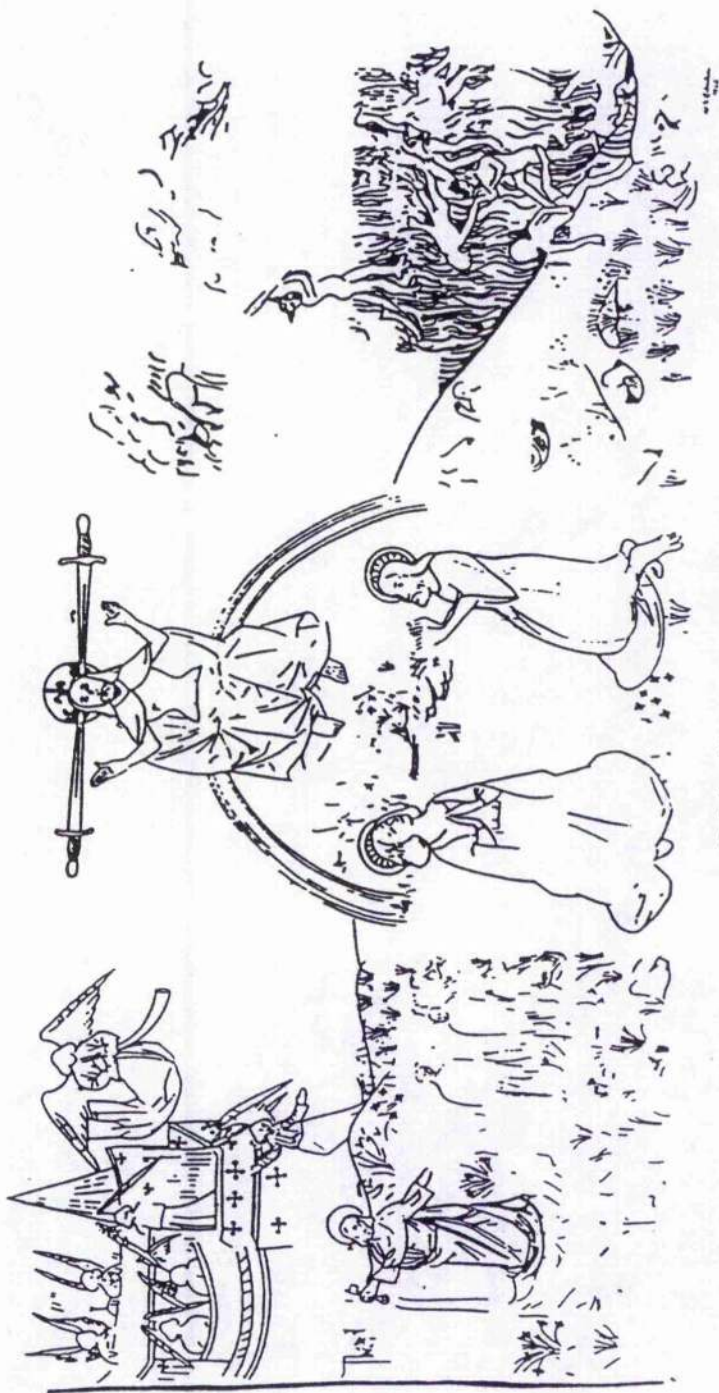


See: Scenes From The Life Of Christ
In English Manuscripts, Bodleian
 Picture Books, Bodleian Library,
 Oxford, ed. R.G. Chapman, OUP, 1951,
 Plate No.20, pp. 5 & 6. An illum-
 inated capital from the Abingdon
 Missal, 1461, depicting the
 Resurrection. Bodleian MS Digby,
 227, fol.13.



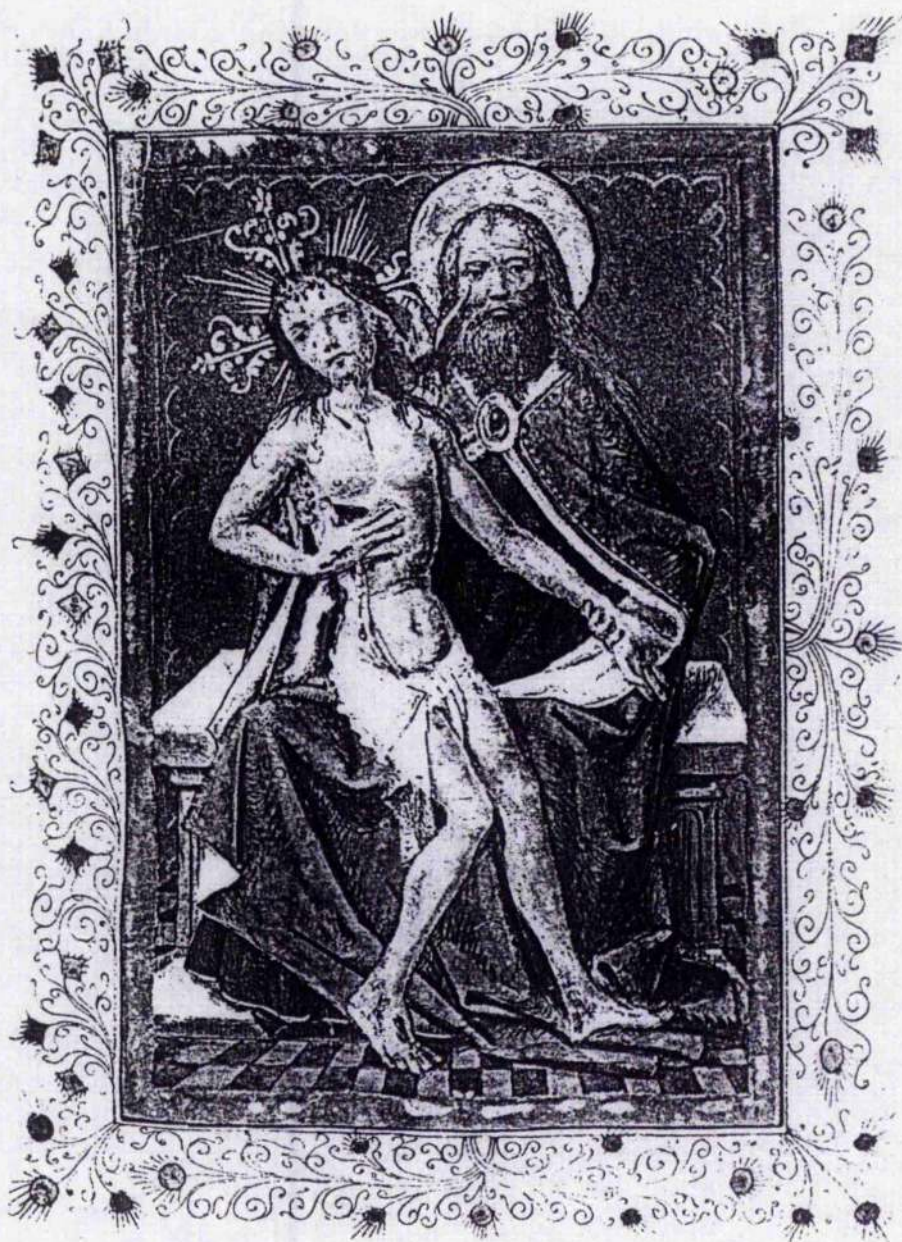
Glasgow University, Hunterian MS 229 (U.3.2.), fol.18r.
 The York Psalter, c.1175, Christ blessing the Virgin
 Mary on her death-bed; the Funeral of the Virgin Mary.

See: Trésors Des Bibliothèques D'Écosse,
 Catalogue de l'Exposition Organisée Sous Le Patronage De S. Exc.
 Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Du Royaume-Uni, Par La Bibliothèque Nationale
 D'Écosse Avec La Collaboration De l'Accord Culturel Anglo-Belge,
 Bibliothèque Albert 1er, Brussels, 1963, Item 6, pp.4,5,
 and Planche 2.



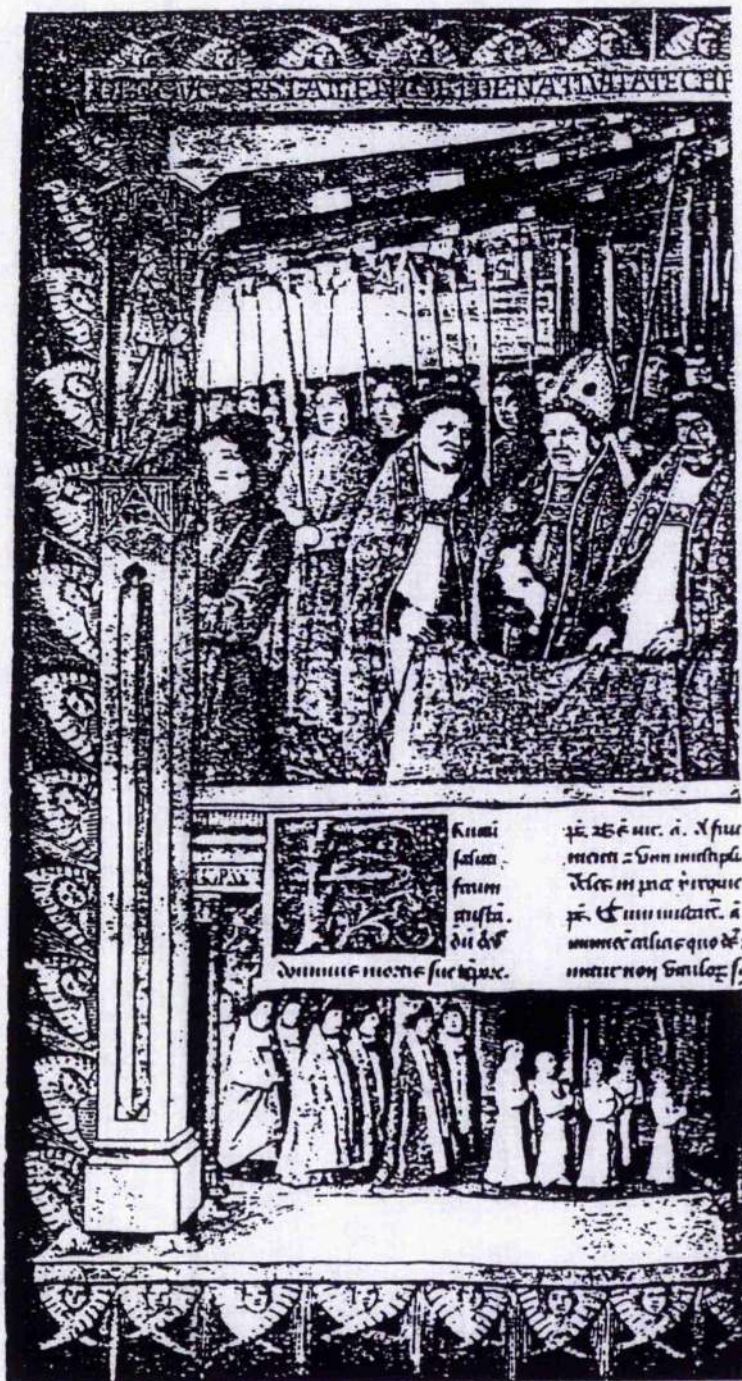
Guthrie Aisle: reconstruction of 'Doom'

See: Apted and Robertson, op. cit., ibid.



The Trinity. Missal, Northern Netherlands, c. 1460.
MS Euing 7, fol. 20. Cat. no. 122

See: THORP, *The Glory of the Page*, page 46.



Monypenny Breviary (c. 1525): Corpus Christi Procession, and another.

See: Albert Van De Put, 'The Monypenny Breviary' (early sixteenth cent.), PSAS, vol. lvi, 1921-2, 72-114.



St.Eloi.



St.Eloi.

See: Philip Nelson, 'Some Additional Specimens of English Alabaster Carvings', The Archaeological Journal, London, vol.lxxxiv, 2nd series, vol.xxxiv, March-December 1927, 114-124.



The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus.

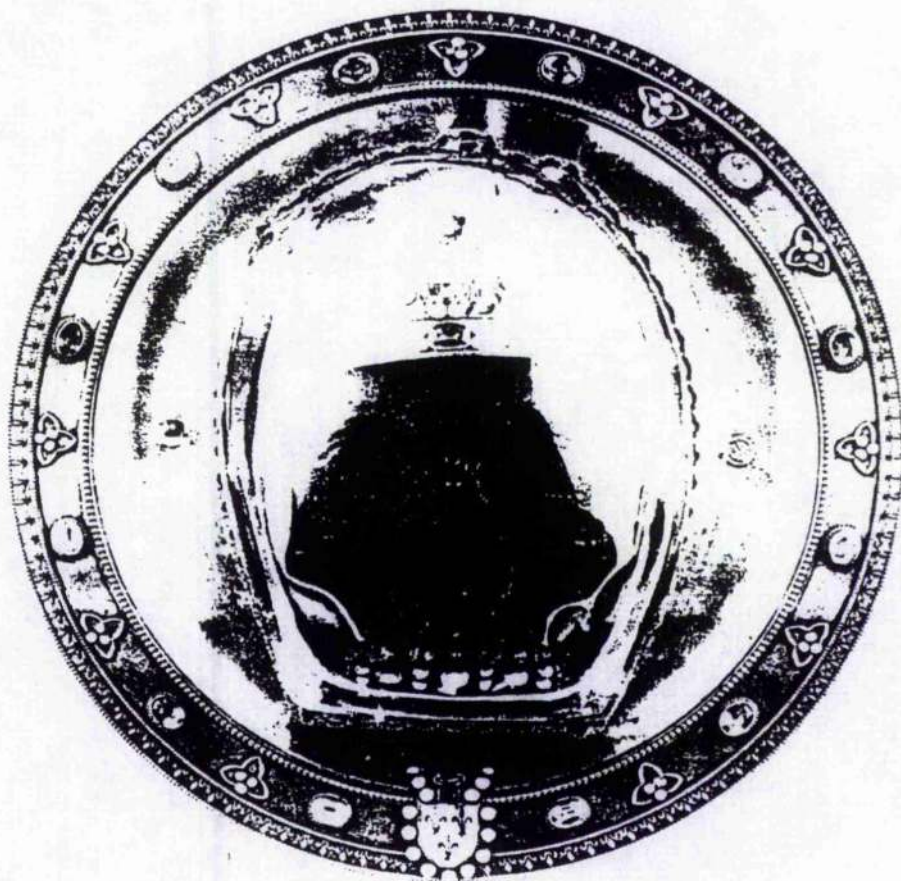


The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus.



The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus.

See: Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work, The Society of Antiquaries, London, 1913. Plates xiii, xv and xx.

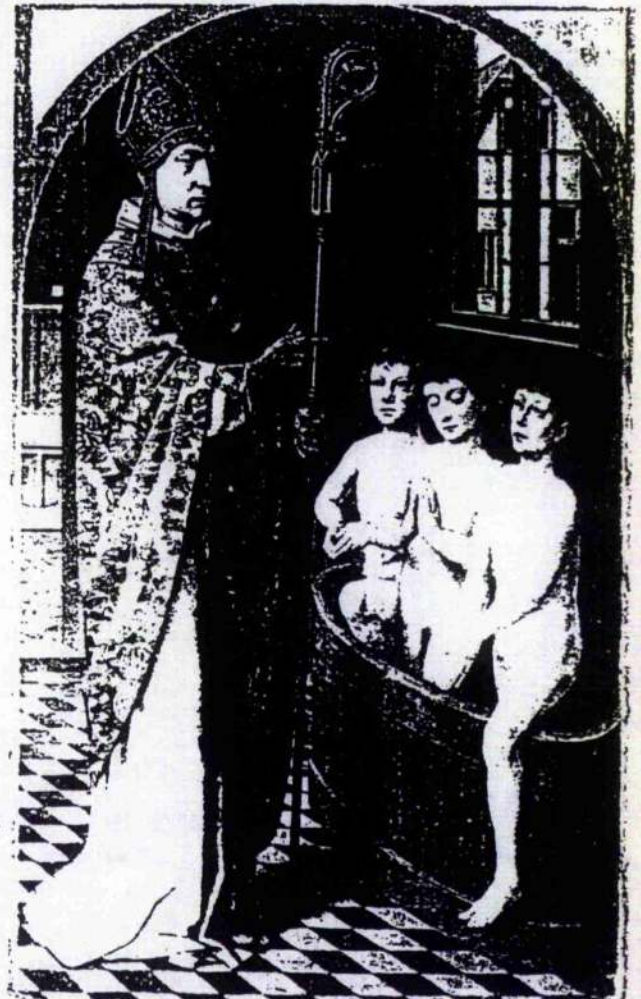


The Head of St. John the Baptist,
Amiens.

See: Le Trésor De La Cathédrale D'Amiens,
Catalogue de l'Exposition à la cathédrale
d'Amiens, 4 avril au 4 octobre 1987,
la Conservation des Antiquités et Objets
d'Art de la Somme, Amiens, 1987,
ed. Pierre-Marie Pontroué, Conservateur,
15, Item 1.



Gerard David, working 1484, died 1523,
from Three Legends of St. Nicholas,
National Gallery of Scotland.





St. Ninian from a fifteenth century Book of Hours, probably Scottish.

Edinburgh University Library, MS 42.

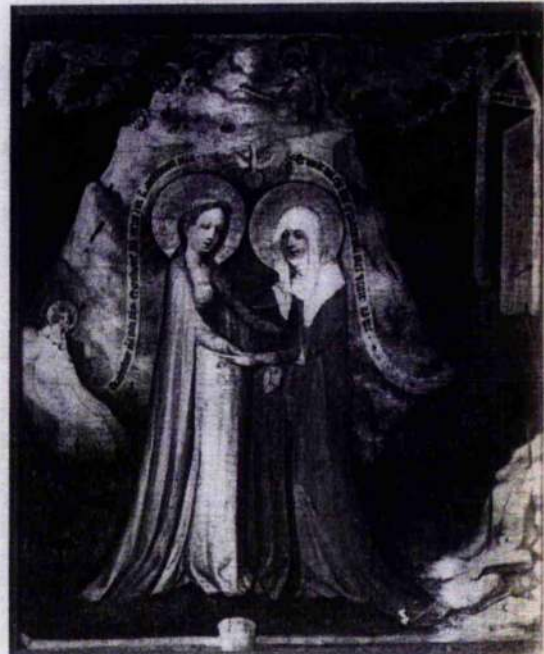
An altar-piece dating c.1410 from the area of the Middle Rhine or which Mainz is the centre. It is held at the Rijksmuseum in the former Catharijnconvent, Utrecht, Holland, and is described in an illustrated pamphlet entitled 'Het Middelrijnse altaarstuk', first published in 1983.

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The item is a triptych with central and side panels, a total of eighteen in all. We reproduce numbers 1-9 and 11-13. The complete list of painted panels is as follows:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) The Annunciation of Mary. | 10) The Taking of Christ - lost. |
| 2) The Visit of Mary to Elizabeth. | 11) Christ before Pilate. |
| 3) The Birth of Jesus. | 12) The Scourging. |
| 4) The Adoration of the Kings. | 13) The Crowning with Thorns. |
| 5) The Resurrection. | 14) The Bearing of the Cross - in very poor condition. |
| 6) The Ascension. | 15) The Taking down from the cross. |
| 7) Pentecost. | 16) The Laying in the Grave - in poor condition. |
| 8) The Death-bed of Mary. | 17) Mary supported by John. |
| 9) The Agony of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. | 18) Longeus with the Lance - lost. |

1



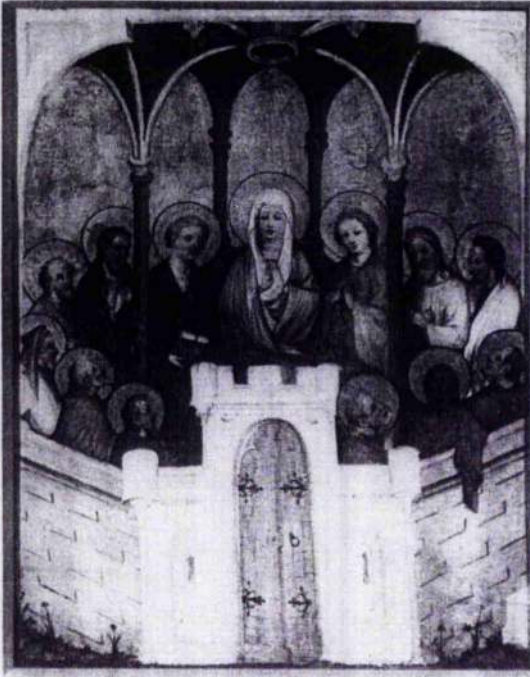
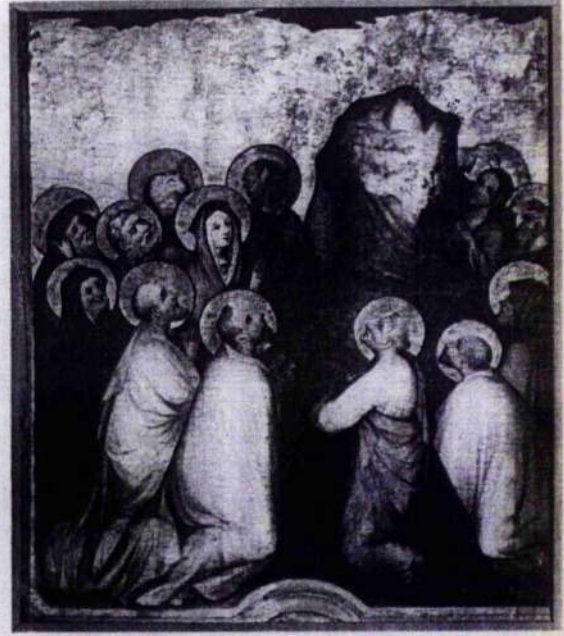
2



5



6



7



8



9



11



12



13

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX 'K'

ROBIN HOOD AND LITTLE JOHN

CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'K'. ROBIN HOOD AND LITTLE JOHN.

Robin Hood and Little John with particular reference to Ayr.

Records quoted in APPENDIX 'A' to this chapter under 3) AYR show that in Ayr in the period concerned, Robin Hood & Little John were a popular feature in the life of the burgh. Although the records do not make it absolutely clear we believe it fair to infer that at the time, as in Aberdeen and Edinburgh and elsewhere, these two publically appointed officials were responsible for the organizing of all the public festivities, whether of a religious or secular nature. These roles in many places normally went under the title of Abbot or Prior of Unreason, or one of a number of variants. Our particular brief concerns religious plays and so we are not particularly concerned with these officials when dealing with non-religious activities. However, in view of their dual roles some remarks are appropriate.

The organization of religious pageantry and plays became the responsibility of the Abbot and Prior of Unreason of Bon Accord in Aberdeen when these 'took to the streets' in the fifteenth century. However, under their variant name of Robin^{hood} and Little John they were known in Scotland rather earlier. They are mentioned in the fourteenth century works of both Joannis de Fordun and Androw de Wyntoun.

In connection with the 'Bringing in of May/Spring' from a Christian viewpoint it is unlikely that all the activities associated with it could ever have been regarded as innocent fun and jollification.

The official records before the Reformation, though abundant, provide little detail of the fringe activities that took place outside the essential ritual. There seems little doubt, however, that the opportunities available for 'fallen human nature' to run riot were widely taken.

We know of no Scottish text which portrayed the story of Robin Hood and Little John and the rest of their company in the form of a written play, and surviving Scottish records make no mention of Maid Marian.

Robin Hood and Little John - Some References in Scottish Literature.

In Bower's extension to Fordun's *Scotichronicon* it is written

Hoc in tempore de exheredatis et bannitis surrexit et caput erexit ille*famosissimus sicarius*Robertus Hode et Litill-Johanne cum eorum complicibus, de quibus stolidum vulgus hianter in comediis et tragoedis prurienter festum faciunt, et, prae ceteris romanciis, mimos et bardanos canitare delectantur¹

.... 'infamous murderer'.

Summary: The common people celebrate in comedies and tragedies the story of Robin Hood, Little John and their fellows.

The Orygynale Cronykil of Androw of Wyntoun (1350/ - 1420?).²

Lytill Jhone and Robyn Hude
Wayth-men ware commendyd gud:
In Yngil-wode and Barnysdale
Thai bysyd all this tyme thare travale.

Some of the Scottish poetry of the era associates Robin Hood and Little John with the 'Bringing in of May', and the boisterous

jollification associated with it.

Ane Littill Interlud of the Droichis Part of the Play.
(Attributed to Dunbar)³

Sen I am Welth cumyn to this wane,
Ye noble merchandis ever ilkane
Address yow furth with bow and flane
In lustly grene lufraye,
and folow furth on Robyn Hude,
With hartis coragious and gud,
And thocht that wretchis wald ga wod,
Of worschipe hald the way.

For I and my thre feres aye,
Weilfair, Wantoness and Play,
Sall byde with you in all affray,
And cair put clene to flicht,
And we sall dredless ws address
To banis derth and all distress
And with all sportis and meryness
Your hartis hald evir on hicht.

The fullest description of all aspects of 'Bringing in May' including references to Robin Hood and Little John, 'Abbotis by rewill, and lord(is) but ressonne', the sport of the gallants and their maidens, and the bringing in of 'bowis and birkin bobbynis', is to be found in Alexander Scott's poem, *Of May* written probably in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is too long to reproduce here.⁴

1555. Parliament forbids the choosing of Robert Hoods, Little Johns, Abbots of Unreason, and Queens of May on pain of imprisonment or banishment or fine: *The Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson, vol.2, 500.

The subject is considered in depth in Brian John Haywards's *Folk Drama in Scotland*, Glasgow University Thesis 6878, 2 vols., 1983. See especially vol.1, 183-99.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX. APPENDIX 'K'. ROBIN HOOD AND LITTLE JOHN.

1. Walter GOODALL ed. *Scotichronicon Johannis de Fordun cum Supplementis ac Continuatione Walteri Bower* (R. Fleming, Edinburgh, 1775, 2 vols.) vol.2, cap.xx, 104, under year 1265; cciv.
2. David LAING ed. *Androw Wyntoun, The Oryginale Cronykil of Scotland* (Edmonstone and Douglas, Edinburgh, 1872-9, 3 vols.) vol.2, Book VII, cap.x, headed, 'This chapiter tellis the folowande, Quhen thyrde Alysandre has Scotlande', 263, lines 3523-26, under year, 1283.
3. John SMALL ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar* (STS 1893, 2 vols.) vol.2, 314-20, 319, lines 137-152.
4. James CRANSTOUN ed. *The Poems of Alexander Scott* (STS 36, 1896) 23, 132,4. The poems were also published by EETS ES 85, 1902, ed. A.K. DONALD. The poems are only preserved in the Bannatyne Manuscript compiled in 1568.

CHAPTER SEVEN

APPENDICES 'A' AND 'B'

THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS

CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDICES 'A' AND 'B'. THE SAINTS IN SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS.

APPENDIX 'A'. THE SAINTS OF THE ABERDEEN CORPUS CHRISTI PROCESSION.

Representations of the above are found in England and on the Continent as follows:

Saint/Country	Pageant/Tableau/Town	Play/Town
<u>SEBASTIAN.</u>		
a) England.	London, 1464, ¹ St Botolph's.	
b) France.		Chambery, 1446 Chalon sur Saone, 1497. Caen, 1520. 2 undated MSS are extant. ²
c) Germany.	Ingolstadt, 1507. Zerbst, 1507. Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1516. ³	
d) Italy.	None noted.	None noted.
e) The Low Countries.	Veurne, 1419.	Oost Duinkerken, 1451. Middelburg, 1515. Thielt, 1520. ⁴
f) Spain.	Barcelona, 1424.	Valencia, 1517. ⁵
<u>LAWRENCE.</u>		
a) England.		Lincoln, 1441-2. ⁶
b) France.		Chambery, 1460. Compiègne, 1467. Metz, 1488. Mons, 1530. A 15th C. play has survived: 56 characters-six scaffolds. ⁷
c) Germany.	Zerbst, 1507. ⁸	
d) Italy.)		
e) The Low) Countries)	None noted.	None noted.
f) Spain.)		

STEPHEN.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| a) England. | None noted. | None noted |
| b) France. | Béthune, 1544 & 1546. | Orléans, 1446.
Le Genet, 1509.
Bourges, 1536 as part
of Greban's Les Actes
des Apôtres.
MS Bibliothèque Ste.
Geneviève, Y.f.10,
fol 141 ^v -145 ^r , and
Chantilly Collection
at Ste Geneviève. ⁹ |
| c) Austria. | | Vienna, 15th C. ¹⁰ |
| d) Italy. | | Naples, 1452, with the
Nativity & the Wise
Men.
Turin. 1463. ¹¹ |
| e) The Low
Countries. | Veurne, 1419. ¹² | |
| f) Spain. | | Gerona, a record of
1380 shows regular
liturgical performance
at Christmas. ¹³ |

MARTIN.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--|
| a) England. | None noted. | None noted. |
| b) France. | | Seurre, 1496. The
text is extant in the
Bibliothèque Nationale
MS fr.24332 fol goth.
264, ff.1-233.
The Bibliothèque de
Chartres has a 15th C.
MS of another St
Martin play. ¹⁴ |
| c) Germany) | | |
| d) Italy) | None noted. | None noted. |
| e) The Low
Countries) | None noted. | None noted. |
| f) Spain.) | | |

JOHN.

(We concentrate on the 'Baptism of Jesus' & the 'Beheading of John' often featured as 'tableaux-vivants' and single plays, for the most part omitting mention of John in his role as Prophet, in Harrowing of Hell, and Last Judgement scenes, as he is frequently featured in the cyclic plays.

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| a) England. | London, 1553,4, Lord Mayor's Shows, Pageant of John Baptist. ¹⁵ | Beverley from 1414: Baptism of Christ by John Bapt., Barbers' Corpus Christi play. ¹⁶ Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1442, as above. ¹⁷ Norwich, from at least 1527, as above. The Baptism of Christ in the York, Wakefield & 'N' Town Cycles. |
| b) France. | Paris, Triumphant Entry, 1313. ¹⁸ The Beheading. Chaumont, from 1475, every 5 years, scenes of the Saint's life. | Saumur, 1462, The Beheading. ¹⁹ Chaumont, from c.1500, the pageant scenes are performed as a play. ²⁰ Lyons, 1518, the Nativity. ²¹ Bordeaux, 1525, Baptism of Christ & the Beheading. ²² Draguignan, from 1437 the Beheading at Corpus Christi. ²³ Salterbrand, 1546, scenes from the Saint's life. ²⁴ Draguignan, 1551, the Baptism of Christ and the beheading. ²⁵ Arnoul Greban's 'Passion' has scenes of the Saint's Preaching, Baptism of Jesus, the Saint's Arrest & Beheading. ²⁶ The play, 'La Création, la Passion, la Résurrection, of MS Bibliothèque Nationale has a scene of the Baptism, fol 904. ²⁷ |

Mercadé's 'la Vie, La Passion et la Vengeance, etc.', has a scene of the Preaching of John the Baptist.²⁸

The Valenciennes 'Passion' had a 'Baptism of Jesus' & 'Beheading' scenes.²⁹ Michel's 'Passion' text of 1486 has scenes of: The Preaching, the Council of the Jews against John, the Baptism of Jesus the Beheading & the Burial.³⁰

c) Germany and
German-
Speaking
Switzerland.

Naogeorgus's description of a Corpus Christi Procession mentions a scene of the Baptist carrying the Lamb of God, as he points at the Blessed Sacrament (1553).³¹

The St Gall Passionspiel (first half of the 14th C - the oldest surviving outdoor 'Passion') and the Maastricht Passion (c.same date) and the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle (1350), have scenes of the Baptism of Christ. The latter also has a scene of the Beheading of the Baptist.³² Re the Maastricht Passion, see below e) THE LOW COUNTRIES and n.40

The Alsfield Passion (1501) is derived from the Frankfurter Dirigrolle, which it follows closely.³³

In the Donaueschingen Passionsspiel (1485) John appears in the Harrowing of Hell scene at the release

of the Alvdater from Limbo, wearing an animal skin and carrying a little lamb. He commonly appears in such scenes.³⁴

There were plays of SS George and John the Baptist in Dortmund in 1497, 8.³⁵

For many years in the 15th & early 16th cc. there was an elaborate St John's Day Fête in Dresden with a procession of 'figuren', including Antichrist scattering money, St George & the Dragon, etc. ending on the Market Place with a Play of St John the Baptist.³⁶

The Corpus Christi Procession in Ingolstadt in 1507 has a scene of the Baptism of Christ.³⁷

In Zerbst in 1507 there was in the procession a scene of John the Baptist.³⁸

d)

Rome 1400, plays of 'Nativity' & 'Beheading' Rome, 1473, Entry of Eleonora of Aragon, a 'rappresentazione' of St John Baptist'. Teo Belcari (1410-84) wrote a scene of 'Jesus & John in the Wilderness'.³⁹

e) The Low Countries.

's Herogenbosch, 1423, the Baptist walked in an 'Omme-gang' on the Assumption with the 12 App..., 12 Prophets, & 2 Little Angels carrying silver candlesticks, the Saviour and St Christopher. In 1476 the Baptist's head was carried.⁴¹

The 13th C. Maastricht 'Passion' has a scene of the 'Baptism'. Oldest surviving MS of a Low Countries 'Passion'.⁴⁰

Mechelen, from 1437, a 'tableau' of the 'Baptism' in the Holy Week 'Peisprocessie'.⁴² Dendermonde, 1457, 'Ommegang', 'tableau-vivant' of the 'Beheading'.⁴³

Bruges, 1440, Joyful Entry of Philip the Good, 'tableau' at Town Gate, the Baptist in green wood with plaque- 'Ecce vox clamantis in deserto: parate viam domino'.⁴⁴

Bergen-op-Zoom, 1533, the Baptist walked in the annual 'Ommegang' carrying a lamb - May 4, in the Octave of the Cross.⁴⁶

f) Spain.

Barcelona, 1424, a Corpus Christi Procession of great length had a representation of the Baptist as a prophet.

Afterwards the 'tableau' was acted as a play in the Town Square.

Thielt, 1512, 1531, Play of St John Baptist. Lier, 1532, 'The Four Plays of St John Baptist'.⁴⁵

Oudenaarde, 1552, Life of Baptist in Wilderness & the 'Baptism'.⁴⁷

The 16th C. Castilian 'Codice de autos viejos' of 96 plays has a 'Beheading of the Baptist'.⁴⁸

GEORGE.

a) England.

Norwich, 1408, a riding with a Combat of the Saint with the Dragon in a local wood.⁴⁹

York, from 1454, a Riding with a Dragon & St Christopher, 'the King & Quene (of Dele), a Maid, probably St Margaret'.⁵²

Norwich, 1460, a Riding with an image of the Saint, torches, candles & banner.⁵⁵

Morebath, Devon, 1528-30.

Dartmouth, 1541, 2.

Plymouth, up to 1542.⁵⁶

At Windsor, 1416 for the Emperor Sigismund.⁵⁰

Lydd, 1456, Play of St George.⁵¹

New Romney, possibly 1490 from 1497 regularly.⁵³

Bassingbourne, 1511.⁵⁴

1540, play in churchyard.

b) France

Paris, 1422, for Henry V of England.⁵⁷

Arras, 1469, in mime for Charles the Bold.⁵⁸

- c) Germany Bozen (now Bolzano, Italy) many scenes rhymed in the moving Corpus Christi Cycle Procession, from 1471, but perhaps from an earlier date.
- Dresden, late 15th - early 16th cc. processional 'tableau-vivant' on St John's Day.⁶¹
- Zerbst, 1507, Corpus Xpti Procession, 'tableau' with George as knight, crowned Maiden leading Dragon.⁶²
- Ingolstadt, 1507, processional 'tableau-vivant'.⁶⁴
- Freiburg im Bresgau, from 1516, at latest, Corpus Xpti Procession.⁶⁵
- St George & Dragon performed on stage after procession.⁵⁹
- Augsburg MS of 1473 has 2 plays, one on St George & the Dragon, the other the Invention of the Cross.⁶⁰
- Dortmund, 1497, 8 on Market Place, in Fasching.⁶³
- d) Italy Court of Amadeo III, probably in Turin, 1427, the Martyrdom of St George.⁶⁶
- e) The Low Countries
- Antwerp, 1398/1459, 'tableau-vivant' annual Procession of the Circumcision, retained in revised procession of 1470.⁶⁷
- Mechelen, 1435, 'tableau-vivant' in annual Holy Week procession, with man-made horse and dragon.⁶⁸
- Dendermonde, 1458, dumb-show performance in procession.
- Ghent, 1458, 'Joyful Entry' of Duke of Burgundy, one of 'Six of God's Knights', 'tableaux' on scaffold.⁷⁰
- The 'tableau' possibly acted after procession on Market Square.⁶⁹

Bruges, 1468, 'Joyful Entry' for Charles the Bold, St George & Margaret processed on horses.⁷¹

Antwerp, 1485, an 'Ordinance' of the Council ordered processions of the Image of St George in the town church through the town every Saturday and Sunday after Vespers.⁷²

Louvain, 1505, St George, St Margaret & Dragon process in the annual 'Ommegang'.⁷³

Antwerp, 1520, Entry of Emperor Karl V, at end of procession, St Margaret leading Dragon, accompanied by Maidens, followed by St George accompanied by Knights.⁷⁴

Bergen op Zoom, 1533 in the 'Ommegang' on the Invention of the Cross, 3 May, St Margaret, & someone on foot carrying a lamb, & a fire-spitting Dragon, walked in the 'Ommegang' followed by St George on a horse.⁷⁶

Middelburg, 1515/16 a Council Order required the Rederijker Kamer to produce a play on the Market Place every Sunday & Holy Day, including St George, 23 April & St Sebastian, 20 January.⁷⁵

Thielt, 1527, 1547.⁷⁷

Mons, 1534, in front of Town House, 'Mystère, Jeu et Histoire' lasting four days.⁷⁸

A MS of 1st half of 16th C. in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels, contains 'een scoon (beautiful) spel van Sanct Jooris'.⁷⁹

f) Spain. Valencia, 1400, Corpus Xpti Procession, SS George & Margaret & Dragon processed. Also recorded in 1404 & 1408 probably an annual event.⁸⁰

A collection of 49 plays end of 16th C. from Mallorca, includes a 'Martyrdom of St George' & a 'St George & the Dragon'.⁸¹

Barcelona, a later addition to a Corpus Xpti Order of 1424 mentions a pageant of St George on a horse, followed by the Dragon, with the Damsel & her parents, the King & Queen & Attendants. 82

The Craftsmen of Aberdeen and their Pageants.

Extant Aberdeen records provide no information on the names of the Patron Saints of any of the Crafts required to provide pageants of saints at Corpus Christi, except in the case of the Cordiners, whose patrons are shown to be the usual ones of SS Crispin and Crispinian. The records also show that the patron saint of the Hammermen, who are to provide the 'barmen of the croce', is St Eloi, the customary one, and not St Elene as given by Kennedy.⁸³

Reference should be made to Chapter Six of this volume.

APPENDIX 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN. record of 22 May 1531, giving a list of the pageants certain crafts were to provide at Corpus Christi.

a) St Sebastian is not normally found as patron saint of the Fleshers, but is often found as Patron of armourers and archers. St Sebastian with St Adrian and St George was regarded as protector of towns against the plague.⁸⁴

b) St Lawrence is not found elsewhere as patron saint of the Barbers. St Luke is found as patron of doctors and surgeons and so may have been patron of barbers. St Lawrence was invoked against the flames of purgatory and hell.⁸⁵

c) St Stephen is not found elsewhere as patron of skimmers. St Bartholomew is commonly met with as at Perth, as patron of tanners and skimmers.⁸⁶

d) The records show SS Crispin and Crispinian as patrons of the Aberdeen Cordiners, as is usual elsewhere. St Martin was venerated with St Nicholas of Myra, as the greatest of miracle workers, the former being known as the Thaumaturge of the West, and the latter as the Thaumaturge of the East. St Martin is said to have worked two hundred and six miracles.⁸⁷

e) St Nicholas is not normally found as patron of Listers elsewhere. That Craft's more usual patron was either St Helen or St Bartholomew.⁸⁸

f) We understand by 'sant Ion' St John the Baptist, the John most frequently met with in scenes where he plays a leading role. St John, Apostle and Evangelist, is normally only met with as one of the group of Twelve Apostles. St John is not met with elsewhere as patron of Websters, etc. Sometimes St Martin is found as their patron.⁸⁹

g) St George is not met with as Patron of the Baxters. The customary saint, especially in Scotland is St Obert.⁹⁰

It appears that none of the saints in the Corpus Christi Procession were patrons of the crafts required to provide them. This applies equally to the saints of the Candlemas Offerand. A commonly met patron of the Tailors was St Martin. Their presence was for other reasons than patronage. They were probably there because it was believed their intercession could benefit the community.

APPENDIX 'B'. THE PAGEANTS AND PLAYS ASSOCIATED WITH SS HELEN,
NICHOLAS, BARBARA, ELOI, ERASMUS AND KATHERINE.

i) St Helen and the Holy Cross.

According to tradition St Helen discovered the 'true cross' during a visit to the Holy Land in A.D. 326. In Scotland the Feast of the Invention of the Cross was associated with the old pagan feast of Beltane as we learn from records at Perth:⁹¹

11 June 1547... at the Invention of the Holy Cross, callit Beltane,...

At Beverley, Yorkshire, probably from the latter part of the fourteenth century, a contemporary account tells us how town officials and members of a Guild, of St Helen,⁹²

... met together,... (when) a fair youth, the fairest they can find, is picked out, and is clad as a queen, like St Elene. And an old man goes before this youth, carrying a cross, and another old man carrying a shovel, in token of the finding of the Holy Cross... The sistren of the gild follow after,... then the brethren,...the two stewards and ... the alderman. And so, all fairly clad, they go in procession, with much music, to the church... at the altar of St Elene, solemn Mass is celebrated... they go home; and after dinner, all the gild meet in a room within the hall and there they eat bread and cheese, and drink as much as is good for them...

It is conceivable that something like this might have happened at Aberdeen. There was an Altar of St Helen in the Burgh Church of St Nicholas. The Tailor Craft were responsible for providing St Helen in the annual Procession for the Candlemas Offerand, as they were the pageant for the Coronation of Our Lady in the Corpus Christi Procession.⁹³ It is quite possible they also provided St Helen for a pageant or procession on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross.⁹⁴ This saint may have been their patron. Unfortunately there are no records to tell us. There is no information on the subject in their Seal of Cause of 1533.⁹⁵

Records from some other places give an indication of some of the ways the feast may have been observed in Aberdeen.

On 3 May 1445 brethren of the Hospital of Christ at Abingdon celebrated the day with,⁹⁶

pageantes and playes and May Games...

assisted by twelve minstrels. Details of the play have not survived.

A pageant of St Helen and the Finding of the Cross in the Barcelona Corpus Christi Procession of 1424 employed the following properties,⁹⁷

Item, a crown, a green cross, and three green nails for St Helen, and also her halo.

De Jullevile knows of only one surviving play of the 'Invention' in France, that at Saint-Cenere in 1511. The text has been lost. A surviving account sheds little light on the content of the play.⁹⁸

A fifteenth century MS from Augsburg, Germany, has the text of a play of the 'Invention'. It opens with a prelude portraying Constantine's vision of the cross in the sky, and is full of incident. It is very dependent on the legends of the 'Invention' and 'Exaltation' of the *Legenda Aurea*, which would have been available to anybody in Scotland who wished to write such a play. The play required extremely complicated staging with heaven or sky, hell, the City of Jerusalem with its walls, and a number of other sets.⁹⁹

Judging by surviving records, plays about the Holy Cross were more popular in the Low Countries than anywhere else.

There are records from Thielt of a 'Spel van den Helighen Cruce' performed in 1505, 1541 and 1542, and of a similar play at Rousbrugge-Haringhe. At Thielt in 1521 there was a performance of a 'Spel vande Invencio vanden Heleghen Cruce', possibly being the same as that given on the dates already quoted.¹⁰⁰

The annual Procession on the feast of the 'Invention' was an important event in the Flanders town of Veurne, when originally on 3 May they portrayed the handing over to the town of a relic of the Holy Cross by Count Robert II, 1100, and 'other edifying events'. In the fifteenth century this event was displaced by a procession on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,¹⁰¹ 14 September.

The town of Middelburg, Zealand, in the Low Countries, where the Scottish Staple was located for a time after leaving Bruges in the fifteenth century, has a record of 10 June 1462 requiring members of the Guild of Handbow Men to walk in their harness 'whenever the Holy Cross is processed... with their bows'.¹⁰²

A record of the Middelburg Guild of Bricklayers of 1518-19 details expenses incurred on Holy Cross Day. These include charges for,¹⁰³

a pair of gloves and a red hat for the maiden; making and leading the waggon; the crown; nails; young shepherds; fetching costumes.

and rather more items concerned with feasting and drinking.

ii) St Nicholas.

St Nicholas Ridings in the Burgh of Aberdeen.

Both burgh and church were under the patronage of St Nicholas, and annually on 6 December there were festive celebrations, in particular with what were termed 'Ridings', i.e. processions in which the participants were mounted on horses, led by the Lords of Bon Accord, in celebration of the burgh's Patron Saint. The Dean of Guild's accounts for 1453 show that the festivities included wine-drinking as was the custom on such occasions,¹⁰⁴

In primis in vino de Forbas ad festum Sancti Nicolaij, jv s.

In the period 1493-1528 there are at least fourteen entries relating to the annual St Nicholas Riding requiring all the able-bodied young men, being sons of merchants or other burgesses, as well as craftsmen, to participate, 'honestly arrayed', but the ordinance of 21 November 1511, refers only to all able-bodied males.¹⁰⁵

Horses are only specifically mentioned in entries of 19 November 1515 and 17 November 1522, when all able young men of the town were required to ride in the afternoon of St Nicholas Day, 'honestlie horsit with thair watter clokes'.¹⁰⁶

Defaulters were subject to penalties and some entries relate to convictions for non-participation.

See this volume, Chapter Six, APPENDIX 'A'. 1) ABERDEEN.

9 DECEMBER 1493 and 29 November 1504, for further references regarding the St Nicholas Riding.

The Ordinances relating specifically to St Nicholas Day are reinforced by two other Ordinances which relate to all Holy Days. The relative entries are dated: 17 May 1507 and 14 April 1539:¹⁰⁷

ale manere of yonkheris (a Flemish word meaning young men)
 burges and burges sonis conuenient salbe redy euere haly
 day to pass (that is-process) with the abbat& prior of bon-
 acord in thare array conuenient thairto...(17 May 1507).

The Council Ordinance of 14 April 1539 apart from reiterating what has gone before requires 'agit men to meit ws at the crabstane or kirkyard...'.¹⁰⁸

None of the entries relating to the St Nicholas Ridings give any positive indication of any sort of pageantry or play featuring any of the legends associated with St Nicholas. The nearest we get to this possibility is the requirement in the last-mentioned entry that participants in the processions were to be dressed as 'your m(agistry.) hes deuisit'.

The fact that 'agit men' are to meet the participants in the procession either at the 'Crabstane' or the 'Kirkyard', presumably afterwards to save them riding or walking, may suggest that sometimes there was pageantry or a play either in an open space near the former, or in the Church-yard. The latter seems a distinct possibility. There could have been no point in requiring the 'agit men' at the kirkyard after the Riding was over, unless they were required to take part in some sort of pageantry or a play. This suggestion applies not only to Saint Nicholas Day but also to

other important Feast Days when there was a public holiday after the celebration of High Mass at St Nicholas, the Burgh Church, but not applying to Corpus Christi when the play took place at the Windmill Hill Playfield. The 'Crabstane' was about one hundred yards south of the church.

It is possible that at the conclusion of the Riding there was a performance of the legend of 'St Nicholas and the Three Clerks', which is symbolized on the ancient Seals of the Burgh. There he appears in episcopal robes, with mitre and crozier, and on his right three naked youths standing in a tub, those who according to legend were miraculously brought back to life by the Saint after being killed, cut to pieces and thrown into a pickling vat by a cruel innkeeper of Myra, who wanted to sell them as pork. Such a suggestion was made by Joseph Robertson in his *The Book of Bon Accord* (Lewis Smith, Aberdeen, 1839, 241). The annual Corpus Christi Procession included a Pageant of St Nicholas given by the Lister Craft, which very probably portrayed the legend symbolized in the burgh seal.¹⁰⁹

There is a reproduction of the Seal on the title page of Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion, etc.*

Some Further Examples of Scottish Records Concerning St Nicholas.

The Scottish Universities.

a) Glasgow - see this volume, Chapter Six, APPENDIX 'A'.

7b) GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, 2 May 1462.

b) St Andrews - see this volume, Chapter Six, APPENDIX 'A'.

11) ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY. 26 November 1414. Statutes also existed at the English universities and colleges for the holding of St Nicholas festiuvitie, as shown by the Statutes of King's College, Cambridge, Eton College and elsewhere.

St Nicholas Bishop and the Court.

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer show that between 1473 and 1511 payments were made on the King's behalf on fourteen different occasions to 'Sanct Nycholas bischop', usually accompanied after c.1500 by a group of companions called, 'deblatis and ruffyis'. Such payments were normally made out-of-doors in Edinburgh at the Canongate, and in Leith, Coupar-Fife, Linlithgow and Stirling.

There is no evidence to suggest there might have been any serious attempt on these occasions to present any dramatic scene based on the legends associated with St Nicholas.

For details see:-

ALHT vol.1, 68, 183, 270; vol.2, 128, 349,50, 409,10;
vol.3, 175,6, 356, 283; vol.4, 88,9, 91, 279, 180,1.

St Nicholas Bishop, St Andrews, 1540.

Accounts of the Chamberlain (of the Archbishop of St Andrews) show an expenditure of 27s. for the Saint Nicholas Bishop and his attendants (ministers) on the Feast of St Nicholas, 6th December.¹¹⁰

The St Nicholas Bishop after the Reformation.

Observance of the Feast of St Nicholas is still found in Reformation times despite efforts to ban it. A Minute in the Burgh Records of Elgin of 30 June 1580 forbids both the lighting of fires on the Eves of St John and St Peter on the public highway and also riding in disguise either on St Nicholas Day or St Nicholas Eve.¹¹¹

St Nicholas, England.

There are no known English equivalents to the early Continental plays of St Nicholas and there are very few known references to such plays or to St Nicholas observances generally, apart from the universities and colleges. (See, above and below).

St Nicholas, England, mid-thirteenth century. A sermon in English of c.1250 announces the performance of a St Nicholas Day Play, and states that its staging is for the benefit of 'Bothe this lewd and this clerkes (i.e. both for the common people and the literate)'.¹¹²

Similar 'Ridings' also took place in England, on the Feast of St George, Patron Saint of England. The Riding was established at Norwich in 1408 by a Guild of St George (a socio-religious guild) when they ordered that 'the George shall go in procession and make a conflict with the Dragon...'. The 'George' was a man in 'coat armour beaten with silver', and he had his Club-bearer, henchmen, minstrels and banner. A more elaborate Riding of St George used to take place in Dublin with a rather larger cast of 'players'.¹¹³

St Nicholas, France.

Figures of St Nicholas are to be seen in all the French medieval churches. At Chartres he is painted or carved no less than seven times, and the incomplete windows at Auxerre, like those at Le Mans, tell his legend twice. He is to ^{be} found also in the Cathedrals of Rouen, Bourges and Tours, in St Julien-du-Sault in Burgundy, and in St Remi at Rheims (Reims), and at one time he was to be seen in the Cathedral at Troyes. In fact he is almost always found where windows of the thirteenth century have survived. Peter Damian enjoins the invocation of St Nicholas immediately after that of the Virgin.^a He regarded him as the most powerful protector whose aid the Christian could invoke.¹¹⁴

a. Petrus Damianus, Sermo 59, Patrologia, cxliv, col. 853.

An early French vernacular play of St Nicholas is that of Jean Bodel of Arras, which departs almost completely from the traditions of liturgical drama and the Latin miracle plays of St Nicholas that had existed for a century before Bodel wrote. The plot knows nothing of the traditional three legends made into the Latin plays. The basic plot of his play concerns a miracle performed by an icon of the saint. The play provides a background of the vicious low-life of Arras.¹¹⁵

6 December 1417, St Nicholas Day: Jean Bodel's 'Saint Nicola' was revived by the scholars of Notre Dame de Saint Omer before a great crowd in the town square.¹¹⁶

1487: This year the Duke Rene of Lorraine caused 'le jeu et feste du glorieux saint Nicolas' to be played before him at Saint-Nicolas-du-Port for which payment was made to Jacquemain Berthremin of Nancy, 'pour originaux et personnages'. The same play was given again on 9 May 1487. (The Feast of the Translation of St Nicholas.)¹¹⁷

1497: The Accounts of the 'Celierier de Nancy' for these years have two mentions of expenses of providing a stage in the 'château de Nancy' for the King to see the play of St Nicholas. The other item relates to expenses in respect of the 'jeu et feste de monieur saint Nicolas' which 'monsieur' caused to be played during the Festival of Pentecost, expenses incurred to the baker of Nancy.¹¹⁸

17 June 1503: A 'Mystère de Saint Nicolas' with 'personnages' (i.e. actors) was played at Béthune by Jehan le Tardieu and his companions.¹¹⁹

A fifteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque National of Paris contains a play based on the Life of St Nicholas as found in the *Golden Legend* (*La Légende Dorée*). It tells of a Christian who obtains a loan from a Jew, but who fails to pay it back, even lying before a Judge that he has done so. The action is transferred to Paradise where St Nicholas demands justice for the Jew without condemnation of the Christian. God agrees. The Christian dies. That is his punishment, but thanks to St Nicholas, he comes back to life, and expresses penitence. The Jew is satisfied and asks for Christian baptism.

The play has a total of '2000 vers' and a cast of eighteen.¹²⁰

St Nicholas, German speaking areas.

A Procession that took place in Zerbst in 1507 included a 'tableau-vivant' of St Nicholas, wearing a cope and mitre, with a staff, and three blocks of gold, with hands held up in blessing.¹²¹

St Nicholas, Italy, and the Low Countries.

We have no evidence for adult pageantry or plays associated with the legends of St Nicholas in any of these countries.

St Nicholas, Spain.

Expense Accounts for the Corpus Christi Procession held in Valencia in 1400 show an item, 'the ship of St Nicholas'. We have no further details.¹²²

Evidence regarding the 'Nicholas' or 'Innocent Bishop' is universal throughout Europe. We ignore this.

St Nicholas and the Liturgy.

A 'historia', a series of anthems and responses, in honour of St Nicholas, were composed for use as propers in the Hours of Prayer (i.e. the Divine Office), shortly before 966, by Reginold, a secular clerk, who had travelled in Byzantium. His compositions

were primarily based upon the 'Life of St Nicholas' written by John the Deacon at Naples c.880.

Reginold's 'historia' quickly became popular and on this account he was made Bishop of Eichstätt in Bavaria. The cult of St Nicholas grew out of the spread of the 'historia' throughout the Latin world. The work can be traced making its way across the empire, into Lorraine and into the Low Countries, as early as c.1000.

The 'historia' of Reginold first entered England with the Lotharingian (i.e. from Lorraine, German, Lothringen) scholars who settled in the South-West, at Exeter, Wells and Hereford. The earliest extant manuscript of the 'historia' is Cotton MS Nero E 1, copied c.1060 at Worcester, under Wulfstan, prior of the school and later Bishop, who zealously cultivated the patronage of St Nicholas, and by the year 1100 the saint was venerated by special services in almost every diocese in England.¹²³

Both the Aberdeen Breviary (i.e. Elphinstone's Revised Breviary) and the Breviarium Bothanum contain lections for St Nicholas Day, 6 December, using the text of the *Vita Nicolai* of St John the Deacon of Naples, the former shortening and amending his text, the latter adhering to it. The lections feature both the legends of the 'Tres Filiae' and the 'Tres Clerici'.¹²⁴

At First Vespers a Procession was ordered by rubric to be made to

the Chapel of St Nicholas. There was such a Chapel in the Burgh Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, as mentioned above. A similar chapel existed in the Cathedral at Laon, France, where a similar Procession was also the custom. No doubt, such a practice was widespread.

There is no suggestion of any kind of dramatic event in the two Scottish Breviaries. All that happened at the St Nicholas Chapel was the singing of a Response and Versicle.¹²⁵

The Miracle Plays.

The seven oldest surviving manuscripts of miracle plays (i.e. plays based on the legends of the saints and not on holy scriptures) are based on legends associated with Saint Nicholas. The oldest manuscript where the name of the author is known is the St Nicholas play composed by Hilarius, who may have been born in England.¹²⁶

The earliest texts have survived in three manuscripts:

i) BL MS Add 22414, containing two St Nicholas plays.¹²⁷

- a) The Play of the 'Tres Filiae', agreed to be the older of the two plays, and could be early eleventh century.
- b) The Play of the 'Tres Clerici'.

The manuscript came originally from a small male convent at Hildesheim, Saxony, dedicated to St Godehard.

Near Hildesheim was the Convent of Gandersheim, the school for

noble Saxon women, as that at Hildesheim was for men. Gandersheim was the home of Rosvitha, the scholastic poetess, who towards the end of the tenth century created six 'dramas' in imitation of Terence. It is quite likely that Godehard knew of these dramas before moving to Hildesheim.¹²⁸

Rosvitha's texts were circulated to the male schools at Regensburg, Altaich and Hersfeld, Bavaria. It is possible that someone there, inspired by Rosvitha's three dramas, each with three sisters in distress, used the St Nicholas fable of the 'Tres Filiae', to convey an equally didactic message with a man as a hero. Even the character of the first daughter, who suggests prostitution as a solution to their poverty, may have been suggested by characters in two other of Rosvitha's dramas, viz. 'Maria' and 'Thais'.¹²⁹

The fable of the 'Tres Clerici' forms the basis of the adoption of St Nicholas as patron of scholars and children. It was thus adopted c.1020 by the scholar Godehard and his disciples in Bavaria, who were probably the originators of the cult, they providing the earliest known evidence of this patronage.¹³⁰

In due course Godehard and his disciple Wolferius moved to the small male convent at Hildesheim, Saxony, where the above manuscript, 'Lib. sci Godehardi' indicates that it was the property of Godehard.¹³¹

The fable of St Nicholas and the 'Tres Clerici' became the most popular of all the St Nicholas legends in the West, spreading to Normandy with Isembert and Ainard. The composition of the Fleury 'Tres Clerici' was probably a consequence of this.¹³²

ii) Einsiedeln (Switzerland) MS 34 consists of thirty-six leonine hexameters of Latin verse, representing fifteen speeches, the speakers being indicated only by the contents of the lines. The piece concerns 'tres iuvenes', not 'tres clerici', and does not mention St Nicholas. The possibility has been suggested that the St Nicholas legend of the 'Tres Clerici' was based by Bavarian clerks on this fable. It is thought to date from the twelfth century. The names of the speakers were supplied by a scholar named Morel.¹³³

iii) Orléans MS 210, being the Fleury Play-Book, and containing,¹³⁴

- a) Six liturgical dramas.
- b) Four Nicholas plays:
 - 1) The Play of the 'Tres Filiae'.
 - 2) The Play of the 'Tres Clerici'.
 - 3) The Play of the 'Super Iconia Sancti Nicolai', Hilarius's Nicholas.^a
 - 4) The Play of the 'Filius Getronis'.

a) Also in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 11331.

The date of the 'Fleury Play Book' is thought to be c.1200. It is not certain that the manuscript was copied at Fleury nor that the plays were composed there.¹³⁵

The play of 'the Three Daughters' in the Fleury Play Book is dependent on the Hildesheim text, repeating it as it glamorizes it. No less than seventeen strophes are common to both.¹³⁶

The Hildesheim play of the 'Tres Clerici' has the same verse form as the 'Tres Filiae', the older of the two plays. The diction, however, is insufficiently like that of the earlier plays to convince that both were composed by the same author.¹³⁷

iii) ST BARBARA (see vols.1 and 2, Chapter Six, 5) DUNDEE).

The following are some records relevant to pageants and plays of St Barbara on the Continent.

A) THE LOW COUNTRIES.

A Dutch author, Walich Sywaertz, gives an account of a procession in Amsterdam which was led by the guilds of the town each with its livery and tokens, their standard held aloft up in front; each guild had its own saint^a, the 'tableaux' of which were being borne along. Both youths and maidens were there in the scene, which was tastefully and beautifully arranged. One was Our Blessed Lady, another of Mary Magdalene, another of St Barbara, and another St George, riding a horse, and sticking his lance into the rear of the Dragon being led by St Margaret.¹³⁸

a. re. 'Each guild had its own saint' - we take it this means that each guild put into the procession a 'tableau' of their patron saint.

St Barbara was a favourite as Patron Saint of Guilds of Rhetoric in the Low Countries. She filled this role in Aalst and in Utrecht. She also became Patron of a Chamber of Rhetoric in Alost well before 1540.¹³⁹

Like all other Guilds of Rhetoric those of St Barbara and St Katherine at Alost helped enhance the splendour of the pro-

cessions, and especially of the 'Ommegang' which took place annually in Alost on the Feast of SS Peter & Paul, 29 June. We understand that in addition to parading their Patron Saints as at Amsterdam, the Guilds provided pageants/plays on stages: 'On jouait le plus souvent des pieces religieuses et ces representations se donnaient sur ses estrades'.¹⁴⁰

Regulations in the 'Seal of Cause' of the Guild of St Barbara at Alost show that representations were made both on pageant-waggons and on stages.¹⁴¹

The 1568 Corpus Christi Procession in Breda included a 'tableau-vivant' of St Barbara, 'met den clippel dansen', i.e. with lively dancing.¹⁴²

At Bruges the Church of Saint Jacob possessed relics of St Barbara, which in accordance with the custom of the time would from time to time have been carried in procession in the parish. In 1470 the brothers Colaerd and Pieter de la Bie endowed at the Collegiate Church of Our Lady the Feasts of St Mary Magdalene (22 August), St Katherine (25 November), and St Barbara (4 December), with Motets and Vespers with Processions (the processional anthem in all three cases was the 'Ave Regina Caelorum'). This led to the formation on 18 September 1474 of the Confraternity of Saints, Mary Magdalene, Katherine and Barbara - in practice a Guild of Rhetoricians, such as was at that time springing up all over the southern regions of

the Low Countries and Northern France. The Parish Church of Bruges, St Salvator's, also had a number of Confraternities, including those of St Eloi, St Nicholas, St Katherine and St Barbara.¹⁴³

A record from Ghent of 1590 shows the existence there of a Confraternity of Rhetoric 'van sente Barbelen tsente Pieters', which means 'of St Barbara at St Peter's'. It is likely in such a town to have been in existence for some considerable time.¹⁴⁴

A 'tableau-vivant' of St Barbara was performed in the town of Lier in 1441 ('...speelde men te Lier tspel van Sint Barbelen').¹⁴⁵

A record of 10 January 1565/6 shows there was at that time a Guild of St Barbara in Middelburg¹⁴⁶ and a record for 1493-4 shows the existence of a Guild of Rhetoricians in Veurne under the patronage of 'Sente Barbele'.¹⁴⁷

E) FRANCE.

Performances: ¹⁴⁸

1448 - Amiens.	1475,6 - Compiègne.	1481 - Angers.
1485 - Metz.	1493 - Laval.	1505 - Nancy.
1509 - Domalain.	1533 - Limoges.	1534 - Peronne.
1536 - Saint Nicholas-du-Port.		1539 - Tirepied.

Two plays about the Saint have survived, one has thirty-eight roles, and the other has one hundred, requiring five days for its

performance. Bound to a stake, naked, she is beaten, burned, and her breasts are torn off; at the instigation of her own father she is rolled in a barrel studded with nails and dragged by the hair over a mountain before being decapitated.¹⁴⁹

C) GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

Records from German speaking countries featuring the saints in pageantry and plays are not plentiful.

The record of outdoor procession at Zerbst in 1507 shows that St Barbara was featured in a group with Saints Katherine, Margaret, and Dorothy, when she processes holding a chalice containing a Host, her normal symbol. There were twenty-two post- New Testament saints in the procession. Naogeorgius in his 'Regnum Papisticum' speaks of the 'The Challis and the singing cake with Barbara is led'.¹⁵⁰

D) ITALY.

It is said that there were many dramas featuring the lives of saints in Italy, including lives of the martyrs such as St Barbara, St Ignatius and St Ursula. Unfortunately we have not been able to discover any details or dates of performances of plays on the life of St Barbara given in Italy. However it is fairly certain that there were such performances. 'Le storie della vita di Santa

Barbara' was dramatised by Catellano Castellani, a noted jurist and poet of Pisa, a contemporary of Lorenzo il Magnifico and Belcari, active in the second half of the fifteenth century. Castellani also wrote Passion and Prodigal Son plays. What may be a scene from Castellani's St Barbara play was the subject of a fresco by Lorenzo Loti to be seen in Bergamo. The play was expressive of an earthly realism. In one scene she spits upon the idols and as a consequence is thrown into the latrines.¹⁵¹

E) SPAIN.

We have not discovered much information on representations of lives of saints in Spain. We know only of a performance given in Castile in the sixteenth century. This 'Farsa de Santa Barbara' seems to have been well staged, using a 'pabellon' (a curtain or kind of tent) to open and reveal Christ sitting on a chair, in one hand an orb on which is a cross. An angel defends St Barbara against the assaults of the Devil, and at the end of the play three crowns are placed upon her head, one of gold, one of roses, and one of lilies. The play concludes with a 'villancio', and a 'copla',¹⁵² which is a gloss on the 'Te Deum'.

iv) SS ELOI, ERASMUS AND KATHERINE (see vols. 1 and 2, Chapter Six, 10) PERTH).

a) St Eloi (c.588-660). (Also known as St ELEGIUS.)

Born at Chatelet (Haute Vienne) he became a goldsmith. Clottar II (d.629) and his successor Dagobert I commissioned him to decorate tombs and shrines and to make chalices, crosses and plaques. He became a priest and in 641 was appointed Bishop of Noyon. He was a successful preacher who founded monasteries, was especially active in the Tournai (Doornik) area, & a pioneer apostle in much of Flanders. His reputation as an apostolic bishop and distinguished craftsman who was adopted as patron of goldsmiths, blacksmiths and farriers ensured the diffusion of his cult from Picardy and Flanders over most of Europe. His principal emblem is a horse-shoe and like St Dunstan he is depicted holding a devil by the nose with a pair of pincers.¹⁵³

According to legend a horse possessed of a devil was once brought to the Saint to be shod, but refused to allow this to be done, lunging and rearing with so much violence that the onlookers fled in alarm. The saint undismayed by this cut off the animal's leg and placing it on his anvil affixed the shoe at his leisure, after which making the sign of the cross he rejoined it to the rest of the limb, to the great surprise and satisfaction of the beholders. At least one representation of the Saint portrays him in such a scene. There is plenty of widespread artistic and architectural

iconographic evidence for the way Saint Eloi was represented. The most common feature a horse in a blacksmith's shop.¹⁵⁴

The painting 'St Eligius' (i.e. St Eloi) and the Lovers' by Petrus Christus (active 1442? - 72/3: Master of Bruges 1444) shows the Saint sitting at his work-bench with the Lovers standing behind.¹⁵⁵

Besides being the patron saint of the Perth Hammermen St Eloi was the Patron Saint of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh Hammermen. In these three latter places the Craft not only had their own Chaplain but an altar of their own. In Perth although they had their own Chaplain it appears they had to share an altar with another Craft with a different dedication. Lawson (*The Book of Perth*) shows no altar for St Eloi in St John's, the Burgh Church.

The Saint founded St Salvator's Church (now Cathedral) in Bruges. His Feast Day is 1 December, and his Feast of Translation 25 June. The church has a Relic Shrine containing the Saint's body, which was regularly processed through the streets of the town with Relic Shrines of St Boniface from the Church of Our Lady, and the Shrine of St Basil from the Church of St Donat, in the General Processions invoking the good favour of the Almighty in time of calamity.¹⁵⁶

That the Scottish Hammermen took their patron from the Low Countries is shown by the fact that in England the patron of Goldsmiths was St Dunstan.¹⁵⁷

St Eloi's popularity in the Middle Ages is shown by the fact of his being mentioned twice in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

'Mystères' featuring the life of St Eloi are recorded for France, in Dijon, 29 October 1447, and Béthune, on the Feast Day, 1 December 1545.¹⁵⁸

Of the 1447 play at Dijon it is recorded

... dedans ledit mystere y avoit certaine farse meslee par maniere de faire resveiller ou rire les gens.

We believe that the incident most widely featured in the iconography of St Eloi, the shoeing of the devil-possessed horse, was that which was represented at Perth in the form of a simple dumb-show 'tableau', with 'the devillis chepman' (see entries of 22 April 1518, and 23 May 1553) bringing the horse for shoeing, acting as the devil's agent in putting Eloi to the test - the devil supposedly being concealed inside the horse. No horse is detailed in connection with the pageant, neither a 'man-made' horse nor a real one. The Craft did at one time own a horse as we know from the fact that they sold it on 23 November 1542, but we know of no record for the purchase of a replacement. It is possible another was donated or that a member loaned one free of charge, but more likely that a man-made horse was used. It is possible the Perth 'tableau' was influenced by the Dijon play, but nothing more elaborate than we have suggested was possible at Perth on the basis

of the information available after allowing in the case of the year 1518 for pageants/plays of 'The Martyrdom of St Erasmus' and the 'The Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve' (and the possibility of 'Creation' and 'Expulsion' scenes), and in the case of the 1553 entry allowing for the latter - the Erasmus pageant/play having been dropped.

On our interpretation of the word 'chapman' as agent/broker/factor, as opposed to merchant or itinerant peddler, i.e. as a buyer rather than a seller, see *Enc. Britannica*, eleventh edition, vol.v, 854: 'the word "chap"... meant originally a customer'. Comp. German: "kaufen" = to buy, but: "Kaufmann" = merchant or salesman. In the present context the Devil's Chapman is buying the services of the blacksmith on the devil's behalf.

b) St Erasmus. Martyr (d.c.303?). (Also known as St Elmo.)

According to the earliest legend he was a bishop persecuted from place to place by Diocletian, eventually coming to Formia in Campania, where he died from his sufferings. A later legend says he was put to death by having his intestines wound out of his body on a windlass. Perhaps because of the resemblance of the latter to a capstan he came to be honoured as a patron saint of sailors. His symbol in art is a windlass.¹⁵⁹

The cult of St Erasmus was once popular and widespread. In the

fifteenth century a chapel and altar were erected for him in the apse of Westminster Abbey. There was an altar dedicated to him in St Giles. St Erasmus was one of the Fourteen Auxiliary Saints who featured largely in late medieval devotional life and there is reason to believe that he enjoyed considerable vogue in Scotland.¹⁶⁰

This saint appears in the Calendar of the Perth Psalter as a Red Letter Day on 3 June. It is one of a number of which Eeles says 'Most of them indicate the cultus of saints imported from current continental usage'.¹⁶¹

The panel of St Erasmus in the National Museum at Copenhagen was once part of an altarpiece in the Scots Chapel of St Ninian in the Olai kirke at Helsingør. It shows him holding in his right hand the windlass used to draw out his entrails.¹⁶²

Stone tables of the Martyrdom of St Erasmus showing the Emperor Maximinian sitting on his throne with one foot resting on his victim's legs suggest a derivation from the stage. A man shown beneath the torture table, pulling on a rope round the saint's legs (a regular feature of such tables) gives the impression of having been such a stage character.

Panels of the Martyrdom of St Erasmus at North Creek, Norfolk, depict the Saint resting upon a trestle table, wearing a mitre and shown nude except for a pair of short drawers. Beneath the table is

a figure dragging upon a rope tied to the ankles of the Saint. Above is a windlass around which two tormentors are winding the intestines of the martyr. Seated above is the Emperor with legs crossed and holding a drawn sword in his left hand, to whom a lawyer, holding a scroll, explains the case. Behind Maximinian (successor to Diocletian) stands an attendant who holds a drawn sword in his left hand. This may be the actor to whom the 'harnes' itemised with the 'stule berer' at Perth in the 1518 record should be allocated.¹⁶³

The Martyrdom of St Erasmus as described above also featured in Books of Hours, especially those of Flemish origin. Bening (a Fleming, probably of Scottish origin and maintaining Scottish connections) portrayed the martyrdom of the Saint with extraordinary gruesomeness in a Book of Hours made c.1480.

Important relics of this saint are said to have been preserved at Leffe, near Dinant (Belgium).¹⁶⁴

In the annual communal procession at Aalst (the Low Countries) held on the Sunday in the Octave of the Feast of SS Peter & Paul in 1432, among the items processed was one entitled, 'the sepulchre in which Saint Erasmus lay'.¹⁶⁵

In Metz, 1-2 September 1438, there was a representation of 'le jjeus de Saint Aresme', at a time when there was a violent pest and the inhabitants sought the help of the saint.¹⁶⁶

Although the cult of St Erasmus began in Formia in Campania due to the destruction of the town the cult was re-centred on the town of Garta, a seaport and the episcopal See of Campania. The cathedral there was consecrated in 1106, and contains forty-eight panels in bas relief, dating from the end of the thirteenth century, with twenty-four representations of the Life of Christ, and twenty-four from the Life of St Erasmus.¹⁶⁷

In the twelfth century the area passed to the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. The influence of St Erasmus (also known as St Elmo) evidently passed to not very distant Naples, dominated by the Castle of St Elmo (i.e. St Erasmus), situated on one of the volcanic peaks that dominate the city, erected in 1343. From this area the cult of St Erasmus spread into Northern Europe. It entered Scotland through the Low Countries and Northern France, which had derived it from the Rhineland and its popular cult of the group of saints known as the 'Fourteen Auxiliaries', of which St Erasmus was one, the others being, SS George, Blaise, Pantaleon, Vitus, Christopher, Denys, Cyriacus, Acasius, Eustace, Giles, Margaret, Barbara, and Katherine of Alexandria. All except Pantaleon, Vitus, Denys, Cyrianus, Acacius and Eustace were popular in medieval Scotland and featured in the Corpus Christi Processions. The cult of the 'Fourteen Auxiliaries' is said to have been advanced by the Dominicans.¹⁶⁸

v) THE CULT OF ST KATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA.

The cult of St Katherine flourished throughout Europe and especially France in the Middle Ages under the influence of the Crusades and later of the *Golden Legend*. In England her cult was as widespread as anywhere in the West. The earliest example of a play in her honour was one performed at Dunstable in c.1110.¹⁶⁹

In 1393 the clerks of London staged the 'play of Seynt Katerine'. In Coventry, 1490-1, 'this year was the play of St Katherine in the Little Park'. In the Corpus Christi Procession of 1503 the 'Journey-men Cappers' of Hereford provided a pageant of 'Seynt Keterina with tres (i.e. three) tormentors'.¹⁷⁰

The cult of St Katherine was established in Scotland long before she made her appearance in the records of the Wrights of Perth in 1530. In 1347 Alan de Wyntoun went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and urged on by devotion to St Katherine or by fear of his relatives he extended his pilgrimage to include a visit to her grave on Mount Sinai, where he died.¹⁷¹

The most interesting surviving monument to the Scottish cult of St Katherine of Alexandria and Mount Sinai is the famous Balm Well in the Parish of Liberton, on the outskirts of Edinburgh. The legend of its origin is given in Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's 'History' (Edinburgh, 1821, vol.1, xxxviiij).¹⁷²

A) THE LOW COUNTRIES.

There is evidence that St Katherine was honoured in some parts. A record of 1495-6 from Aalst shows that the Brethren of Rhetoric and Guild of St Katherine (Flemish, Sinte Kathelijne) were subsidized by the town council in their performance in Dendermonde of 'spelen van Zinne ende estabementen'. There is no reference to a pageant/play of St Katherine. The Rederijkers of Hasselt adopted St Katherine as their Patroness, 17 August 1482.¹⁷³

In 1467 'The Sufferings and Death of St Katherine' was performed in Dendermonde by the 'Gezellen van Sint Antoninus' with realistic effects. Blood could be seen streaming from her severed head. According to the legend the wheel of torture did not kill her and the Emperor Maxentius then ordered her head to be cut off. The performance is said to have been given from sleds. Later together with the above the same guild gave a representation of the Martyrdom of Saint Dorothy, their patroness.¹⁷⁴

B) FRANCE.

There were 'representations' (i.e. acted plays with live persons and dialogue) of Sainte Catherine in France as follows:¹⁷⁵

1351 Lille.	1468 Metz.	1487 Mons.
1433 Metz.	1483 Lyon.	1492 Angers.
1453 Montelimar.	1486 Metz.	1565 Draguignan.
1454 Rouen.		

C) GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

We have found very little information concerning representations of the Martyrdom of St Katherine in these areas. Creizenach reports the text of a play on the subject which conforms to the traditional legend. It is contained in a MS which is probably of the Middle Ages, perhaps the fifteenth century, and which also contains a text of the Play of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. According to Creizenach the only other German text of its kind to have come to light is that of The Martyrdom of St Dorothea.¹⁷⁶

The only other German evidence we have found is of a 'tableau' of St Katherine wearing a crown and holding the symbols of her torture and martyrdom, i.e. the wheel and the sword. This is known to have been processed in the annual Corpus Christi Procession at Zerbst in 1507, which included a large number of other 'tableaux'. The procession was held at the end of the Fourteenth/beginning of the fifteenth centuries, and ceased in 1522.¹⁷⁷

In Germany St Katherine was regarded as one of the 'Fourteen Holy Helpers', as was St Erasmus.¹⁷⁸

D) ITALY.

We have found evidence of but one representation of the Martyrdom of St Katherine in Italy. It took place at Modena, 27 May 1554 and was performed on the town Piazza by 'la Compagnia de santo Petro

Martire', 'con molti vestiti di sacchi e descalzi... '.¹⁷⁹

E) SPAIN.

From Spain we have found no evidence for any representations of The Martyrdom of St Katherine.

The foregoing evidence amply shows that anyone producing a 'tableau' or play focussing on the life of any of the saints venerated in Scotland could have looked beyond the *Golden Legend* to many precedents of such plays on the continental mainland, and it is most probable that if they did so it would have been to the traditions of France and the Low Countries. The cult of St Katherine was stronger in France than elsewhere, no doubt, due to the large French involvement over many years in the various Crusades to conquer and hold the Holy Land.¹⁸⁰

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN. APPENDICES 'A' AND 'B'. THE SAINTS IN
SCOTTISH PAGEANTRY AND PLAYS.

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Ecclesiae Cujusdam in Scotia* ed. W.D.M. (facsimile copy of a
fifteenth century MS in the possession of John Marquis of
Bute, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1900) 450-53.
- Up to the second half of the fifteenth century there was no
difference between the Scottish and the English Sarum Rites.
Then in Scotland a small number of saints of significance
to Scotland began to be added to the standard Sarum Calendar.
Before the onset of printing the parishes of both countries
probably got most of their liturgical books from the
Scriptoria at Rouen, and subsequently from the printing
presses of the same city.
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 126. " 90.
 127. " 91,2.
 128. " 99.
 129. " 99-102.
 130. " 109.
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 132. " 112,3.
 133. " 91, 113;
YOUNG *DMC* vol.2, 335, where the fragment is reproduced with the
speakers' names added.
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146. UNGER *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van Middelburg* (see n.75) vol.3, 527,8.
147. De POTTER (see n.144) 113,4.
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153. FARMER *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (OUP, 1978) 130.
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