



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

RENAISSANCE CULTURE AT THE COURT OF JAMES V, 1528-1542

Andrea Thomas

Ph.D.

The University of Edinburgh

1997



CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	4
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	5
<i>Abbreviations</i>	6
<i>Conventions and Conversions</i>	8
Introduction.....	9
1. The Royal Household	26
2. The Role and Status of Women.....	65
3. The Visual Arts	90
4. Music and Religious Observance.....	135
5. Learning and Literature.....	178
6. Technological Developments	214
7. Pageantry and Ceremonial.....	246
Conclusion	290
Appendices:	
A. The Royal Household	299
B. Transcriptions of Selected Household Papers.....	376
C. The King's Itinerary	386
Bibliography	424

ABSTRACT

This study of the cultural activities of the Scottish court in the adult reign of King James V reveals a vibrant, sophisticated and confident outlook, which was more closely integrated with the developments of the northern-European Renaissance than has been apparent hitherto. James V utilised the limited resources at his disposal to good effect, and his cultural patronage propagated multi-layered images of royal power. Continuity with the traditions established by his Stewart forbears, especially his father, James IV, was stressed, particularly in the early years of his reign. However, the chivalric, imperial and humanist themes which were fashionable at the Valois, Habsburg and Tudor courts of the period, were also important and became more prominent at the Scottish court as the reign progressed.

An initial examination of the daily life of the court focuses on the personnel, structure and organisation of the royal household and considers the itinerary and routine activities of the king, his family and his entourage. This allows the cultural patronage of the court to be placed in a social context, in which the role and status of women at the court are particularly highlighted. Subsequent chapters consider developments in the visual arts, music and religious observance, learning and literature, military technology, and pageantry and ceremonial. The architectural patronage of the court was particularly rich and encompassed buildings in the ornate High-Gothic style, which was pioneered in the Burgundian Netherlands, and a more restrained Italianate Classicism borrowed from the French court. Music also flourished at the Scottish court, where the French *chanson* and the Italian consort of viols could be heard alongside the florid, Anglo-Flemish, sacred polyphony of the chapel royal. Likewise, the literary life of the court included vivid (and sometimes bawdy) vernacular verse, scholarly translations of classical texts, neo-Latin humanist treatises, and one of the earliest known examples of a Scottish play. The king also spent heavily on developing an embryonic royal navy, royal artillery and a network of coastal and border fortifications, which incorporated the latest advances in military technology. The ceremonial highlights of the reign included two royal weddings, the lavish funerals of Queens Madeleine de Valois and Margaret Tudor, the coronation of Queen Mary of Lorraine as well as tournaments and rituals connected with the chivalric orders of the Garter, the Golden Fleece and St. Michael. In all of these areas the inspiration of the court of Francis I was particularly strong, since James V spent several years of his minority under the authority of a French Governor, married two French princesses and made a personal visit to the French court in 1536-37. However, men of English, Flemish and Italian origins served the king or visited his court and their influence can also be detected operating alongside the tastes and customs of the Scottish realm.

Emerging defiantly from a long and turbulent minority, the adult James V managed to create an exuberant and cosmopolitan court in only fourteen years. His patronage was, of necessity, on a smaller scale than that of the Tudor and Valois kings but a detailed examination of the Scottish court at this period nevertheless reveals a cultural achievement of remarkable quality and diversity.

92, 000 words.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are owed to many people who have assisted, advised and encouraged me in the production of this thesis. In particular I am very grateful for the work of my two supervisors, Professors Michael Lynch and Anthony Goodman, who have been generous with their time, constructive with their comments, and patient with my inadequacies. John Bannerman, Robert Morris, John Dunbar, Athol Murray, Rosalind Marshall, Alison Rosie, Aonghus Mackechnie, Pat Denniston, Theo van Heijnsbergen and Alasdair MacDonald have all provided invaluable assistance and advice in areas where my research overlapped with their specialisms. The staff of the Scottish Record Office, the National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library, and Doris Williamson at the Scottish History Department, have been unfailingly courteous and helpful in dealing with my many enquiries. The Arts Faculty Research Fund, the Jeremiah Dalziel Prize Committee and the Scottish History Department Conference Fund have provided some welcome financial assistance for a student in a field where grants are now an endangered species. I have also benefited considerably from the camaraderie generated by Amy Juhala, Robin MacPherson, Janet Foggie, Alan MacDonald, Kyoko Kosuge, Ray Wells, Ruth Grant, Sharon Adams, John Finlay, Mark Godfrey and other members of the Scottish History Department's Postgraduate Seminar. Tim Hands and Ashley Null were kind enough to do some proof-reading for me, but the greatest burden in this task has fallen upon the shoulders of my husband, David, without whose support I would never even have commenced a research project, let alone completed one.

AST

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations have, where possible, followed the guidelines set by the 'List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560', *SHR*, xlii (1963), pp. vii-xxix.

<i>Abdn. Counc.</i>	<i>Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen</i> (Spalding Club, 1844-48)
<i>ADCP</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1544: Selections from Acta Dominorum Concilii</i> , ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932)
<i>APS</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75)
<i>Balcarres Papers</i>	<i>Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland, from the Originals in the Balcarres Papers</i> (SHS, 1923-25)
<i>Bannatyne Misc.</i>	<i>The Bannatyne Miscellany</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1827-55)
<i>Bann. MS</i>	<i>The Bannatyne Manuscript</i> , ed. W. Tod Ritchie (STS, 1923-25)
<i>Chron. Perth.</i>	<i>The Chronicle of Perth</i> (Maitland Club, 1831)
<i>Cronique de Roy</i>	<i>Cronique du Roy François Premier de ce nom</i> , ed. Georges Guiffrey (Paris, 1860)
<i>CSP Ven.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice</i> , eds. T. Brown et al., (London, 1864-)
<i>Diurnal of Occurrents</i>	<i>A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland, since the death of King James the Fourth till the year 1575</i> (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1833)
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (London and Oxford, 1885-)
<i>DSCHT</i>	N. M. de S. Cameron et al., <i>Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology</i> (Edinburgh, 1993)
<i>Edin. Recs.</i>	<i>Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh</i> (SBRS, 1869-92)
<i>EETS</i>	Early English Text Society
<i>Excerpta e Libris</i>	<i>Excerpta e Libris Domicilii Domini Jacobi Quinti Regis Scotorum</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1836)
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , eds. J. Stuart et al. (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
<i>Hamilton Papers</i>	<i>The Hamilton Papers</i> , ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1890-92)
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</i> (London, 1870-)
<i>IR</i>	<i>The Innes Review</i> (1950-)
<i>James IV Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-13</i> , eds. R. K. Hannay and R. L. Mackie (SHS, 1953)

<i>James V Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of James V</i> , eds. R. K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954)
JR	<i>Juridical Review</i> (1889-)
L&P Henry VIII	<i>Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII</i> , eds. J. S. Brewer et al. (London, 1864-1932)
MB	<i>Musica Britannica</i> (London, 1950-)
Maitland Misc.	<i>Miscellany of the Maitland Club</i> (Maitland Club, 1833-47)
MW	<i>Accounts of the Masters of Works</i> , eds. H. M. Paton et al. (Edinburgh, 1957-)
Nat. MSS. Scot.	<i>Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland</i> (London, 1867-71)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i> (1851-)
Prot. Bk. Johnsou	<i>Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsou 1528-78</i> (SRS, 1920)
RCAHMS	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1909-)
RMS	<i>Registrum Magni Sigillii Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. J. M. Thomson et al. (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
ROSC	<i>Review of Scottish Culture</i> (Edinburgh, 1985-)
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i> (1923-)
RSS	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. M. Livingstone et al. (Edinburgh, 1908-)
Sadler's Papers	<i>State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler</i> , ed. A. Clifford (Edinburgh, 1809)
SBRS	Scottish Burgh Record Society
SHR	<i>The Scottish Historical Review</i> (1903-28, 1947-)
SHS	Scottish History Society
SHS Misc.	<i>Miscellany of the Scottish History Society</i> (SHS, 1893-)
SP	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14)
Spalding Misc.	<i>Miscellany of the Spalding Club</i> (Spalding Club, 1841-52)
SRO	Scottish Record Office
SRS	Scottish Record Society
STS	Scottish Text Society
TA	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877-1916)
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TSES	<i>Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society</i>
Wardrobe Inventories	<i>A Collection of Inventories and other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse; and of the Artillery and Munitioun in some of the Royal Castles, 1488-1606</i> , ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1815)

CONVENTIONS AND CONVERSIONS

All sums of money are in pounds Scots unless otherwise stated (a merk was two-thirds of a pound). The exchange rate during the 1530s was approximately three pounds Scots to one pound Sterling, and two and a quarter livres Tournois to one pound Scots. The French crown was current at roughly one pound Scots.

The Scottish ell was approximately thirty seven inches.

The year is deemed to have started on 1 January.

The spellings of names have generally been modernised as in G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (Edinburgh, 1836).

The spellings of place-names have generally been modernised as in F. H. Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1885-1901).

All references give the page/folio numbers except citations from *RMS*, *RSS* and *L&P Henry VIII*, which give the document numbers.

INTRODUCTION

I consider, therefore, that the perfect courtier ... can indeed be good and praiseworthy, not, however, simply in himself but in regard to the end to which he is directed. For, to be sure, if the only fruit produced by the courtier's noble birth, gracefulness, charm and skills were just himself, I should not consider it right for a man to put into acquiring the perfection of courtiership all the study and effort that are certainly necessary. On the contrary, I should claim that many of the skills that have been attributed to him, such as dancing, entertaining, singing and playing games, were vain and frivolous, and in a man of rank deserving of censure rather than praise. For these elegances of dress, devices, mottoes and other such things that belong to the world of women and romance often, despite what many may think, serve simply to make men effeminate, to corrupt the young and to lead them into dissolute ways And certainly there are countless other things which would be of far greater benefit in both peace and war, given the same amount of study and effort, than this kind of sterile courtiership. But if the activities of the courtier are directed as they should be to the virtuous end I have in mind, then I for one am quite convinced not only that they are neither harmful nor vain but that they are most advantageous and deserving of infinite praise.

In my opinion, therefore, the end of the perfect courtier ... is, by means of the accomplishments attributed to him, ... so to win for himself the mind and favour of the prince he serves that he can and always will tell him the truth about all he needs to know, without fear or risk of displeasing him. And, if he knows that his prince is of a mind to do something unworthy, he should be in a position to dare to oppose him, and make courteous use of the favour his good qualities have won to remove every evil intention and persuade him to return to the path of virtue. Thus if the courtier is endowed with the goodness ... attributed to him, as well as being quick-witted and charming, prudent and scholarly and so forth, he will always have the skill to make his prince realise the honour and advantages that accrue to him and his family from justice, liberality, magnanimity, gentleness and all the other virtues befitting a ruler, and on the other hand, the infamy and loss that result from practising the vices opposed to these virtues. Therefore I consider that just as music, festivities, games and other agreeable accomplishments are, so to speak, the flower of courtiership, so its real fruit is to encourage and help his prince to be virtuous and to deter him from evil.¹

In this passage from *The Book of the Courtier* Castiglione places his discussion of the nature and purpose of the Renaissance court firmly within the context of an 'advice to

¹Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth, 1983), 284-85.

princes' tradition with a long pedigree in western European thought.² In the book as a whole, there are echoes of Aristotle's *Politics* in the discussion of the best and worst forms of government; Castiglione quotes freely from Plato's *Republic*, Cicero's *De Oratore* and other classical texts, and he also draws upon biblical stories and the great writers of the Tuscan vernacular: Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio.³ Castiglione's debt to the conventions of late-medieval discourse is also apparent in his awareness of the long-standing stereotypical images of the decadent and corrupting courtly environment, where the unseemly scramble for favour and preferment was said to encourage men to display all their baser instincts; as well as in his use of the moral framework of the search for good government delivered by the virtuous prince.⁴ Furthermore, his discussion is enriched by an appreciation of the chivalric culture of the northern courts of France, the Netherlands and England and by the lingering appeal of a pan-European crusading movement against the Turk.⁵ Thus he informs his readers that prowess at the martial sports of the lists and tiltyard is to be nurtured for the opportunities it provides to exhibit manly virtues and to impress potential patrons. Likewise, the chivalric orders of the Garter, St. Michael and the Golden Fleece are mentioned with approval, and Monsieur d'Angoulême, Prince Henry and Don Carlos (the future Francis I, Henry VIII and Charles V) are presented as the incipient heroes of a courtly revival.⁶

²Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), 135-67.

³Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge, 1995), 8-18.

⁴*Ibid.*, 55, 106-15. Similar comments can be found in works by Peter of Blois, John of Salisbury, Walter Map, William of Malmesbury, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and others: Sydney Anglo, 'The Courtier: The Renaissance and Changing Ideals', in A. G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe, 1400-1800* (New York, 1984), 33-4; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), 54-66.

⁵See Cecil H. Clough, 'Francis I and the Courtiers of Castiglione's *Courtier*', in *European Studies Review*, xviii (1978), 23-50.

⁶Castiglione, *Courtier*, 115-16, 208-09, 312-13.

However, in pursuit of these exalted universalist ideals Castiglione is also fastidious in his attention to detail. He provides the budding courtier with a recipe for 'how to win friends and influence people' which advises him on such matters as his clothing (dignified and restrained for everyday wear, colourful and conspicuous for sports and festivals), his sense of humour (collect light and witty anecdotes for suitable moments but avoid being coarse or blasphemous) and his approach to playing chess (aim for mediocrity, since mastery of the game requires such dedicated application that it suggests that playing the game has become an end in itself, whereas it should be simply an agreeable way of ingratiating oneself with persons of quality).⁷ Once the skills and accomplishments of the ideal courtier have been acquired they should, if possible, be deployed in the service of the ideal prince. The good lord not only exhibits the standard attributes of enforcing justice, securing victory in warfare, protecting true religion, rewarding good service according to merit, and accepting wise counsel but, for Castiglione, he should have other characteristics too. He should have an appreciation of art, music, literature, oratory and scholarship; he must appear to be a splendid and generous patron, who holds 'magnificent banquets, festivals, games and public shows', and who keeps 'a great many fine horses for use in peace or war, as well as falcons, hounds and all the other things that pertain to the pleasures of great lords and their subjects' and he should also 'erect great buildings, both to do him honour in his lifetime and to be memorials after his death'.⁸ Such are the marks of a truly great Renaissance prince.

Castiglione had had personal experience of the courts of Urbino, Mantua, Milan, Rome and Spain and contacts with people from the courts of France, England and the Netherlands.⁹ Presentation copies of his book were sent to many of the great princes

⁷Castiglione, *Courtier*, 134-36, 154-203, 140.

⁸Castiglione, *Courtier*, 310.

⁹Castiglione, *Courtier*, 9-19; Clough, 'Courtiers of Castiglione', 23-50;

of the age and his text was thus widely disseminated even before translations were undertaken, such as that of Jacques Colin into French (c.1537) and that of Sir Thomas Hoby into English (1561).¹⁰ Thus *The Courtier* may well have been known to some of the educated and globe-trotting members of the Scottish court of the period but, even if this were not the case, many of the ideals it expounds can be detected at work in the courtly culture of the reign of James V. This is hardly surprising since the popularity of Castiglione's work rested not upon its novelty or particularity but on its compendious and eloquent insight into many of the general concerns, ideals, and customs of the political élite of the age. Indeed, many of the authorities cited by Castiglione were known in Scotland, and so were other texts on similar themes of courtliness, good lordship and chivalric virtue. For instance, Dante and Boccaccio were known to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the foremost vernacular poet of James V's court, and other courtly texts appeared in Scottish versions in the manuscripts of Sir Gilbert Hay and John Asloan.¹¹

The importance of Castiglione's work for the purposes of this study is twofold: firstly, in that his eclectic use of a wide range of sources and influences is reflected in the cultural developments of European courts of the period, a pattern to which the court of James V largely conforms; and secondly, because his emphasis on the impression created by such apparently trivial details, such as clothing, manners, conversation, etiquette, sports and games and so forth, indicates clearly just how important such things were for the Renaissance court, in which the lifestyle of the prince and his circle can possibly be seen as a work of art in itself (albeit one with high political and moral purposes, at least in theory).

¹⁰Burke, *Fortunes of the Courtier*, 55-80, 158-78.

¹¹Lindsay's *Dreme* (c.1526) was almost certainly inspired, at least in general terms, by Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and he also cites 'Boccace': Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, *The Works*, ed. Douglas Hamer (4 vols., STS, 1931-36) i, 3-38 (*Dreme*), 131 (*Tragedie*, l. 27), 265 (*Monarchie*, l. 2247); Sir Gilbert Hay, *The Prose Manuscript*, ed. J. H. Stevenson (2 vols., STS, 1901-14); *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie (2 vols., STS, 1923-25).

The chapters that follow attempt to explain in some detail how many diverse cultural influences came to be inter-twined in the Scottish royal court of the period, and how the domestic routine provided by such elements as a hierarchical household, a regular itinerary, palatial surroundings and the staging of occasional public spectacles all combined to create a courtly culture which imitated in miniature those of France, England and the Netherlands, and which carried important political messages for consumption at home and abroad. Thus it is possible to detect the influence of humanist scholarship and its concern with the revival of antiquity in the classical decorative details applied to the courtyard façades of Falkland palace, or in the translation of Livy's *History of Rome*, commissioned by the king.¹² The imperial theme, which became a mainstay of political iconography of the period,¹³ is reflected in the refashioning of the royal regalia and in the images struck on coins, whilst the national identity of the Scottish realm was stirred by the rhetoric of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* (1527), also translated for the king.¹⁴ Similarly, the cult of chivalry was also fostered at the court, which mounted jousts and tournaments, gave prominence to the art of heraldry and honoured the European orders of knighthood.¹⁵ Also the medieval customs of the Scottish monarchy were maintained: the king toured his realm relentlessly, showing himself to the people in regal magnificence and dispensing justice in person; he both supported and exploited the church simultaneously whilst presenting himself as the ideal Christian knight, eager (in principle but not in practice) for crusading duties; he led his feudal host on military campaigns in which the crown supplied the latest artillery and naval technology; and his genealogy as a descendant of an ancient line of kings was stressed. Within this

¹²See John MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), 10-19, 32-35.

¹³See Frances A Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1985), 1-28.

¹⁴See R. A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', in idem (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), 60-84; idem, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', in R. A. Mason and N. Macdougall (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T. C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992), 50-73.

¹⁵See chapter 7.

brimming melting-pot of the Scottish court, a rich and heady brew was concocted in which fine art, architecture, scholarship, literature, music and piety mingled and jostled for attention alongside hunting, hawking, dancing, feasting, fighting, womanising, archery, tennis, cards, chess and the other routine activities of aristocratic life. Indeed, the patronage of learning and the arts at court seems to have been aimed essentially at providing the scenery, props and 'sound-bites' for the theatrical confection of royal pageantry and spectacle. The men of talent were probably regarded with little more reverence than other servants of the king, their artistic creations valued only in so far as they served to entertain people of rank, propagate the images of power, and enhance the honour, dignity and fame of the court.¹⁶ This study, therefore, is a consideration of cultural activity in its widest possible sense, which attempts to portray the totality of the courtly experience in the Scotland of the adult James V.

The format adopted is thematic rather than chronological in order to facilitate a detailed consideration of each of the main areas of cultural activity of the period, but within each chapter attempts have been made to indicate changes in the use and form of courtly patronage over time and therefore, where appropriate, some explanation is offered of the most significant events of the reign. Unlike the other Stewart monarchs, James V still awaits a modern scholarly biography to make the story of his life and times widely known. The sixteenth-century accounts of the reign are so frustratingly terse and selective, that they are of very limited use to historians. The *Chronicle of Perth* and the *Chronicle of Aberdeen* both have very narrow, parochial perspectives and whilst the *Diurnal of Occurrents* is a little broader in its interests it scarcely

¹⁶Sydney Anglo, 'Humanism and the Court Arts', in Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London, 1990), 66-98.

elaborates on the rather bald sequence of dates and events it records.¹⁷ Friar Adam Abell's *Roit and Quheill of Tyme* ranges in its scope from the Ottoman incursions into the Balkans and central Europe to the conversion of the pagans in Mexico and muses at length on the wickedness of the world, epitomised by the heretic king of England, but tells us very little about events in Scotland, and in any case it ventures no further in time than 1537.¹⁸ The idiosyncrasies and 'hobbyhorses' of the later sixteenth-century narratives by Knox, Leslie, Pitscottie and Buchanan are well known and colour vividly all subsequent accounts by commentators from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.¹⁹ Recent research has attempted to unravel the history from the mythology by close examination of the surviving record sources. However, as yet the two most important theses providing a narrative of the reign, those by Kenneth Emond and the late James Cameron, remain unpublished, despite the fact that they both extend and challenge the analyses of the most successful general histories of the period, those of Donaldson and Wormald.²⁰ Fortunately, there are plans for Cameron's work to be made available in print in the near future, and this will undoubtedly make a valuable contribution to the historical perspective,²¹ whilst the

¹⁷*The Chronicle of Perth* (Maitland Club, 1831); 'The Chronicle of Aberdeen', in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ii (1841); *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of king James the Fourth till the year MDLXXV* (Bannatyne Club, 1833).

¹⁸NLS MS 1746; Alasdair M. Stewart, 'The Final Folios of Adam Abell's "Roit or Quheill of Tyme": An Observantine Friar's Reflections of the 1520s and 30s' in Janet Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style, 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V* (East Linton, 1996), 227-53.

¹⁹John Knox, *The Works*, ed. David Laing (6 vols, Woodrow Society, 1846-64), i (*The History of the Reformation in Scotland*); Jhone Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland* trans. James Dalrymple, ed. E. G. Cody and W. Murison (2 vols, STS, 1888-95); John Lesley, *The Historie of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, 1830) [the texts of these two editions are different because they derive from different manuscript sources and I have cited references from both versions in the following footnotes]; Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Æ. J. G. MacKay (3 vols, STS, 1899-1911); George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland*, trans. J. Aikman (4 vols, Glasgow, 1827-29). See also *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie*, ed. W. B. D. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842).

²⁰W. K. Emond, 'The Minority of King James V, 1513-28' (University of St. Andrews Ph.D., 1988); James S. Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations in the Personal Rule of James V, 1528-1542' (University of St. Andrews Ph.D., 1994); Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1990); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Edinburgh, 1992).

²¹James S. Cameron, *James V: the Personal Rule*, ed. Norman Macdougall, is scheduled for publication by the Tuckwell Press shortly.

wide-ranging and incisive research of Carol Edington on Lindsay and the court has also made a significant addition to the published accounts of the period.²²

The most important aspects of the sequence of events of the reign need to be borne in mind when considering the cultural analysis of the following chapters. James V was the only surviving child of King James IV and Queen Margaret Tudor, who was the eldest daughter of King Henry VII of England. He succeeded to the throne in September 1513, at the tender age of seventeen months, after the defeat and death of his father by the armies of the earl of Surrey at the battle of Flodden. He thus inherited a realm in which the political community was by and large (but not unanimously) instinctively hostile to the English crown, whilst himself having a prominent place in the line of succession to that same crown. He also inherited a long-standing alliance with the French kingdom which was widely considered to have served the interests of France more effectively than those of Scotland. The international standing of the Scottish realm was placed under further pressure in the early 1530s when the English king renounced his allegiance to the church of Rome but simultaneously entered a period of uncharacteristically warm relations with the king of France, which endured until the Most Christian King and the Holy Roman Emperor buried their differences in 1538. This *rapprochement* created a Habsburg-Valois alliance which for two years threatened to develop into a crusade against Henry VIII, but which had collapsed in acrimony by 1540-41. In the see-sawing international diplomacy of the period, the friendship of the Scottish realm was rarely prized for its own sake, but could be alternately cultivated or disregarded according to how useful it might have become to an opposing power.²³

²²Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (East Linton, 1995).

²³Emond, 'Minority'; R. G. Eaves, *Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy, 1513-1524: England's Relations with the Regency Government of James V* (New York, 1971); idem, *Henry VIII and James V's Regency, 1524-1528: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Diplomacy* (London, 1987); D. M. Head, 'Henry

The shifting sands of international relations made the lengthy minority of James V (1513-28) a particularly unstable period, since the official lord governor (because he was the closest adult male heir to the throne) was the duke of Albany, who styled himself Jehan Stuart, duc d'Albanie. He was the son of James III's exiled brother, Alexander, by his French wife; he was married to a French heiress, Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne; he was a peer of the French realm; and until 1515 he had neither set foot in Scotland nor spoken a word of Scots.²⁴ He exercised his governorship in person only for brief periods from May 1515 to September 1517, from November 1521 to October 1522, and from September 1523 to May 1524 and this timetable was dictated largely by the needs of French foreign policy (in particular relations with England) rather than Scottish domestic needs. In Albany's absence, power was wielded by Queen Margaret, the earl of Arran and other lords with varying degrees of incompetence, until in 1525-26 Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, achieved hegemony by the simple expedient of acquiring and retaining possession of the person of the king. Angus's regime was partial and heavy-handed but was sponsored by Henry VIII, who was keen to counteract the francophilia of the duke of Albany. It came to an end in the summer of 1528 when the sixteen-year-old James V slipped away from his Douglas captors and proclaimed his personal rule. He set up camp at Stirling Castle (one of his mother's dower houses, which she made over to him) and called to his side all those lords who had been alienated by the Angus regime.²⁵ A parliament was swiftly convened in which the Douglasses were forfeited for treason, and this was followed by an attempt to enforce the ruling through a siege of Tantallon Castle, which failed. In March 1529 a deal was done with Henry VIII which secured exile in England for Angus and possession of his properties for James V.²⁶

VIII's Scottish Policy: A Reassessment', *SHR*, lxi (1982), 1-24; C. Patrick Hotele, *Thorns and Thistles: Diplomacy between Henry VIII and James V, 1528-1542* (Lanham, 1996).

²⁴Marie W. Stuart, *The Scot who was a Frenchman* (Edinburgh, 1940).

²⁵Emond, 'Minority'.

²⁶Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 33-134.

In the early 1530s the king stamped his authority on his realm by launching raids on the Borders and the Highlands and successfully organising defence against English incursions in 1532-33, which culminated in a French-brokered peace treaty signed in May 1534. He also obtained papal agreement to tax the church heavily, ostensibly to fund the college of justice (which was established in Edinburgh in 1532 as a body of professional judges to staff the court of session for regular terms), but in reality much of the money raised went into the royal palace-building programme.²⁷ Other concessions secured from the papacy included the extension of the period for which the crown could draw the revenues of vacant benefices from eight months to one year (granted in March 1535), permission for the king to bestow five of the major Scottish abbacies upon his illegitimate and underage sons (and therefore have access to these revenues as well until the boys came of age), and the gift of the blessed cap and sword which was sent to the king in February 1537.²⁸ After many years of involved negotiations with several foreign governments, James V's marriage was agreed in March 1536. He was betrothed to a lady of the French blood royal, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendôme. However, she was very much the consolation prize, since according to the treaty of Rouen (1517, ratified 1522) James should have married a daughter of King Francis I. In September 1536 James sailed to France to secure his bride, and having inspected her at her father's residence at St. Quentin, he rejected the match and managed to secure the hand of the Princess Madeleine instead. They were married in Paris on 1st January 1537 amid lavish festivities and pageantry. Upon Queen Madeleine's early death in July 1537, a second French marriage was arranged with Marie de Lorraine (otherwise known as Mary of Guise), eldest daughter of Claude de Lorraine, duke of Guise. She arrived in Scotland in June 1538 and produced two princes of Scotland who died in April 1541, before

²⁷See W. S. Reid, 'Clerical Taxation: the Scottish Alternative to the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *Catholic Historical Review*, xxxiv (1948), 129-153.

²⁸*The Letters of James V*, ed. R. K. Hannay and D. Hay (SHS, 1954), 279, 285, 327-29, 342-43, 357, 399, 423-27.

she gave birth to the future Mary, Queen of Scots, in December 1542, just a week before the death of the king.²⁹

By then relations with England, which had been cordial from 1534 to 1536, and increasingly tense from the time of the first French marriage, had broken down completely. The excuses offered for Surrey's cross-border raids were that James V had refused repeated invitations to meet his uncle in a face-to-face encounter designed to settle the differences between them, and that the king of Scots had been harbouring English rebels. The real reason was that Francis I and Charles V were at war again and that Henry VIII was in the process of reviving his imperial alliance and his claims to the throne of France. He was therefore impatient to take his armies to the continent, where he was convinced that a glorious victory awaited them. However, the French marriages and the papal favour bestowed upon James V had convinced Henry that if England launched a cross-channel invasion of France the Scots would attack its northern border, as had happened in 1513. To avoid this potentially dangerous situation the English king decided on a pre-emptive strike in the summer and autumn of 1542 (there was no likelihood that an invasion of Scotland would precipitate a French assault on the English south coast), which he hoped would inflict sufficient damage upon the Scots to ensure that they did not venture a military campaign on behalf of the French. In the event, the decisive blow against potential Scottish action was delivered not by the English victory at Solway Moss on 24th November (although this was undoubtedly a humiliation for the Scots) but by the untimely death of the king on 14th December, leaving as his heir a baby girl only six days old. From the English point of view, this was a remarkable stroke of luck, and one which delayed Henry's continental adventures for a further year, whilst he tried to exploit the situation. From the Scottish point of view it was a calamity, which brought

²⁹Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 135-283; Edmond Bapst, *Les Mariages de Jaques V* (Paris, 1889); Rosalind Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977), 40-107.

an abrupt halt to a period of relatively stable and effective government and of remarkable cultural development, plunging the realm into yet another long and traumatic minority.³⁰

Setting politics and diplomacy aside, the reign of the adult James V has long been seen as an important period of development for the legal and fiscal aspects of Scottish government.³¹ This may be largely a result of the accidental survival of official records, which are substantially more complete for the sixteenth century than for any earlier period, but it is also clear that this interpretation has at least some basis in reality. The financial administration of the period has been effectively dissected in the works of Athol Murray and it is not necessary to rehearse his findings in detail.³² However, it is clear that during the minority of James V the accounts of the comptroller and treasurer were often 'superexpended' (in deficit). This was because of the difficulties of regularly extracting full payments for rents, customs and other dues during a period of political instability, a problem which was compounded by the heavy expenditure of the regimes of the duke of Albany, Queen Margaret and the earl of Angus, which had to be met in addition to the household expenses of the young king. The problems continued into the early years of the adult reign because, as we have seen, there was still some unrest as well as military campaigns in the Borders and Isles during the period 1528 to 1534 and, even though the expenditure on the royal household was brought under firmer control, the king embarked on a lavish building

³⁰Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 494-559; Head, 'Scottish Policy', 13-21; Hottle, *Thorns and Thistles*, 141-91.

³¹Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 43-8, 53, 56-8; Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 12-13, 15-16, 20-26. See also Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 1-9, 441-52.

³²A. L. Murray, 'Exchequer and Crown Revenue of Scotland, 1437-1542 (University of Edinburgh PhD, 1961); idem, 'Exchequer and Council in the reign of James V', *Juridical Review*, v (1960), 209-25; idem, 'The Procedure of the Scottish Exchequer in the early Sixteenth Century', *SHR*, xl (1961), 89-117; idem, 'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster, 1539-40', *SHS Misc*, x (1965), 13-51; idem, 'Financing the Royal Household: James V and his Comptrollers, 1513-43', in I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw, *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson* (Edinburgh, 1983), 41-59; idem, 'Exchequer, Council and Session, 1513-1542', in Janet Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style, 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, 96-117.

programme and replenished the royal arsenal at considerable expense.³³ However, by the end of the reign the crown finances had been put on a relatively sound footing by a combination of tighter general management and the use of several effective expedients: the raising of taxation (both clerical and lay) when opportunities presented themselves (as they did for the foundation of the college of justice in 1532, or for the expenses arising from the arrangements for the king's marriage in 1535-36), the annexation of the lands of forfeited lords (those of the earl of Angus, lord Glamis, Sir James Colville of East Wemyss and Sir James Hamilton of Finnart) and the control of monastic revenues held *in commendam* by the king's underage and illegitimate sons (those of the abbeys of Melrose, Kelso and Holyrood and the priories of St. Andrews and Coldingham). Crown revenues were also augmented by the large dowries brought by the two French queens (£100,000 with Queen Madeleine and 100,000 merks with Queen Mary), as a result of the king's traditional act of revocation upon reaching his 'perfect age' (the act was originally made in Rouen in April 1537 and confirmed by the parliament of 1540-41), and following the resumption of Queen Margaret's jointure lands after her death in October 1541.³⁴ Cameron's consideration of James V's financial circumstances concluded that the king managed the collection and expenditure of his revenue well and generally lived within his means, and it was certainly the case that he left a cash surplus of £26,000 or more within his treasure chests on his death.³⁵ This contrasts markedly with the enormous debts left by both Francis I and Henry VIII in 1547, which they had managed to accumulate despite having considerably larger incomes than the king of Scots.³⁶

³³See chapters 3 and 6.

³⁴Murray, 'James V and his Comptrollers', 49-59; *idem*, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 24-27.

³⁵Cameron, 'Crown Magnate Relations', 450-52; *RSS*, iii, 383; Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 27.

³⁶R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994), 505; J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (1990), 453-54, 456. The exact extent of James V's income at the end of his reign is impossible to calculate, since much of it bypassed the official accounts; it has been estimated at something approaching £100,000 Scots p.a. (Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 451) which would equate to about £33,000 Sterling or £225,000 livres Tournois. Henry VIII's ordinary income (i.e. excluding taxes) reached about £300,000 Sterling in the late 1530s (C. S. L. Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558* [London, 1990], 195) and Francis I's total

Consideration of legal developments during the reign of James V has, quite naturally, focused on the establishment of the college of justice in May 1532.³⁷ This was presented as a royal initiative and James attended the opening ceremony in person, although chancellor Dunbar and secretary Erskine are usually credited with devising the scheme.³⁸ It certainly suited the king's financial ambitions to support the plan since it provided him with an excuse to levy regular taxation on the Scottish church with papal permission, but it may also have appealed to him in principle as a means of fulfilling his royal duty to provide justice by establishing a professional body of judges in civil causes (and a group of licensed advocates) sitting for regular terms.³⁹ A detailed legal history of this period has yet to be written but current research at the University of Edinburgh should considerably improve our understanding of the processes and personalities involved: Mark Godfrey is preparing a thesis on the jurisdiction and operation of the court of session in the 1520s and 1530s and John Finlay is working on the development of the legal profession in the same period.⁴⁰ It may be unwise to venture much further comment on this subject until these studies come to fruition, but an examination of the accounts of the period which are currently in print seems to suggest some links between the legal developments of the 1530s and the royal court.

Of the men who served on the bench before 1542, many were very close servants of the king and familiar figures within the court and household, and in that the court of session seems to have evolved as a sub-committee of the royal council, to which body

revenue (including taxes) at the beginning of his reign was roughly 4.9 million livres (Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 59). These figures are only very approximate but may suggest that the Scottish king's financial resources were possibly only a tenth those of the English monarch and a twentieth those of the French king.

³⁷R. K. Hannay, *The College of Justice*, ed. Hector L. MacQueen (Stair Society, 1990), 27-78.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 49-54; D. E. Easson, *Gavin Dunbar, Chancellor of Scotland and Archbishop of Glasgow* (Edinburgh and London, 1947), 41-53.

³⁹*APS*, ii, 335-6; Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 46-8.

⁴⁰I am very grateful to both of them for discussing some of their preliminary findings with me.

the council's judicial functions in civil cases had devolved, this should not be particularly surprising.⁴¹ Yet the number of names which can be located both within the royal court or household and within the court of session may nevertheless raise a suspicion that the foundation of the college of justice may have been, at least in part, intended to extend the operation of the royal prerogative rather than to formalise the disinterested administration of impartial justice. This impression is reinforced by the power which the king exercised to appoint extraordinary lords to sit alongside the ordinary judges at the royal pleasure, and by the fact that the court of session had an exclusive competence in all cases involving the crown.⁴² Senators of the college with dual roles included the first lord president, Alexander Mylne, abbot of Cambuskenneth, who acted as the administrator of the lands of two of the king's illegitimate sons from June 1540; Sir James Colville who was also the comptroller between 1530 and 1538; whilst John Dingwall, William Gibson, Sir John Campbell of Lundy and Nichol Crawford of Oxfangs had all acted as auditors of exchequer at some point.⁴³ Likewise the extraordinary lords of session included many royal familiars such as lord Erskine, appointed in November 1532, who was the captain of Stirling Castle; two successive deans of the chapel royal were appointed in 1533 and 1541 (Henry Wemyss and Andrew Durie); the king's secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin was appointed in 1533; and Sir James Hamilton of Finnart was the master of the king's stables when he was appointed in 1534.⁴⁴ Some of the advocates licensed to plead before the court of session also moved in royal circles (and many were subsequently raised to the bench): Robert Galbraith had been treasurer of the chapel royal between 1528 and 1532; Henry Lauder became king's advocate in 1538; whilst

⁴¹Hannay, *College of Justice*, 1-25; A. M. M. Duncan, 'The Central Courts before 1532', in G. C. H. Paton (ed.), *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Stair Society, 1958), 330-39.

⁴²Hannay, *College of Justice*, 28, 128-30.

⁴³*James V Letters*, 399; *ER*, xvi, 127; *ibid*, xvii, 155; *TA*, v, 99, 111, 280, 454, 463; *ER*, xv, 84, 357, 373, 550; *ER*, xvi, 127, 402.

⁴⁴*ADCP*, 389; G. Brunton and D. Haig, *An Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice* (Edinburgh, 1836), 41-2, 68-9, 43-4, 52-55. For their roles in the royal household see Appendix A.

Thomas Marjoribanks, Henry Balnaves and James Carmuir had all worked as royal clerks.⁴⁵ Thus, whilst it is certainly possible to interpret the establishment of the college of justice as a significant step along the road to the development of a centralised, bureaucratic and professional judicial system, it may also be viewed in a rather different light. The multiple activities and interests of the personnel of the court of session of the period might also suggest that this was something less than a professional body, an offshoot of the royal court and council which consisted of men experienced in legal matters, but who were not dedicated to a career in the law to the exclusion of all other possibilities. Adam Otterburn is perhaps a prime example of this: he was one of the original fifteen senators appointed in May 1532 (having already served as a lord of session for some years prior to that date), he was also the king's advocate (and *ex officio* of his council) between 1524 and 1538, he was frequently appointed to one or both of the parliamentary committees of the period (the lords of the articles and of causes), he served as a parliamentary commissioner (for instance as a searcher at the ports to prevent the export of specie in 1535), and was repeatedly sent to England on diplomatic missions as a royal envoy and expert negotiator.⁴⁶ Furthermore, he was also a burgher of Edinburgh who engaged in a trade in cloth and iron and served seven terms as Provost of the burgh.⁴⁷

Alongside Otterburn's wide-ranging legal, commercial, diplomatic and public activities, there is also a suggestion that he had some literary talent: in June 1538 he was one of three men commissioned by the burgh of Edinburgh to compose a French oration, the text of which has not survived, to welcome Mary of Guise on the

⁴⁵*RMS*, iii, 605; *RSS*, ii, 1104, 2714; *TA*, vi, 327-32; *RMS*, iii, 2116; *RSS*, i, 4090. For the advocates of the period see F. J. Grant (ed.), *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943* (SRS, 1944), 10, 13, 14, 26, 46, 78, 82, 110, 114, 117, 118, 121, 123, 128, 132, 144, 179, 197, 203, 218, 225-26; G. W. T. Omond, *The Lords Advocate of Scotland* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1883), i, 9-24. See also Appendix A for their roles in the royal household.

⁴⁶*ADCP*, 177; *RSS*, ii, 2714; *APS*, ii, 336, 285, 292, 304, 322, 333, 334, 341, 343; *ADCP*, 293, 405, 450-51. See also J. A. Inglis, *Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall* (Glasgow, 1935).

⁴⁷Inglis, *Adam Otterburn*, 1-3, 5-6, 15-16, 35-6, 41-3, 61-2, 66-7, 77, 82-9.

occasion of her royal entry to the town (the others were David Lindsay and James Foulis of Colinton and the speech was to be delivered by Henry Lauder).⁴⁸ Otterburn has also been credited with composing some Latin hexameters which were later used by George Buchanan as the basis of a poem.⁴⁹ It is easy to imagine that Castiglione would have approved of the administrative and artistic skills developed by Otterburn in his distinguished career (although he would have found his trading activities inappropriate for a courtier and senior public figure) and, as the following chapters will demonstrate, James V recruited into his service many other multi-talented 'renaissance men' who contributed in many ways to a vibrant and assertive courtly culture.

⁴⁸*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1528-1557* (SBRS, 1871), ii, 89.

⁴⁹Inglis, *Adam Otterburn*, 116-18.

1. THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

If the early modern royal court was an important 'point of contact' (as Geoffrey Elton put it)¹ for those people engaged in all aspects of political, diplomatic, religious, social and cultural activities, then the royal household, which was at the centre of the court, is also worthy of some detailed consideration. Recent household studies for France and England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have greatly assisted a fuller appreciation of the physical and social environment in which the political and administrative developments of the period took place. In particular, the work of A. R. Myers, David Starkey, Kate Mertes and Robert Knecht has traced the interaction of the mechanisms of domestic service with the wider world.² The study of the household of Scottish monarchs is still in its infancy,³ so this consideration of the household of James V can be little more than a preliminary sketch against which to set the cultural developments discussed in later chapters. It is also an attempt to place the Scottish experience within the wider context of the northern-European Renaissance court. In so doing, this chapter is primarily concerned with the personnel, organisation and routine of the domestic life of the Scottish court, but it also sheds some light on the networks of patronage and clientage which can be discerned dimly in the surviving records. Later chapters pursue the cultural themes in more detail and further

¹G. R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact, III: The Court', *TRHS*, xxvi (1976), 211-28.

²A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959); D. R. Starkey, 'The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in idem (ed.), *The English Court* (London, 1987), 71-117; Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988); R. J. Knecht, 'The Court of Francis I', *European Studies Review*, viii (1978), 1-18 and idem, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: the Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994), 117-133.

³Published works which have touched on aspects of this field so far include: Murray, 'Financing the Royal Household', 41-59; idem, 'Procedure of the Scottish Exchequer', 89-117; idem, 'The Comptroller, 1425-1488', *SHR*, lii (1973), 1-29; idem, 'Pursemaster's Accounts' 1539-40', 13-51; John Warrack, *Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688* (Edinburgh, 1920); 'The Scottish King's Household', ed. M. Bateson, *SHS Misc.*, ii (1904), 3-43; the prefaces to the relevant volumes of *TA* and *ER*. Research into the royal household of James VI is currently being undertaken by Amy Juhala at the University of Edinburgh and I am grateful to her for discussing her preliminary findings with me.

illuminate the operation of patronage within the royal household, in the wider court circle, and beyond into the local communities and international arena.

In an age of personal monarchy, the household of a sixteenth-century king fulfilled several overlapping functions and that of James V was no exception. It provided a permanent staff to perform services for the monarch and his or her entourage, ranging from the ceremonial to the menial. It provided opportunities for subjects to develop direct relationships with their sovereign, fostering ties of mutual trust, affection and loyalty, which could be utilised by both parties in pursuit of personal, dynastic and political goals. The household could also act as a cultural focus for the court, adding lustre and prestige to the monarch and the rituals of monarchy by accommodating favoured artists, writers, craftsmen and musicians in lucrative and influential posts. Finally, the household frequently provided sinecures for the clerks, lawyers, bureaucrats and other functionaries involved in the management of the crown lands and revenues and in the administration of the realm (two areas of responsibility which inevitably overlapped at this period).⁴ In all these functions the royal household was a many-faceted support system designed to help the king reconcile the many contradictory demands and expectations placed upon a 'good lord': it was concerned with economy and liberality, with the humdrum and the majestic, with the private and the public, with security and accessibility. The *Liber Niger* of Edward IV of England (1471-2) expressed this duality of function in the way in which it described the two main divisions within the English royal household: the *domus providencie* and the

⁴For detailed discussions of the nature and purpose of the early modern household see: David Starkey, 'The age of the household: politics, society and the arts c.1350-c.1550', in Stephen Medcalf (ed.), *The Context of English Literature: The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1981), 225-290; David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Bangor, 1992), 1-84; Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), 13-70; Chris Given Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986), 258-62.

domus magnificencie.⁵ Such terms do not appear in the Scottish sources but the Scottish household was nevertheless a multi-purpose organisation in a similar mould.

The natural starting point for most household studies is the record of rules and regulations governing the organisation, such as the *Liber Niger* (which was a draft of proposed reforms) or the *Eltham Ordinances* of 1526.⁶ Unfortunately, very few household ordinances survive in the Scottish record, and what little information is available is not always as full or as explicit as one might wish. However, analysis of the available evidence is not a totally unrewarding task and does suggest areas in which the Scottish practice conformed to, and differed from, the conventions of other courts. The earliest Scottish document which bears any resemblance to the English ordinances dates from January 1508 and may suggest that James IV was intending to impose greater discipline on his household than had previously been the case.⁷ It opens:

The haill place and Residens of þe Kingis quharever It be to be clengit of all maner of Rafeall and boyis weill & onhoneft perfonis quhatfumever [*'quheddir þa be on þe bill or nocht'* struck out].

Item Ilk lord extra ordinar out of þe bill of houfhald to enter witht ij personis witht hym and to be nemmyt quaht he was at þe nixt compt be name be þe mercheall.

Item ilk knyght j perfoun fic lyk & ony honeft gentilman of reputacioun providing alway þa be nemmyt.

Item þat Na maner perfon haf ma entering na thar ordinar in þe kingis bill of houfhald & þe extra ordinar be admittit as is befor faid.

Item þat na officiar kep ma in his offis houfis than Is conteint & allovit in þe bill of houfhald.⁸

⁵Myers, *Household of Edward IV*, 15.

⁶For these and other examples see *Household Ordinances* (London, Society of Antiquaries, 1790).

⁷SRO, Misc. Household Papers, E.34/1.

⁸Ibid, fo. 1r. The complete document is transcribed in Appendix B.

It then proceeds with the 'bill of household' which lists the members of the household both 'ordinar' and 'extradordinar' (i.e. those receiving fees, wages and/or livery clothes and those who served unpaid) and catalogues the number of personal servants each would be allowed to keep at court (the implication being that they would be fed and housed at the king's expense). The list ranges from the hereditary master of the household, the earl of Argyll (who was allowed eight servants), down to the pages, clerks of the chapel royal, and other lesser figures (who do not seem to have been permitted any). This document is important for several reasons: firstly, it indicates a concern for maintaining the proper dignity of members of the court, according to their rank, whilst at the same time limiting the population in the interests of economy and discipline. It also suggests that the king felt some responsibility for the moral welfare of his entourage. Both of these concerns can also be detected in the household ordinances of other courts of the period.⁹ More significant is the indication it provides of the number and quality of the extraordinary members of the household. There is no surviving 'bill of household' for the reign of James V and because the extraordinary lords and knights did not receive fees or livery, they hardly feature in the accounts of the king's expenditure, except when they received an occasional payment by special precept.¹⁰ Thus, if the precedent set by James IV was followed by his son (and, as we shall see, James V did seek to emulate his father in many things), we should expect to add the nobles and prelates, who usually served on the king's council,¹¹ as well as a body of knights and squires of attendance (numbering forty-eight men on the 1508 list) to the list of the recorded household members, which forms an appendix to this

⁹Mertes, *English Noble Household*, 57-8, 188; Myers, *Household of Edward IV*, 40-49; Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 18-21; Starkey, 'Age of the Household', 255-257; Loades, *Tudor Court*, 85-95.

¹⁰For example, at Yule 1538, the following received 'livery extraordinar': George Steel, John Hamilton of Colmskeith, William Durham (the heir of the laird of Grange in Angus), John Denniston (the parson of Dysart), sir Michael Dysart, sir William Drummond (both of the chapel royal) and a French apothecary: *TA*, vii, 127.

¹¹Many of these are identified and discussed in Emond, 'Minority' and Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations'. See also *ADCP* and *SRO*, Transumpt of Council Sederunts, 1518-1553, RH.2/1/9.

study. Indeed, in August 1526 (admittedly before James V was ruling in his own right), the king's auditors of exchequer were instructed to 'caus our officiaris to have siclyk wagis and dewitis lyk as thai had in our said derrest fadiris tyme and eftir the tenour of his saidis bukis'.¹²

There are only two surviving examples of (partial) household ordinances from the reign of James V. The first is undated but signed by the king's own hand and is a set of instructions to his master of household concerning the smooth running of the organisation.¹³ The king insists that his master of household should ensure that no one enters or leaves the court without proper authority (especially 'laddis or vyle boyis': a similar concern to that expressed in the 1508 ordinance), that his servants are decently housed, fed and clothed and that any complaints about non-payment of wages or allowances are dealt with swiftly and fairly. The second document seems to have been drafted c.1582 by one of James V's former masters of household, Sir James Learmonth of Dairsie, as guidance for the reform of the household of James VI.¹⁴ However, it concerns only the duties and responsibilities of the king's steward or senior caterer, and presumably it was once accompanied by similar descriptions of other key offices. It indicates that the steward was responsible for supervising the provision and distribution of all food and drink within the household (particularly supplies which had to be purchased at market), for obtaining value for money, for

¹²ADCP, 251.

¹³Transcribed in Appendix B.

¹⁴Also transcribed in Appendix B. The household records of the reign of James VI are much fuller than those of the earlier period and include detailed instructions about the rations and allowances provided for the king's and queen's servants, table arrangements in the hall at mealtimes, and repeated efforts at reform and economy: 'The Estate of the King and Quenis Majesties Houshald Reformit', in *Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark, 1589*, ed. J. T. Gibson Craig (Bannatyne Club, 1828), App. 3, pp. 23-38; A. Gibson and T. C. Smout, 'Food and Hierarchy in Scotland, 1550-1650', in Leah Lenman (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), 33-52; see also Rosalind Marshall, 'The Queen's Table', in Hugh Cheape (ed.), *Tools and Traditions: Studies in European Ethnology Presented to Alexander Fenton* (Edinburgh, 1993), 138-143. The household of James VI will be considered by Amy Juhala in her forthcoming thesis and she kindly allowed me to preview some of her findings.

keeping in good order household items such as pots and pans and for answering for all relevant expenditure at the daily accounts. Incidentally, this document also reveals that there was no established formal system of purveyance, such as was enforced in England, for the steward was advised to buy supplies with ready cash whenever possible and to be very cautious when obtaining supplies on credit.¹⁵ Other sources of information on the household of James V are primarily records of expenditure: the accounts of the king's pantry, buttery, kitchen, wine cellar, spice-house, and avery are still in manuscript form¹⁶ but the *Treasurer's Accounts*, *Exchequer Rolls*, *Pursemaster's Accounts* and *Masters of Works' Accounts* are in print.¹⁷ The financial records can also be supplemented by information taken from the legal, administrative and narrative sources of the period (as subsequent references will demonstrate), but these usually provide only tantalising glimpses of a wider picture, which is now very difficult to reconstruct with any confidence.

Heavy reliance on financial accounts brings dangers for the historian: the terminology used by the clerks may have been developed more to suit their own convenience than to represent the practical realities of domestic arrangements and warnings have been sounded against accepting the evidence of such sources too literally.¹⁸ However, even

¹⁵The kitchen accounts of the reign also indicate that certain crown revenues were still paid in kind rather than cash, since grain, herrings, beef-cattle and so forth were regularly received as the king's dues: e.g. between Christmas 1529 and Easter 1530 the royal kitchens took delivery of cattle from the Highlands and Galloway, barley and wheat from Fife and herrings from the western seaboard via Glasgow and from the eastern seaboard via Leith (SRO, Liber Domicili, E. 31/3, ff. 36v.-66v.).

¹⁶SRO, Libri Domicilii, 1525-39, E.31/1-8; SRO, Libri Emptorum, 1531-42, E.32/2-8. See also SRO, Misc. household papers, 1508-82, E.34/1-7; SRO, Wardrobe Inventories, 1539-42, E.35/1; and the (fragmentary) household accounts of Mary of Guise: SRO, Despence de la Maison Royale, 1538-42, E.33/1-2; SRO, Misc. household papers, 1538-43, E.34/8; NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. MS, 29.2.5, fos. 104, 105, 107, 127. Short extracts from some of these manuscripts are printed in *Excerpta e Libris Domicilii Domini Jacobi Quinti Regis Scotorum* (Bannatyne Club, 1836); *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland*, (3 vols, London, 1867-71), iii, nos. xvii, xviii & xxiii; *A Collection of Inventories and other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse: and of the Artillery and Munitioun in some of the Royal Castles, 1488-1606*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1815), 29-113. See also Henry Ellis, 'Observations upon a Household Book of King James the Fifth of Scotland', *Archaeologia*, xxii (1829), 1-12, and Murray, 'The Comptroller', 16-19.

¹⁷*TA*, v-viii; *ER*, xiv-xvii; Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts'; *MW*, i.

¹⁸Mertes, *English Noble Household*, 17-18, 37-38.

if the surviving records appear to suggest a more coherent departmental structure to the household than was actually the case, it is clear that such places as 'the stable' and 'the wardrobe' did have real physical locations and specialist members of staff serving in them. Thus, although listing recorded household members by their 'department' (as is attempted in Appendix A) is a rather clumsy analytical method, yielding results which must be tentative and subject to further qualification and elaboration where possible, it is nevertheless a useful exercise in that it enables us to place the wider developments of the political, economic, religious, social and cultural spheres in a personal and domestic context. A study of the royal household therefore sheds considerable light upon the daily routine and environment of the men of power and influence within the Scottish realm.

The royal household provided the close personal body servants, such as the king's barber, or the attendants who would sleep on pallet beds in the king's bedchamber (Henry VIII even had a lavatorial attendant, the groom of the stool)¹⁹ as well as the more distant menials, who served the king and his court (the stable-lads, kitchen-boys, footmen and the like). It also provided, in its more ceremonial and honorific positions, opportunities for men of influence in the localities to be drawn into the orbit of the court, opening channels of communication and patronage useful to both parties. In this respect James V may not have used his household as successfully as his father had done, at times relying too heavily on a narrow group of favoured lairds rather than encouraging personal service from a wide range of influential families.²⁰ However, it has been argued recently that the king's relations with his magnates were far from being as antagonistic as they have been represented traditionally,²¹ and if the surviving household records understate the noble presence at court (as the 1508 bill of

¹⁹Starkey, 'Age of the Household', 250-51.

²⁰Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 165-166.

²¹Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', especially pp 562-73.

household, considered above, would appear to suggest), it may have been the case that James V was more successful in implementing the established conventions of household politics than he is generally given credit for.²² Foreign parallels include the fifteenth-century dukes of Burgundy (who were kings in all but name), who regarded this aspect of their household management as so important that key posts were held by provincial magnates for three or six months of the year in rotation, and when they returned home they were expected to promote the 'party-line' in their localities.²³ Likewise, in Tudor England, the possession of a household office conferred such status and influence on a country gentleman that he would be eager to advertise his court connections by embellishing his house with the Tudor arms, heraldic badges and livery colours (green and white), as did Sir Richard Clement at Ightham Mote and Sir William Compton at Compton Wynyates, both in the 1520s.²⁴ Similar conditions probably existed in Scotland as well, where the *Register of the Privy Seal* stands as prime testimony to the rewards garnered by faithful royal servants. Grants of lands, titles, offices and exemptions (benefices for clerics) conferred financial and social privileges on many members of James V's household, the most outstanding example

²²One suggestive reference is in Sir Ralph Sadler's description of his reception at the court of James V in February 1540, when he was sent there on a rather delicate embassy by Henry VIII. He was entrusted to the care of David Lindsay of the Mount, Robert Hart, Sir Walter Ogilvy and Captain Borthwick: only the first two of whom, as heralds (Snowden/Lion depute and Rothesay respectively), feature in the household accounts of the period. 'Captain Borthwick' was probably Sir John Borthwick, who frequented the court and was later exiled for heresy, since Captain Robert Borthwick, the king's principal gunner had died in 1532 (see Appendix A). Furthermore, when Sadler dined at court he was entertained by Cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Aberdeen, lord Erskine, the earls of Huntly, Errol, Cassilis, Atholl and other lords and gentlemen. The three prelates, the earl of Errol and lord Erskine all held household posts (Beaton was keeper of the privy seal, Dunbar was chancellor, Stewart was a former treasurer, Errol was the hereditary constable and Erskine was keeper of Stirling Castle) but none of the others had an official role, except as great magnates of the realm. Without Sadler's testimony we would be unable to detect their presence at court at this time and this may well apply to the periods for which we lack an ambassador's report too: *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. A. Clifford (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1809), i, 17-45. See also A. S. Slavin, *Politics and Profit: A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1587* (Cambridge, 1966), 68-93; Humphrey Drummond, *Our Man in Scotland: Sir Ralph Sadleir [sic], 1507-1587* (London, 1969), 23-60.

²³C. A. J. Armstrong, 'The Golden Age of Burgundy', in A. G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe* (New York, 1984), 63; R. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975), 97.

²⁴Starkey, 'Age of the Household', 272-3; idem, 'Ightham Mote', *History Today*, xxx (Jan. 1980), 58-60.

of which was Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (an illegitimate son of the first earl of Arran), who accumulated the posts of master sewer (from 1526 to 1539)²⁵, master of the stables (from 1527 to 1536)²⁶, principal master of works (from 1539 to his death)²⁷, captain and keeper of the palace of Linlithgow (from 1526 until his death)²⁸, and captain of Dumbarton Castle (from 1527 to 1531)²⁹ before his forfeiture and execution on trumped-up charges in August 1540.³⁰ His fate, like those of Wolsey and Cromwell in England or Semblançay in France, also illustrates graphically how the continuing rewards of service were dependant on maintaining the favour of the king (and not exciting his covetousness), again underlining the very personal nature of the monarchy of the period.

Among the chamber servants of James V's household were the men who came as close as was possible to being the king's friends. These were the high spirited gallants, who would join him in riding, hunting, playing tennis and other amusements: men such as Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn (who was the king's cupbearer and reputedly housed one of the king's mistresses for him),³¹ or John Tennent of Listounschiels (the king's pursemaster and yeoman of the wardrobe, who is supposed to have swapped roles with the king when James wanted to visit incognito his affianced bride, Marie de Vendôme, in 1536).³² There are hints in the *Treasurer's Accounts* that the courtiers' amusements were sometimes rather boisterous. In 1533 James paid compensation to Elizabeth Macall, the wife of the keeper of the park of Stirling, whose cow he killed with a culverin, presumably accidentally.³³ Similarly, compensation was paid in April

²⁵*TA*, v, 307; *RMS*, iii, 2021. A sewer was a table servant.

²⁶*ER*, xv, 380; *ibid*, xvi, 480E.

²⁷*RSS*, ii, 3144; *TA*, vii, 302.

²⁸*RSS*, i, 3523.

²⁹*RSS*, i, 3778 & 3779; *RSS*, ii, 890.

³⁰For his forfeiture: *RMS*, iii, 2194. For Finnart's accumulation of lands and his influence in court and country see Charles McKean, 'Hamilton of Finnart', *History Today*, xliii (Jan. 1993), 42-47.

³¹*Hamilton Papers*, i, 329.

³²Bapst, *Mariages*, 289.

³³*TA*, vi, 96.

1540 to the owner of two lambs slain by John Tennent.³⁴ There are also references to egg-throwing,³⁵ which are reminiscent of the accounts of Francis I and his gentlemen careering through the streets of Paris hurling insults, stones and eggs at the common people for a lark.³⁶ Entertainment was also provided by dwarves, fools and a juggler³⁷ and the king owned a splendid chess set, the board made of silver and gold and the pieces of jasper and rock crystal.³⁸ There is a scarcity of narrative sources illustrating the day to day pastimes of the court of James V but it is likely that wagers were laid on games of cards, dice and tennis as well as on archery contests and jousting matches, which featured in the life of other courts of the period.³⁹ According to Pitscottie, such a match was arranged at St. Andrews by Queen Margaret in February 1536, when the gentlemen accompanying the English embassy of Lord William Howard and William Barlow, Bishop elect of St. Asaph (later translated to St. Davids),⁴⁰ were challenged to an archery contest against a team of Scottish lairds and yeomen. The prize, supplied by the queen was a purse of one hundred crowns and a tun of wine - the Scots won.⁴¹ One indication of some of the favourite pastimes of James V is given by David Lindsay in *The Testament of the Papyngo*:

Quharefor, sen thov hes sic capacitie
 To lerne to playe [music] so plesandlie, and syng,
 Ryde hors, ryn speris with gret audacitie,
 Schute with hand bow, crosbow, and culueryng,
 Amang the rest, schir, lerne to be ane kyng.⁴²

³⁴Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 44.

³⁵TA, v, 257, 275 (1526).

³⁶Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 15, 16 and E. Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York*, (London, 1809, originally 1519), 597.

³⁷See entries for Andrew, John and Jane, the dwarves; John MacCrery and John Lowes, the fools; and James Atkinson, the juggler, in Appendix A.

³⁸SRO, Wardrobe Inventories, E.35/1, fo. 21v.

³⁹Loades, *Tudor Court*, 96-113.

⁴⁰Pitscottie dates the event vaguely in the early 1530s but the household accounts state clearly that James V received the English ambassadors at St. Andrews on Tuesday 29th February (Shrove Tuesday) 1536: SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.32/5, unnumbered folio between ff. 64v. and 65r.

⁴¹Pitscottie, *History*, i, 340-41.

⁴²Lindsay, *Works*, i, 64 (*Papyngo*, lines 283-87).

In addition to providing personal service and companionship for the king, the household could be used as a method of bestowing patronage on favoured artists, writers, craftsmen and musicians. The cultural patronage of the court will be considered in more detail in subsequent chapters but at this stage it is probably useful to indicate that such matters seem to have had a considerable impact on the Scottish royal household. Many contemporary kings were far better placed to use their households in this field than James V: Francis I had both Leonardo da Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini on his payroll for brief periods⁴³ and many other artists, architects and humanists, Italians, French and Flemish were employed in his châteaux, libraries and lectureships.⁴⁴ Likewise, Henry VIII employed Hans Holbein, Nicolaus Kratzer, Thomas Tallis and others in household posts.⁴⁵ In comparison, James V's artistic patronage was rather low-key, but lacking as he did the superior financial resources of the Valois and Tudor monarchs, he nevertheless made a creditable effort in some areas. As will be seen, Scottish architecture, music, poetry, humanism and the sciences of ballistics, navigation and fortification all benefited from the interest of the king and his courtiers; and masons, sculptors, minstrels, writers, scholars, gunners and shipwrights all appear in the household records in considerable numbers. If the names of these men are not all amongst the foremost of the period, their achievements are nevertheless worthy of note and some, such as the herald-poet Sir David Lindsay, or the humanist-historian Hector Boece, were figures of international standing.

There is another very important aspect to the functioning of the royal household in this period. Many of the chaplains, lawyers, clerks and scribes that served the king were also servants of the crown in its administrative, judicial and financial activities,

⁴³Leonardo was appointed first painter, engineer and architect to the king and Cellini was provided with a workshop at the king's expense: D Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance: The Life of Francis I* (London, 1973), 88, 215.

⁴⁴Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 425-77.

⁴⁵D. Starkey (ed.), *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London, 1991), 58-63, 70-73, 104-6.

manning as they did the exchequer, the chancery, the treasury and other offices. There was considerable movement of personnel between the two areas and experience and expertise developed in one field was clearly regarded as valuable in the other. The boundary between service to the monarch in person and service to the crown in matters of government was very indistinct in the sixteenth century, indeed every subject of the king was also, in a sense, his servant. Just as the sheriffs and justices were charged with enforcing the king's laws, and the various treaties or conflicts of the reign were considered to be the king's causes, so too the officers of state were understood to be his men. In England, privy councillors (whether holding official posts or the magnatial status which entitled them to offer counsel to the king as of right) were considered to be 'ordinary of the chamber' with 'bouche of court'⁴⁶ and the 1508 bill of household (considered above) suggests that the councillors of the Scottish king may well have had similar rights and privileges. Certainly, it is sometimes very difficult to discern from the contemporary records exactly who was a member of the government, or of the household, or both. Many of the clerics recommended for ecclesiastical preferment to the Pope and the Cardinal Protector at Rome by the king were described as his 'familiar' or 'well-loved servitour' or something similar, even if their names never appear in the surviving household accounts.⁴⁷ Moreover, it would be wrong to imagine that only those people whose names do appear in the household accounts can be categorised as household members, for some posts were clearly unpaid,⁴⁸ whilst grants of fees or pensions to clergymen entering the king's service were often made as an interim measure until they obtained benefices worth a specified

⁴⁶D. Hoak, 'The King's Privy Chamber, 1547-53' in D. J. Guth & J. W. McKenna (eds.), *Tudor Rule & Revolution* (Cambridge, 1982), 91.

⁴⁷*James V Letters*, 195 (William Colville, brother of Sir James), 225 (Henry Roche, priest), 251 & 260 (Robert Crichton, Precentor of Dunkeld), 270 (Alexander Kinninmonth) and others.

⁴⁸For example, John Tenant's appointment as yeoman of the crossbow in 1529 was specifically described as such. *ER*, xv, 548.

minimum sum,⁴⁹ after which time they might cease to appear in the records, even though they would continue to carry out their duties.

In England, the nominal distinction between the personal and the governmental servants of the crown is somewhat easier to define since, by the late-fifteenth century, several offices had 'gone out of court' (such as the chancery, the exchequer, the judicial benches and even the great wardrobe) and become permanently established in regular premises at Westminster or nearby.⁵⁰ Yet this does not seem to have been the case in Scotland; indeed, far from being a permanent office or court, the Scottish exchequer (for example) was convened anew each summer, with lords of exchequer appointed only for the duration of a specific audit (albeit that the event was usually held in the Edinburgh tolbooth by this period).⁵¹ Offices such as the exchequer and the treasury thus straddled the (modern) boundary between personal and governmental service and so did their staff. The comptroller collected the rents and dues from the royal lands and paid the main expenses of the king's household but also handled customs revenues and the expenses of some officials. The treasurer received the payments due to the king as a feudal lord and paid out for the royal alms, liveries, palaces and stables, but he also collected the profits of justice and of the mint and paid for messengers, munitions and ships.⁵² The roles of the lords of council were also very wide-ranging, with the same officers deliberating on matters of policy, finance, justice and the king's personal affairs, apparently indiscriminately.⁵³ The boundaries between church and state were also hopelessly blurred in a manner typical of the age, with many of the senior Scottish prelates achieving their exalted positions largely as a result of their services to the king in both public and private matters. Indeed, by

⁴⁹For instance, sir James Nicholson, chaplain, was appointed master of works at Stirling Castle in January 1530 for 20 merks a year until he secured a benefice worth £20: *RSS*, ii, 487.

⁵⁰Loades, *Tudor Court*, 38. The great wardrobe resided in the parish of St Andrew, Baynard's Castle.

⁵¹Murray, 'Exchequer and Council', 209-225.

⁵²J. M. Thomson, *The Public Records of Scotland* (Glasgow 1922), 82-83.

⁵³*ADCP*, pp. xxxiii & xliv.

bestowing five of the major abbeys or priories on his under-age, illegitimate sons, James ensured that the Scottish church became 'not so much a department of state as a sub-department of the royal household.'⁵⁴

Some of the officers wearing several different 'hats' included Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, who received livery from 1534 to 1542, was described as 'servitor regis' in October 1537, 'steward' (dapifer) of the king in 1538 and 1540, 'sewer' in 1542 and was treasurer from 24 March 1538 until August 1543, in which capacity he was also an auditor of exchequer.⁵⁵ Likewise, David Wood of Craig was the king's master lardner from 1528 until 1537, his carver from 1538 until 1542, and comptroller from 14 September 1538 until 17 March 1543, and therefore also an auditor of exchequer.⁵⁶ Of the clergy, David Beaton was perhaps the most active: he was abbot of Arbroath from June 1524, bishop of Mirepoix from July/August 1538, a cardinal from December 1538 and archbishop of St Andrews from February 1539, as well as being keeper of the privy seal from January 1529, an ambassador to France on several occasions from 1524, receiver of the dowries of Madeleine de Valois and Mary of Guise and, after James V's death, chancellor.⁵⁷ There are also many other examples of men of all ranks holding offices within the church, government and household of the king, using their service at court to further their career in other fields and *vice versa*.

Because of the multiplicity of roles undertaken by some individual officers and the indistinct nature of the boundaries of those offices, it is also rather difficult to be precise about the size, structure and organisation of the royal household in this period.

⁵⁴Lynch, *Scotland*, 155.

⁵⁵*TA*, vi, 202; *ibid*, viii, 150; *RMS*, iii, 1718; *ER*, xvii, 164, 279; *TA*, viii, 100, 150; *TA*, vi, 380; *ER*, xvii, 155, 269.

⁵⁶*ER*, xv, 460; *TA*, vi, 464; *ibid*, vii, 125; *ER*, xvii, 164; *TA*, viii, 100; *ibid*, vii, 65, 313; SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/8, f. 4r.; SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.32/8, ff. 71v., 72r.

⁵⁷M. H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c.1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), 17, 39, 68, 72; *RSS*, ii, 4019; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 16; *RSS*, iii, 21.

There is a manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which gives some indication of how the households of the Scottish kings were ordered in the early fourteenth century, and which may have been prepared as a summary for Edward I of England in 1305.⁵⁸ The document lists the chief officers of the king, both 'denzeins' and 'foreins' (i.e. those receiving 'bouche of court' and those paid with other allowances), with each office described briefly. Although the manuscript is short, it is also quite revealing. The chancellor heads the list (as 'head of the king's council'), to be assisted in his legal duties by the keeper of the privy seal and some clerks. Then follows the chamberlain, who was to deal with all revenue and expenditure, the auditors of exchequer, who would join the chancellor and chamberlain to check the accounts once a year (this happened twice a year in England) and the clerk of the rolls, who would keep the records of the chancery and exchequer. There follow notes on the steward, who was to order the household and be answerable to the chamberlain; the constable, who was in charge of the king's bodyguard of twenty-four sergeants or doorwards, presided at the court of the verge (which had jurisdiction for twelve leagues around the royal court) and was jointly responsible with the marshal for the ordering of trials by battle at the lists; and the marshal, with two valet-marshals, who was to be responsible for ordering the service of meals in the king's hall and, in wartime, presided over a court 'under the banner'. Also listed are an almoner (with one clerk), clerks of the liverance, provender, wardrobe and kitchen, a pantler, butler, larderer, baker, naperer, chandler, waterer and their respective ushers. Those not receiving 'bouche of court' ('foreins' rather than 'denzeins') are listed as three justices (in addition to the hereditary justices) with their coroners, who were to hold twice yearly ayres, and the sheriffs with their sergeants, making a total of about eighty officers. Many of these posts continued into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although James I abolished the offices of the clerks of the liverance, provender,

⁵⁸ Bateson (ed.), 'Scottish King's Household', 3-43.

wardrobe and kitchen and sidelined the chamberlain, vesting his authority to collect and expend revenues in the new posts of comptroller and treasurer. He also replaced the lord steward with the master of the household (a change of title rather than substance), a post that would become hereditary with the earls of Argyll from the 1460s.⁵⁹ The responsibilities of the clerks of the wardrobe and kitchen, as detailed in the Corpus Christi manuscript, seem to have been exercised by the master of the wardrobe and the master cook by the late-fifteenth century.⁶⁰

In his preface to the first volume of the *Treasurer's Accounts*, Thomas Dickson listed about 160 officers of the household of James IV and grouped them by 'departments'.⁶¹ The establishment he envisaged appears to be very similar in structure to the household of his son, but is rather smaller. During the 1530s, James V's household accounts generally record about 300 to 350 named officers in any one year, although there were many more people listed as receiving payments for unspecified duties or services.⁶² In comparison, the households of Henry VIII and Francis I are estimated to have contained approximately 500 and 600 persons respectively.⁶³ Even the rough totals for the households of James IV and James V are likely to be understatements. Occasionally payments made to household officers were recorded as being for the named servant and his assistants or junior officers or 'childer', who were hardly ever listed separately.⁶⁴ Such entries were rare but since the sums paid out on such

⁵⁹Thomson, *Public Records*, 82 & 84.

⁶⁰*TA*, i, pp. cci & clxxxix.

⁶¹*Ibid*, i, pp. clxxxviii - cxcii.

⁶²See Appendix A. Included in this average figure are those people listed in the chamber, musical posts, stable, wardrobe, hall, kitchens, provisioning departments, chapel royal and miscellaneous servants. Not included are the clerks and writers of the exchequer and casualty, the keepers, masons et al. working in the different residences, the office of arms (heralds, pursuivants et al.), gunners, armourers and shipwrights, who also appear in the accounts.

⁶³For Henry's household early in his reign see N. Williams, *Henry VIII and his Court* (London, 1971), 34. The same author estimates that 1000 people were fed regularly at Greenwich, *ibid*, 33. For Francis's household in 1535 see Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 4.

⁶⁴For instance, lord Erskine was paid as captain and keeper of Stirling Castle in 1529 and for 8 sentries by night, 1 by day, 2 janitors and a gardener: *ER*, xv, 538, 549, 550.

occasions were no larger than the usual payments, it is possible that the accounting conventions of the time required the senior household officers to take sole responsibility for paying the fees, allowances and rations of their subordinates, without specifically stating this in the record, thus distorting the numbers of servants listed. Furthermore, some of the letters of appointment for household officers specify the numbers of servants and horses they can keep at the king's expense, and these servants rarely appear in the accounts either.⁶⁵ In February 1540 some sort of reform of the arrangements for supporting the servants of servants within the royal household seems to have been attempted, when the treasurer and comptroller, each of whom had previously been allowed to keep six servants at the king's expense, were henceforth to be paid an additional cash allowance of £333 6s 8d (500 merks) a year to make their own arrangements.⁶⁶ There is no reference to similar changes being made to the allowances for other household officers at this time but it is unlikely that the treasurer and comptroller had been singled out for special treatment, and a wider reform was probably intended.

It is also very noticeable that virtually all the household officers listed in the accounts were men. Many of them had wives and children and there are occasional glimpses of these family members assisting the man in his duties, which would certainly have swelled the numbers of people present within the establishment, if not those actually receiving fees and allowances. Wives often received expenses or payments, perhaps on behalf of their husbands: for instance, James Akinhead's wife did so in 1529 (he

⁶⁵For instance, in February 1529, Master Thomas Scott of Pitgormo and one of his squires or gentlemen with two servants and their horses were taken into the king's service: *RSS*, ii, 4073. The avery accounts also list the numbers of horses kept for the servants of senior household officers: for example, in October 1533, the master of the avery and esquire of the stable were each allocated two horses, the comptroller six, and the master household depute three, and so on (*SRO, Liber Domicili*, E. 31/5, f. 96v). The 1508 bill of household, considered above, also listed the numbers of servants of servants allowed within the household.

⁶⁶*T4*, vii, 362-3.

was master of the avery and cuphouse at the time)⁶⁷ and so did David Bonar's wife in 1540 (whilst he was a groom in the wardrobe).⁶⁸ Sons often succeeded their fathers in their household posts, apparently without any previous experience, so it is perhaps not unreasonable to infer that they had earlier served as unpaid (and therefore unrecorded) assistants to their fathers. For example, Thomas Duddingston of Kilduncan was master of the silver vessels between January 1531 and August 1540,⁶⁹ when he was appointed master of the household to the baby Prince James. His son, Stephen, took over his former post and received livery as master of the silver vessels in August 1541 and July 1542⁷⁰ but in December 1542 it was the father alone who received this livery (both had been recipients in July), having returned to the king's household after the death of the prince, and the son disappeared from the record again. Thus the likelihood of the numbers of people within the household being swelled by the families of servants and the servants of servants is high, and several dynasties seem to have established themselves in some departments: amongst the king's trumpeters were six different men, all with the surname Drummond; there were three Purveses in the stable, and four Cunninghams on the staff of Stirling Castle.⁷¹ Nepotism and opportunism were certainly problems at the English court, where a succession of ministers from Wolsey to Burleigh consistently battled to reduce the number of unofficial hangers-on in the interests of economy.⁷² Likewise, in France it was generally admitted that anyone who dressed respectably and claimed acquaintance with a member of the court could gain ready access, and efforts were made to correct this.⁷³

⁶⁷*TA*, v. 383, 378, 372.

⁶⁸Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 46.

⁶⁹*RMS*, iii. 986; *TA*, vii. 332.

⁷⁰*TA*, vii. 475; *TA*, viii. 100.

⁷¹See Appendix A.

⁷²Loades, *Tudor Court*, 86-7.

⁷³Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 13.

However, if the number of people in the household can be calculated only very roughly, it is perhaps possible to obtain a clearer picture of the structure and organisation of the establishment. Four of the most senior posts (which dated back at least to the fourteenth-century manuscript discussed above, and almost certainly earlier) were held heritably by members of the nobility, who would probably not have performed their duties in person, except on ceremonial occasions.⁷⁴ These were the master of the household (formerly the steward), who was the earl of Argyll; the constable, who was the earl of Errol; the chamberlain, who was lord Fleming; and the marshal, who (as his title suggests) was William Keith, the earl Marischal. The chancellor was usually a senior prelate and throughout James V's adult reign it was his former tutor, Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow. The comptroller and treasurer could be clergymen or secular officers and usually served for between one and eight years at a time. James V had four treasurers and three comptrollers during his adult reign, with Robert Cairncross, abbot of Holyrood, as treasurer, and James Colville of Ochiltree as comptroller, each serving two separate terms of office and Robert Barton of Overbarnton filling both jobs simultaneously in 1529 and 1530.⁷⁵ James V's secretary was Thomas Erskine of Haltoun and Brechin; his clerk register was Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen (and uncle of his namesake the archbishop of Glasgow), until his death in March 1532 and thereafter Sir James Foulis of Colinton; the king's advocate was Sir Adam Otterburn of Oldham and Redhall until September 1538 and thereafter Henry Lauder of St Germain's.⁷⁶ These men also served the king as lords of

⁷⁴Because they were unpaid it is difficult to locate them at court at all, but there are occasional glimpses of the service they provided for the king: e.g. in November 1528 the lords of the council resolved that the chamberlain, Malcolm, lord Fleming, should be instructed to return to his local community (Peebleshire) to impose order there, which had obviously broken down whilst he had 'bene this lang tyme bigane in his [the king's] continuale service': *ADCP*, 295. However, since late 1528 was a period of political crisis, this reference may not be typical of the usual pattern of household service by the great magnates. More instructive perhaps was the roll-call of magnates who dined with Sir Ralph Sadler on his 1540 visit to the Scottish court (see above, n. 22).

⁷⁵See Appendix A.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

council and auditors of exchequer as well as fulfilling the specific duties of their official posts.

During his minority James V's household was, of necessity, rather small, although the duke of Albany's household expenses put the exchequer and treasury into deficit whenever he was in Scotland.⁷⁷ As a small child, the king was in the care of a nurse (first Christian Wille⁷⁸ and then Elizabeth or Marion Douglas⁷⁹), his usher or master of the household (Sir David Lindsay of the Mount⁸⁰) and his tutor or preceptor (Gavin Dunbar,⁸¹ later to become archbishop of Glasgow and chancellor, as we have seen). Among his other servants, some are specifically listed as serving him from the very beginning of the reign: such as sir James Haswell, who was appointed by James IV to be his son's personal chaplain from birth;⁸² Andrew Edgar, the master tailor, served the king from the time of Flodden⁸³ and so did the furrier, James Winchester,⁸⁴ whilst the cordiner (shoemaker), John Davidson, was said to have served the king for four years by July 1517⁸⁵ and the coalman, Duncan Dawson, had continually served James III, James IV and James V in the same post.⁸⁶ The king's laundress, Mavis Acheson, appears in the record from 1517.⁸⁷ There are no surviving *Treasurer's Accounts* for 1513 to 1515 so many other names may be missing from this list, but it is clear that there are no grounds for accusing Albany of neglect. The young king was well dressed, provided with a mule to ride and even had his own minstrel, James

⁷⁷Murray, 'James V and his Comptrollers', 42-44.

⁷⁸*ER*, xiv, 250

⁷⁹She is called Elizabeth in *TA*, v, 146 and Marion in *ER*, xiv, 350, but these entries probably refer to one woman rather than two.

⁸⁰*TA*, v, 112.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, v, 111.

⁸²*James V Letters*, 155.

⁸³*TA*, v, 147.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, v, 131.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, v, 112.

⁸⁶*ADCP*, 419 & 470.

⁸⁷*ER*, xiv, 287-8.

Graham, a labourer.⁸⁸ He was housed at the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Craigmillar, where minor repairs were carried out and precautions taken for his security. The instructions issued to lord Erskine concerning his responsibilities for keeping the king at Stirling in 1522⁸⁹ included inspecting the credentials of all visitors, supervising a guard of twenty footmen with a captain and a lieutenant on a round-the-clock watch and ensuring that when James went riding in the park he was accompanied by between twelve and twenty of the best men, with outriders checking that the way ahead was safe. By then the king's household had expanded to include a carver, cupbearer, cook, pantryman, clerk of expenses, stableman, grooms, chamber servants, a seamstress and a barber.⁹⁰ In April 1524 Albany returned to France for good and in August Queen Margaret 'erected' her son as king in his own right.⁹¹ Unfortunately, there are no surviving *Treasurer's Accounts* for this period, so the full impact of these changes on the king's household is rather unclear. However, James V's change of status did mean that all offices lapsed and had to be regranted by the new regime, in which Margaret was keen to reward her own supporters,⁹² and also that an 'adult' king required an appropriate household establishment. One of the casualties was Sir David Lindsay, who was replaced as master usher by Andrew, lord Avandale,⁹³ the brother of Margaret's third husband, Henry Stewart, later to be lord Methven.⁹⁴ In the absence of the full *Treasurer's Accounts*, the *Exchequer Rolls* and the *Libri Domicilii* show a large expansion of the household between 1524 and 1526.

⁸⁸*TA*, v, 82, 117.

⁸⁹*HMC Mar and Kellie*, xlvi (1904), 11.

⁹⁰*Ibid & TA*, v, 196-197.

⁹¹Emond, 'Minority', 406-418.

⁹²*Ibid*, 416-423.

⁹³*RSS*, i, 3267. Lindsay did continue to receive payments sporadically until his appointment as a herald in 1530 and he claimed this was because of the king's personal intervention: Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Edinburgh, 1994), 37-38.

⁹⁴Margaret's divorce from Angus was pronounced at Rome on 11 March 1527 but news did not reach Scotland until 2 April 1528. She immediately married Henry Stewart and voluntarily gave up control of Stirling Castle (a part of her jointure as James IV's widow) to her son, perhaps in order to secure his permission for her re-marriage. James V made his new step-father lord Methven soon after his escape from his old step-father. See Emond, 'Minority', 534, 553, 554.

The chamber took on a more ceremonial aspect with an expanded staff of sewers, carvers, cupbearers and ushers (one for the inner door and three for the outer door) and additional yeomen and grooms (five of each by 1526). The stable became a sizeable department as well, with an esquire, a stirrupman, between three and six yeomen, five or six henchmen, between three and five grooms, a master and yeoman of the avery, a sumpterman (in charge of the pack-horses), a saddler, a farrier and two falconers. The expansion of the wardrobe was more modest at this stage, rising from a staff of eight people in 1524 to eleven in 1526. Meanwhile the kitchens and hall were set up as fully-functioning departments for the first time, their staffs growing from four men each in 1524 to eighteen and twenty men respectively by 1526.⁹⁵ This expansion is confirmed by Athol Murray's summaries of the Comptroller's expenditure on the royal household, which rose from £6,810 in 1524-25 to £8,829 in 1525-26.⁹⁶ Such an expansion was only to have been expected at this stage in the life of a royal prince, even if he had not been a reigning monarch, since the achievement of one's fourteenth year was seen as a significant milestone at this period: it marked the completion of the second 'age' of man and the entry into the third age, that of young adulthood.⁹⁷ It was at this point that James was 'erected' as king (ostensibly in his own right) for second time, and by then the power behind the throne was not his mother but his stepfather, the earl of Angus.⁹⁸

Angus had ousted Queen Margaret from power and had the King in his keeping, legally from July 1525 and illegally from November of that year until his rule was confirmed by parliament in June 1526. As a result, several of the most influential and lucrative offices in the household and state were held by the Douglasses and their adherents until the king broke away from their control and asserted his authority

⁹⁵See Appendix A for the individual names of the officers concerned in this expansion.

⁹⁶Murray, 'James V and his Comptrollers', 45, 47.

⁹⁷See M. Dove, *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge, 1986), 20.

⁹⁸Emond, 'Minority', 499-500.

between May and July 1528.⁹⁹ James V's hatred for the Douglasses was implacable and many offices were therefore re-assigned between the summers of 1528 and 1529. In particular, Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, replaced Angus as chancellor, Robert Cairncross replaced Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie as treasurer, lord Maxwell replaced George Douglas of Pittendreich as master carver, Sir John Stirling of Keir took over from James Douglas of Drumlanrig as master of the wine cellar and David Wood of Craig replaced James Douglas of Parkhead as master lardner.¹⁰⁰ However, it is clear from the records that the majority of those officers serving the king under Angus's regime were not tainted with his treason, for of the people listed as serving in 1527 about two-thirds continued to serve into 1529 and beyond, with only a quarter losing their posts in 1528-9.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, as we have seen, many of the displacements were in key posts and because the household of 1529 was larger than that of 1527 by about one-third, the proportion of 'new' men in 1529 was quite significant, at about thirty per cent.¹⁰²

In many respects the household of the mature James V was very similar to those of his contemporaries, Francis I and Henry VIII, although there were important differences too, not least those of scale, mentioned above. James V had very close personal links with the court of Francis I through the duke of Albany, his two queens and his own visit in 1536-37, as well as the usual complement of ambassadors and envoys. The *Maison du Roy* had had a long evolution, with a distinction between service to the king's person (*bouche*) and to his entourage (*commun*) apparent as early as the thirteenth century and with household officers organised into a hierarchical structure of departments and paid wages and/or allowances of food, fodder and fuel.¹⁰³ By the

⁹⁹Ibid, 472-555.

¹⁰⁰RMS, iii, 601; ADCP, 281; ER, xv, 459, 463, 460.

¹⁰¹See Appendix A.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 2.

time of Francis I, the entire establishment was subject to the authority of the *grand maître*, who was also one of the senior ministers of the crown. Between 1525 and 1541 this post was held by Anne de Montmorency, constable of France, but the routine duties were actually delegated to a staff of *maîtres de l'hôtel*.¹⁰⁴ Other senior household officers, responsible for their own departments were the *grand chambellan* in charge of the bedchamber, the *grand écuyer* in charge of the stables and messengers, the *grand véneur* in charge of the royal hunt, the *grand fauconnier* in charge of the royal mews, the *premier médecin* responsible for medical care, the *grand aumônier* responsible for the king's chaplains and charity and the *prevôt de l'hôtel*, who was expected to maintain order at court with his company of archers. Other departments included several troops of guards such as the *garde Ecossaise*, the *cent Suisses*, the *archers de la garde* and the *gentilhommes de l'hôtel* and a purchasing office, the *argenterie*.¹⁰⁵ Early in the reign Francis introduced the office of *gentilhomme de la chambre* for his closest noble companions, leaving the older title of *valet de chambre* for commoners undertaking more menial duties. The numbers of *gentilhommes* expanded rapidly and they were often sent abroad as the personal envoys of the king, sometimes accompanying more traditional ambassadors, usually gaining entry into the chamber of the foreign prince as favoured guests.¹⁰⁶ Under Jean de la Barre the influential post of *premier gentilhomme de la chambre* was combined with that of *maître de la garderobe*, ensuring that he had charge of the king's clothes, jewels, purse and contracts for work on royal *châteaux* as well as an intimate proximity to the monarch.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance*, 103.

¹⁰⁵Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 3-4; Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance*, 99-100.

¹⁰⁶For the same development at the English court see David Starkey, 'Representation Through Intimacy: A Study in the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England', in Ioan Lewis (ed.), *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-Cultural Studies in Symbolism* (London, 1977), 187-224.

¹⁰⁷Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 7; Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance*, 100; Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 109-28.

There are many parallels between this system and that operated by James V between 1528 and his death. Like Francis, James rewarded his servants with a combination of wages and payments in kind; fodder being particularly valuable for such a peripatetic court. Also the descriptions of some household members in the *Treasurer's Accounts* and *Exchequer Rolls* imply that, as in France, there was some distinction made between those who served the king and those who served his entourage (variously referred to as the court, the household or the hall) but the references are sometimes sporadic or inconsistent.¹⁰⁸ There seem to have been separate kitchens and pantries for the king and his court/hall/household as well as separate groups of cupbearers and sewers. It is also possible that this division accounts for the distinct offices of the silver vessels and the pewter or tin vessels and the great and petty larders, perhaps even the wine cellar and the ale cellar, but the sources are not precise enough to confirm this.¹⁰⁹ Other parallels with the French household are in the titles accorded to some of the senior officers, although it is not clear to what extent a similarity of terminology reflected a similarity in function. James V's chief officer was the earl of Argyll as hereditary master of the household,¹¹⁰ whose position seems to have been analogous to that of Anne de Montmorency. Like the Frenchman, Argyll also held offices of state, not constable but justice general and lieutenant in the west (the latter only until 1531). He also delegated his household duties to deputies: William Hamilton of Sanquhar and Maknairston was named as such between 1526 and 1529,¹¹¹ whilst Patrick Wemyss of Pittencrieff and James Learmonth of Dairsie were described as masters of the household (presumably 'depute' being understood)

¹⁰⁸For example, in the *Exchequer Rolls* of 1536 David Moutray was described as being in the king's kitchen in one entry and as usher of the household kitchen door in another (*ER*, xvi, 480G, 480H). Possibly the two designations were not invariably mutually exclusive. More confusing are the many entries for staff in 'the kitchen' that do not specify to which kitchen the person was attached. See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁹See Appendix A.

¹¹⁰He was referred to as *magister hospitii regis* and *magister familie regis* in *RMS* iii, 972 & 2343 and elsewhere.

¹¹¹*TA*, v, 308, 382.

between 1537 and 1542.¹¹² The Scottish royal stable was nominally headed by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart as master of the stable between 1527 and 1536¹¹³ but the real work was done by the esquire (the linguistic equivalent of *écuyer*). From 1525 this was James Erskine¹¹⁴ and from 1538 Robert Gib,¹¹⁵ who had worked his way up through the jobs of stirrupman (from 1524) and principal yeoman (from 1531).¹¹⁶ Although he hunted frequently and enthusiastically (see below) James V did not have a senior officer designated as master huntsman and his master falconers were of a much lower social rank than the nobles employed by Francis I;¹¹⁷ nor did he have a principal doctor (although sir Duncan Omay was described as his principal surgeon)¹¹⁸ but the master almoner was an influential and favoured clergyman in the French manner.¹¹⁹

Much of the daily routine service of both kings was carried out by the staff of their chambers. Both Francis and James regarded the office of great chamberlain as an honorific post to be held by a favoured noble; in France, Louis de la Tremouille¹²⁰ and in Scotland, Malcolm, third lord Fleming. The two chambers seem to have had similar structures although the terminology is not identical. James V's equivalents of Francis's *gentilhommes de la chambre* were probably his yeomen of the chamber, many of whom (such as John Leslie of Cleish) were certainly of sufficient social standing to be considered gentlemen; and the *valets de chambre* were mirrored in the Scots grooms

¹¹²For Wemyss, *TA*, vi, 354 - *ibid*, viii, 100. For Learmonth, *RMS*, iii, 1733 - *TA*, viii, 150.

¹¹³*ER*, xv, 380; *ER*, xvi, 480E.

¹¹⁴*ER*, xv, 206.

¹¹⁵*TA*, vii, 9.

¹¹⁶*ER*, xv, 95; *TA*, vi, 18. See also Sir George Duncan Gibb, *The Life and Times of Robert Gib, Lord of Carriber, Familiar Servitor and Master of the Stables to King James V of Scotland* (2 vols, London, 1874). Gibb is wrong in imagining that his ancestor held the title of master of the stables, but his account is otherwise well grounded in the sources.

¹¹⁷See Appendix A.

¹¹⁸*RSS*, ii, 3416.

¹¹⁹James's first appointment to this post was sir James Haswell, who had served him as his personal Chaplain from birth. He was later nominated as abbot of Newbattle: *James V Letters*, 155.

¹²⁰Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance*, 103



of the chamber, who were also referred to as 'varlets'. However, James's yeomen were not used as envoys to foreign courts as they were considerably less aristocratic than Francis's *gentilhommes*; indeed, there were very few nobles holding official posts within the Scottish chamber. In addition to lord Fleming, Robert, lord Maxwell was principal carver and in the *Register of the Great Seal* was once described as the first gentleman of the inner chamber (*primus regis thalami generosus*),¹²¹ whilst Norman Leslie, the master of Rothes, was a yeoman from 1538.¹²² The rest of the chamber staff were favoured knights or lairds and rather humble menials. However, there was a parallel with the career of Jean de la Barre in John Tennent of Listonshiels, who combined the office of king's pursemaster (and was therefore *ex officio* a senior officer of the chamber) with that of yeoman of the wardrobe. He was once described as 'keeper of the king's wardrobe'¹²³ and he might well have headed that department in fact since no-one else was listed as master of the wardrobe after 1536.¹²⁴

Perhaps surprisingly, there was no equivalent in Scotland of Francis's many bands of bodyguards. During the minority, the king had been protected at Stirling Castle by a guard of twenty footmen paid for by the duke of Albany and appointed by him and lord Erskine.¹²⁵ These men were replaced by a larger bodyguard paid for by Henry VIII and appointed by Queen Margaret in 1524-25,¹²⁶ and during the hegemony of the earl of Angus the king was attended by such a heavily armed retinue that it was able to withstand two attempts to liberate the king by force in the summer of 1526.¹²⁷

¹²¹*RMS*, iii, 2164.

¹²²*T.A.*, vii, 125; *ER*, xvii, 415.

¹²³*ER*, xvii, 280 (1540). For the office of Pursemaster see Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts'.

¹²⁴See Appendix A. There seems to have been some confusion of nomenclature in any case as Patrick Donaldson had also been accorded both designations earlier in the reign. *T.A.*, v, 145, 192.

¹²⁵*HMC Mar and Kellie*, 11.

¹²⁶*RSS*, i, 3283: Robert, lord Maxwell, was appointed principal captain and James Stewart (brother of lord Avandale) was appointed principal lieutenant of the guard, both for life. See also Wood, *Letters*, i, 341-45; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 196-8; *L&P Henry VIII*, iv (1), 600, 637, 656, 657, 658, 674, 767, 797, 803, 805, 806, 809, 811, 813, 817, 823, 835, 889, 1026.

¹²⁷Emond, 'Minority', 507-13.

However, from the moment that James began to rule in his own right he seems to have had only a crossbowman in the chamber with the status of yeoman or groom¹²⁸ and a team of ushers and porters numbering up to eight or nine men in any given year and apparently no other regular protection.¹²⁹ It is possible that the servants described as 'footmen' were also guards of some sort, but there are very few of them actually recorded in the accounts either (only two or three at any one time).¹³⁰ The lack of a designated bodyguard has also been noted as a feature of English noble households of the period¹³¹ but the English royal establishment included the yeomen of the guard (founded by Henry VII) and the gentlemen pensioners (founded by Thomas Cromwell), who could be supplemented by extraordinary levies in times of crisis.¹³²

The similarities between the Scottish and English households are perhaps less striking than those between the establishments of Scotland and France but all three organisations shared a common purpose, ethos and origin. In England, as in Scotland and France, there were separate kitchens and table servants for the king and his entourage but the clearest distinction within the household was not between *bouche* and *commun* but between the *domus regie magnificencie* and the *domus providencie* (the 'above-stairs' and 'below-stairs' households), the former headed by the lord chamberlain with the assistance of the vice-chamberlain and treasurer; the latter under the lord steward assisted by the treasurer, the comptroller, the cofferer and the counting house, which was known as the board of the green cloth for much of the

¹²⁸In 1529 both John Stewart and John Tenant were recorded as being appointed to this post (*RSS*, ii, 324; *ER*, xv, 548) but Stewart was not mentioned as such again and Tenant was not recorded with this title after 1531 (*RMS*, iii, 1008). In fact no-one was listed in this job after that date but as Tenant's post was specifically stated to be unpaid this is perhaps to be expected.

¹²⁹In 1539 there were four ushers and five porters listed: see Appendix A.

¹³⁰See Appendix A.

¹³¹Mertes, *English Noble Household*, 48-9: she suggests that tenants, clients and household servants would probably have been armed and used as an *ad hoc* bodyguard when necessary; and the Scottish court may have adopted similar expedients.

¹³²Loades, *Tudor Court*, 91-3.

Tudor period.¹³³ Early in the reign of Henry VII the chamber (which was actually a suite of apartments rather than just one room) was the core of the *domus regie magnificencie* and was staffed by knights and esquires of the body, who were the closest personal servants, sewers, carvers and cupbearers, who attended the king at meals, and the gentlemen and yeomen ushers, grooms and pages, who 'kept' the doors.¹³⁴ Also within, or closely associated with, the *domus magnificencie* were the yeomen of the guard, the office of arms (i.e. heralds, pursuivants and others), the privy wardrobes (of the robes and of the beds), the physicians, chaplains, chapel royal, minstrels, jewel house and the king's purse.¹³⁵ The *domus providencie* consisted of the provisioning departments (the kitchens, bakehouse, pantry, cellars, chaundry, confectionary, larder, acatry, poultry, pastry & purveyors), the ancillary departments (the ewery, laundry, almonry, scullery, woodyard, porters and cart-takers) and the staff of the great hall (the knight marshal, provost marshal, harbingers, sewers, cupbearers and surveyors of the dresser).¹³⁶ Other departments financed directly by the exchequer and therefore outside the structure of *domus magnificencie* and *domus providencie* were the stables, kennels, toyles (mews), great wardrobe, tents and revels, royal barge, keepers of the palaces and their staffs, works and ordnance.¹³⁷

The English royal household was full of vested interests protecting their ancient perks and perquisites and therefore highly resistant to reform and rationalisation. Nevertheless, some changes did occur during the period, the most significant of which concerned the chamber and have been expounded by David Starkey.¹³⁸ In 1495 Henry VII's most trusted household officers, the lord chamberlain and lord steward (Sir

¹³³Williams, *Henry VIII and his Court*, 33; D. A. L. Morgan, 'The Late Plantagenet Household, 1422-1485', in Starkey (ed.), *English Court*, 31-33; Loades, *Tudor Court*, 38-72.

¹³⁴Loades, *Tudor Court*, 44-45.

¹³⁵Morgan 'Late Plantagenet Household', 32-3; Loades, *Tudor Court*, 210-211.

¹³⁶Loades, *Tudor Court*, 210-211, 62-65.

¹³⁷Ibid, 210-211.

¹³⁸Starkey, 'Privy Chamber', 71-117.

William Stanley and John Radcliffe, lord Fitzwalter) were shown to have had treacherous communications with the pretender, Perkin Warbeck. Starkey postulates that the resulting shock and suspicion aroused in the king prompted him to establish informally a privy chamber staff of relatively lowly grooms and pages separate from the more public and political atmosphere of the lord chamberlain's domain.¹³⁹ Henry VIII brought well-born young men into his privy chamber as his 'minions' and, following a visit by some of Francis I's *gentilhommes de la chambre* in 1518 (as part of a larger embassy), they were accorded the corresponding title of gentlemen of the privy chamber. By the time of Wolsey's *Eltham Ordinances* of 1526 the gentlemen, grooms and pages of the privy chamber were established as a department of the household independent of the lord chamberlain and had been put into wages.¹⁴⁰ The head of the privy chamber was the groom of the stool, who was also chief gentleman, keeper of the privy purse and sometimes in charge of the privy coffer (the private hoards of cash and plate kept in chests at Whitehall). Towards the end of Henry's reign and into the minority of Edward VI, the groom of the stool and his staff became the powerbrokers of the realm as they controlled access to the king and the application of the royal sign manual or dry stamp (a facsimile of the sign manual) to documents and could therefore heavily influence the opinions and actions of the monarch.¹⁴¹ The other major development in the household of Henry VIII was the programme of reforms introduced by Thomas Cromwell in 1539-40. He abolished the post of lord steward, eroded the authority of the lord chamberlain and introduced the office of lord great master with four masters of the household in an attempt to remodel the management of the household along French lines. The plans were only partially implemented, and Mary abolished the great mastership and the other masters

¹³⁹Ibid, 73-76.

¹⁴⁰Loades, *Tudor Court*, 48-9.

¹⁴¹Starkey, 'Privy Chamber', 93-100, 116-117. For the Privy Coffers see D. Hoak, 'The Secret History of the Tudor Court: The King's Coffers and the King's Purse, 1542-1553', in *Journal of British Studies*, xxvi (1987), 208-231.

and reinstated the lord steward in 1553. More durable was Cromwell's creation of the gentlemen pensioners as an additional royal guard, again on the French model.¹⁴²

Although many of the departments within the English royal household were also found in Scotland, the terms *domus regie magnificencie*, *domus providencie* and privy chamber do not occur in the Scottish records. Nor was there a cofferer nor a board of the green cloth, and the Scottish treasurer and comptroller had much higher status and authority than their English counterparts, as they were officers of state as well as of the household. Furthermore, the English lord chamberlain and lord steward had real responsibilities within the household, whereas the Scottish chamberlain and master of the household had become honorific titles. The Scottish chamber did not have a separate privy chamber offshoot but the accounts do contain references to an inner and outer chamber, which may imply a similar pattern. Certainly, in staffing the chamber with lairds and gentlemen rather than with nobles, James was adhering more closely to the example of the English privy chamber than to the French equivalent. Another parallel with English practice was the use of privy coffers for hoarding ready cash for the king's use. There was a Scottish precedent in that James III had assiduously gathered coin and plate in private chests for many years¹⁴³ but James V had so many extraordinary sources of revenue that by-passed the treasurer and comptroller that his 'poise' (treasure) was of unprecedented proportions. Indeed he was able to provide £19,000 from his 'boxes' to pay the expenses of his visit to France in 1536-7 and in August 1543 £26,000 of his hoard was still remaining.¹⁴⁴ Yet even these sums pale into insignificance beside Henry VIII's coffers, which handled £246,405 (Sterling) between 1542 and 1548.¹⁴⁵ There is no evidence that James V had an equivalent of the groom of the stool nor a dry stamp and the key political

¹⁴²Loades, *Tudor Court*, 51-52.

¹⁴³N. Macdougall, *James III: a Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 254-255.

¹⁴⁴RSS, iii, 383; Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 27.

¹⁴⁵Hoak, 'Secret History', 212-13.

manoeuvres at the end of his reign and the beginning of Mary's minority were carried out by the traditional nobles and prelates (in particular, the earl of Arran and Cardinal Beaton) rather than the servants of the chamber. However, there is a Scottish parallel for the clandestine political manipulation of Henry VIII's will at his deathbed in Beaton's failed attempt to exclude Arran from the regency council, which relied on a notarial instrument which purported to be the king's will and was witnessed by the dying king's 'familiars' gathered in his inner chamber at Falkland Palace: James Learmonth of Dairsie (the master household depute), Henry Kemp of Thomaston (cupbearer), Michael Durham (the king's doctor), John Tennent (the pursemaster), William Kirkcaldy (a son of the king's sewer), sir Michael Dysart (a canon of the chapel royal), John Jordan (the almoner's chaplain), Francis Aikman (the king's apothecary), John Sinclair and George Bard (who were probably grooms of the chamber) and sir David Christison (the steward of the household).¹⁴⁶

In one respect James V's household for much of his reign lacked facets that were very familiar to both Henry VIII and Francis I, that is, the provision of household establishments for a queen consort and an heir apparent. There was no queen consort in Scotland between 1513 and 1537 and no heir apparent that survived for longer than a few months between 1488 and 1594. James's mother, Margaret Tudor, was expected to live off her jointure lands after the death of James IV and although she frequently had difficulties in collecting her revenues,¹⁴⁷ neither the treasurer nor the comptroller were ever authorised to pay her household expenses, even during the brief periods when she was regent.¹⁴⁸ A few of her servants received occasional

¹⁴⁶*HMC, vol. 21, 11th Report & Hamilton MSS*, vi, 219-20; Andrew Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', *SHR*, iii (1906), 410-22.

¹⁴⁷Emond, 'Minority', 113, 163, 214. Margaret accused both her second and third husbands of intruding with her revenues at some point. For a discussion of jointures for the Scottish queens of the period see chapter 2.

¹⁴⁸In 1518 a deal was made with the council of regency, then dominated by the earl of Arran, to purchase Margaret's property rights in return for a fixed annuity. Angus was understandably hostile

rewards from the king and James sometimes made cash gifts to the queen dowager¹⁴⁹ but the royal accounts do not contain enough information to establish the pattern of her household at this period. There is also very little surviving information on the household of James's first queen, Madeleine de Valois. They were married in Paris on 1st January 1537 but did not arrive in Scotland until 19th May, following which Madeleine survived only a few weeks until her death on 7th July. After such a brief period of residence, references to her servants in the accounts are understandably few, with only four names recorded: her senior lady-in-waiting, Madame de Montreuil, the furrier, Gillan, the flesher (butcher), John Kenneth and the barber, Anthony (a Frenchman).¹⁵⁰ The latter may seem a curious servant for a queen but in all probability he was a barber-surgeon and therefore served her medically. It was only after the arrival of James's second French wife, Mary of Guise, in June 1538 that the records of the queen's household appeared in any detail. Her establishment probably mirrored the king's in structure but seems to have been on a smaller scale and naturally her closest personal servants would have been female. She arrived with a retinue of French attendants, some of whom remained with her in Scotland and appeared in the accounts receiving items of clothing and trifling expenses but not wages or fees.¹⁵¹ These were paid from the revenues of her French lands as dowager duchess of Longueville, which were supplemented by an annuity from Francis I. The records of her household from the period 1538-1542, when she was consort, are fragmentary¹⁵²

to the agreement, which prejudiced his rights as the queen's husband, and it seems to have been a short-lived arrangement: Emond, 'Minority', 214-26; *ADCP*, 133, 148.

¹⁴⁹E.g. in 1530-31 £300 was given to the queen at various times by special precept of the king (*TA*, v, 434) and some payments were made to her servants after her death (*ER*, xvii, 597-99, 712-13).

¹⁵⁰See Appendix A. See also *L&P Henry VIII*, xiii (2), pp. 69-70, 90 for references to Madeleine's household on their departure from Scotland.

¹⁵¹For instance, several gowns etc. were purchased for them in December 1538 - *TA*, vii, 114-116. The queen's ladies also had their own pâtissier, Thomas Lyon - *TA*, vii, 420.

¹⁵²SRO, Despence de la Maison Royale, E.33/1-E.33/2 & E.34/8/1; NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. 29.2.5, ff. 104r, 105r, 107r, 127r. There are also some references to her domestic arrangements in her correspondence of the period: *Balcarres Papers*, i, 1-87, 228-31, 245. See also Rosalind Marshall, 'Hir Rob Ryall', *Costume*, xii (1978), 1-12; idem, 'Queen's Table'. *TA*, xi, 24-27 lists payments to 105 members of her household at her death in June 1560; many of the names on the list

but they reveal the names of some of her French servants and indicate the existence of a French departmental structure of *bouche* and *maison* under the control of the *maître d'hôtel* (Charles de la Haye, Sieur de Curel) and the *contrerolleur des finances* (François du Fon).¹⁵³ Her only servants to receive funding from the exchequer and casualty were the native Scotsmen of her chamber, stable, avery, kitchen, pantry and spice-house.¹⁵⁴

In May 1540 Mary gave birth to a short-lived prince of Scotland, christened James, who died in April 1541 within a few days of the death of his even more fragile newly-born brother. Prince James's household was established soon after his birth, with his earliest recorded servant, Margaret Maccombie, his laundress, appearing in the record in June 1540.¹⁵⁵ She was joined by a team of other women attendants, presumably nurses, a master almoner (sir William Laing), a master of the household (Thomas Dudingstone), a steward (Master Alan Lamont), a master usher (the 'auld laird') a keeper of the silver vessels and collier (William Methven), a master cook (John Mont), a patissier (Patrick Marshall) and five other servants.¹⁵⁶ Also attached to the prince's household, presumably in a ceremonial capacity, was his illegitimate half-sister, Lady Jane Stewart, and two of her attendants.¹⁵⁷ James V clearly intended his heir to enjoy every advantage of his rank and this perhaps suggests a possibility that the king regretted the shortcomings of his own upbringing. In any case the plans were thwarted by mortality and James had no opportunity to repeat the exercise for his third (legitimate) child, who became Queen of Scots in December 1542, when she was only a week old.

are French but few of them can definitely be identified with the known members of her household in 1538-42.

¹⁵³See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁴See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁵RSS, ii, 3557.

¹⁵⁶See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁷TA, vii, 477-78.

The king, his family, his household and court led a peripatetic existence, constantly on the move from one castle or palace to another, often staying no more than three or four days and rarely more than three or four weeks in one place. The usual itinerary circulated between Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Falkland and St. Andrews, but there were also regular forays into the Borders, Argyll and Angus and occasional visits to the north east. James was also an enthusiastic sailor and he made two voyages to the outer extremities of his realm, taking in Orkney and the Hebrides, and (as we have seen) one trip to France. The details of his daily movements during the years of his adult reign, have been outlined (as far as the sources allow) in Appendix C. Whilst on his travels, he sometimes lodged as the guest of abbots, bishops, earls and other men of standing, but more frequently he would make use of one of his own residences. There were royal castles scattered at intervals across the length and breadth of the kingdom: from Dingwall to Threave, from Rothesay to Dunbar, and many points in between. In addition the king maintained minor residences in key burghs such as Montrose and Haddington: these are described as 'lodgings' in the accounts, and so were presumably fairly modest.¹⁵⁸ The royal household and its paraphernalia often spent days on horseback and James was fond of abandoning the main entourage in a major residence and striking out with a much smaller retinue for more remote destinations, often in pursuit of game or his latest mistress.¹⁵⁹ These excursions are clearly detectable in the accounts of the pantry, cellar and kitchen, where *Rege Absenti* is marked in the margin and a consolidated account of the king's total living expenses whilst away usually appears in the ledger a few folios later.¹⁶⁰ Such constant perambulations would have brought the king and court into regular

¹⁵⁸E.g. William Scott, a burghess of Montrose, was retained as keeper of the king's lodging in that town and sir Patrick Mauchlin kept the king's lodging at Haddington: *RSS*, ii, 519, 947.

¹⁵⁹According to Buchanan, his nocturnal visits to women, in which he was accompanied by only one or two companions put his security at risk: Buchanan, *History*, ii, 309.

¹⁶⁰E.g. SRO. Liber Domicili, E.31/5, ff. 73r-79v: on the folios recording the household's daily expenses in Stirling between 6th and 14th August 1534 it is noted that the king was away in Argyll and at the end of the August account his expenses whilst in Dumbarton are listed.

contact with a wide range of humble people. As we have seen, the king's steward or caterer offered valuable business to burgesses and other traders, and private individuals feature in the accounts (often unnamed) receiving payments for goods and services or rewards for gifts.¹⁶¹ The penchant for travelling without the full household also lends some credence to James's popular reputation as 'the poor man's king': the monarch who wandered incognito to learn about the lives of his subjects.¹⁶²

A study of the royal itinerary reveals that the pattern of use of the royal residences changed over time.¹⁶³ Holyrood, as the palace in the capital, was overwhelmingly associated with events of political importance. It was where James based himself when there was a session of parliament to attend, or an important embassy to receive, or a show trial of heretics to observe. As a result, it features strongly on his itinerary of 1528-29, when he was struggling to establish his independence of the Douglasses, and it was still quite important in 1530-33, when he was stamping his authority on the Borders and negotiating a major peace treaty with England. From 1534 to 1539, when his power was more firmly established and his confidence high, Holyrood was not used so frequently, but from 1540 to 1542 it featured more regularly again, as the tensions heightened and warfare resumed against England. Stirling seems to have been the king's preferred residence in the years 1529 to 1533. The emphasis then shifted in 1534 to Fife, when James spent long periods in the burgh of Cupar, away from the main household establishment. The exact reason why the king spent so much time in Cupar at this period is rather mysterious but it is possible that a hint may be found in the stable and avery accounts, where it is revealed that his young son, Lord James

¹⁶¹E.g. in 1529-30 3s. was given to a harper from the Highlands, and 40s. to 'Egipianis' (i.e. gypsies) who danced before the king at Holyrood: *TA*, v, 373, 379.

¹⁶²C. Bingham, *James V, King of Scots, 1512-1542* (London, 1971), 95; J. Paterson, *James the Fifth: or the "Gudeman of Ballangeich:" his Poetry and Adventures* (Edinburgh, 1861), 155-161.

¹⁶³Sec Appendix C.

Stewart, had two horses kept at Cupar.¹⁶⁴ The king seems therefore to have been visiting his son, and possibly the boy's mother too, at this time. In 1535 the emphasis returned to Stirling, and the son seems to have relocated to the castle. Whilst the king was in France, the Christmas feast of 1536 was kept at Stirling by this son, who continued to reside primarily at Stirling even after his father married.¹⁶⁵ However, the palaces of Linlithgow and Falkland seem to have attracted more attention in the years after 1538 than they did before James's second marriage. In the early years of the adult reign, Linlithgow tended to be used primarily to break the journey between Edinburgh and Stirling, rather than for long periods of residence. Technically, Linlithgow was the property of Queen Margaret until her death in October 1541, but his building activities seem to indicate that James treated it as one of his own possessions¹⁶⁶ and it also seems to have become a favoured residence of Mary of Guise, even though it was not a part of her jointure. Falkland was a part of her jointure and its profile on the itinerary of 1538 to 1542 seems to have been raised as a result. Indeed, almost the whole of the summers of 1539 and 1540 were spent in Fife, with the time divided between Falkland, St. Andrews¹⁶⁷ and a residence at Pitlethie, near Leuchars.¹⁶⁸ In fact, the long-awaited heir was born and baptised at St. Andrews in May 1540, just before James set sail for the Northern and Western Isles.

As well as indicating how the movements of the Scottish household and court changed over time, the royal itinerary also suggests a regular pattern of seasonal perambulations. The observance of religious feasts and fasts will be considered in detail in chapter four, but at this point it may be useful to observe that the celebration

¹⁶⁴SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/5, ff. 99r.-102r.; E.31/6, ff. 105r.-110v. The accounts do not specify *which* Lord James this was: there were three, each by a different mistress (see chapter 2).

¹⁶⁵SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.32/6, f.28r.

¹⁶⁶See chapter 3.

¹⁶⁷The second Lord James was appointed commendator of the priory of St. Andrews in 1538 and the king seems to have treated his son's property as his own: *RMS*, iii, 1620; *James V Letters*, 343.

¹⁶⁸My thanks are owed to Athol Murray, who located Pitlethie for me. It lies to the north-east of Leuchars village NO 459220 on the 1:25000 OS map.

of the great festivals seems to have followed a regular pattern: Christmas and Epiphany (Yule and Uphaliday) were usually kept at Holyrood, although in 1539-40, the festive season was spent at Linlithgow; much of Lent and Easter itself were usually spent at Stirling; and Stirling was also the most likely location for the Whitsun feast in the earlier years of the reign, but after the arrival of Mary of Guise, it was celebrated at St. Andrews. Hunting expeditions were also a regular feature on the itinerary: these could be arranged at any point during the summer and early autumn but September seems to have been the favoured time for the lengthier hunting parties.¹⁶⁹ James V, like his father, maintained a large staff of falconers and dog-handlers as well as an extensive stable, which included horses bred for specialist functions.¹⁷⁰ His falconers were sent regularly into the Highlands and Isles to capture birds of prey¹⁷¹ and these men were so close to the king that by the late 1530s they were receiving many of their fees and expenses directly from the king's purse rather than from the treasurer.¹⁷² Hawking was a sport which could be pursued for most of the year and which was easily arranged within the royal parks of Holyrood, Linlithgow, Stirling or Falkland. The summer hunting parties which took the king into Meggetland, Menteith, Strathearn and Argyll¹⁷³ with tents (pavilions), bows and spears were likely to have been major drives targeting larger game such as deer and boar, since the chase (stalking, coursing and hunting *par force*) was not as popular in Scotland as in England and France.¹⁷⁴ The only narrative account we have of James V's hunting parties is in Pitscottie's somewhat far-fetched story. He states that the

¹⁶⁹See Appendix C.

¹⁷⁰See Appendix A.

¹⁷¹E.g. in April 1540, a falconer called Baxter was sent north for hawks: Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 45.

¹⁷²*Ibid*, 29-51.

¹⁷³See Appendix C.

¹⁷⁴For a detailed discussion of Scottish hunting traditions see John M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), and see also R. S. Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland Historically Illustrated* (Wakefield, 1975), 1-105. For the English practice see Nicholas Orme, 'Medieval Hunting: Fact and Fancy', in Barbara A. Hanawalt (ed.), *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context* (Minneapolis, 1992), 133-53 and Simon Thurley, 'The Sport of Kings', in Starkey (ed.), *A European Court*, 163-66.

king took 12,000 men with him to the Borders in 1529 (the 'raid' actually took place in 1530 and almost certainly involved a much smaller and more mobile entourage), when he slew eighteen-score (360) of harts and hanged Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie and other outlaws.¹⁷⁵ Pitscottie also describes a three-day excursion into Atholl in September 1532 (although he dates it to 1528) at which the earl of Atholl is said to have spent £1,000 a day entertaining the king, his mother and the papal envoy, Sylvester Darius.¹⁷⁶ They were apparently lodged in an almost fairy-tale palace built from green timber in the middle of a remote meadow, furnished with tapestries and plate and supplied with luxurious delicacies. The hunting seems to have been a great success, for the party killed 'xxx scoir of heartis and hyndis witht wther small beistis as re and rebuke, wolf and fox, and wyldcattis.'¹⁷⁷ Once the party was over, the highland servants of the earl of Atholl, in an extravagant show of conspicuous consumption, set the palace ablaze, to the astonishment of the departing legate. Thus ended a most remarkable Scottish version of a *fête champêtre* the significance of which will become clearer when it is set alongside the other cultural and ceremonial activities of the court to be considered in the following chapters.

¹⁷⁵Pitscottie, *History*, i, 335.

¹⁷⁶Ibid, 335-38. For Darius see *James V Letters*, 206, 211, 223-4, 229, 237-8. The event is clearly dated to September 1532 by references to the hunt in Atholl and the presence of the legate in *TA*, vi, 103, 105 and SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.32/2, f.149v.

¹⁷⁷Ibid, i, 338.

2. THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

A faire huire is a suete poyson.
Women in mischief ar wyser than men.
Women is moir pietefull than men, moir invyous than a serpent, moir
malycious than a tyraunt, moir deceytfull than the devill.
Woman's counsale is waike and a chyldis unperfyte.
Woe be to that citie quhair a woman beirith rule.
It is better to be in companye with a serpent than with a wikit woman.

These slogans were doodled on the fly-leaf of the last volume of *The Register of the Privy Seal* for James V's reign,¹ scribbled there in December 1542 by Master George Cook, the scribe of the privy seal. Given that James V had just died and that the new monarch was a baby girl, still in the arms of a young, vigorous and foreign dowager queen, Cook's preoccupation with the nature of women has a certain urgency about it which is entirely understandable but the conclusions he reached were not at all original. Indeed, the prejudices he expressed were commonplaces of medieval discourse, with long biblical and canonical pedigrees.² Exactly the same feminine vices were listed by James IV's court poet, William Dunbar, in his *Ballate against evil Women*: sensuality, envy, deceit, inconstancy and an inability to bear authority.³ But Dunbar was too humane and tolerant an observer of human foibles to sustain this level of vilification for long. Many of his poems suggest that he rather liked the company of women. In *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* the widow advises her younger friends to be 'dragonis baith and dowis ay in double forme' and although Dunbar presents his subjects as bawdy, vain, scheming and deceitful, he implies that this is no worse than their menfolk deserve because they (the men) are presented in turns as

¹RSS, ii, App. p. 773.

²For instance the lament for a city where a woman rules is an adaptation of *Ecclesiastes* 10:16 'Woe to you, O land, when your king is a child', and the comparison of woman to a serpent evokes the story of Eve. See also Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993), 11-24.

³*The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. J. Small (3 vols., STS, 1893), ii, 266-8. See also Priscilla Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992).

possessive, jealous, lecherous, bumbling, gullible and impotent.⁴ Dunbar was well placed to observe the ladies of the court and he indulged in the little games of 'courtly love' which were played there. In his poem, *To a Ladye*, he melodramatically declares that he will die if she is so heartless as to reject his offers of love,⁵ whilst elsewhere he maintains that chastity is the paramount feminine virtue.⁶ He is certainly sharp with ladies who distribute their sexual favours at court so as to further their material interests.⁷ When he praises women he sets them up on pedestals so exalted that any mortal woman would inevitably fall. He writes of the powers of intercession of the Virgin Mary, whose virtues are purity, compassion, humility and the ability to work miracles.⁸ He also writes of Queen Margaret Tudor in no less effusive language: she is an icon of national and chivalric significance, she is beautiful, good, bounteous, of imperial birth and dignity, young, vigorous and likely to have healthy children: quite literally a pearl of a princess.⁹ With such expectations, disappointment was almost inevitable and yet Dunbar's opinions were also typical of contemporary thought, which drew on biblical models and scholastic traditions to demand from women exemplary conduct within rigidly defined and restricted spheres of activity, whilst believing that they were inherently weaker than men.¹⁰

At the court of James IV, especially after his marriage in 1503, ladies held a prominent and honourable place and this is reflected in Dunbar's poetry. However, if the poetry of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount is a reliable indicator, the role of women at the court of James V was much less significant. An index of the historical persons mentioned in Lindsay's works lists 110 people but only ten are women and, of these,

⁴Dunbar, *Poems*, ii, 30-47.

⁵*Ibid.*, ii, 223.

⁶*Ibid.*, ii, 272-3.

⁷*Ibid.*, ii, 168-9.

⁸*Ibid.*, ii, 269-71.

⁹*Ibid.*, ii, 183-9, 251-3, 274-5, 279.

¹⁰Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 11-24.

four are queens and one is a saint.¹¹ Lindsay does not indulge in the sort of generalised consideration of the nature of women that Dunbar undertakes, but in his *Contemptioun of Syde Taillis* he makes a conventional, if rather tongue-in-cheek, attack on the excesses of female fashions and feminine vanity.¹² Elsewhere he is more serious: in *The Testament of the Papyngo* he discusses Queen Margaret's position during James V's minority, stressing how transient political power can be.¹³ However, in *The Monarchie*, he denies that women are fit to bear rule at all, which he presents as an entirely male prerogative,¹⁴ but since this poem dates from the minority of Mary, Queen of Scots, which was even more chaotic than that of James V, this is hardly surprising. The only one of Lindsay's poems specifically dedicated to a woman is *The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene*, in which he mourns the passing of one so young, noble and beautiful, but regrets even more the fact that she died without giving birth to an heir. Furthermore, the structure of the poem seems to imply that he regrets most of all the fact that the grand pageants that were to have been staged for her reception (and which he helped to organise) would not now take place: twelve out of the twenty-nine stanzas refer to the detailed plans for these events.¹⁵

These male poets clearly give a rather conventional and stereotypical view of women at court without really indicating who most of the women were and, because other sources can be just as reticent, it is quite difficult to be clear on this point. The financial accounts are not always very specific: many of the women who feature in them are anonymous, such as the woman of Falkland employed to wash sheets in 1540¹⁶ or some of the nurses engaged for the king's children,¹⁷ but others are named

¹¹Lindsay, *Works*, iv, 298-302.

¹²*Ibid.*, i, 117-22.

¹³*Ibid.*, i, 55-90 (especially lines 542-8, p. 72).

¹⁴*Ibid.*, i, 197-386 (especially lines 1051-76, p. 230 and lines 3235-64, p. 295).

¹⁵*Ibid.*, i, 105-12 (lines 92-175, p. 109-11, deal with the Scottish plans). See chapter 7 for the details.

¹⁶Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 44.

¹⁷*TA*, vi, 40, 417, 446 and elsewhere.

and designated as members of the royal household. Appendix A, which lists James V's household, contains over a thousand names but only thirty of them are female. The king's household, like others of the period,¹⁸ was dominated by men who even did the tasks regarded as 'women's work' in the kitchens, brewhouse, wardrobe and elsewhere. Of the thirty household women, there were seventeen children's nurses, five laundresses, three seamstresses, one brewer and four general servants. Most of them seem to have been of fairly obscure social origins, perhaps from the burgh families of royal burghs, and several of them served continuously for many years. Some, such as Marion Bonkle, even transferred from the service of Margaret Tudor to that of her son.¹⁹ Only three of them were demonstrably of some social standing, and may therefore, perhaps, be considered to have had some influence at court. They were, firstly, the king's senior laundress, Mavis Acheson, who appeared in the records continuously from 1516 to 1542 and married John Tennent of Listounschiels.²⁰ As we have seen, he was an influential and favoured chamber servant, simultaneously in charge of the king's purse and his wardrobe.²¹ Secondly, there was the king's seamstress between 1522 and 1540, Janet Douglas, who was the wife of the poet, Lindsay.²² His most important role at court as far as these accounts are concerned was as a senior herald.²³ Thirdly, there was Katherine Bellenden, who held a position in the wardrobe between 1537 and 1542.²⁴ She was the sister of John Bellenden, the translator of Boece, and the wife of Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn. He was one of the Sinclairs of Roslin, was related to the Sinclair earls of Caithness and was another

¹⁸Mertes, *English Noble Household*, 42-3.

¹⁹From 1516 she received payments for her services to the king and the queen and continued to serve the king after Margaret Tudor's death: *TA*, v, 66; *ER*, xvii, 578 and elsewhere (see Appendix A).

²⁰*ER*, xiv, 287-88; *TA*, viii, 101 and elsewhere.

²¹See chapter 1 and Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts'.

²²*TA*, v, 196; *Ibid*, vii, 315 and elsewhere.

²³See Edington, *Court and Culture*, 26-41.

²⁴*TA*, vi, 298; *Ibid*, vii, 87 and elsewhere. See also Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction Between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in A. A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I. B. Cowan (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1994), 191-8, for the Bellenden family in general.

favoured chamber servant of James V (as we have seen), for whom he was cupbearer and captain of Tantallon Castle.²⁵ He is generally blamed for the defeat of the Scottish forces at Solway Moss and hostile English reports of 1542 credit her with housing one of the king's mistresses at Tantallon.²⁶ Each of these three women came from respectable families and filled what would be described today as middle-management positions but none of them features in the narrative sources for the reign. If they exercised any influence at court beyond their household functions it would, in all probability, have been through the agency of their prominent husbands.

In the queen's household serving Mary of Guise as consort between 1538 and 1542 one might expect to find a much higher proportion of women but, although there is an increase, it is not a dramatic one. Only eighteen out of the 106 recorded members of her household were women and of these, six were the wives or daughters of men in her service.²⁷ They served as ladies in waiting, maids of honour and gentlewomen of the chamber, with one laundress, one jester and a dwarf. All the servants of the queen's kitchens, pantry, cellar, stable and wardrobe (and even some in her chamber) were men. All of the women and three-quarters of the men were French, although some later married into Scottish families such as Marie Pierris, who married George, 4th Lord Seton, and Jehanne Gresmor, who married Robert Beaton of Creich.²⁸

It would therefore appear to be the case that in a court that regularly numbered around five hundred people in the late-1530s,²⁹ only about ten per cent are known to

²⁵*TA*, vii, 125; *ER*, xvii, 164 and elsewhere. See also P. D. Anderson, *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533-1593* (Edinburgh, 1982), 26-41, for the Sinclairs.

²⁶*Hamilton Papers*, i, 329, 338; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 403-5.

²⁷Her French household of 1539 is listed in SRO, *Despence de la Maison Royale*, E.33/1, fos. 8r.-15v. References to her Scottish servants are scattered through *TA*, vii & viii and *ER*, xvii. See Appendix A.

²⁸*Balcarres Papers*, i, 245; *TA*, vii, 166, 328.

²⁹This figure comprises 350 for the king's household, 100 for the queen's household (both calculated from Appendix A) and an estimated figure of 50 for clerks, officials, officers of arms, visitors, petitioners and others. The estimate may be on the low side.

have been women. However, as we saw in chapter one, there may well have been many more people at court whose presence went unrecorded in the accounts, and among these the wives, children and servants of household officers may well have been quite numerous. However, this is entirely hypothetical and, since it cannot be substantiated, any attempt to calculate the impact of such 'hangers-on' in the household and court is very difficult. It would also seem reasonable to speculate that the wives of nobles, lairds and knights who came to court for a spell to conduct some business or to circulate socially would have accompanied their husbands occasionally. The instances when the presence of noble ladies was specifically demanded at court were few, but one such was the coronation of Mary of Guise in February 1540, when it was regarded as appropriate to the dignity of the Queen to be attended by as many ladies of good birth as was possible, although we do not have a list of who responded to the invitations.³⁰ Certainly, in May 1590 Queen Anna of Denmark was attended by a bevy of ladies and noble maidens at her coronation, including the countesses of Mar, Bothwell and Orkney, Jean, Lady Thirlestane, Margaret, Lady Auchinoul, Isobel, Lady Seton, and two Danish maids of honour, Cathrina Schinkel and Anne Kaas.³¹

One of the most glaring and frustrating gaps in the record is that there are hardly any references to the king's many mistresses. Their presence, at least somewhere within the orbit of the court, usually has to be deduced from the recorded provision made for their children. Again it is speculation to suggest that these would have been housed with their mothers, at least when they were very young. However, Maurice Lee and Peter Anderson agree that both James and Robert Stewart (afterwards earls of Moray and Orkney respectively) retained strong links with their mothers and maternal kin throughout their lives, so perhaps this is not too unrealistic a suggestion.³² Yet it was

³⁰TA, vii, 282, 302.

³¹*Papers Relative to the Marriage of James VI*, 52; David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997), 104.

³²M. Lee, *James Stewart, Earl of Moray* (New York, 1953), 18; Anderson, *Robert Stewart*, 1-2.

also a common practice of the period to send royal and noble children to board at the households of great magnates or prelates where they would be educated and trained in the etiquette appropriate to their station in life.³³ Since James V intended his sons to rule the church (or at least the most important church lands), one might expect to find them being brought up in clerical households but this is quite difficult to establish with any certainty. The lands and revenues of the prior of St. Andrews (the second Lord James) were administered by sir James Kincaigie, provost of the collegiate church of St. Mary of the Rock, until his death in 1539-40, when he was replaced in this task by Alexander Mylne, abbot of Cambuskenneth, and it is possible that these clerics may also have acted as guardians or foster fathers to the young prior as well but we have no firm evidence of this.³⁴ Indeed, the curators of the eldest Lord James, commendator of Kelso and Melrose, were secular men of the court: Sir Thomas Scot of Pitgormo (the justice clerk) and Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (the king's master sewer).³⁵

James V's amorous career really was quite spectacular. Lindsay and Buchanan both imply that as a fourteen or fifteen year old he was deliberately encouraged into promiscuity by the Angus regime in order to distract him from wanting to exercise political power.³⁶ His subsequent behaviour suggests that he thought he could do both. James's list of conquests included Elizabeth Shaw, the daughter of Alexander Shaw of Sauchie, master of the king's wine cellar.³⁷ She bore him a son, Lord James Stewart, in 1529 when the king himself was only seventeen.³⁸ We know nothing more

³³Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984), 44-80.

³⁴*ADCP*, 492; *RMS*, iii, 2611. At the same time Mylne was also appointed to act for Lord Robert Stewart, commendator of the abbey of Holyrood: *James V Letters*, 399.

³⁵Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 356.

³⁶Lindsay, *Works*, i, 46 (*The Complaynt*, lines 237-254); Buchanan, *History*, ii, 324. Pitscottie has a similar story but blames corrupt clergymen: Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 383, 408-9. Lindsay's *Answer to the Kyngis Flyting* (*Works*, i, 102-4) is very critical of James's lechery.

³⁷*RSS*, ii, 336.

³⁸*HMC 6th. Report, Moray Muniments*, App. p. 670.

of her except that she received a payment of £20 and the nurse's fee in 1532, and seems to have died sometime before 31 August 1536.³⁹ However, one account of the period suggests that the Elizabeth Shaw who produced the king's first child was the sister (rather than the daughter) of Alexander, laird of Sauchie, the wife of Robert Gib of Carrubber (esquire of the stable to James V), and the mother of a large family by her husband; and that she did not die until 1559.⁴⁰ It is typical of the scarcity and ambiguity of the sources concerned with women at this period that it is impossible to distinguish which of the two Elizabeth Shaws, who died more than twenty years apart, was the mistress of the king, and indeed one reference even confuses her name and calls her Marion Shaw.⁴¹ Lord James seems to have spent his infancy at Cupar, Fife, and his childhood primarily at Stirling Castle where, in December 1536, in the absence of his father in France, he held court at the Christmas feast with the rump of the royal entourage.⁴² In November 1538 he was moved to St. Andrews and by 1542 he was in residence at Holyrood.⁴³ The boy was made commendator of the abbeys of Kelso and Melrose and granted some of the forfeited Douglas lands.⁴⁴ Another mistress was Margaret Erskine, the daughter of John, 4th Lord Erskine, captain of Stirling Castle. She was already married to Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven before James became

³⁹*TA*, vi, 40; *RMS*, iii, 1620.

⁴⁰Gibb, *Robert Gib*, i, 233.

⁴¹*TA*, vi, 180.

⁴²*TA*, vi, 190. The avery accounts of 1534-5 indicate that horses were kept at Cupar for him: SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/5, ff 17r, 29r, 37r, 50r, 70r, 81v, 99r-102v; E.31/6, ff 105r-110v and elsewhere. The precise location or nature of this residence is not stated in the accounts. The king was perhaps using the buildings of the former Dominican priory, dissolved in 1519: *RMS*, iii, 196 & I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (London, 1976), 117. The chaplain at Cupar was sir John Walker and another servant, perhaps a nurse, was Bessie Crichton: *TA*, vi, 205, 390. See also the itinerary of the king and his son at this period, in which Cupar features prominently until December 1535 when the emphasis shifts to Stirling (Appendix C). Lord James was in residence at Stirling from 1536 to 1538, when he moved to St. Andrews. For the Christmas court see SRO, Royal Household Book, E.32/6, fo. 28r.

⁴³At St. Andrews he was joined by three of his brothers (*TA*, vii, 102-3, 312-3). In 1542 he was in Holyrood, where his household was provisioned by his own steward, Alexander Christison, who was presumably a kinsman of the king's steward, David Christison. Alexander Christison then transferred to the service of Mary, Queen of Scots, in January 1543 (E.32/8, 19r, 47r).

⁴⁴*James V Letters*, 279, 287, 425; *RMS*, iii, 1425.

interested in her.⁴⁵ She bore the king a son, another James, in 1531 and seems to have been his favourite mistress.⁴⁶ In 1536, whilst he was in theory engaged to Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendôme, James made an attempt to divorce Margaret Erskine from her husband so that he could marry her but the petition was refused.⁴⁷ She was then granted a gift of 500 merks a year from the Edinburgh customs, perhaps as some sort of compensation.⁴⁸ The son was granted the lands of Tantallon and made commendator of the priory of St. Andrews.⁴⁹ He seems to have spent his infancy at Alloa (a property belonging to his maternal grandfather) and was also lodged in St. Andrews from 1538, probably in the priory lodging, which had become his property.⁵⁰ These sons were clearly accorded some dignity and status, given lands, preferment and a good education (George Buchanan was tutor to the elder Lord James for three years)⁵¹ and one might speculate that perhaps their mothers would have shared the glory.

Other mistresses included Christina Barclay, perhaps from the family of the captains of Falkland.⁵² She produced a son, probably in 1532, the third James, who seems to have died young.⁵³ There was also Euphemia Elphinstone, daughter of the first Lord Elphinstone, who produced a son, Robert, in 1533 who was appointed commendator of the abbey of Holyrood.⁵⁴ Elizabeth Carmichael, daughter of Sir John Carmichael,

⁴⁵Their marriage contract was dated 11 July 1527: *SP*, vi, 369.

⁴⁶Lee, *James Stewart*, 17; *HMC, Moray*, App. p. 670.

⁴⁷*James V Letters*, 320.

⁴⁸*RSS*, ii, 2138.

⁴⁹*RMS*, iii, 1620; *James V Letters*, 343.

⁵⁰The wardrobe accounts of Dec. 1535 to Aug. 1538 make a distinction between clothes that were made for Lord James Stewart (the elder) and those for 'James of Alloway': *TA*, vi, 255, 282, 297, 384, 437. From September 1538 references to James of Alloa ceased and instead it was the Prior of St. Andrews who received velvet coats and other clothes, so presumably these are references to the same child; *TA*, vii, 89-90. For the priory lodging see David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland; Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London, 1910), 608-12, and chapter 3.

⁵¹*TA*, vi, 289, 353, 430; I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981), 48-9.

⁵²William Barclay of Rynd was named in this post in 1528 and Thomas Barclay between 1528 and 1536: *RMS*, iii, 558; *ER*, xvi, 470.

⁵³*TA*, vi, 180; Anderson, *Robert Stewart*, 156.

⁵⁴*Ibid*, 1-6, 154; *James V Letters*, 357; *RSS*, ii, 3127.

the captain of Crawford, and later the wife of Sir John Somerville, gave birth to a son, John, in 1531 who became commendator of the priory of Coldingham.⁵⁵ Eleanor (or Helen or Elizabeth: the sources are inconsistent) Stewart, daughter of John, 3rd earl of Lennox, produced yet another son, Adam, who was given a pension from the charterhouse of Perth.⁵⁶ Finally, there was Elizabeth Beaton, the daughter of Sir John Beaton of Creich and a cousin of Cardinal David Beaton, James's keeper of the privy seal and one of his ambassadors to France. She produced the king's only illegitimate daughter, Lady Jane Stewart,⁵⁷ who as a child was placed in the household of Mary of Guise and then in that of her legitimate half-brother, the short-lived Prince James.⁵⁸ As an adult she married the 5th earl of Argyll, a match that was possibly arranged within her father's lifetime.⁵⁹ There may have been a second Robert, who became commendator of the priory of Whithorn in 1568, but his mother is not recorded.⁶⁰

Other than this catalogue of names, kinship connections and births virtually nothing is known about James V's mistresses. They were almost all the daughters of nobles or lairds in the king's service and so, presumably, were present at least on the periphery of the court even before they became the mothers of royal bastards. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suspect that these mistresses are only known to us precisely because of their social status, and that the king may have sired offspring by humbler women

⁵⁵*James V Letters*, 426-7; *ADCP*, 502.

⁵⁶Anderson, *Robert Stewart*, 156-8; *RSS*, v, 915.

⁵⁷According to *DNB*, x, 597, Lady Jane was the daughter of Elizabeth Carmichael and Elizabeth Beaton produced a child whose name is not known. No sources are cited for this assertion. Elizabeth Beaton is identified as Jane's mother in *SP*, i, 25, and no sources are cited here either but since James is not known to have had more than one child by any of his other mistresses this is probably the correct version. Lady Jane was probably born in 1534 as her foster mother or nurse, Elizabeth Macall, was first paid then: *TA*, vi, 205. Macall was the wife of William Cunningham, keeper of the park of Stirling, and Lady Jane seems to have spent her infancy in or around Stirling Castle.

⁵⁸Her expenses appear under the Queen's accounts in 1538-9, *TA*, vii, 94, 101; and under the Prince's accounts in 1540-1, *TA*, vii, 410, 433-4, 463, 477-8.

⁵⁹*SP*, i, 25, 342; *Ibid*, iv, 155; *Ibid*, ix, 21.

⁶⁰*SP*, i, 25; G. Donaldson, 'The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn', *TDGAS*, 3rd Series, xxvii (1950), 147.

about which we know nothing at all.⁶¹ The acknowledged children were suitably provided for (as we have seen), although their appointment to the commendatorships of wealthy abbeys was also to the king's personal advantage since he retained their revenues whilst they were underage. Certainly, James does not seem to have contemplated the expense of setting up any of them in a great secular lordship as was done for Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century, or for Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, in the 1520s.⁶² Very little is recorded about the king's arrangements for the financial support of their mothers either. Some of the mistresses subsequently made respectable marriages,⁶³ and two appear to have entered the service of Mary of Guise,⁶⁴ but if they had any significant role within the court circle the sources do not mention it. A possible exception might be Lady Margaret Erskine, who might have masterminded the downfall of George Buchanan in 1539.⁶⁵ However, there is certainly no suggestion that James ever imitated the French practice of having an official mistress with luxurious apartments in the royal palaces, a

⁶¹Lindsay's *Answer to the Kingis Flyting* (*Works*, i, 102-04) describes the king's encounter with a kitchen wench in an account which barely stops short of accusing him of rape. However, there is no sympathy for the victim; she is described as a 'ladron', a 'caribald' and a 'duddroun' (slut, oik, slattern) and Lindsay's concern is entirely for the king: 'On 3our behalf I thank God tymes ten score,/ That 3ou preseruit from gut & frome grandgore.'

⁶²Anthony was one of the many illegitimate children of Philip the Good and became a celebrated exponent of the cult of chivalry. Henry VIII awarded his son, Henry Fitzroy, the title Duke of Richmond, and set him up with his own court and household in the 1520s as the nominal head of the Council of the North: Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 147, 151, 350-51, 425n., 508.

⁶³Elizabeth Beaton married Lord Innermeith (*RSS*, ii, 2206), Euphemia Elphinstone married John Bruce of Cultmalindie (Fraser, *Elphinstone*, i, 83) and Eleanor Stewart married the 6th Earl of Errol (*RSS*, ii, 4016, 4525). According to Pitscottie, the Errol marriage was timed to coincide with Mary of Guise's entry to Dundee (Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 381), which took place on Thurs. 29 Aug. 1539 (SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/8 f. 101r.), and was made 'be adwyce of the kingis maiestie.'

⁶⁴Lady Innermeith (Elizabeth Beaton) was given a gown and kirtle in January 1539 in a part of the wardrobe account which deals with the queen's servants: *TA*, vii, 131. Two sisters of the earl of Lennox, one of whom was the king's mistress, were provided with fine clothes and bedding 'at their first intering to the Quenys grace' in the same month: *ibid*, vii, 136-9. In March and May of 1539 they both received other gifts of clothing: *ibid*, vii, 149, 166; and after the marriage of Eleanor to the earl of Errol, the remaining sister, Margaret, continued to receive clothes from the royal wardrobe: *ibid*, vii, 328, 438; viii, 63-4. In August 1542 she and the king were both supplied with drugs (presumably for an illness) by the royal apothecary: *ibid*, viii, 93.

⁶⁵McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 67; Buchanan, *History*, i, 4-8.

rich endowment of lands and titles and considerable influence in politics and diplomacy.⁶⁶

The only remaining category of women at court is the one most familiar to historians: the queens. Only a few remarks about their role at court are appropriate here since the lives of Margaret Tudor, Madeleine de Valois and Mary of Guise are quite well documented.⁶⁷ The king's mother, Margaret Tudor, was a force to be reckoned with throughout the reign until her death in October 1541.⁶⁸ His first wife, Madeleine de Valois, was married in Paris in January 1537 and survived only a few weeks in residence at Holyrood between May and July of the same year, before she died, probably of consumption. His second wife, Mary of Guise (or Mary of Lorraine as she is styled in all the contemporary sources), arrived near St. Andrews in June 1538 and produced two princes who died in infancy before she bore Mary, Queen of Scots, in December 1542 only days before the king died. All three were foreign princesses, brought to Scotland as young women as the human manifestations of the alliances made between the Scottish realm and the lands of their birth.⁶⁹ Margaret was only thirteen when she married the thirty year old James IV in August 1503 after the so-

⁶⁶Knecht, 'Court of Francis I', 9-10; Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 117, 290, 396, 407, 421, 498, 551, 558.

⁶⁷Patricia H. Buchanan, *Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots* (London and Edinburgh, 1985); M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest* (6 vols., London, 1849-55), iv, 475-505; Hester W. Chapman, *The Sisters of Henry VIII* (Bath, 1974), 1-156; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977); E. M. H. McKerlie, *Mary of Guise-Lorraine, Queen of Scotland* (London, 1931); Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses* (8 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1850-59), i & ii.

⁶⁸There has been some confusion over the exact date of her death. *The Diurnal of Occurrents*, 24, gives the date as 24 Nov. 1541 and Strickland, *Lives*, i, 265, states Tues. 24 Nov. but this date was a Thursday in 1541. Green, *Lives*, iv, 504, dates her death to Tues. 18 Oct. 1541 and this date is supported by the report of the English pursuivant, Henry Ray (*L&P Hen VIII*, v, 193). Payments for mourning clothes for James V ('ane dule goune, huid and cote') are recorded in Oct. rather than Nov. 1541 (*TA*, viii, 26) and according to *The Chronicle of Perth*, 2, she was buried in the Charterhouse there on 'St. Munokis' day. The feast of St. Monachus is 30 Oct.: A. P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872), 412. 18 Oct. would therefore appear to be the correct date.

⁶⁹The tortuous negotiations leading to these marriages are described in Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1988), 112-55, and Bapst, *Mariages*. See also chapter 7 for the political and diplomatic context of the marriages of 1537 and 1538.

called Treaty of Perpetual Peace, and still only twenty-three when she was widowed by the battle of Flodden. Madeleine was sixteen when she married the twenty-four year old James V and had not yet reached her seventeenth birthday when she died. Mary of Guise was a little more mature, for she was already a twenty-two year old widow, with a young son that she had to leave behind in France, when she married the twenty-six year old James V.

The letters, diplomatic despatches and narrative sources of the period make it clear that there were certain conventional expectations of the role a queen would play in her new realm. First and foremost she was responsible for the production of a male heir, and barren queens or queens who only had daughters might be put away, the most famous example being Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first wife.⁷⁰ Of course, daughters were not totally unwelcome since they could be bartered on the international marriage market (the daughters of James I of Scotland were used particularly effectively on the continent)⁷¹ but sons were essential to carry on the dynastic line. Although James V's reputed comment on his deathbed, 'it cam wi' a lass, it will pass wi' a lass' may well be apocryphal, it sums up very well the contemporary view that an heiress, through her marriage into another family, signalled the end of a dynasty.⁷² As we have seen, the early death of Queen Madeleine was considered to be especially sad because she had not had the opportunity to fulfil her maternal function and it was certainly to Margaret Tudor's credit that after three failed attempts she finally succeeded in this primary duty. It is also significant that Mary of Guise was not given a coronation until she had been in Scotland for twenty months and was visibly

⁷⁰See Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London, 1950).

⁷¹John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994), 63-78; Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), 110, 154, 162-3, 203; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragoes. A History of Women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* (London, 1983), 19. Princess Margaret married the Dauphin Louis (the future Louis XI) in 1436, Isabella married the Duke of Brittany in 1442, and in 1444 Mary married the heir to the lordship of Veere (Netherlands) and Anabella was betrothed to the Count of Geneva. In 1450 Eleanor married Sigismund, Duke of Austria.

⁷²Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 407; Knox, *Works*, i, 91.

pregnant.⁷³ Even this was more generous than Henry VII's treatment of Elizabeth of York who was not crowned until after she had delivered a healthy son.⁷⁴

As well as bearing children, a queen was expected to supervise the disciplined order of her household and to provide for the education and training not just of her own children, but also of the children of noble or landed families that were entrusted to her care as pages, maids of honour or wards. For example, as a youth, the French poet, Pierre Ronsard, came to Scotland as a page to Queen Madeleine and he later wrote a glowing account of James V as a vigorous, gracious and regal monarch.⁷⁵ After Madeleine's death Ronsard stayed on in Scotland with her chief lady and former governess, Anne de Boissy, Madame de Montreuil, to welcome Mary of Guise. Mme. de Montreuil and her entourage then departed for France overland, through England, in August 1538, although an undated letter to Mary of Guise (1538 x 1542) suggests that Ronsard remained in Scotland after this date and was taken into the service of James V.⁷⁶ Mary of Guise took her household responsibilities very seriously.⁷⁷ Many of her accounts are checked and signed with her own hand⁷⁸ and she has the reputation of taking a keen interest in the marriages of her ladies, two of which are noted above. She is also credited with treating her husband's illegitimate offspring with some consideration and even affection.⁷⁹ If this was so, it underlines the fact that however robust, capable and overwhelmingly masculine these children may have been, they were no threat to the rights of her daughter.

⁷³She was crowned at Holyrood on 22 Feb. 1540 and her first child by James was born at St. Andrews on 22 May: *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 23; SRO, 'Despence de la Maison Royale', E.33/1, Lib. 7, f. 11v.

⁷⁴S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1987), 66-7.

⁷⁵Michel Simonin, *Pierre de Ronsard* (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée, 1990), 52-77. He was twelve when he arrived.

⁷⁶*Balcarres Papers*, i, 231. Ronsard appears in the Scottish record as 'the page callit the Poissonier' (TA, vii, 61) because his father was the Seigneur de la Possonnière and this single reference might be interpreted as implying that he left with Mme. Montreuil.

⁷⁷For a list of its members see Appendix A.

⁷⁸SRO, Despence de la Maison Royale, E.33/1, fos. 3v.-8r., E.34/8/1, E.34/8/3.

⁷⁹Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, 73; Anderson, *Robert Stewart*, 8.

In addition to their household responsibilities, queens were also great territorial magnates with all the attendant rights, privileges and duties. As life-expectancy was so unpredictable in the sixteenth century, a queen's jointure lands might have to support her through many years of widowhood, and so the details of the estates to be settled upon her, and of the dowry she would bring with her, were often the most controversial aspects of the negotiations surrounding a marriage contract, particularly since both items were seen as status symbols as well as objects of greed for the parties concerned. In Scotland, where the crown patrimony was in any case smaller and less productive than that of the kings of England and France, making appropriate provision for a daughter of these wealthier realms could cause problems, especially when the queens of two generations overlapped, as was the case between 1537 and 1541.⁸⁰

When Margaret Tudor married James IV in 1503, her jointure consisted of the earldom of March, the lordship of Dunbar (excluding Dunbar Castle), the lordship of Cockburnspath, the lordship of Ettrick Forest with the tower of Newark, the lordship of Methven with the castle of Methven, earldom of Menteith, the lordship and castle of Doune, the castle of Stirling and lordship of the shire, and the palace of Linlithgow and lordship of the shire; all of which were supposed to raise for her total revenues of £6,000 a year (£2,000 Sterling). In addition, she received the lordship and castle of Kilmarnock as a 'morrowing gift' the day after the wedding.⁸¹ She brought with her a dowry of £30,000 (£10,000 Sterling) which was paid in three annual instalments between 1503 and 1505.⁸² Whilst her husband was alive he administered these lands on her behalf and paid her household expenses from the revenues, giving her £1,000 a

⁸⁰Marshall, *Virgins and Viragoes*, 29-36. James II's struggle to meet the terms of Mary of Guelders' jointure settlement in 1449-50 contributed to the fall of the Livingstons and of the Black Douglases and the confiscation of their lands: Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), 49-55.

⁸¹*APS*, ii, 271-73.

⁸²Macdougall, *James II*, 155.

year 'pocket money' to spend as she pleased.⁸³ However, as soon as he died she had to fend for herself, and was almost immediately in difficulties. In the aftermath of Flodden, raising revenues from Ettrick, East Lothain and the Merse, would have been extremely difficult even for a confident, efficient and forceful male, but for an inexperienced and rather pampered foreign princess with three infants⁸⁴ and an ambitious, volatile new husband,⁸⁵ engaged in a power struggle for the regency of Scotland, it was virtually impossible. Throughout the turbulent minority of her son she repeatedly tried and failed to obtain access to her assigned income. Her exile in England between September 1515 and June 1517 allowed Angus to appropriate many of her revenues for himself and appeals for justice to Arran and Albany did not result in any lasting settlement.⁸⁶ During Angus's own hegemony between 1525 and 1528 her position was even more difficult, since she was seeking to divorce him, and the Douglas-dominated council tended to uphold his rights over her lands rather than hers.⁸⁷ During this period he seems to have secured possession of Stirling, Doune, Linlithgow, Methven, Newark and Cockburnspath.⁸⁸

When James V asserted his personal rule in 1528 he did so by establishing his power-base at Stirling Castle, which his mother resigned into his hands, and although he subsequently recovered all the properties formerly held by Angus and his adherents, they were not invariably returned to Margaret's personal use.⁸⁹ During the 1530s the king seems to have treated the palace and lordship of Linlithgow as his own property, even though we have no record of a formal resignation by Margaret, and in 1537 she

⁸³*TA*, ii, 243; iii, 37 and elsewhere.

⁸⁴James V was seventeen months old in Sept. 1513; his brother, Alexander, Duke of Ross, was born in April 1514 and died in Dec. 1515; his half-sister, Lady Margaret Douglas, was born in Oct. 1515.

⁸⁵Margaret married Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, in Aug. 1514.

⁸⁶Emond, 'Minority', 113, 163, 200, 214-18, 224, 232, 289, 334, 390, 466, 533, 535; *ADCP*, 133, 136-38, 148.

⁸⁷Emond, 'Minority', 466, 533, 535, 554; *ADCP*, 224-25, 241, 257-58.

⁸⁸*ADCP*, 224-25, 257-58.

⁸⁹Emond, 'Minority', 554;

assigned him her revenues from the lordship of Dunbar as a bribe to try to persuade him to agree to her divorce from her third husband, Lord Methven. The king accepted the revenues but blocked the divorce.⁹⁰ The lordship of Kilmarnock was also alienated to the crown, by arrangement with Methven, who seems to have assigned Doune to his landless brother, James Stewart.⁹¹ The only property to which Margaret appears to have had relatively easy access was Methven Castle (which was her main residence between 1528 and her death), and even this was closed to her during her divorce campaign of 1537, when she set up home in a town house in Dundee.⁹² This being the case, it is hardly surprising that she continued to be financially embarrassed for almost all of the period 1513-1541.

Since some of Margaret's jointure lands had already reverted to her son before 1537, James had more freedom of manoeuvre in providing for a potential bride than might have been the case if his mother had been more effective at protecting her own interests. Nevertheless, his first attempt at a marriage contract did not touch any of the lands formerly held by the dowager queen, relying instead on crown properties in some of the furthest reaches of the realm. In March 1536 he agreed to a marriage with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, a match that was sponsored by Francis I. She was to bring to Scotland a dowry of 200,000 livres tournois (nearly £90,000 Scots) and was to be assigned lands worth 15,000 livres tournois a year (£6,666 or 10,000 merks Scots) for her jointure. In other words, although she would bring a dowry worth three times that of Margaret Tudor, her income would be only

⁹⁰For Linlithgow, see the itinerary (Appendix C) and building programme of James V (chapter 3). For Dunbar see M. A. E. Wood, *Letters of the Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain* (3 vols, London, 1846), ii, 333-35, 336-8, 338-41; *Hamilton Papers*, i, 65; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 259-60, 261

⁹¹Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 345-46; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 237-38. In December 1540, the lordship of Kilmarnock (which had found its way into Sir James Hamilton of Finnart's new barony of Avandale following an exchange deal of Feb. 1536) was annexed to the crown along with the lands of other forfeited (and executed) magnates: *APS*, ii, 361. For Margaret's struggles over Doune see also Sir William Fraser, *The Red Book of Menteith* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1880), ii, 369-400.

⁹²Strickland, *Lives*, 261; Wood, *Letters*, ii, 338-41.

slightly larger. The lands named in the contract were Falkland Palace and its contents, the lordships of Ross, Ardmannach [Ardnamurchan?], Orkney (including Kirkwall), Strathearn, and Galloway, with the castle of Threave. In addition, the duke of Albany was to return Dunbar Castle to the Scottish crown.⁹³ This marriage never took place and instead the king married Madeleine de Valois in January 1537. The contract for this marriage was agreed at Blois on 26 November 1536. As the eldest surviving daughter of the king of France, Madeleine's dowry was a little larger than Marie's: 225,000 livres (£100,000 Scots), and her jointure was to be double the value of the previous offer: 30,000 livres a year (£13,333 or 20,000 merks Scots). However, the lands assigned for this purpose were almost the same as those offered to the jilted Marie de Bourbon: the earldom of Fife and castle of Falkland with its moveables, the earldom of Strathearn with the castle of Stirling, the earldom of Ross with the castle of Dingwall, the earldom of Orkney, the lordship of Galloway with the castle of Threave, the lordship of 'Ardmannach' and the lordship of the Isles, plus any other lands necessary to reach the required total income.⁹⁴ In assigning Stirling Castle to his new wife, the king was making use of property recovered from his mother's jointure and one suspects that he would have had to surrender more in order to reach the requisite sum. In this context, Madeleine's early death was something of a mercy for the crown finances, but had she lived, she would have enjoyed an opulent lifestyle unprecedented for a Queen of Scots with an income four-times that allocated to her predecessor, since Francis I had also agreed to pay her an annual pension of a further 30,000 livres.⁹⁵ In the event, the contract which really mattered was that made with Mary of Guise in 1538. Her dowry was only 150,000 livres (100,000 merks Scots) but coming as it did only a year after Madeleine's it was nevertheless a huge financial bonus for James V. The property assigned to her for her jointure was exactly the same

⁹³Teulet, *Papiers*, 109-121.

⁹⁴*L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 1183; *James V Letters*, 325-6.

⁹⁵Teulet, *Inventaire*, 84-5.

as that destined for Madeleine, but the target income was set at the more realistic level offered to Marie de Vendôme: 15,000 livres or 10,000 merks a year.⁹⁶ Even so the promised revenues had to be raised and financial necessity may have been a contributory factor in spurring the king's voyage to the Northern and Western Isles of June 1540 and the formal annexation of these lands in December of the same year.⁹⁷

The public role of a queen consort was largely decorative. She was expected to preside as a gracious figurehead at banquets, tournaments, pageants and ceremonies.⁹⁸ Contemporary narratives often describe in detail how queens were dressed and how they appeared to be gratified by the attentions they received, but they do not usually show them doing anything more strenuous than nodding and smiling. Speeches were sometimes made to them and about them but never by them.⁹⁹ It was noted above that elaborate preparations were made for the official reception of Queen Madeleine in 1537 but never carried out. Sadly the only Scottish state ceremony in which she took part was her own lavish funeral at the abbey of Holyrood.¹⁰⁰ However, the show put on for her wedding in Paris was a truly spectacular affair if the French sources are at all accurate.¹⁰¹ Mary of Guise made ceremonial entries into the burghs of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth and Aberdeen, attended several tournaments, and was given a coronation for which new regalia was produced by the royal goldsmiths.¹⁰² The household accounts also make it clear that the king and queen

⁹⁶Teulet, *Relations*, 115-18; idem, *Papiers*, 131-34.

⁹⁷For the voyage see chapter 6. The act of annexation is in *APS*, ii, 361.

⁹⁸For a detailed discussion of such events at the court of James V, see chapter 7.

⁹⁹E.g., the description of the French state wedding of Mary, Queen of Scots, in Teulet, *Papiers*, i, 292-303. In a discussion of the Scottish reception of Anna of Denmark in 1590 David Stevenson writes, 'At her coronation and her entry to Edinburgh a symbolic dummy could have been substituted for her person, so far as the historical sources go': Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 63.

¹⁰⁰*TA*, vi, 334, 349-52, 313-4, 330-2, 354-5. According to George Buchanan this was the first time that mourning dress was worn in Scotland: Buchanan, *History*, ii, 315.

¹⁰¹*Cronique du Roy François Premier de ce nom*, ed. Georges Guiffrey (Paris, 1860), 201-5; Teulet, *Relations*, i, 106-8.

¹⁰²Pitcottie, *Historie*, i, 378-381; *TA*, vii, 254, 285-6.

would preside together at court for the major feasts of 'Yule' and 'Pasche' (Christmas and Easter), even if their itineraries might separate at other times of the year.¹⁰³

In addition to these ceremonial displays, queens were expected to specialise in acts of piety, charity and mercy. For example, Margaret Tudor, when a refugee at her brother's court in 1517, joined with her sister, Mary, the Queen Dowager of France, and her sister-in-law, Queen Katherine of Aragon, in a carefully stage-managed plea for clemency for the London apprentice boys held responsible for the riots of 'Evil May Day'. With their hair loose upon their shoulders, the three queens knelt weeping before Henry VIII until he was moved to pardon the miscreants.¹⁰⁴ Margaret was also a regular patron of Scottish shrines and so was Mary of Guise who visited St. Adrian's on the Isle of May and the shrine of the Virgin of Loretto at Musselburgh.¹⁰⁵ In 1540-42, when she was approaching the birth of one of her three children by James V, she made arrangements for offerings to be made at several Scottish and French shrines in the event of her death.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the most impressive act of piety and charity by a Scottish queen was the foundation by Mary of Guelders, wife of James II, of the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, in 1460. This was still being built during the reign of James V and was never fully completed.¹⁰⁷

Queens were also expected to be leaders of fashion and patrons of the arts and, as the courts of both England and France were wealthier and more sophisticated than that of Scotland, they played some part in introducing cultural novelties.¹⁰⁸ English portraits

¹⁰³The itineraries can be constructed from SRO, Libri Domicilii & Libri Emptorum. E.31/1-8, E.32/2-8, E.33/1-2. See Appendix C. Easter was usually spent at Stirling and Christmas at Holyrood.

¹⁰⁴Strickland, *Lives*, i, 146 and Green, *Lives*, iv, 254. *CSP Ven.*, ii, 385-6 suggests that only Katherine of Aragon was involved.

¹⁰⁵She visited the Isle of May with James V on Sun. 24 Aug. 1539: SRO, Royal Household Book, E.31/8, fo. 99v. For her visit to Loretto see Leslie, *Historie*, ii, 253. See also chapter 4.

¹⁰⁶*Balcarres Papers*, i, 78-9.

¹⁰⁷James D. Marwick, *The History of the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, 1460-1661* (SBRS, 1911), 25-9.

¹⁰⁸See chapter 3 for more details.

and painters were sent to the Scottish court when the Princess Margaret was first betrothed to James IV¹⁰⁹ and English musicians may well have come north in her train, bringing with them some pieces of English music which found their way into the *Carver Choirbook*.¹¹⁰ It is also possible to detect English influence in the architecture of the palaces of Linlithgow and Holyrood as developed by James IV and James V.¹¹¹ Even more pervasive was the French influence on the architecture, art, etiquette, clothing and jewellery of the Scottish court after James V's marriage to Madeleine.¹¹² The impact was so strong because James had actually gone in person to the court of Francis I to secure the hand of his daughter and stayed there for nine months as an honoured guest of the French king and at his expense. He returned to Scotland in a fleet of ships laden with French wines, tapestries, fabrics, jewels, *objets d'arts* and artillery pieces, some of which were his but many were his wife's possessions. After Madeleine's death, her jewels and other movable goods were assigned by Francis I to Mary of Guise on her marriage to James.¹¹³ Later, Mary's parents were commissioned to find the best French masons, goldminers, armourers and falconers and send them to Scotland and Mary herself took an interest in all these transactions.¹¹⁴

Finally, despite all the sixteenth-century controversy about female rulers,¹¹⁵ queens consort did have a clearly defined, if rather tricky, political role to play. The person of

¹⁰⁹TA, ii, 341, 405.

¹¹⁰James D. Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), 6.

¹¹¹Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation, 1371-1560* (Edinburgh, 1994), 308, 322.

¹¹²John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 154. The STS edition of Leslie's *Historie* does not include this comment. See chapter 3.

¹¹³Claude d'Espence, *Oraison Funebre es obseques de ... Marie ... Royne douairiere d'Escoce* (Paris, 1561), 39.

¹¹⁴*Balcarres Papers*, i, 16-33, 71-3; TA, vii, 48, 182, 184, 193-4. It may be significant that the most innovative of James's architectural schemes were carried out at Falkland and Stirling between 1537 and 1542 and that both these properties were granted to Mary in her jointure (Teulet, *Relations*, i, 115-18). See chapter 3.

¹¹⁵See Constance Jordan, 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40 (1987), 421-51.

the queen was the human embodiment of the peace treaty or political alliance that her marriage marked. Therefore the splendour of a queen's attire, the size and social status of her entourage and the manner in which she was escorted and housed within her new realm were all regarded as a reflection not only of the dignity of her husband but also of the honour in which her father or brother was held. When it came to the nitty-gritty of political and diplomatic exchange, a queen was not usually supposed to have an agenda of her own but instead to act as a channel of communication between the king she had married and the king she had left behind: to use her charm and tact to mediate and facilitate rather than to initiate policy.¹¹⁶ In short, if she was unlucky, she could find herself in an invidious position. These expectations did not take into account the fact that a queen might have a mind of her own; indeed, whatever Francis I and James V expected from Mary of Guise, she seems to have regarded her marriage as an opportunity to further the cause of true religion in a land that was wavering.¹¹⁷

When the terms of the peace treaty or alliance that accompanied the marriage were upheld and there was goodwill on both sides, this aspect of a queen's duty might be fairly straightforward, but when the diplomacy failed and warfare became a threat or a reality, her position was a very difficult one. Margaret Tudor spent thirty-seven of her fifty-two years in Scotland and for twenty-seven of them Anglo-Scottish relations could be described at best as tense and at worst as hostile.¹¹⁸ It is quite clear that Margaret was neither a paragon of virtue nor a skilled politician. She certainly had weaknesses in her character and she obviously made many errors of judgement which are familiar to historians.¹¹⁹ Yet some of her grievances and complaints may have been too lightly dismissed as hysterical or self-indulgent, without any serious

¹¹⁶John Carmi Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship to 1500' in L. O. Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992), 66-7.

¹¹⁷D'Espence, *Oraison Funebre*, 29, 39, 66-7; Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, 102.

¹¹⁸Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 17-62. See also Emond, 'Minority' and Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations'.

¹¹⁹See Buchanan, *Margaret Tudor*; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 1-267; Green, *Lives*, iv, 49-505.

consideration being given to them. During the adult rule of her son, when the anarchy of the minority had been quelled, Margaret's complaints to her brother were largely concerned with her inability to present herself in public in a manner appropriate to the honour of the English realm and when James's two French queens arrived she was especially worried about being embarrassed in front of them.¹²⁰ These complaints are usually considered to be indicative of her greed, vanity and insatiable desire for new finery,¹²¹ but considering the political symbolism of such matters (and the loss of much of her jointure discussed above), there was probably more to it than that. Indeed, Henry VIII, impatient though he often was with his sister's demands, sent her a gift of £200 Sterling (£600 Scots) and interceded with James V on her behalf on the occasion of Madeleine's arrival.¹²² However, it was more usual for her to be treated with a certain amount of suspicion by both her brother and her son simultaneously. Henry was not noted for his high opinion of women and he consistently regarded her second husband, the earl of Angus, as a more reliable Scottish agent than Margaret herself even when James V's implacable hatred of his erstwhile stepfather had become abundantly clear. Henry never really forgave her for divorcing Angus (which, considering his own marital antics, says much about his state of mind) and in the mid- and late-1530s he was inclined to distrust her word and to use men such as Sir Ralph Sadler and Henry Ray, Berwick Pursuivant, to verify her reports.¹²³ Meanwhile, James is said to have accused her of betraying him to the English¹²⁴ and in 1537 took steps to prevent her from divorcing her third husband, Lord Methven (as we have seen), because he believed that she was about to re-marry the traitor, Angus. James even went so far as to send Lord Maxwell to physically retrieve her from her lands in Ettrick Forest and place her in Doune Castle because of fears that she was about to

¹²⁰Wood, *Letters*, ii, 323-333; iii, 18-20; *Hamilton Papers*, i, 38, 42-3, 48-51.

¹²¹Buchanan, *Margaret Tudor*, 248, 254, 261-2; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 253, 257-8, 262-3.

¹²²Wood, *Letters*, ii, 330-333; Buchanan, *Margaret Tudor*, 250-3; Green, *Lives*, iv, 494-7; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 258.

¹²³Wood, *Letters*, i, 321-30; *Hamilton Papers*, i, 57, 75-6.

¹²⁴*L&P Hen. VIII*, x, 355-6, no. 862.

slip over the border into England and Angus's arms.¹²⁵ Margaret's career as queen dowager clearly was not a success but given the tortuous political and diplomatic wranglings of the reign of James V, even if she had been one of the most skilful of Scottish queens, she would still have had many difficulties. Mary of Guise was a talented politician and the example of her years as dowager is not an encouraging one. With French money, troops and diplomacy behind her she struggled to maintain what she saw as the best interests of her daughter, her faith and her two realms through eighteen years of widowhood, for the last six of which she was regent. Even before she died in June 1560 many of her Scottish subjects had already rejected the French alliance and the Roman church and seven years later they would reject her daughter too.¹²⁶

In surveying the role and status of women at the court of James V it is often necessary to 'read between the lines', drawing inferences and speculations from sources produced by contemporaries who clearly did not consider the subject to be of any great interest. Since the same obstacles were noted by almost all speakers at a recent conference on women in Scottish history,¹²⁷ they were not unusual in this attitude. In so far as it is possible to draw any conclusions from this study, it would appear that the position of women at the court reflected many of the experiences of women in the wider society of the sixteenth century in that they were expected to operate within the limited spheres of family, household and traditional occupations such as nursing and sewing. The court poetry also suggests that the models they were exhorted to emulate were idealised icons of saints and queens. Yet hints of the untidy complications of real life do sometimes emerge from the sources in the references to illegitimate unions and

¹²⁵Wood, *Letters*, i, 338-41; *Hamilton Papers*, i, 49-51.

¹²⁶Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, 108-266.

¹²⁷*Women in Scotland, 1100-1750*, Sat. 18 May, 1996, University of Edinburgh. It is intended that a collection of essays by contributors to this conference will be published in 1998.

the political struggles of the dowager queens, and these snippets of information occasionally illuminate a dim corner of the history of the period.

3. THE VISUAL ARTS

In Western Europe as a whole the 1530s was a decade of lavish expenditure on royal patronage of the visual arts. In England Henry VIII was building at Hampton Court, Whitehall and elsewhere, employing Hans Holbein to produce portraits of his courtiers and decorative schemes for his palaces and pageants and the king also imported some of the finest tapestries and *objets d'art* from the continent.¹ In France the palaces of Chambord, Fontainebleau and Madrid were being constructed and embellished for Francis I and stocked with masterpieces by Rosso, Primaticcio, Cellini, the Clouets and Corneille de Lyon, among others.² In both cases there was a dual source of inspiration: architects, artists and craftsmen could draw upon the flamboyant and dazzling late-gothic style of the Burgundian tradition with its emphasis on magnificence, finesse and chivalric courtesy but they were also influenced by the more restrained classicism of Renaissance Lombardy and Tuscany which stressed the virtues of proportion, harmony and imitation of the antique.³ As the French kings had been actively intervening in Italian politics since 1494 and Francis I particularly coveted the Duchy of Milan, the Italian influence was felt heavily in France where, for instance, the essential form of the château of Chambord was based on the villa of Poggio a Caiano, built for Lorenzo de Medici a generation earlier.⁴ In England on the other hand, the long-standing links with the ports of the Netherlands established by the medieval woollen cloth trade, and reinforced by Edward IV's alliance and exile, made the Burgundian fashions irresistible, even to Henry VII, who had spent his period of exile at the courts of Brittany and France, at a time when they

¹See Starkey, *A European Court*.

²Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance*, 87-167.

³Peter and Linda Murray, *The Art of the Renaissance* (London, 1986), 89-180, 227-245.

⁴R. J. Knecht, 'Francis I: Prince and Patron of the Northern Renaissance' in Dickens (ed.), *Courts of Europe*, 109 and Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 398-461.

were also heavily influenced by Burgundian tastes.⁵ The Burgundian influence was reinforced by Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon, which effectively locked England into the Habsburg orbit while it lasted, but the advent of Anne Boleyn not only transformed the religious and diplomatic position of the English realm but also created a new mood in the culture of the English court, which quickly adopted French and Italian fashions.⁶

The Scottish court was somewhat constrained by geographical and economic factors in the extent to which it could participate in such developments but just as the Stewart kings of the fifteenth century had signalled their intention to cut a dash on the international stage by their prestigious marriages,⁷ so James V seems to have made a concerted effort to 'keep up with the Joneses' as far as he was able, and his first marriage was the most prestigious and lucrative of all. As we have seen, James V had a French regent, two French queens, and had visited France in person in 1536-7. The 'auld alliance' was therefore considerably reinforced during his reign and French artistic influences were strong. Nevertheless, Scotland also had its own links with the Burgundian Netherlands: James II's queen had been Mary of Guelders (a niece of Duke Philip the Good), and trading links were well established with the Scottish staple located at Veere in Zeeland from 1477.⁸ The Burgundian influence was also felt through the relations with England which, though strained, were relatively peaceful for most of James V's adult reign. James's English mother, Margaret Tudor, may well have had some impact on the taste of the Scottish court and, although her only personal experience of the English court since her marriage was her sojourn there in

⁵Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven, 1993), 11-37.

⁶Eric Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (London, 1988), 273-301. Anne Boleyn had spent some years in the household of Queen Claude of France in her youth: *ibid.*, 22-46. See also Maria Dowling, 'Anne Boleyn as Patron' in Starkey (ed.) *A European Court*, 107-111.

⁷Lynch, *Scotland*, 147-8, 155-6.

⁸John Davidson and Alexander Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere: A Study in the Economic History of Scotland* (London, 1909), 144-63.

1516-17, she was in frequent correspondence with her brother, as indeed was James himself for ambassadors and envoys shuttled constantly between the two monarchs.

Thus it would seem to be fair to consider the artistic achievements of the court of James V within a European context, for the king's own actions, as we shall see, suggest that he relished such comparisons. Certainly, the evidence for his enthusiasm for building schemes is manifest and his architectural programme is considered to be 'unparalleled either in interest or intensity by that of any other Scottish monarch'.⁹ He was also an avid collector of tapestries, plate and jewels and there is some evidence to suggest an interest in paintings and illuminated manuscripts too, although this is more difficult to establish from the surviving sources. Undoubtedly the artistic patronage of the court of James V was at its most active and innovative in architectural endeavours. All the major royal residences and several minor ones underwent extensive redevelopment during his adult reign, with the most significant work focused on Falkland and Stirling where the palace blocks represent the earliest examples of the Renaissance style in Britain.¹⁰

Holyrood was the most important location for the court when it was present within the capital since Edinburgh Castle was used chiefly as an arsenal by the adult James V, who was presumably unimpressed by its potential when, as a child, he had been lodged securely within the fortress.¹¹ The Augustinian Abbey of Holyrood was a royal foundation (by David I in 1128), had regularly lodged fifteenth-century kings and James II had built some lodgings there¹² before the first palace was constructed for

⁹John G. Dunbar, *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* (London, 1966), 17.

¹⁰Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation, 1371-1560* (Edinburgh, 1994), 323; George Hay, 'Scottish Renaissance Architecture' in D. J. Breeze (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden* (Edinburgh, 1984), 205.

¹¹*TA*, v, 122 & 129 (1517).

¹²*ER*, v, 26, 346-7.

James IV from 1501.¹³ The motive seems to have been to create a suitably regal location for the reception of his bride, Margaret Tudor, whom he married in the abbey kirk on 8th August 1503. Their betrothal had been celebrated in January 1502 at another new palace, Henry VII's showpiece residence at Richmond, Surrey, the main phase of which was complete by 1501.¹⁴ The new palace of Holyrood presumably compared relatively favourably to Richmond for the account of the marriage festivities produced for the Tudor court by John Young, Somerset Herald, is glowing in its appreciation of the splendours of the halls and chambers and their rich furnishings.¹⁵ The actual structures of James IV's palace have long since vanished beneath the building works of later generations and no contemporary drawings of the place have survived, but some tantalising glimpses of the architectural scheme are provided by the financial records. The first phase included a foregate,¹⁶ a forework, a chapel, a gallery and royal apartments costing at least £2,500 and constructed by Leonard Logy, overseer, Walter Merliene, master mason, and Walter Turnbull, mason.¹⁷ The palace occupied the site to the west of the monastic cloister on which the current palace now stands and is likely to have been arranged on the quadrangular plan that still persists. Young, who accompanied Margaret Tudor on her progress northwards and was therefore an eye-witness, described the king and queen occupying matching apartments consisting of a hall, great chamber and inner chamber¹⁸ and other rooms included oratories for the king and queen, a king's closet and a queen's gallery.¹⁹ In 1505 a tower was added to the complex²⁰ and later the gardens received attention: a

¹³*TA*, ii, 87f.

¹⁴Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 28.

¹⁵John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (6 vols, London, 1770), iv, 258-300

¹⁶Most of this was demolished in 1753 but part of the south side was left standing to serve as a wall of the abbey court house and can still be seen today. *RCAHMS (Edinburgh)*, 146 and John Sinclair, 'Notes on the Holyrood "Foir-yet" of James IV', *PSAS*, xxxiv (1904-5), 352-362.

¹⁷*TA*, ii, 269f., 273f., 280, 344, 383 & 419 (1501-04). See also J. G. Dunbar, 'The Palace of Holyrood during the first half of the sixteenth century', *Architectural Journal* cxx (1963), 242-254.

¹⁸Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 295-96.

¹⁹*TA*, ii, 269, 417, 419, & *ibid*, iv, 276, 529.

²⁰*Ibid*, iii, 86.

lion house was built which housed a pair of bears as well as a lion and 'the loch beside the abbay' was drained.²¹ There is no contemporary evidence of the precise arrangement of all these elements but the accounts of James V's rebuilding work imply that the chapel was in the north range running westwards from the west front of the abbey kirk²² and that the queen's chambers were in the south range on the opposite side of the close.²³ The great hall had a door which led from the abbey cloister,²⁴ had a south facing roof line²⁵ and seems to have stood immediately to the east of the chapel²⁶ so was perhaps the former monastic refectory appropriated for the king's use.²⁷ The site of the tower of 1505 is unknown but the later accounts refer to a south tower,²⁸ the Governor's tower (which is listed in a roofing account for buildings on the east side of the palace)²⁹ and the old tower.³⁰ These may be references to separate structures or perhaps represent different names for the same building. John Dunbar has speculated that James IV's tower may have been at the southern end of the west front on the site of the tower built for Charles II in the 1670s.³¹

From the death of James IV at Flodden in 1513 to the assumption of power by James V in 1528 little seems to have been done at Holyrood other than repairs and maintenance. There is a story that the duke of Albany built a tower at Holyrood when he was Regent for the child-king in about 1515³² but there is no reference to it in the

²¹Ibid, iii, 200 & 191; *ibid*, ii, 299.

²²*MW*, i, 42, 43, 188.

²³Ibid, i, 191.

²⁴Ibid, i, 103.

²⁵Ibid, i, 72.

²⁶Ibid, i, 193.

²⁷John G. Dunbar, 'Some Aspects of the Planning of Scottish Royal Palaces in the sixteenth century', *Architectural History*, xxvii (1984), 16-17.

²⁸*MW*, i, 10f., 188.

²⁹Ibid, i, 290.

³⁰Ibid, i, 225, 242.

³¹Dunbar, 'Palace of Holyrood', 244.

³²G. Marjoribanks, *Annals of Scotland from the year 1514 to the year 1591* (Edinburgh, 1814, originally c.1591), 1-2: 'And thereafter, in the year of God 1514, the said Johne Duck [sic] of Albaney, Governour of Scotland, tooke the Lord Houme, then chamerlane therof, and vardit him in the auld

surviving accounts, which appear to be quite full for 1515 to 1517.³³ However, the accounts covering the period of Albany's second and third visits to Scotland in 1521-2 and 1523-4 are incomplete, so it is just possible that some building work was done then but this is unlikely because his visits were brief and directed primarily towards military action.³⁴ It is just conceivable that Albany built a tower at Holyrood which he financed from his own revenues, as he was a very wealthy man in his own right and certainly commissioned building work at his own castle of Dunbar (see chapter six), but this is also unlikely since he seems to have utilised the crown revenues to finance his office of Governor of the king.³⁵ It seems more likely that Marjoribanks was aware that there was a structure at Holyrood called the Governor's tower³⁶ and concluded that Albany had built it, without considering the possibility that this was an older building where he had merely lodged.

In any event, the adult James V clearly regarded the facilities provided at Holyrood as deficient, for building work seems to have started there almost as soon as he began to rule in his own right in the summer of 1528. The first surviving account book of his master of works, John Scrymgeour, covers the period from 21st August 1529 to 28th August 1530 but is headed *Secundus Liber* and makes reference to an earlier account.³⁷ Presumably the missing *Primus Liber* ran from August 1528; that is within weeks of James asserting his personal rule, and before he had secured the forfeiture and banishment of the Douglas party, a process that was of fundamental importance

touer of Holyrudhouss, wich wes foundit by the said ducke'. Albany did not arrive in Scotland until May 1515.

³³*TA*, v, 1-131. Repairs were made to a tower at Holyrood in 1516: *ER*, xiv, 162.

³⁴Emond, 'Minority', 288-394. Minor repairs to the palace of Holyrood during Albany's Regency are noted in *TA*, v, 10-16, 41, 78-9, 95, 113-16, 118, 120, 219-20.

³⁵Murray, 'Financing the Royal Household', 41-59. There is one reference to Albany paying out of his own coffers for the guard of twenty men, which was established to protect the king in 1522. It is not clear whether this refers to money that the Regent had brought with him from France, or to his revenues from Dunbar: *HMC Mar and Kellie*, 11.

³⁶*MW*, i, 290.

³⁷*Ibid*, i, 1.

for the reign as a whole.³⁸ The fact that the king embarked on a building programme so early, during a period of political and financial crisis, says much about how important he thought it was to express his new power and dignity in stone.

The *Secundus Liber* reveals that a new tower was being built at Holyrood and had already progressed beyond the vaulted ceilings of the ground floor rooms, which were probably intended as storage cellars, and onto the first floor chamber windows and doors.³⁹ It used to be thought that this tower, which still survives at the north-west corner of the current building, was started by James IV or Albany and only completed by James V⁴⁰ but the original accounts clearly attribute its construction to the period 1528-32. It is also specifically stated that whilst it was being built, James V was residing in the south tower, which was obviously an earlier structure.⁴¹ The new tower (or 'new werk') was probably designed by John Ayton, the king's master mason,⁴² working under Scrymgeour's supervision, and follows a simple rectangular plan (68' x 35') with circular turrets in each corner.⁴³ The south-east turret no longer survives and had already disappeared by the time of the earliest surviving plan of the palace which was made in 1663,⁴⁴ but it may have been removed as early as 1535-6 when work was underway on the adjoining west range.⁴⁵ The tower seems to have been a free-standing structure at first (part of James IV's chapel was demolished to make room for it and had to be shored up⁴⁶) and may even have been moated.⁴⁷ It

³⁸Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 33-134.

³⁹*MW*, i, 3 & 4.

⁴⁰*RCAHMS (Edinburgh)*, 144; John Sinclair, 'Notes on James V's Towers, Holyrood Palace', *PSAS*, xxxiv (1899-1900), 227.

⁴¹*MW*, i, 27.

⁴²*Ibid.* i, 1f., 22, 55.

⁴³*RCAHMS (Edinburgh)*, 146.

⁴⁴Bodleian Library, Gough Maps, 39, fo. Iv. Reproduced in Dunbar, 'Holyrood Palace', plate vi facing p. 242.

⁴⁵*Ibid.* 248; *MW*, i, 132f.

⁴⁶*MW*, i, 40, 42, 43.

⁴⁷John Harrison, *The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood and of the Palace of Holyrood House* (Edinburgh, 1919), 58.

certainly had a drawbridge leading to the main entrance on the first floor where there was both a wooden door and an iron gate.⁴⁸ These features, combined with gun loops and crenellations, suggest that James V was intending his new residence to be a well-fortified, defensible structure (which is understandable considering the turbulent events of his minority and in particular his campaign against the Douglases, which was then at its height)⁴⁹ but there is an alternative view. Crenellations and gun-loops were fashionable accessories often used for decorative impact at this period⁵⁰ and a monarch's retreat into a tower residence separated from the public rooms of a palace by a moat and drawbridge may simply indicate a desire for greater privacy, as seems to have been the case for Henry V and Henry VII of England at Sheen/Richmond.⁵¹ It is also worth noting that at exactly the same time as James V was building his Holyrood tower, Henry VIII of England was moving into a 'stacked lodging' at Hampton Court Palace where the queen's apartments were above the king's, as at Holyrood. However, after 1533 Henry abandoned this arrangement and reverted to matching apartments on the same level,⁵² which was the pattern favoured in Scotland by James IV and by James V in his later work at Stirling. A similar development can also be detected in France where 'stacked lodgings' were in use until about 1530 (e.g. at Blois and Chambord) but thereafter royal apartments were arranged on one level (e.g. at Fontainebleau).⁵³

⁴⁸*MW*, i, 18, 33.

⁴⁹Emond, 'Minority', 486-560; Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 33-134.

⁵⁰Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture*, 322.

⁵¹Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 10, 36. Nevertheless it is also worth bearing in mind that munitions of some sort were kept at Holyrood during this period (it is not clear whether the accounts refer to small arms or larger weapons): *TA*, vi, 438; vii, 350. I am grateful to John Dunbar for alerting me to the significance of these references.

⁵²Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 52.

⁵³*Ibid*, 53; Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Châteaux de France au siècle de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1989), 110-17, 159-67, 198-206.

Scrymgeour's account book for 1529-30 shows the work progressing rapidly.⁵⁴ The first floor contained two main rooms: the drawbridge led directly into 'the uter chalmer nixt the woltis' (also known as 'the gret chalmer of the tour') on the east side of the tower and to the west there was 'the inner chalmer nixt the woltis' with closets in the turret space (the 'roundis').⁵⁵ There was a turnpike stair ('turngreis') in the north-east turret and a straight stair with an iron gate in the north wall from the inner chamber to the next floor ('the passage betwix the laicht and height chalmeris').⁵⁶ By the summer of 1530 the work had moved on to the second floor where a matching pair of rooms was built: 'the uter myd chalmer' and 'the inner myd chalmer' with a stair to the third floor, 'the trans betuex the myd inner chalmeris and the wardrop' (the third floor still housed the wardrobe in 1611).⁵⁷ Scrymgeour's third book for August 1530 to September 1531 is lost and by the start of the fourth book the tower was being roofed. The corner turrets were built one storey higher than the battlements and capped with conical lead roofs and a platform roof (also of lead) provided a wall-walk in a circuit between the turrets ('allering').⁵⁸ Attention then turned to the fittings and decorations. Wooden floors, ceilings and wall panels were installed, all the iron work of the gates, doors and window frames was painted red, the two west turrets were topped with heraldic badges (lions and towers) that were gilded and painted and the windows of the main chambers were fitted with painted or stained glass showing the royal arms within chaplets, a description which is very reminiscent of the pieces of heraldic glass surviving from English royal works⁵⁹ and of the glass roundels in the Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, c.1542.⁶⁰ Finally, in 1536, the two 'gret howsings' on

⁵⁴It has been examined in detail by Dunbar, 'Palace of Holyrood', 242-54, and this account largely follows his article.

⁵⁵*NW*, i, 93, 3, 10, 33.

⁵⁶*Ibid*, i, 93, 94, 25, 29.

⁵⁷*Ibid*, i, 94, 331.

⁵⁸*Ibid*, i, 64-67, 71, 74.

⁵⁹*Ibid*, i, 69, 76, 79, 86, 94; Hilary Wayment, 'Stained Glass in Henry VIII's Palaces' in Starkey (ed.), *A European Court*, 28-32.

⁶⁰G. Seton, 'Notice of Four Stained Glass Shields of Arms and a Monumental Slab in St. Magdalene's Chapel, Cowgate', *PSAS*, xxi (1886-87), 266-74; Hay, 'Scottish Renaissance

the west turrets, which today hold stone armorial panels, were fitted with lead panels, one bearing the king's arms and the other an image of St. Andrew with arms.⁶¹ These would probably have been painted, although payment for this work does not appear in the surviving records.

The new tower clearly had a practical function as a princely lodging, but it seems to have been designed almost as a piece of theatre, or as an item of propaganda: it was built to impress. The solid, imposing mass rose through its three floors in a form very reminiscent of the forework built at Stirling Castle by the new king's father and the resemblance may well have been quite deliberate.⁶² James V and his masons were employing all the colourful, exuberant, heraldic elements of late-gothic regal display as a statement of intent. In constructing this new tower in a style worthy of James IV, as an extension to a palace created by James IV, James V seems to have been making a clear political point: announcing his determination to be as effective a king as his father had been and predicting a glorious future for himself. At Holyrood in the first months and years of a new regime, this new tower simultaneously signalled a new departure and harked back to a golden age in the not so distant past.

James V's next phase of building at Holyrood seems to have been inspired by the imminent prospect of marriage (which is another parallel with the works of James IV). As we have seen, throughout the early 1530s negotiations were conducted for the hand of a French princess (amongst others) and James eventually married Madeleine in Paris on 1st January 1537. She resided briefly at Holyrood until her early death there on 7th July and was buried in the abbey kirk, but in 1538 the palace was made

Architecture', 206. See also C. P. Graves, 'Medieval Stained and Painted Window Glass in the Diocese of St. Andrews', in John Higgit (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St. Andrews* (London, 1994), 125-36.

⁶¹*MW*, i, 194.

⁶²Richard Fawcett, *Stirling Castle* (London, 1995), 48-51; idem, *Scottish Architecture*, 321.

ready for the reception of her successor, Mary of Guise. Most of the new work was undertaken between June 1535 and December 1536 for which period quite detailed accounts survive; thereafter we have only a few pages recording small scale repairs and maintenance.⁶³ These works were in the hands of John Brownhill, the king's master mason in succession to John Ayton, who was dead by January 1532,⁶⁴ and involved converting the old queen's chambers in the south range into a new chapel, making the old chapel in the north range presentable as a chamber or chambers, and constructing a new west range known as the fore-entry or fore-work.⁶⁵ James IV's work on this site seems to have been demolished: there were payments to workmen for 'brekand down auld wallis berand stanis and makand red serwand the masonis and kastand the ground [digging the foundations?] of the fore entray'⁶⁶ and purchases of 'auld schip tymmer for certane spilis and brandry to the ground of the fore entre'.⁶⁷ The building that was erected on the site was demolished in turn when Charles II's palace was built in the 1670s but its west front is depicted on an engraving by Gordon of Rothiemay c.1649⁶⁸ and its first floor plan is shown in John Mylne's survey of 1663,⁶⁹ which indicates that a south-west tower was planned by James V to balance the north-west one but not built until the 1670s. The range extended southwards from the tower of 1528-32 on two storeys surmounted by crenellations and a pitched roof. There was an arched entry in the centre under a stone armorial panel flanked by a pair of semi-circular turrets and a rectilinear turret at each end.⁷⁰ The ground floor contained 'laich chalmers' and the 'gret yet' leading into the central courtyard or

⁶³*MW*, i, 132-195, 222-227, 242, 288-290.

⁶⁴*RSS*, i, 1119; *MW*, i, 153-165.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, i, 186-191.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, i, 167.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, i, 179.

⁶⁸Reproduced in Dunbar, 'Palace of Holyrood', facing p. 232 and elsewhere.

⁶⁹Reproduced in Dunbar, 'Palace of Holyrood', plate vi, facing p 242.

⁷⁰A rectilinear turret feature with full-height windows closely resembling those on the Rothiemay engraving was later built on the chapel façade of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (1628-93), and was perhaps inspired by the Holyrood design. Indeed the entire scheme at Heriot's seems to owe much to James V's Holyrood.

close.⁷¹ The first floor suite was reached from a great stair in the south-west corner of the close, which also gave access to the chapel, and consisted of an outer, mid and inner chamber (also identified, perhaps inaccurately, as the wardrobe).⁷² These apartments were more spacious than those in the north-west tower and were probably used for formal, public occasions. Certainly Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, was received by James at Holyrood in 1540 in a suite of rooms near the chapel, at least one of which overlooked the inner courtyard, where Henry VIII's gift of six geldings was paraded before the king.⁷³ This description strongly suggests the forework chambers, perhaps in conjunction with the north chamber(s)⁷⁴ and this would have allowed James to use the tower rooms as a private retreat, which was a practice adopted by Henry VIII on a much larger scale in the late 1530s.⁷⁵ It is perhaps worth noting that the forework as depicted by Gordon bears some resemblance to views of the queen's gallery at Hampton Court Palace, built in 1537,⁷⁶ so that James may have been adopting English fashions in architectural design as well as function at this point.⁷⁷

The new apartments were certainly embellished in a grand style. The great arms above the main entrance were cut from a single block of stone by masons working day and night to a design by sir John Kilgour and gilded and painted.⁷⁸ The king's arms also appeared in stone on the east quarter of the palace and in timber within the chapel and

⁷¹*MW*, i, 185-6.

⁷²*Ibid*, i, 187, 190-1.

⁷³*Sadler's Papers*, i, 40-1. In 1579 the same courtyard was possibly used for 'running at the ring' by James VI and his companions: see Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1858-61), i, 142. I am grateful to Professor Lynch for this point.

⁷⁴By 1579 the north range probably housed 'the auld hall' (*MW*, i, 305) which was perhaps used as a council chamber: Harrison, *History of Holyrood*, 61; *MW*, i, 306.

⁷⁵Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 52-3.

⁷⁶A seventeenth-century depiction of the gallery is reproduced in Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, plate 172, p. 134.

⁷⁷See Hugh Murray Baillie, 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia*, 101 (1967), 169-99, for a comparison of the English practice with that of other countries.

⁷⁸*MW*, i, 138, 162, 170, 191.

the queen's arms were cast in lead; all were painted and gilded.⁷⁹ Some of the glass from James IV's forework was salvaged and reset in the hall and chapel, whilst the new glass included stained or painted panels: 'Flanderis roundis and squair antik peces' and 'bordouris and antik faces'.⁸⁰ The term 'antique' appeared frequently in the English accounts of the 1530s too and referred to decorations in the grotesque style which had originated in Italy in the 1490s.⁸¹ The ceilings of the fore-entry chambers and chapel were decorated with about two hundred pendant bosses ('gret hingand knoppis') that were gilded and coloured and the mouldings ('millouris') were painted azure. All the iron work of window frames and fittings was also painted, the roof line was set with six copper gilt weather vanes ('thanis') and the 'roundis' were adorned with twenty-two gilded and coloured 'manikynnis' with twenty-two more 'thanis'.⁸² The chapel interior was fitted with oak stalls ('deskis'), turned wooden decoration above the high altar (gilded and coloured), azure mouldings and hangings of Milan fustian.⁸³ Tapestries and hangings were presumably used elsewhere too, although there are no specifics in the accounts apart from occasional references to the hooks from which they were hung.⁸⁴ The altar may also have had a painted timber retable, as such an item ('a chabyll') was removed from the chapel in May 1559.⁸⁵

The records also mention work on the old oratory and the queen's oratory, the great hall, several galleries, the gatehouse and the gardens, the precise locations of which are unclear.⁸⁶ Renovations were also undertaken on most of the office houses which were probably sited to the south of the palace block. Reference is made to the wardrobes, stables, avery, forge, armoury, coining house, tapisier's house, kitchens,

⁷⁹Ibid. i, 190, 224.

⁸⁰Ibid, i, 189-0.

⁸¹Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 86-7.

⁸²*MW*, i, 191.

⁸³Ibid. i, 184, 191; *TA*, vi, 352.

⁸⁴*MW*, i, 99.

⁸⁵Ibid. i, 298.

⁸⁶Ibid. i, 226, 227, 191, 166f., 132, 191-2.

bakehouse, dressory, vesselhouse, brewhouse, napery house, larders, spicehouse, Thomas Peebles' house (he was the king's glazier) and chambers for Dr. Arbuthnot (the king's mediciner), the sangsters (i.e. choristers of the chapel) and Lady Drummond.⁸⁷ This list corresponds very closely to the records of household personnel discussed in chapter one, indicating that the full household establishment could probably operate here.

Taking the two main phases of the Holyrood works together, James V seems to have spent about £12,000 on this palace.⁸⁸ The expenses seem to have been directed at a largely traditional structure: the only suggestions of innovation come in the references to 'antik' decoration on glass (see above), a design for 'ane dowbill turngrece',⁸⁹ which calls to mind Francis I's double-spiral stair at Chambord but is not recorded as ever having been built at Holyrood, and the repeated use of large bay windows running virtually the full height of the west facade,⁹⁰ which is a final flourish of late-gothic design rather than a foretaste of Renaissance style. However, this does not mean that the Holyrood works were somehow inferior to the later experiments at Falkland and Stirling, for the palace as it was created for James V seems to have successfully reproduced the flamboyant grace of the best of English and Flemish court architecture of the period.

The next royal palace to receive attention was Linlithgow but the accounts are less extensive for this project than for Holyrood. The work was in the hands of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, captain and keeper of the palace and park,⁹¹ and sir Thomas

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, i, 27, 103, 242, 96-7, 290, 226, 222, 103, 189, 225.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, i, 55, 114, 195 plus an estimate for the missing books. See Dunbar, 'Palace of Holyrood', 247.

⁸⁹*MW*, i, 191.

⁹⁰See Rothiemay's engraving, reproduced in Dunbar, 'Palace of Holyrood', facing p. 232.

⁹¹*RSS*, i, 3523.

Johnson, chaplain and overseer of the work,⁹² but only one of their account books survives, recording £1973 11s 3d of expenses for 1st February 1535 to 31st January 1536.⁹³ However, reference is made to superexpenses (i.e. deficit) of £1198 4s 2d from the previous account, which presumably ran from February 1534.⁹⁴ There were also accounts for February to August 1536⁹⁵ and for 1537 (£133 6s 8d)⁹⁶ which have been lost, the latter including expenditure on Blackness Castle, which was also under Finnart's control because Blackness was the port for the burgh. In May 1538 Finnart was also given four hundred French crowns of the sun from Mary of Guise's dowry for the repairs at Linlithgow.⁹⁷ Thus the total expenditure on Linlithgow and Blackness in the mid-1530s may have reached more than £5000. The master mason at Linlithgow was Thomas French (or Franche), whose surname obviously suggests that he was of French extraction. He may well have been a second-generation Scot for his father, John French, was apparently buried in St. Michael's Kirk in 1489. Thomas seems to have worked for Bishop Gavin Dunbar of Aberdeen on the brig of Dee and the cathedral where his son, also called Thomas, was buried in 1530.⁹⁸ By 1531-32 he was back in Linlithgow working on St. Michael's Kirk,⁹⁹ by 1534 he was working at the palace¹⁰⁰ and in April 1535 he was appointed master mason to the king for life,¹⁰¹

⁹²*MW*, i, 130-1. Johnson was from a well-established Linlithgow burgh family, acted as a public notary and held several chaplaincies, see *Prot. Bk. Johnsoune*, pp iii-v.

⁹³*MW*, i, 115-131.

⁹⁴*Ibid*, i, 130.

⁹⁵*RSS*, ii, 2147.

⁹⁶*TA*, vi, 304.

⁹⁷*TA*, vii, 60.

⁹⁸Both of these burials are noted in R. S. Mylne, *The Master Masons of the Crown of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1893), 36-9, but he writes that the Linlithgow inscription no longer survives and does not state his source for its existence and wording. *ER*, xvi, 234, describes Thomas French as master mason of the bridge of Tay, Perth, but this may be an error for the Aberdeen bridge. J. S. Richardson, *The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1964), 57, states that it is Thomas French the elder rather than Thomas French the younger whose memorial is at Aberdeen.

⁹⁹John Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua or the History of an Ancient Church (St. Michael's, Linlithgow) with an account of its chapels, chantries and endowments* (Edinburgh, 1905), 33.

¹⁰⁰In April 1535 he was awarded a bounty of £20 for having completed a year's service at the palace works: *MW*, i, 122.

¹⁰¹*RSS*, ii, 1643.

this appointment running concurrently with that of John Brownhill, who continued to receive his fee for the same post.¹⁰²

Unlike the works at Holyrood, James appears to have adapted and developed existing structures rather than building from scratch. Like Holyrood, Linlithgow was arranged on a quadrangular plan, with defensive features that were probably more decorative than functional. The east quarter dates almost entirely from the reign of James I and contained in its basement cellars, kitchens, larders and a brewhouse, and on the ground floor, more cellars and the main entrance across a drawbridge from James IV's 'bulwerk'.¹⁰³ Above this was the great hall (or Lion chamber) built by James I and remodelled by James IV: the imposing, carved triple-fireplace dates from his reign. James IV was also probably responsible for most of the work on the other three ranges although some parts of the south and west quarters may be older.¹⁰⁴ The south range (like all the others) had cellars at ground level with the chapel on the first floor and chambers at either end, the purpose of which is uncertain although the eastern rooms presumably served as withdrawing rooms from the great hall and the western ones were perhaps ante-chambers to the chapel or royal lodgings. There was also a three-storey gallery running along the courtyard front of this range, its design exhibiting a strong English influence.¹⁰⁵ The first floor of the west range seems to have held the king's apartments (the two western rooms of the south range may also

¹⁰²Ibid, ii, 1119; *TA*, vi, 315.

¹⁰³*RCAHMS (Mid and West Lothian)*, 219-231.

¹⁰⁴Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture*, 305-9. Ian Campbell, 'Linlithgow's "Princely Palace" and its Influence in Europe', *Architectural Heritage*, v (1995), 1-20, argues that the quadrangular plan of the palace was devised for James III on Italian models by Anselm Adornes, a merchant and traveller from Bruges of Genoese extraction, who was keeper of the palace between 1477 and 1483. Campbell also believes that the palace as it was built for James III and James IV exerted considerable influence on other buildings in France, Germany and Denmark. My thanks are owed to Professor Michael Lynch who brought this article to my attention.

¹⁰⁵C. Wilson, 'Linlithgow Palace' in C. McWilliam (ed.), *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian except Edinburgh* (London, 1978), 297-8; also D. McGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1887), i, 497.

have been part of this arrangement).¹⁰⁶ The names of these chambers are known only from a seventeenth-century source.¹⁰⁷ They ran *en suite* from the south-west tower as the king's hall, presence chamber and bed chamber and from this latter room there was access to a strong-room below and a closet and oratory on the same level in the north wall of the north-west tower.¹⁰⁸ The second floor contained a matching set of *en suite* apartments which may have served the queen but these chambers are not as well-lit as the first floor rooms (they lack windows to the west) and may have served a different function.¹⁰⁹ The other possible location for the queen's apartment is the first floor of the north quarter, but this building collapsed in 1607 and was rebuilt to a new design in 1618-20, so the fabric of this part of the sixteenth-century palace has been lost.¹¹⁰ However, a clue survives in the fragmentary remains of an oriel window adjoining the king's oratory in the north-west tower which may have been the queen's oratory,¹¹¹ in which case the queen's chambers would have run at right angles to the king's as was the case in the palace block at Stirling.¹¹² James V may have done some work on the now-vanished north quarter as there is a record of a purchase of timber for 'propping' it in 1541:¹¹³ this perhaps implies that the structure was already becoming unstable, although an account of May 1583 suggests that it was the west quarter that was at risk of collapse but this may be an error for the north quarter.¹¹⁴

Because so many accounts are missing it is difficult to be precise about the extent of the work undertaken at Linlithgow by James V. He was certainly responsible for

¹⁰⁶Wilson, 'Linlithgow Palace', 300.

¹⁰⁷*MW*, ii, 126, 262-9, 273.

¹⁰⁸*RCAHMS (Mid and West Lothian)*, 229.

¹⁰⁹In a private communication John Dunbar has stated that he now believes this to have been the location of the queen's apartments, although he had previously argued to the contrary (in Dunbar, 'Aspects of Planning', 21). His findings will be presented in the Rhind lectures for 1998 and I am very grateful to him for allowing me to preview some of these papers.

¹¹⁰*RCAHMS (Mid and West Lothian)*, 223.

¹¹¹*TA*, iv, 524 (1513).

¹¹²Dunbar, 'Aspects of Planning', 21, but cf. note 109 above.

¹¹³*TA*, vii, 444.

¹¹⁴*MW*, i, 311.

abandoning the east entrance and creating a new approach to the palace from the south. This involved cutting an arched 'pend' through James IV's transe and cellars (one of which was converted into a guard-room) and building an outer gate beside the west end of St. Michael's Kirk, with a cobbled 'causeway' running between the outer and inner gates and around the courtyard.¹¹⁵ This 'causeway' was laid between April and July 1535, when the two new gates were already standing, so they had presumably been built sometime during 1534.¹¹⁶ The outer gate consists of two octagonal towers with an archway between and originally had a drawbridge over a ditch. The crenellated parapet that can be seen there today is a nineteenth-century reconstruction of the earlier work and is adorned with the insignia of the four chivalric orders to which James belonged: those of the Garter, the Thistle, the Golden Fleece and St. Michael.¹¹⁷ John Slezer's view of the palace (c.1678) also shows a pitched roof above the parapet but this has since vanished.¹¹⁸ John Lesley noted the adornment of the Linlithgow gate with the orders of chivalry thus:

... for an euident sygne and takne to al posteritie the kingis armes vpon the port of the palice of Lithquowe, with the rest of the armes fra quhome he receiuet thame, with the ornamentis of S. Andro quilkes ar the proper armes of our Natioune, our king selfe causet thair til affix verie artificiouslie with cunning craft of gret commend.¹¹⁹

The inner gate was flanked by circular turrets provided with gunloops and crenellations and was also decorated with carved badges and figures that were painted and gilded. These are detailed in a painter's account of 1535 as a lion and two unicorns on the outer face (presumably the royal arms with supporters) and an annunciation scene ('the salutation of our lade with the wle [sic] pege' i.e. the 'lile

¹¹⁵*RCAHMS (Mid and West Lothian)*, 220-6.

¹¹⁶*MW*, i, 123.

¹¹⁷See chapter 7.

¹¹⁸Keith Cavers. *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer, 1671 to 1717* (Edinburgh, 1993), 27.

¹¹⁹Leslie, *Historie*, ii, 230.

pege' or pot of lilies) on the inner face.¹²⁰ The same painter, John Ross, was also paid for colouring the statuary on the inner face of the old east entrance, which was probably a representation of the three estates: the church ('the pape'), the nobility ('the knycht') and the burghs ('the laborius man'), and perhaps a reference to James I's interest in developing the Scottish Parliament.¹²¹ Finally, Ross painted the iron window frames with red lead and vermilion (as at Holyrood), gilded the weather vanes which were in the shape of 'crossis and ballis' and painted the chapel ceiling azure and the twelve 'ballis' under the chapel loft.¹²² The new paint in the chapel was part of a redecoration programme that involved either replacing or renovating the ceiling above the altar and reglazing the five windows with painted or stained glass depicting 'ymagis'.¹²³ The great hall was also redecorated, receiving new painted glass into its western windows and new benches and tables ('formes and burd').¹²⁴ Other work was carried out on the ceiling of the king's kitchen in 1535¹²⁵ and in 1539 a new chimney piece and oven were installed and a silver vessel house, coalhouse and 'grete librall' (library?) were built.¹²⁶ These were perhaps in the now vanished north quarter and if this is a reference to a library, it is the only mention of such a facility in all the works accounts of this period.¹²⁷

The only other Linlithgow structure that is usually attributed to James V is the fountain in the centre of the courtyard. It is generally ascribed to the late 1530s for stylistic reasons because some of the statuary resembles the decoration on the palace block at Stirling (c.1540) although the three-tiered octagonal design and architectural

¹²⁰*MW*, i, 128.

¹²¹Brown, *James I*, 122.

¹²²*MW*, i, 128.

¹²³*Ibid*, i, 124, 127, 128.

¹²⁴*Ibid*, i, 128, 127.

¹²⁵*Ibid*, i, 128.

¹²⁶*TA*, vii, 195.

¹²⁷John Dunbar has suggested (in a private communication) that it might actually be a reference to a great balance/scales rather than a library.

framework are of a somewhat different character to the Stirling scheme and rather reminiscent of the ornate, tiered, late-gothic font covers which can still be seen in many English churches. In 1894 the lead pipe serving the fountain was dug up in the Kirkgait and the date 1538 was found marked upon it and in the *Treasurer's Accounts* of April 1542 one payment relating to it is recorded so the stylistic analysis would appear to be roughly correct.¹²⁸ Courtyard fountains were fashionable features abroad at this time too: Henry VIII had them at Greenwich and Hampton Court, although made of wood rather than stone.¹²⁹ It was perhaps intended as the finishing touch to a palace fit for a new queen, for Linlithgow was a favoured residence of Mary of Guise even though it was not a part of her jointure. She apparently declared herself delighted with the palace, comparing it favourably (and, one suspects, tactfully) with those of France.¹³⁰ However, Linlithgow Palace (as we have seen) was heavily influenced by the architecture of Tudor England and the Habsburg Netherlands, which is hardly surprising since it was a dower house of Queen Margaret Tudor and had previously been in the care of Anselm Adornes of Bruges.¹³¹ It is still visibly distinct from the contemporary châteaux of the Loire and Ile de France, although an attempt has recently been made to establish Italian influences on the design.¹³² It was only at Falkland and Stirling (both of which were included in Mary's jointure) that James V began to develop a new Renaissance style for the Scottish court.

¹²⁸Wilson, 'Linlithgow Palace', 297; *TA*, viii, 72: £4 2s. to William Denniston, who succeeded Finnart as keeper of Linlithgow, for the 'fontane'.

¹²⁹Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 167; idem, 'Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court Palace: A Reconstruction of a Tudor Palace', *Architectural History*, xxxi (1988), 24.

¹³⁰Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. J. G. Dalyell (Edinburgh, 1814), 378. This remark does not feature in the STS edition of Pitscottie, ed. A. J. G. Mackay (Edinburgh, 1899). Perhaps she had in mind the palace of Fontainebleau, which (like Linlithgow) was built beside a lake and had a fountain as a prominent feature.

¹³¹See Alan Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III', *JR*, xxxiii (1982), 15-22. Adornes was keeper of Linlithgow between 1477 and his murder in 1483 but the only record of building work by him relates to the construction of a mill: *ER*, ix, 400, 466; *RSS*, i, 417.

¹³²Campbell, 'Linlithgow's "Princely Palace"', 3-7.

The oldest structure at Falkland was the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century castle,¹³³ where the duke of Rothesay was imprisoned and starved to death in 1402, and which has long since vanished.¹³⁴ At least part of this structure was still standing in 1532¹³⁵ and it might have contained the old chapel which appears in the records between 1532 and 1538 and which seems to have been demolished by 1540-41.¹³⁶ To the south of this castle a quadrangular royal palace evolved after 1437 when it became crown property on the forfeiture of the duke of Albany in 1425.¹³⁷ The north range, which has also disappeared, was probably started by James II,¹³⁸ worked on by James IV¹³⁹ and contained the great hall. In 1538 it probably housed 'the inner lying chalmers on the cloce syd of the nether north lusing quhare the kingis grace lysis' and 'the north galry and kingis grace closat' for which new window frames were provided.¹⁴⁰ There is also reference to a 'north wardrup' in 1540/1.¹⁴¹ The west range no longer survives either but in 1539 it contained office houses.¹⁴² The unfinished appearance of the masonry on the north wall of the south-west tower perhaps implies that James V intended to build a new west wing adjoining the tower but that death intervened.¹⁴³ In 1532 workmen were engaged on 'thekin poynting and beting of the new galryis and corssis',¹⁴⁴ which is perhaps a reference to the gallery and cross-house of the east range, as well as building a new stable and a very block (the old one was demolished)

¹³³*RCAHMS (Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan)*, 135.

¹³⁴Brown, *James I*, 12.

¹³⁵*MW*, i, 112.

¹³⁶*Ibid*, i, 111-217, 280: 'Item to Patersone and his marrowis for redding and away hawing of the auld chapell ground.' However, *ER*, xiv, 175 suggests that the old chapel was in the east quarter although it is difficult to see how the correct orientation could have been achieved within the width of a range which runs north-south. The chapels of all the royal palaces face east.

¹³⁷Brown, *James I*, 73, 112.

¹³⁸*ER*, v, 338, 347.

¹³⁹*TA*, ii, 87-9 and elsewhere.

¹⁴⁰*MW*, i, 217-8.

¹⁴¹*Ibid*, i, 285.

¹⁴²*Ibid*, i, 260.

¹⁴³Dunbar, 'Aspects of Planning', 22.

¹⁴⁴*MW*, i, 112.

to the north-east of the palace.¹⁴⁵ From December 1538 a tennis court ('caichpule') was also built in this area.¹⁴⁶

However, the most intensive and innovative work was undertaken on the south and east ranges between 1537 and 1541, when nearly £13,000 was spent¹⁴⁷ on improvements and extensions to buildings begun by James IV at the beginning of the century.¹⁴⁸ A new entrance tower was built containing a pair of chambers on each of its three floors, with turrets, crenellations and gunloops in a design very similar to the Holyrood tower of 1528-32, and was constructed by the master mason who had previously worked at Holyrood, John Brownhill.¹⁴⁹ The adjoining south front of the palace was embellished with crenellations extending across the roof line from the tower and a foreign sculptor, Peter Fleming, produced five statues to adorn the buttress niches.¹⁵⁰ The interior of the chapel on the second floor of the south range acquired new wooden fittings made by Richard Stewart, a wright sent from Edinburgh castle, which included floor boards, wall panels, a panelled ceiling, loft, stalls, altarpiece and screen.¹⁵¹ Much of this woodwork survives, although heavily restored, and the ceiling was painted in 1633 to celebrate the Scottish coronation of Charles I.¹⁵² A mason from Holyrood, John Merliene, 'reformed' seven chambers and various

¹⁴⁵Ibid, i, 112-4.

¹⁴⁶Ibid, i, 244f., 288.

¹⁴⁷Ibid, i, 207, 213, 221, 263, 292.

¹⁴⁸TA, ii, 87-9 and elsewhere.

¹⁴⁹MW, i, 218f., 279. A recent study based on the architectural evidence (particularly the shape of the gunloops) has suggested that the Falkland fore-entry was built c.1530 and preceded the Holyrood tower, but the documentary evidence (as we have seen) contradicts this: Joachim Zeune, *The Last Scottish Castles: Investigations with particular reference to domestic architecture from the 15th to 17th centuries*, trans. Silke Böger (Internationale Archäologie, Band 12, Erlbach, 1992), 82-3. However, Zeune's analysis of masons' marks demonstrates clearly that of the nine masons working at Linlithgow Palace in the 1530s, four subsequently worked at Falkland, all nine then moved to Melgund (the Angus home of Cardinal Beaton's mistress, Marion Ogilvy) c.1542 and some of the same marks are also found at Huntly Castle (Aberdeenshire) and Edzell (Angus), having been present earlier at Benholm's Castle (Kincardineshire) in the 1520s: *ibid*, 65.

¹⁵⁰MW, i, 256.

¹⁵¹TA, vii, 219-20. The turned wooden screen provides some indication of what the 'schorne werk' in Holyrood chapel may have looked like: MW, i, 191, and above p. 102.

¹⁵²Gifford, *Buildings of Fife*, 214.

office houses in the east range and two master masons, James Black from Holyrood and Thomas French from Linlithgow were paid for building the gallery extension to the south range.¹⁵³ There is also a reference to a fountain in the courtyard, perhaps similar to the one at Linlithgow, and to a clock bought from Alexander Lindsay of Kinghorn.¹⁵⁴

All of the work to this point seems to have been in the traditional late-gothic style that was also used at Holyrood and Linlithgow and it included the usual painted iron work, weather vanes and even gargoyles,¹⁵⁵ but a dramatic new departure came with the employment of two French master masons to decorate the courtyard façades of the east and south ranges. James V was not the first to employ foreign masons; an Italian had worked for James IV in 1511-12¹⁵⁶ and the duke of Albany had used a Frenchman at Dunbar Castle.¹⁵⁷ Yet the courtyard façades at Falkland provide 'a display of early-Renaissance architecture without parallel in the British Isles.'¹⁵⁸ The east façade is inscribed with the date 1537 and was probably designed and executed by Mogin or Moses Martin, a Frenchman who had worked for Albany at Dunbar and accompanied James V on his visit to France in 1536-7. It was at Orléans on 1st December 1536 that he was appointed the king's master mason,¹⁵⁹ a third appointee to this post alongside John Brownhill and Thomas French (see above). It is perhaps significant that he acquired this office only five days after the marriage contract of James and Madeleine had been signed at Blois;¹⁶⁰ certainly several French châteaux

¹⁵³*AW*, i, 256-7. The south gallery seems to have been planned by James IV and allowed for in the underbuilding: *RCAHMS (Fife)*, 138.

¹⁵⁴*AW*, i, 261, 275.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid*, i, 215, 246, 272 ('gargonis').

¹⁵⁶*TA*, iv, 271, 439.

¹⁵⁷I. MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places of Strength in the Lothians and the East Border, 1513-1542' in D. H. Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), 115. The master mason at Dunbar was Moses or Mogin Martin: *RSS*, ii, 2199.

¹⁵⁸M. Girouard, 'Falkland Palace, Fife 1', *Country Life*, vol. cxxvi, no 3260 (27 Aug. 1959), 121.

¹⁵⁹*RSS*, ii, 2199.

¹⁶⁰*James V Letters*, 325-26; Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 235.

that were on the court itinerary of 1536-7 have been cited as sources for the Falkland design, for example, Bury (begun 1511) and Villers-Cotterêts (begun 1533).¹⁶¹ Martin is first recorded in the Falkland accounts in December 1537¹⁶² but the records of 1536 are missing and he may have started work earlier. The south façade is inscribed with the date 1539 and follows essentially the same design as the east façade but is more mature and accomplished in execution. Martin died in March 1538¹⁶³ and another Frenchman, Nicholas Roy, was appointed master mason to the king in his place on 22 April 1539,¹⁶⁴ having been engaged for her son-in-law by the duchess of Guise.¹⁶⁵ He features in the Falkland accounts from July 1539 to July 1541.¹⁶⁶

The design divides the building vertically into five equal bays separated by shallow pilaster-buttresses supporting engaged Corinthian columns. The buttresses of the east range were topped by canopied niches containing statues and those of the south range by inverted consoles supporting carved heraldic beasts.¹⁶⁷ The vertical lines were also enhanced by projecting chimney stacks and by windows capped by semi-circular pediments and more statuary. Meanwhile the horizontal emphasis was delivered by evenly spaced window lintels and transoms and by a row of carved heads within roundels, arranged in ten pairs, flanking the windows at first floor level. Many of these are heavily weathered but the surviving examples indicate a desire to imitate the new Renaissance style. The overall effect is one of balanced elegance and near symmetry. Renaissance fashions were beginning to have an impact in England¹⁶⁸ at

¹⁶¹D. Bentley-Cranch, 'An early Sixteenth-century French Architectural source for the Palace of Falkland', *ROSC*, 2 (1986), 85-95; J. G. Dunbar, 'Some Sixteenth-century French Parallels for the Palace of Falkland', *ROSC*, 7 (1991), 3-8.

¹⁶²*MW*, i, 208.

¹⁶³*Ibid*, i, 208. He had a son of the same name who worked at Holyrood and Falkland: *Ibid*, i, 242, 254-5, 277-8.

¹⁶⁴*RSS*, ii, 3002.

¹⁶⁵*Balcarres Papers*, i, 20, 33.

¹⁶⁶*MW*, i, 254-78.

¹⁶⁷These are visible in John Slezer's view of the courtyard: Cavers, *Vision of Scotland*, 29.

¹⁶⁸James V was not the only foreign monarch to travel to France. Henry VIII ruled Calais and its hinterland and visited France four times, for warfare in 1513 and 1544 and for amicable meetings

this period too (for example in the terracotta roundels of 1521 at Hampton Court made by Giovanni da Maiano¹⁶⁹) but there, Italianate decorative details were applied to buildings that were still essentially gothic,¹⁷⁰ whereas the Falkland courtyard is the first British example of the wholesale utilisation of a Renaissance architectural scheme. All the features at Falkland noted above (the use of strong vertical and horizontal lines in combination, flat pilasters, classical columns, consoles, steeply pitched roofs and dormers) are characteristic of the French Renaissance style developed for Francis I at Blois (begun 1515), Chambord (begun 1519), Madrid and Fontainebleau (both begun 1528) and elsewhere.¹⁷¹ It is even possible to detect parallels between the layout of the rooms in the Francis I wing at Blois and in the east range at Falkland, although uncertainties about the precise arrangement at both sites make this exercise very speculative.¹⁷² Had James V lived beyond 1542 it is quite likely that the Falkland initiative would have been developed much further but in the event this was a false dawn. It is not possible to demonstrate the influence of the Falkland façades upon any other buildings in the British Isles and Renaissance classicism made a fresh start in the next century under the influence of Palladio transmitted through Inigo Jones.¹⁷³

If the Falkland courtyard represents James V's imitation of the architectural style developed for Francis I, then the exterior walls of the palace block at Stirling Castle seem to owe more to the style of Louis XII of a generation earlier, even though

with Francis I in 1520 (the Field of Cloth of Gold) and 1532. The Emperor Charles V made a progress across the entire length of France in 1539-40.

¹⁶⁹Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 106.

¹⁷⁰Nicola Coldstream, 'Art and Architecture in the Late Middle Ages', in Medcalf (ed.), *Later Middle Ages*, 216-20.

¹⁷¹A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, (London, 1980), 26-34, 50-58.

¹⁷²Dunbar, 'French Parallels', 6-7; Dunbar, 'Aspects of Planning', 22-3. The king's and queen's apartments at Falkland may have been one above the other on the first and second floors or they may have been adjoining one another on the second floor, leaving the first-floor chambers for ceremonial use, as at Holyrood.

¹⁷³James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Inigo Jones* (London, 1953), 61-2.

Stirling was probably built slightly later than Falkland. Iain McIvor has speculated that the apparent anachronism of design at Stirling may have been because the palace block was planned and started for the duke of Albany c.1515 and simply completed by Finnart a quarter of a century later.¹⁷⁴ However, no other commentator has adopted this line and evidence that Albany undertook any major construction work (other than the blockhouse at Dunbar Castle, which was his private property) has yet to be unearthed.¹⁷⁵ Sufficient explanation of this anomaly probably lies in the influence of Hamilton of Finnart who had visited France in 1517,¹⁷⁶ before most of Francis I's projects commenced. There is no evidence that he ever returned to France at a later period so he could not have seen the *François premier* style for himself.¹⁷⁷ He was appointed principal master of works to the king on 9th September 1539.¹⁷⁸ Although this title gave him universal jurisdiction over the royal works, he appears in the records only for Linlithgow (see above) and Stirling, where he was active from mid-1538.¹⁷⁹ Even if Finnart exerted a decisive influence on the decorative form of Stirling palace, as Charles McKean believes,¹⁸⁰ most of the day-to-day supervision would have been in the hands of sir James Nicholson who was vicar of the church in Stirling Castle from 19 May 1539¹⁸¹ and master of works within the castle from 3rd January

¹⁷⁴C. McKean, 'Finnart's Platt' in *Scottish Architects Abroad: Architectural Heritage II: The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* (1991), 16, referring to unpublished work by McIvor.

¹⁷⁵See above and Chapter 6.

¹⁷⁶*TA*, v, 158.

¹⁷⁷It is sometimes stated that Finnart travelled to France with James V in 1536-7 (e.g. C. McKean, 'Hamilton of Finnart', *History Today*, 43 (Jan. 1993), 44) but this is an error. A Sir James Hamilton certainly appears in the king's French accounts of that period (*TA*, vii, 20: 30 crowns given to him at the king's command in March 1537 at Rouen) but this is a reference to Sir James Hamilton of Kincavil, the former sheriff of Linlithgow, who had gone into exile in France following an accusation of heresy against him. An English report on the king's movements in France is quite explicit about Hamilton of Finnart's absence: *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 916. For Hamilton of Kincavil see J. R. N. MacPhail, 'Hamilton of Kincavil and the General Assembly of 1563', *SHR*, x (1913), 156-8.

¹⁷⁸*RSS*, ii, 3144.

¹⁷⁹*MW*, i, 227-8.

¹⁸⁰C. McKean, 'Hamilton of Finnart', 42-47.

¹⁸¹*RSS*, ii, 3028.

1530 until at least August 1541.¹⁸² The only accounts of his to survive are for 23rd September 1531 to 6th July 1532¹⁸³ and for January to May 1538¹⁸⁴ and the latter is John Scrymgeour's summary rather than the full account. Neither account suggests any major work was being undertaken at that time, for the two together record expenditure of less than £300, with the emphasis on repairing the roofs and windows and making minor alterations. (A new stable block was probably built in 1530-1, as this was roofed and fitted with stalls in 1531-2, but this was below the castle walls rather than within the fortress.) The palace block must therefore have been built after May 1538 and is usually dated to c.1540. A possible reason for the lack of accounts for the palace works is that Hamilton of Finnart seems to have agreed to fund at least part of the project himself in return for grants of land.¹⁸⁵

The new palace block was constructed on the south side of the upper square within the castle. The other three sides of the square were formed by the free-standing great hall to the east (built by James IV), the chapel royal to the north (which was on a slightly different alignment to the existing chapel, built for Prince Henry's baptism in 1594) and a range of buildings to the west, some elements of which may survive

¹⁸²*TA*, vii, 479. This is the last entry for payment of his fee, which should have stopped from the date of his presentation to the benefice.

¹⁸³*MW*, i, 103-111.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid*, i, 227-8.

¹⁸⁵*RSS*, ii, 3199 (3 Nov. 1539): a quitclaim of £4,000 owed by Finnart as composition for his lands 'becaus for payment of the said soume the said James hes gevin his obligatioun to oure soverane lord to compleit his werkis quhilkis he hes begun.' The previous day Finnart and his three natural sons, Andrew, James and Alexander Hamilton, had received their legitimations: *RSS*, ii, 3196. See also *RMS*, iii, 2021 (22 Sep. 1539): a grant of the lands of Avandale etc. 'pro servitio in palatiorum de Linlithqw et Striveling completionone et alias impenso'. The payment of £4000 for the works in Stirling which was apparently made to Finnart by the Treasurer on 9 Oct. 1539 (*TA*, vii, 256) is actually a reference to the same sum of money for which the November quitclaim was issued. The entry occurs in the *Treasurer's Accounts* as a payment to Finnart because of the accounting procedures adopted in the records. It is balanced by a payment to the Treasurer of £4000 which does not appear in the printed volume (*SRO*, E.21/37 f.3v.) In fact it would appear that no money changed hands at this stage, but that Finnart simply repaid what he owed to the king by way of composition for his charter for his barony of Avandale by spending his own money on the king's works. I am very grateful to Athol Murray for his patient explanation of this problem.

within the existing structure, known today as the King's Old Building.¹⁸⁶ This range probably contained the royal lodging built for James IV in the 1490s, which appears in the accounts of 1531-2 as consisting of a great chamber, outer chamber and wardrobe.¹⁸⁷ To the south of the new palace block was the lower square with a well, a kitchen range (possibly built in 1542)¹⁸⁸ and the main entrance to the castle through James IV's heavily fortified and imposing forework.¹⁸⁹ James V's palace formed yet another quadrangle around a small inner courtyard, traditionally known as the lion's den, and stood on a vaulted undercroft which accommodated the different levels of the sloping site. We have no record of which master mason or masons designed and worked on the palace under Finnart's supervision but two likely candidates might be Thomas French and James Black, both of whom disappeared from the Falkland accounts after December 1539, when they each received a bounty payment,¹⁹⁰ even though John Brownhill and Nicholas Roy continued working there until at least 1541.¹⁹¹ However, French masons may also have been involved, for the final whereabouts of the six who arrived in Scotland in July 1539 is unknown.¹⁹²

Most of the west range of the new palace block was lost in the seventeenth century but the surviving building contains the principal royal apartments on the first floor. In the north quarter stands the king's outer hall and presence chamber *en suite* with the

¹⁸⁶Dunbar, 'Aspects of Planning', 19; see also Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 35-9.

¹⁸⁷*MW*, i, 104-7.

¹⁸⁸*TA*, vii, 72, 84.

¹⁸⁹*RCAHMS (Stirlingshire)*, i, 183-219; Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture*, 314-317. It has been suggested that the gateway of James IV's forework comprises a Renaissance triumphal arch (Aonghus MacKechnie, 'Stirling's Triumphal Arch', *Welcome: News for Friends of Historic Scotland* [Sept. 1991], unpaginated) but this analysis would appear to be based on the proportions of the gateway as it stands today rather than as it was initially built (the towers were originally much taller). Also there seems to be no evidence to suggest that the Stirling gateway ever had the classical pilasters and other decorative features visible on the Italian gateway cited in this article as a parallel example. James IV's forework is essentially a late-medieval fortification, redolent with chivalric but not classical imagery.

¹⁹⁰*MW*, i, 256.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, i, 278-9.

¹⁹²*TA*, vii, 184.

bed chamber and cabinet in the east quarter. The south quarter houses the queen's outer hall and inner hall, with her bed chamber and cabinet adjoining the king's in the east quarter.¹⁹³ All of these chambers are spacious and well-lit, containing fireplaces with richly carved capitals,¹⁹⁴ but the most impressive feature of the block is clearly the decorative scheme of the outer walls. More flamboyant and whimsical than the comparatively restrained classicism of Falkland, it still exhibits French and also German influences and perhaps represents something of a hybrid work where continental designs were adapted to Scottish tastes and circumstances. Some of the sculptures are derived from a series of engravings of planetary deities by Hans Burgkmair¹⁹⁵ but the architectural design of carved string-courses, moulded and cusped arches, twisted columns and sculpted gargoyles is very reminiscent of the buildings of Louis XII, such as his wing at the château of Blois.¹⁹⁶ Meanwhile the crenellated parapet and crow-stepped gables have impeccable Scottish credentials, perhaps with Burgundian overtones. An attempt has recently been made to construe the symbolism and iconography of the sculptural decoration in astrological and mystical terms but the surviving carvings are so weathered and mutilated that this must remain a tentative and speculative interpretation.¹⁹⁷

It is tempting to think that some of the statues were intended to portray real people active in the court and household, although in the absence of any documentary

¹⁹³Dunbar, 'Aspects of Planning', 16 & 20.

¹⁹⁴The lintels may also have been intended to carry counter-sunk carvings which were never completed. See McKean, 'Finnart's Platt', 10.

¹⁹⁵F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c. 1400-1700* (Amsterdam, 1954-), v, 94-95.

¹⁹⁶Babelon, *Châteaux de France*, 41-47; McKean, 'Finnart's Platt', 11-12. McKean believes that the Stirling design is also very reminiscent of 'the Guise palace at Nancy'. The *Palais Ducal* at Nancy belonged to the dukes of Lorraine not the dukes of Guise but, since the Guise line was a cadet branch of the house of Lorraine, Mary of Guise would presumably have been familiar with it and it was certainly built in the Louis XII style: Babelon, *Châteaux de France*, 96-8. The seat of the dukes of Guise was at Joinville where there was a medieval castle and a Renaissance château of *François premier* design built between 1533 and 1546 by Mary's father, Claude: Ibid, 394-400.

¹⁹⁷Helena M. Shire, 'The King's House at Stirling: Its Carvings in Stone', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 72-84.

sources this must also remain pure speculation. However, the male statue at the east end of the north façade is traditionally identified as King James himself and other figures include a crossbowman, a cupholder, a pursebearer, a cook and a gunman,¹⁹⁸ all of whom can be found in the records of the royal household.¹⁹⁹ Similar speculative identifications have also been attempted for the figures carved on the oak roundels known as the Stirling Heads, which were at one time thought to represent the kings and queens of Scotland.²⁰⁰ Thirty-eight of these survive along with drawings of two others out of an original set thought to have numbered fifty-six. They were set in the compartmented ceiling of the king's presence chamber, c.1542, until they were taken down in 1777.²⁰¹ Many of the figures are shown in contemporary dress and may have been intended as portraits but others seem to be dressed in antique or fanciful costume and may represent mythological or historical characters. Alternatively, they might depict the members of the court dressed in their costumes for a pageant or entertainment, or in imaginary personas; indeed, such a fashion was certainly current at the French court of the period.²⁰² The style is robust and even grotesque, tending towards caricature, and they may have been brightly painted originally, like most of the sculpture and decoration in James V's palaces (see above). As with the architecture, foreign sources for this design have been suggested such as the ceiling of the great watching chamber at Hampton Court (c.1535) or that of a staircase at Azay-le-Rideau (c.1518-28)²⁰³ but the closest parallel is with a ceiling built for Sigismund I in a hall at Wavel Castle, Cracow (c.1531-5).²⁰⁴ Since it is very difficult to establish that there was any intimate contact between the Scottish and Polish courts of the period, this co-incidence serves to highlight the wide diffusion of ideas and designs

¹⁹⁸*RCAHMS (Stirlingshire)*, i, 220-223.

¹⁹⁹See Appendix A.

²⁰⁰John Loveday of Caversham, *Diary of a Tour in 1732* (Roxburghe Club, 1890), 124.

²⁰¹J. G. Dunbar, *The Stirling Heads* (HMSO, 1975), 3-22.

²⁰²Bentley-Cranch, 'Architectural Source', 92-3.

²⁰³Dunbar, *Stirling Heads*, 26.

²⁰⁴J. G. Dunbar, 'Carved Heads to Adorn a Ceiling', *Country Life* vol. cxxxii, no. 3418 (Sep. 1962), 528-9.

inspired by Italian Renaissance developments by the 1530s and '40s. Indeed, just as the Falkland and Stirling innovations seem to have been inspired by the advent of a foreign queen and undertaken by imported masons, the Wavel refurbishment has been linked to King Sigismund's marriage to Bona Sforza and was undertaken by an Italian architect.²⁰⁵

It is thought that two or more craftsmen were responsible for the Stirling Heads, one of whom may have been Robert Robertson who was appointed carver and principal overseer of his craft within Stirling Castle on 31 August 1541 and was still receiving payments for his work there in June 1542.²⁰⁶ He had previously worked at both Holyrood and Falkland, where he was described simply as a wright, and had worked on the panelling of the queen's inner chamber.²⁰⁷ Another candidate is John Drummond of Mylnab, the king's principal carpenter, who was sent to France in 1538 as a member of Mary of Guise's escort-party for her 'homecoming' and had previously worked at Holyrood and Falkland.²⁰⁸ His main interest seems to have been artillery²⁰⁹ and there is no contemporary record specifically linking him to Stirling, but a seventeenth-century source asserts that he produced fine timber work there.²¹⁰ A French wright and carver, Andrew Manson, is also 'associated' with the Stirling works but does not appear in the relevant accounts either.²¹¹ Other fragments of carved

²⁰⁵Shire, 'King's House', 83.

²⁰⁶RSS, ii, 4191; *TA*, viii, 84.

²⁰⁷*MW*, i, 59, 214. Robertson's two assistants at Falkland were named as John Cunningham and William Shank.

²⁰⁸*MW*, i, 1f.-175, 213-4. He had been in the service of the crown since 1506 (*TA*, iii, 114) and continued to serve until his death sometime before 13 May 1553 (*RMS*, iv, 808).

²⁰⁹He is described as principal carpenter and founder of artillery from 18 Jun. 1532 (*RSS*, ii, 1304) and he was closely involved with the munitions at Edinburgh Castle (*TA*, viii, 133); see also Chapter 6.

²¹⁰W. Drummond, *The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond* (Edinburgh, 1831, originally 1681), 62: 'He wrought for King James the Fyft the fine timber work in the cattie of Stirlin.'

²¹¹Hay, 'Scottish Renaissance Architecture', 205, 207. Manson did carve the cradle for the baby Prince James in 1540 (*TA*, vii, 307) as well as the royal chambers on board 'the 'litill new bark' in 1539 (*TA*, vii, 189) and the inscription for James V's tomb (*TA*, viii, 143).

woodwork said to be from Stirling palace contain twenty medallion panels similar to the Stirling Heads which may have been set in the wainscoting and on aumbry doors,²¹² suggesting an extensive scheme of co-ordinating interior decoration. The use of carved wooden panels for interior decoration may have been common in the residences of Scottish nobles of the period for the Stirling Heads and fragments are not the only examples to survive. Several oak panels using similar designs of medallion heads and inter-twined foliage in the *François premier* style have survived from Mary of Guise's houses on Castle Hill, Edinburgh and Quality Wynd, Leith²¹³ but other contemporary fragments were still being produced in a medieval, gothic style, such as those made for David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, co-adjutor of St. Andrews and keeper of the privy seal, at Arbroath Abbey c.1530.²¹⁴ He had clear opportunities to consider the latest French fashions for he served repeatedly as an ambassador to the French court and was later to become bishop of Mirepoix, yet he chose a traditional style for this commission.

Another important aspect of the interior decoration of Stirling and all the other royal residences was the use of tapestries and hangings.²¹⁵ The great centres of tapestry production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the manufacturing towns of northern France and Flanders and the majority of the tapestries in the Scottish royal collection were probably imported from this area: James IV bought in bulk from

²¹²J. S. Richardson, 'Unrecorded Scottish Wood Carvings', *PSAS*, lx (1925-6), 384-408.

²¹³*Renaissance Decorative Arts in Scotland, 1480-1650*, NMAS and SNPG exhibition catalogue (Edinburgh, 1959), p.18 no.39, p.22 no.50a, p.26 no.68, p.30 no.78, p.31 no.82. Two early sixteenth-century carved wooden doors in an almost identical style (i.e. with linen-fold panels on the lower half and relief portrait heads and figures on the upper half) also survive from La Tour Daniel, Haute Loire: Babelon, *Châteaux de France*, 99-101. The same tower also has a *façade diamanté* very similar to that at Crichton Castle.

²¹⁴*Angels, Nobles and Unicorns: Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland*, NMS exhibition handbook (Edinburgh, 1982), p.108 no.F10; D. H. Caldwell, 'The Beaton Panels - Scottish Carvings of the 1520s and 1530s', in Higgit (ed.), *Diocese of St. Andrews*, 182.

²¹⁵They were suspended from the walls of the principal chambers from little metal hooks ('clekis'): *MW*, i, 99.

Flanders for his wedding²¹⁶ and James V made several similar purchases.²¹⁷ Among the office houses at Holyrood was the tapisier's house²¹⁸ and James V employed two French tapisiers: Jacques Habet who is recorded from August 1539 to July 1542²¹⁹ and Guillaume who appears in the accounts from June 1538 to March 1540,²²⁰ as well as a Scottish tapestry maker, William Edbe or Hebbe (perhaps Hebden?) who is listed from 1536 to 1540.²²¹ There was also a 'broudstar' (embroiderer) who may have worked at least some of the time on hangings. His name was John Young; he appears in the accounts from June 1535 to March 1543²²² and he was specifically instructed to engage a French boy to assist him. This was perhaps the 'broudstar' called Robinet who was listed only once in December 1536.²²³ With such staff it is possible that some simple tapestries or hangings were made at the court, although it is likely that these men were mainly employed in repairing and maintaining the imported cloths as well as supervising their carriage and installation as the court moved from one residence to another.

The architectural details at Falkland and Stirling demonstrate the king's taste for French Renaissance designs and this is probably reinforced by the stories and themes depicted on his tapestries. James V's tapestries were listed on two inventories of 25 March 1539 and 3 March 1543.²²⁴ The two lists are not identical and the second appears to be a selection from the full stock which had been in the keeping of George Steel, 'a special favourite in the court and household'²²⁵ until his death sometime

²¹⁶*TA*, ii, 214.

²¹⁷*Ibid*, vii, 17, 28, 257, 471.

²¹⁸*MW*, i, 222, 226, 290.

²¹⁹*TA*, vii, 193; *Ibid*, viii, 90.

²²⁰*Ibid*, vii, 44; Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 40.

²²¹*TA*, vi, 458; *ER*, xvii, 282.

²²²*RSS*, ii, 1705; *TA*, viii, 173.

²²³*TA*, vi, 457.

²²⁴*Wardrobe Inventories*, 49-51 and 103-4 and SRO, *Wardrobe Inventories*, E.31/1, fos. 23r.-24v. and 54v.-55v.

²²⁵*James V Letters*, 166.

before 20 March 1542.²²⁶ The lists include tapestries depicting the classical myths and legends: the stories of Aeneas, Perseus, the Trojan wars, Jason and the golden fleece, Hercules, Romulus and seven pieces of 'antik werk' brought home (presumably from the continent) by William Shaw, showing Venus, Pallas, Hercules, Mars, Bacchus and 'the moder of the erd'. Some of these images, such as the golden fleece or Hercules, also had chivalric overtones. There were also stories from the Bible: those of Solomon, Rehoboam and Tobit and themes which seem to be taken from medieval romance: 'the Citie of Dammys',²²⁷ two sets of the story of the unicorn, the story of the apes and other beasts and 'verdouris' (floral and foliate patterns).²²⁸ This list suggests that the styles probably ranged from the late-gothic *mille-fleurs* tradition to the more fashionable antique designs of the 1530s as was also the case in Henry VIII's collection - but whereas the Tudor owned nearly 2000 pieces, James V's inventories list fewer than 200.²²⁹ In addition to the narrative scenes, the inventories also list hangings made of cloth of gold, velvet and damask, including cloths of estate and altar cloths, 'ane miekle taip of turque' (a great Turkey carpet), canopies, curtains and covers for four great beds and several smaller beds, together with cushions, rugs and chair covers, all richly worked in bright colours.²³⁰ The household books also record purchases of 'dornik' (i.e. linen from Tournai, called Dornewyk in Dutch) and holland cloth for use as household linens, napery etc.²³¹ Such a list inevitably gives the impression that the interiors of the Stewart palaces were sumptuously furnished but

²²⁶RSS, ii, 4548.

²²⁷This was perhaps the same set of tapestries as those showing the 'Triumphant Dames' bought in Paris in 1538: *TA*, vii, 28, 43-4. The theme was possibly related to one which was a commonplace of Burgundian pageantry, the storming of a castle of disdainful ladies by ardent knights. An English court entertainment of 1522 had enacted this very scene: an assault by Henry VIII and his gentlemen (in disguise) upon *Château Vert*, which was defended by ladies including Mary, the Dowager Queen of France, and a young Anne Boleyn. The missiles used in the attack were fruits and sweetmeats: *L&P Henry VIII*, iii, 1559; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 47-9.

²²⁸Pieces from the stories of Aeneas, Troy, Rehoboam, Tobit and the unicorn were still listed on an inventory of 1578 but others had obviously been lost by then: *Wardrobe Inventories*, 211-12.

²²⁹Thurley, *Tudor Palaces*, 222-4.

²³⁰SRO, *Wardrobe Inventories*, E.35/1, fos. 17r.-19r.

²³¹E.g. SRO, *Liber Domicili*, E. 31/3, fo. 106r. The household linens seem to have been re-stocked every Christmas.

this image is slightly tarnished by an entry in one account which states that the floors of the chambers in Holyrood were strewn with bent (a coarse grass).²³² However, this reference is perhaps to chambers other than the royal apartments, for the floors of the principal rooms at Linlithgow were certainly tiled.²³³

The impression of luxurious display persists in the scattered references to the gardens attached to all the palaces. Most entries in the accounts are for building and maintaining the garden 'dykes' (walls) and gates²³⁴ but the gardens at Falkland, Holyrood and Stirling also contained archery butts,²³⁵ lists were erected when required for jousting matches at Stirling and Holyrood,²³⁶ and there were tennis courts (catchpele) at all the palaces.²³⁷ The gardens were also provided with turf banks, stone benches, flower beds (knots) and pools (stanks)²³⁸ and stocked with wildlife: partridges were kept at Holyrood, swans and cranes on the lake in Stirling park, two bears and three wolves in Stirling castle, a fox and some French wild boar at Falkland.²³⁹ In addition, the pools would probably have contained fish for the table.²⁴⁰ There is very little evidence for the plants that were cultivated at this time but there are several references to orchards, which seem to have grown pears and plums as well as apples,²⁴¹ and in 1532 the Stirling gardeners were supplied with lettuce and thyme seeds as well as a 'schoid schule' (probably a wooden shovel or spade, shod

²³²*MW*, i, 225.

²³³*RCAHMS (Mid and West Lothian)*, 229; Andrew Kerr, 'Notes of Ancient tile paving in Linlithgow Palace', *PSAS*, xv (1880-81), 194-98. See also C. Norton, 'Medieval Floor Tiles in Scotland', in Higgit (ed.), *Diocese of St. Andrews*, 150-63.

²³⁴E.g. *MW*, i, 132, 191 and elsewhere.

²³⁵*Ibid.*, i, 105, 112, 192, 222.

²³⁶*Ibid.*, i, 36, 227-8, 288-9.

²³⁷*RSS*, ii, 3394. Only the tennis court at Falkland survives today.

²³⁸*MW*, i, 109-10, 191.

²³⁹*Ibid.*, i, 98; *SRO, Libri Emptorum*, E.32/3 fos. 120r. & 134r.; E.32/5 fo. 138r., E.32/4 fos. 153v. & 137r.; *TA*, vii, 472.

²⁴⁰In 1539 the gardener of Holyrood was paid for pike to go into the 'stankis': *TA*, vii, 159.

²⁴¹E.g. on 20 Oct. 1542 Andrew Strachan was appointed gardener of the king's yards, orchards and stanks of Falkland: *RSS*, ii, 4929. In 1501 James IV purchased 16 pear trees (*TA*, ii, 83) and in 1503, 1500 plum trees (*ibid.*, ii, 358).

with a metal edge).²⁴² It is quite likely that onions, leeks, kale, peas, berries, thorns, willows, pansies, marigolds, wallflowers, peonies, poppies, violets and the like were grown in beds marked out in symmetrical patterns within walled or fenced enclosures, as was the practice of the period.²⁴³ Such a scheme is certainly visible on Gordon of Rothiemay's view of Holyrood of c.1647,²⁴⁴ which also shows formal beds within the former abbey cloister, perhaps the 'litill garding within the place' of 1538.²⁴⁵ James V certainly had a large staff of gardeners: at Stirling the park was kept by members of the Cunningham family and there were at least two gardeners; at Falkland the Fernie family kept the park and the Strachans were the gardeners; at Linlithgow Loudons kept the park with at least one gardener; and at Holyrood a Glaswegian, John Auchter, was employed in succession to Bertrand Gallotre, a Frenchman who worked as the king's principal gardener in 1536-7 with three assistants.²⁴⁶

In considering the architecture, interior decor and gardens of the major royal palaces an image is formed of the physical environment which James V and his court inhabited. The regular circuit of the court rotated between the four major residences discussed above²⁴⁷ but the king also maintained minor residences and lodgings in other places and many of these received attention during the period. For instance, a new portal was made for the king's lodging at Perth in 1532²⁴⁸ and there is a reference

²⁴²*MW*, i, 110. My thanks are owed to Dr. Alan MacDonald for helping me explain this term.

²⁴³E. H. M. Cox, *A History of Gardening in Scotland* (London, 1935), 21-3; Peter Verney, *The Gardens of Scotland* (London, no date), 21. See also Kenneth Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens: The Origins and Development of the French Formal Style* (London, 1986), 39-59. which stresses the Italian influence on the development of French formal gardens as a series of symmetrical enclosures with water features, pavilions, mazes etc. At Fontainebleau a rustic grotto was built into the *Jardin des Pins* by Primaticcio in 1540: *ibid*, 59.

²⁴⁴Reproduced in Deborah Howard (ed.), *The Architecture of the Scottish Renaissance*, RIAS exhibition handbook (Edinburgh, 1990), 11.

²⁴⁵*MW*, i, 225.

²⁴⁶See Appendix A.

²⁴⁷See Appendix C.

²⁴⁸*MW*, i, 111. This lodging was probably at the Dominican Friary where James I had established a residence; see Brown, *James I*, 114.

to 'the new werk of Letht' in 1541.²⁴⁹ Minor work was also done at Cramalt Tower, a hunting lodge near Peebles,²⁵⁰ the Priory of St. Andrews (held *in commendam* by the king's illegitimate son, Lord James Stewart, and used extensively by the court)²⁵¹ and at the castles of Craignethan, Crawfordjohn and Glamis,²⁵² which came into the king's possession between 1537 and 1540 by the forfeiture of their lords.²⁵³ Work was also carried out on the fortifications of the castles of Edinburgh, Tantallon, Blackness, Dunbar, Rothesay, Dunaverty, Inchgarvy and Kinghorn and to the harbour at Burntisland. These developments are considered in chapter six, which deals with military technology. James V's contributions to the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, and the chapel royal at Stirling are discussed in chapter four, which considers religious observance at the court.

When one turns to consider the court patronage of fine arts such as portraiture and manuscript illumination, the evidence for the period is much less extensive than it is for the royal palaces, but it is unlikely that a king so active in one area would ignore

²⁴⁹*MW*, i, 290. This may have been an extension or renovation of the residence established on The Shore by James I in 1434 (*ER*, iv, 578), which was certainly utilised by James V (*ER*, xvii, 170, 283) or it might have been Mary of Guise's house at Quality Wynd: *RCAHMS (Edinburgh)*, 266-7.

²⁵⁰*TA*, vi, 210. See also chapter 6.

²⁵¹*Ibid*, vi, 409. In Sept. 1565, after the earl of Moray (as Lord James had become by then) had been declared a rebel against his half-sister, the Queen, and her new husband, Darnley, his lodging at the Priory of St. Andrews was confiscated and an inventory taken of its contents. This document reveals that the apartments consisted of two main wings ('the Auld Luiging' and 'the New Luiging') in which the following accommodation was provided: 'the gryt hall', 'kitching', 'kitching stair', 'grytt chalmer', 'my lordis chalmer', 'galry', 'lauch chalmer', 'my ladeis studie', 'garderope', the 'nestreis [lavatories] chalmer' (all in the old lodging) and an 'enner chalmer', 'greit chalmer', 'the chalmer at the turnepkyfuit', 'the ower galry', 'the chalmer thereof', 'the heich chalmer', 'the gryt chalmer thereof' (all in the new lodging) and additionally 'the chalmer nixt the gardrope', two 'studeis' (one of which was 'the nether studye'), 'Walter Meluiles chalmer', 'the lard of Cleisches chalmer', 'the quenis utter chalmer', 'the sellar nixt the yeit', 'the sellar nixt it on the samyn syd' and 'the sellar undir the hall woindok'. The inventory is printed as an appendix in Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, 608-12. Men named Walter Melville and John Leslie of Cleish had served James V in the 1530s and seem to have transferred into the service of his son. A Walter Melville was also recorded as one of Mary of Guise's servants at her death in June 1560 (*TA*, xi, 26): see Appendix A. See also Lee, *Earl of Moray*, 143-45.

²⁵²*ER*, xvii, 126f., 213f., 375f., 560, 570, 582-3; *MW*, i, 192, 198, 228; *TA*, vi, 334, 364; *ibid*, vii, 495-97.

²⁵³For the political context of these forfeitures see Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 284-375.

the other completely. Many works of art from James V's collection were undoubtedly lost during the upheavals of his daughter's and grandson's minorities²⁵⁴ and other pieces went south after 1603 to be lost or dispersed during the civil war or other crises. Nevertheless, there are scattered documentary references which provide a glimpse of what has been lost. There was certainly a collection of portraits at the court of James IV, for in September 1502 a painter called Mynours arrived from England with gifts of portraits of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Prince Henry (the future Henry VIII) and 'oure quene' (the Princess Margaret Tudor). He stayed until November 1503.²⁵⁵ Protocol would have dictated that Henry Tudor should receive a portrait of his new son-in-law in return and it is possible that this was painted by Mynours before he left Scotland and was later copied by Daniel Mytens for Charles I (the copy survives today in a private collection but the original has been lost).²⁵⁶ It is also possible that some of the drawings in a Flemish portrait album compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *Receuil d'Arras*, were made from life or copied from portraits of people at the court of James IV. The subjects include James IV, Margaret Tudor, Elizabeth of York, Henry VII, Alexander Stewart (Archbishop of St. Andrews), Perkin Warbeck, four Franco-Flemish knights who visited Scotland for the tournaments of 1506-8 and an 'Egyptian' woman (the term usually denoted a gypsy at this period) who was perhaps the mysterious 'black lady' of the tournaments.²⁵⁷ The drawings were possibly made by Piers, a painter sent to Scotland by Andrew Haliburton (d. 1514), conservator of the privileges of the Scottish nation in the

²⁵⁴See David McRoberts, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', *IR*, x (1959). The earl of Arran as governor for the infant queen Mary is recorded as having disposed of all of James V's treasure and valuables in the defence of the realm: *APS*, ii, 603 (1554).

²⁵⁵*TA*, ii, 341, 405. Mynours may have been the English painter, John Maynard, or a Fleming, Maynnart Wewyck. See M. R. Apted and S. Hannabus, *Painters in Scotland, 1301-1700: A Biographical Dictionary* (SRS, 1978), 68-9, and L. Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1985), p. xxxi.

²⁵⁶Charles R. Beard, 'Early Stewart Portraits: A Discovery', *The Connoisseur*, 71 (Jan.-Apr. 1925), 5-9. My thanks go to Professor Michael Lynch for alerting me to this article.

²⁵⁷*Ibid*, 9-15. The *Receuil d'Arras* also contains a portrait identified as James I of Scotland. If genuine, this would be the earliest true portrait of a Scottish monarch. It is reproduced in Campbell, *Flemish Pictures*, p. xxxi, fig. 12.

Netherlands. Piers worked at the Scottish court between 1505 and 1508.²⁵⁸ Haliburton also had contacts with the Bening family of artists and may therefore have been instrumental in commissioning the *Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor*, a rare surviving masterpiece of the period,²⁵⁹ which contains portraits of James and Margaret at prayer very reminiscent of the portrayals of James III and Margaret of Denmark by Hugo van der Goes on the Trinity College Altarpiece of c.1475-6.²⁶⁰

With two generations of fruitful artistic contacts between the Scottish court and the Flemish *ateliers* already established, it would have been strange if James V had not acquired some pieces similar to those associated with his predecessors. According to Pitscottie, portraits of Dorothea and Christina of Denmark were commissioned from a painter living near Brussels and sent back to Scotland in the early 1530s when both ladies were being considered as potential brides for James V²⁶¹ and in 1535 the king bought five Flemish paintings from John Brown of Leith, but the artists and subjects of these pictures are unfortunately not recorded.²⁶² Only five apparently contemporary portraits of James V survive. Four are of unknown provenance, dated c.1538-40 and of poor quality; the figures are very stiff and apparently painted to a formula (what Dana Bentley-Cranch calls 'effigy-portraits').²⁶³ They are to be found in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the royal collection at Windsor Castle (these two are solo portraits), the National Trust, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, and the duke of Atholl's collection at Blair Castle (these two are double portraits with Mary of Guise).²⁶⁴ In addition there are numerous portraits which are derivative of these four prime images

²⁵⁸Apted and Hannabus, *Painters*, 70-2.

²⁵⁹L. MacFarlane, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *IR*, xi (1960), 3-21. See also David McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', *IR*, x (1959), 91-6.

²⁶⁰See C. Thompson and L. Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (NGS, 1974) for details.

²⁶¹Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 354.

²⁶²*TA*, vi, 250.

²⁶³Dana Bentley-Cranch, 'Effigy and Portrait in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *ROSC*, iv (1988), 9-19.

²⁶⁴Duncan MacMillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990* (Edinburgh, 1990), 32.

and of unknown date and provenance but probably of the later sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.²⁶⁵ None of these pictures reaches the standard set by the Trinity altarpiece, nor by Holbein at the English court, nor by Jean and François Clouet at the French court. However, the fifth picture is much more accomplished and worthy of a king with Renaissance ambitions. It survives in three versions: one is at the Weiss Gallery, London, a second was auctioned in Paris in 1921 and its current location is unknown, and the third is owned by the National Trust at Polesden Lacy, Surrey.²⁶⁶ This image is attributed to Corneille de Lyon, c.1536-7, and was presumably painted when James was in France for his first marriage. It may well have been intended as a companion to the portrait of Madeleine de Valois (Château of Blois and Palace of Versailles) by the same artist. Corneille de Lyon also painted James's second queen, Mary of Guise (Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Palace of Versailles and the Clowes Fund, Indianapolis), and these three portraits again highlight the importance of French influences.²⁶⁷ Indeed, Renaissance portraiture seems to have been a cultural weak-spot for the Scottish court. Not only is the sole effective portrait of James V a wholly French production but also it is a 'revealing fact' that his daughter, Mary, had herself painted when she was in both France and England but not when she was in Scotland.²⁶⁸ James VI's court painters, Arnold Bronckhorst and Adrian Vanson, were both from the Netherlands and Scotland did not produce an accomplished portraitist until George Jameson in the seventeenth century.²⁶⁹ None of

²⁶⁵I am very grateful to Rosalind Marshall for compiling a dossier of these portraits for me.

²⁶⁶Again, Rosalind Marshall kindly supplied me with this information. The Polesden Lacy portrait is reproduced in Dana Bentley-Cranch and Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature in the Service of Diplomacy: The Franco-Scottish Alliance, James V and Scotland's two French Queens, Madeleine of France and Mary of Guise', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, fig. 2, between pp. 288 and 289.

²⁶⁷Bentley-Cranch, 'Effigy and Portrait', 16-17; idem and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 276-77, 287-88, figs. 3 & 7.

²⁶⁸Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: a Study in Failure* (London, 1991), 195; Helen Smailes and Duncan Thomson, *The Queen's Image* (Edinburgh, 1987), 15: 'The only portrait images of her that seem to have been made during the seven years before her flight to England are those found on the coinage.'

²⁶⁹Duncan MacMillan, 'Scottish Art' in Paul H. Scott (ed.) *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 210-11.

the painters listed by Apted and Hannabus for the reign of James V (twenty-one named and three anonymous entries) are recorded undertaking anything other than decorative tasks,²⁷⁰ with the sole exception of Andrew Bairhum, who painted murals at Kinloss for abbot Robert Reid c.1538-41 rather than at the royal court.²⁷¹ It is also possible that Pierre Quesnel, a painter in the service of Mary of Guise (who was also an usher of her chamber), may have been something more than just a decorator but this is unlikely: there is no record of any of his works but he spent £11 on paints for Falkland in February 1542, and his fee for the year 1539 as 'huissier de chambre' was only eighty livres tournois (twenty livres less than the queen's tailor and seventy livres less than her embroiderer), which seems to imply that he was a craftsman rather than an artist.²⁷² Nevertheless, James V's portrait on his gold 'bonnet-pieces' (ducats) of 1539-42 are of high quality and in the Renaissance tradition established by James III's silver groats.²⁷³

The references to illuminated manuscripts at the court of James V are also very scarce and may indicate only a fraction of what actually existed. The finest surviving examples of manuscript illuminations of Scottish provenance date from the reigns of James III and James IV²⁷⁴ but James V did commission John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* and the manuscript of 1531, which was written and decorated by David Douglas, is now in the Pierpoint Morgan Library. MacMillan

²⁷⁰Typically, such tasks included painting heraldic devices on escutcheons and banners (e.g. *TA*, v, 324; *ibid.* vii, 297 and elsewhere) or painting religious images for important feasts (e.g. SRO Libri Emptorum, E.32/2 fo. 143v. & E.32/3 fo.123v. record payments to Alexander Chalmer at Easter 1532 and Easter 1534 for repairing/repainting the paschal lamb: 'pro reparatione agni paschalis in pictura').

²⁷¹Apted and Hannabus, *Painters*, 120-1, 25. Bairhum's nationality is not recorded but his surname is probably of English origin: G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland. Their Origin, Meaning and History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 55. Reid was a cultured and cosmopolitan patron who also brought the Italian humanist, Giovanni Ferrerio, to Scotland; see John Durkan, 'Giovanni Ferrerio, Humanist: His Influence in sixteenth-century Scotland', in *Religion and Humanism, Studies in Church History*, 17, ed. K. Robbins (Oxford, 1981), 181-94; see also chapter 5.

²⁷²*TA*, viii, 59, 77, 84, 92; SRO, Despenche de la Maison Royale, E.33/1, f.11v.

²⁷³I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (London, 1955), 78.

²⁷⁴MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, 27-9.

considers its decoration to be a lively and witty example of Scottish illumination.²⁷⁵ When Bellenden's Boece was later printed by Thomas Davidson, it included a woodcut depiction of the arms of Scotland which is thought to have been designed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Snowdon Herald from c.1530 and Lyon King of Arms from 1542. Lindsay was certainly responsible for the earliest known armorial register in Scotland, 1542 (National Library of Scotland), which is probably the finest illuminated manuscript from the royal court of this period.²⁷⁶ Also surviving is a mutilated copy of a French book of hours of c.1500 which once belonged to Mary of Guise (Fort Augustus Abbey)²⁷⁷ and a Flemish book of hours which perhaps belonged to Margaret Tudor (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).²⁷⁸ Fourteen books from Holyrood were apparently looted in 1544 by an English soldier, Sir William Norris (along with some wooden panelling) but whether these were from the abbey or the palace is not clear.²⁷⁹ Perhaps one of them was the missal purchased for the chapel at Holyrood in 1541.²⁸⁰ There is no record of the contents of the 'librall' (if indeed this was a library) built at Linlithgow Palace in 1539 by Finnart²⁸¹ and no books or paintings are listed in the inventories of 1539 and 1542-3, even though the lists include 'chapel graith',²⁸² but there are scattered references to books in the *Treasurer's Accounts*, mainly dealing with their covers of velvet and clasps of gold and silver. No mention is made of the illuminations.²⁸³

²⁷⁵Ibid, 34-5.

²⁷⁶NLS, Adv. MS. 31.4.3 and *Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay [sic] of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, 1542*, ed. W. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1822); Edington, *Court and Culture*, 37-9.

²⁷⁷Mark Dilworth, 'Book of Hours of Mary of Guise', *IR*, xix (1968), 77-80.

²⁷⁸David McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953), p.19 no.117.

²⁷⁹Harrison, *History of Holyrood*, 80.

²⁸⁰TA, vii, 459.

²⁸¹Ibid, vii, 195. See above n. 127.

²⁸²*Wardrobe Inventories*, 29-113.

²⁸³E.g. TA, vii, 17, 19, 113, 132, 135, 197 and elsewhere.

However, the inventories do contain information about the plate and jewels in the royal collection and many of these items were clearly of the finest workmanship. The symbolic importance of the royal regalia and the insignia of the chivalric orders is discussed in chapter seven, which deals with court ceremonial and pageantry, and the tapestries and furnishings have already been considered (above) but other treasures listed included a silver-gilt chessboard with chessmen of jasper and 'cristallyne' (rock-crystal), a steel mirror with a silver frame and a grey velvet case, a case of gold tooth-picks, a little gold box with a relic of the holy cross sent by the duke of Albany, Robert Bruce's cup, a 'quhinzear' (whinger or short sword) given to James by Francis I set with a great sapphire, thirty-six rubies, six emeralds, nine diamonds, pearls, gold and silver and the two little cups of gold, the basin of agate, 'laver' (ewer) of jasper and flagon of rock-crystal made for Queen Madeleine when she was a child.²⁸⁴ Also listed are eighteen pieces of chapel plate such as bells, chalices and pattens of silver or silver-gilt, over 400 pieces of silver/silver-gilt table ware, over 270 items of jewellery including rings, chains and cap-badges ('tergattis') of gold enamelled and set with precious stones, nearly 300 garments, mainly of velvet, satin and taffeta, a chest containing nearly 190 ells of unmade fabric brought to Scotland by Madeleine and sixty items of horse gear such as saddles, harnesses, caparisons and feather head-dresses.²⁸⁵ Many of these priceless objects disappeared from the records after the king's death; indeed the collection of silver plate was already reduced to a quarter of its former size by November 1543 when another inventory was taken.²⁸⁶ Apart from indicating the wealth of the king, these inventories also suggest that James V was keeping up with French fashions. As we have seen, many of his possessions were of

²⁸⁴SRO, *Wardrobe Inventories*, E.35/1 fos. 21v., 35r., 34v., 36r., 39r., 38r., 34v. The jewelled whinger was still in Queen Mary's possession in 1561 and was later given by her to Lord Ruthven: Robertson, *Inventaires*, 13.

²⁸⁵See Rosalind K. Marshall, 'The Jewellery of James V, King of Scots', *Jewellery Studies*, vii (1996), 79-86; idem, "'To be the Kingis Grace ane Dowblett": The Costume of James V, King of Scots', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, xxviii (1994), 14-21; idem, "'Hir Rob Ryall": the Costume of Mary of Guise', *Costume*, xii (1978), 1-12.

²⁸⁶*Wardrobe Inventories*, 107-113.

French origin and he favoured jewellery settings using prestigious motifs such as unicorns, lions, thistles etc. or mythological or allegorical figures such as mermaids,²⁸⁷ just as Francis I favoured the salamander (his personal badge) and *fleurs de lys*.²⁸⁸ On the other hand, Henry VIII was fond of cameos, intaglios and ciphers.²⁸⁹ Two jewels of the 1560s, the Aberdeen jewel and the Lennox jewel, perhaps give an impression of how James V's pieces may have looked with their elaborate iconography and vivid use of enamels and precious stones.²⁹⁰

Explaining the consequences of James V's marriage to Madeleine, Bishop John Leslie wrote in 1570

Here is to be remembred, that thair wes mony new ingynis and devyfis, alfweill of bigging of paleicis, abilyementis, as of banquating and of menis behaviour, firft begun and ufed in Scotland at this tyme, eftir the faffione quhilk thay had fene in France. Albeit it femit to be varray comlie and beautifull, yit it wes moir fuperfluows and volupteous nor the fubftance of the realme of Scotland mycht beir furth or fuffteine.²⁹¹

As we have seen, there were French influences and French craftsmen at work in the Scottish court before 1537 yet the essence of Leslie's analysis rings true. The most innovative and modish manifestations of James V's patronage of the visual arts all date from after his visit to the French court, particularly the courtyard façades at Falkland and the exterior decoration of the Stirling palace block, and (along with his marriages) seem to indicate his desire to be taken seriously as a Renaissance prince on the

²⁸⁷E.g. a 'terget of gold with ane marmydyne in it of dyamontis' was made for the king by John Mossman in 1538: *T.1*, vi, 414.

²⁸⁸Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance Française* (Paris, 1987), 35-52, 342-350, 396-409.

²⁸⁹Hugh Tait, 'Goldsmiths and their work at the Court of Henry VIII' in Starkey (ed.) *A European Court*, 115-7.

²⁹⁰R. K. Marshall and G. R. Dalgleish (eds.), *The Art of Jewellery in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991), 12-17.

²⁹¹John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 154. The STS edition of Leslie does not include this comment.

European stage; whereas his earlier works seem to indicate his desire to be taken seriously as a true king of Scots within his own realm. Leslie was very pessimistic about the practicalities of such a policy in the long-term but whilst he was alive James made the most of the financial resources available to him, particularly the French dowries and the wealth of the Scottish church²⁹² and, unlike Francis I and Henry VIII, he died unencumbered by colossal debts.²⁹³ No doubt from the perspective of the 1570s the exuberance of James V's court looked vainglorious and futile but if he had had an adult reign of twenty-five years (as his father had done) or forty years (as his grandson was to achieve) rather than fourteen, the verdict might not have been so severe. However, in the event it was certainly the case that 'native architecture as a whole remained unaffected by the achievements of the court school, and all creative enterprise ceased in the royal works after the king's death.'²⁹⁴ The brief flowering of the visual arts at the court of James V was, within the Scottish context, spectacular and original but all the images and motifs were directed towards the glorification of a strong, adult, male ruler and until the realm was graced with such a monarch again the initiatives of James V lacked the focus and the security for further development.

²⁹²Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 441-452.

²⁹³Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 27.

²⁹⁴Dunbar, *Historic Architecture*, 17.

4. MUSIC AND RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Music played an important part in the courtly culture of late-medieval and early-modern Europe. Kings and princes would expect their presence to be signalled by fanfares, which would also be heard at military manoeuvres, tournaments and official proclamations. Meals, chapel services and dances would require musical accompaniments and so would state ceremonies such as royal entries or coronations. The pageants and entertainments staged to celebrate weddings, treaties and other festivals also utilised the musical talent of the court, and people from all walks of life would relax in private to the sound of the lute, harp, fiddle or voice.¹ Such customs demanded that a princely court should contain a staff of professional musicians capable of composing for, performing on, and providing tuition in a wide range of instruments, as well as a group of courtly amateurs capable of impromptu performances in which they would either play solo or accompany their own singing on the lute or clavichord. It was customary in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European courts to categorise the instrumental staff according to whether they played instruments considered to be *haut* (loud) or *bas* (soft) and this demarcation indicated the social status of the players within the hierarchy of the household. The players of loud instruments such as trumpets and shawms,² who usually performed as a band in the open air or large halls at public events, were considered inferior to the players of soft instruments such as recorders, clavichords, lutes and viols, who would play alone or as part of a small ensemble within the apartments and chambers of the royal palaces.³ Indeed, the players of loud instruments at the court of Francis I were attached to the royal stable (*écurie*) and ranked as grooms, whilst the players of soft

¹For a full discussion see John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961), 235-55.

²The shawm (or *hautbois* in French) was a double-reed instrument related to the modern oboe.

³Peter Holman, 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII', in Starkey (ed.), *European Court*, 106; Stevens, *Early Tudor Court*, 303-21; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 116-7.

instruments were attached to the chamber and ranked as *valets*.⁴ At the Tudor court the distinction was between those musicians with access to the privy chamber and those without such privileges.⁵ The staff of princely chapels held the highest status of any professional musicians within the household since they were classed as member of the clergy (although very few entered the priesthood) and therefore were considered to be gentlemen, albeit rather lowly ones. The possession of a household post as a singer in the chapel or minstrel of the chamber did not necessarily involve constant attendance at court and musicians occasionally travelled a circuit of noble households and urban or ecclesiastical corporations, and sometimes visited foreign courts to obtain greater experience and training or to accompany diplomatic missions. Likewise, princes would often employ wandering minstrels and local musicians on a casual basis whilst traversing their lands and could also make use of the players attached to the households of nobles, prelates and other dignitaries who visited their courts. Thus the possible permutations of personnel for musical performances at court were diverse, particularly on special occasions when the regular staff could be augmented from other sources.⁶

Castiglione considered the ability to sing or to play soft instruments to be a social skill essential to a successful career as a courtier. Performances should not be given in public, he believed, but in the more private apartments of a prince, in select company, to give pleasure to persons of quality and to obtain their approval and favour. The courtly musician should be sufficiently adept to play or sing suitable tunes by ear but would not necessarily be expected to read or write music nor to perform in a virtuosic

⁴Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 459.

⁵Holman, 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII', 105.

⁶For example, in Paris at New Year 1537, many distinguished guests were at the court of Francis I for the marriage of his daughter, Madeleine, to James V and James made gifts of money to the minstrels attached to their households: *TA*, vii, 15-16, payments were made to Francis I's trumpeters, *hautbois*, 'sisters' and cornets; to the Queen of Navarre's *hautbois*; to the Duke of Guise's two minstrels; to the Queen of France's two minstrels and to Madeleine's taborer.

manner, since such skills might indicate a professional outlook.⁷ Castiglione derived his principles from the practice at the Italian courts of Urbino and Mantua but a similar approach to music-making by the nobility can also be detected at the courts of Francis I, Charles V and Margaret of Austria.⁸ However, Henry VIII displayed such an enthusiasm for music that he became a skilled practitioner on a number of instruments and also undertook some compositions, although his achievements in this field have been exaggerated.⁹ At his death his musical staff (excluding the chapel royal) consisted of some fifty-eight persons, including many foreign 'stars' and whole consorts of violars and others.¹⁰ His inventories indicate that he owned numerous boxes of recorders, flutes, lutes, virginals, organs, viols, shawms etc. for use by his staff, courtiers, family and himself.¹¹ Similarly, Francis I had a band of twelve trumpets, a band of eight shawms (*hautbois*), an organist, a lutenist, four singers, four violars and a chapel of thirty-six singers.¹² The Stewart kings of Scotland appear to have adopted the same approach to music at their courts as other European monarchs. James I has the reputation of having fostered up-to-date organ music¹³ and James IV could certainly play the lute and the clavichord and employed a large musical staff.¹⁴ Considering his Tudor and Stewart ancestry, it would have been surprising if James V had not been a musical monarch. Musicians receiving livery and fees were prominent within his household¹⁵ and he could play the lute, sight-read vocal parts and seems to

⁷Castiglione, *Courtier*, 95-6.

⁸Richard Freedman, 'Paris and the French Court under François I', and Martin Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts in the Netherlands and Austria, 1477-1530', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance* (London, 1989), 174-96, 216-42.

⁹David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 70-71.

¹⁰Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 80; Holman, 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII', 104.

¹¹Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 79.

¹²Freedman, 'Paris and the French Court', 178-9.

¹³David Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and D. Laing (8 vols, Wodrow Society, 1842-9), i, 48.

¹⁴Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 284; *TA*, iii, 360.

¹⁵See Appendix A.

have been a discerning listener.¹⁶ He appears to have transmitted his interest to at least some of his children as well.¹⁷

There are no surviving inventories listing the instruments possessed by James V but he is known to have purchased lutes and organs.¹⁸ The lists of musicians within the household accounts suggest that there was a distinction between players of loud and soft instruments at this court too, since the latter seem to be attached to the chamber, whilst the former are sometimes listed alongside armourers and messengers-at-arms.¹⁹ The most numerous minstrels in the records are the trumpeters, many of whom were foreigners. A band of Italian musicians, designated as minstrels, trumpeters (*tubicines*), players (*histriones*) and, occasionally, shawmers seem to have served as a coherent, family group at the Scottish court from the latter years of the reign of James IV into the minority of Mary.²⁰ They took the surname Drummond and are

¹⁶A marginal comment by Thomas Wood of St Andrews in one of his part-books c1562 describes James as musically knowledgeable and states that 'the King had ane singular guid eir and culd sing that he had never seine before, bot his voyce wes rasky and harske.' A transcription is printed in John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh, 1992), 98. See also David Laing, 'An Account of the Scottish Psalter of A.D. 1566', *PSAS*, vii (1866-7), 445-58.

¹⁷Mary, Queen of Scots, was a noted music-lover and Lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, was a patron of David Peebles after the Reformation: Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 128-32; Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London, 1973), 26. Unfortunately, Lord James's religious zeal overcame any love of music when he had six mass books from the chapel royal burned: Robertson, *Inventaires*, 187.

¹⁸William Galbraith of the chamber was sent to buy a lute at the king's command in 1526: *TA*, v, 276. On 14th Oct. 1531 a lute and strings for the king costing 50s. were delivered to Galbraith: *ibid*, vi, 18. Another lute with strings was purchased by Galbraith in Sept. 1533: *ibid*, vi, 86-7. More lute strings were bought in the autumn of 1533: *ibid*, vi, 179-81, and a 'stand of bellis' was bought for one of the king's sons in Jan.-Feb. 1534: *ibid*, vi, 185-6. Lute strings were again purchased in Jan. and Apr. 1536: *ibid*, vi, 258, 281. In July 1537 a pair of organs was bought from William Calderwood for £66 13s 4d for the king's chapel: *ibid*, vi, 353. It is unclear whether this means the chapel royal in Stirling or the chapel of Holyrood palace. The latter site is the more likely since the chapel at Stirling already had organs (they were mended in 1532-3: *ibid*, vi, 89) and the Holyrood chapel was newly constructed from the old queen's apartments in the south range (see chapter 3). However, in the following year, 1538, an organ loft at Stirling was either under construction or repair, since timber was purchased for it: *MW*, i, 227-8. Another pair of organs for the Holyrood chapel was bought from Calderwood for £60 in Jan. 1542: *TA*, viii, 55.

¹⁹See Appendix A.

²⁰For two detailed accounts of this band, which nevertheless differ in emphasis see Anna Jean Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (St. Andrews University Publications no. xxiv, Edinburgh and London, 1927), 42-3 and Helena Mennie Shire, 'Music for "Goddis Glore and the Kingis"', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 120-22. Neither account traces the history of the Italians beyond 1529.

consistently described as Italians, even though the second generation would have had no first-hand experience of Italian courts. Such musical dynasties were not unusual in the courts of the period: the Bassano family (Venetian Jews fleeing the Inquisition) provided musicians at the English court from 1540 until the Civil War²¹ and the English Hudsons served both Henry, Lord Darnley, and his son, James VI.²² The Drummonds were possibly the four unnamed Italian musicians recorded in 1503²³ but names are recorded in 1505,²⁴ 1509,²⁵ and 1515.²⁶ In 1524 the late Julian Richard/Drummond was replaced by a Scot, Henry Rudman, who was replaced in turn by Ninian Brown in 1529-30.²⁷ In 1533 Michael Drummond took the place of Vincent Pace/Drummond, who had presumably died,²⁸ and the individual members are last named in 1535 as George Forest, Ninian Brown and Julian, Sebastian and Michael

²¹Holman, 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII', 106.

²²Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 133.

²³*TA*, ii, 395.

²⁴Julian Drummond, Julian Richard, Vincent Pais and Benedict Delmes (*RSS*, i, 1185 & 1189). These would appear to have been the founder members of the band: Julian Richard died in 1524 (*ibid*, i, 3282), Vincent Pais or Pasche is not listed after 1532 (*ER*, xvi, 215), a Julian Drummond is still recorded in 1535 (*ibid*, xvi, 443) and a Julian, shawmer, with no surname, is recorded in 1538 (*TA*, vi, 405). These may be references to the original Julian Drummond, but the Julian Drummond, trumpeter, killed at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547, may have been of a later generation of the same family (*RSS*, iii, 2496). Vincent's real name was probably Pace; there were several Italian composers and organists of this name in the sixteenth century e.g. Antonio del Pace of Florence (1545-89), Giovanni Battista Pace of Bari (fl. 1585-91) and Pietro Pace of Loreto (1559-1622); see Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (20 vols, London, 1980), xiv, 44-5.

²⁵In this year the band was joined by Sebastian Drummond: *RSS*, i, 1808.

²⁶*TA*, v, 53-4: 'to the v Italian menstrallis viz. Vincent, auld Julian, youngar Julian, Anthonne and Bestian Drummonth, and George Forest, scottisman with thame makand vj personis.' This entry seems to imply that all the Italians were now going by the name of Drummond. It also goes on to note that Sebastian Drummond was given leave by Albany to return to Italy 'to vesity his frendis' but was expected 'to returne in haist.' George Forest had possibly trained in Italy (Shire, 'Music for Goddis Glore', 120-1). He, Sebastian and Julian continued to receive payments until at least 1535 (*ER*, xvi, 443). Anthony received only one more payment in 1517 (*TA*, v, 156). The Anthony who appears as one of the king's minstrels between 1525 and 1542 is recorded as a French tabor player rather than an Italian trumpeter and so is probably not the same man, as Helena Shire believed: Shire, 'Music for Goddis Glore', 120. He first appears in *TA*, v, 260 (Yule 1525) and is last recorded in *ER*, xviii, 90 (1546); he is specifically described as French in the following entries: *ER*, xvi, 375; *ibid*, xvii, 49, 61, 185, 305, 394, 464; *ibid*, xviii, 50, 90. There was also a Frenchman called Anthony who looked after the king's steel bonnets: see Appendix A.

²⁷*RSS*, i, 3282; *ER*, xv, 220; *ibid*, xvi, 5 & *TA*, v, 432. Brown may have been another Italian; the entries are ambiguous about his nationality.

²⁸*ER*, xvi, 240.

Drummond.²⁹ Thereafter, there were regular livery payments to a group of five unnamed Italian minstrels (presumably the same ones) which were brought up to date at Christmas 1542, a few days after James V's death.³⁰ Payments to unnamed Italian and Scots trumpeters continued from the Exchequer until 1561.³¹ In addition, from June 1537 payments were made to a separate group of four trumpeters of war, who also received regular livery until 1546.³² Their names can be found in the *Register of the Privy Seal* for 2nd July 1538, and two of the four were also called Drummond (John and James) and, although they are not specifically described as Italians, Julian certainly had two sons with these names.³³ James V also had the services of a band of three French trumpeters in 1532-3: Claude de la Vale, Guillaume Soudane and Vincent Violet were engaged for a year's service but decided to leave early.³⁴ No explanation is given for their departure but it is possible that they considered themselves to be too much in the shadow of the more established Italian band.

The trumpeters of the court are often recorded in conjunction with taborers, and the trumpeters of war are regularly listed alongside Swiss taborers. The tabor was a side-drum, usually played with the right hand whilst playing a pipe or fife with the left. Fife and tabor traditionally provided dance music, whilst the Swiss tabor was a variant used for military purposes.³⁵ The most prominent tabor player at the court was Anthony, the Frenchman, who took the occupational surname, Taburner or

²⁹*ER*, xvi, 443.

³⁰*TA*, vi, 301; *ibid.*, vii, 199, 334-5, 478-9; *ibid.*, viii, 103, 149-50.

³¹*ER*, xvi, 474; *ibid.*, xvii, 82-3, 374, 526; *ibid.*, xviii, 98-9, 133-4, 316, 349; *ibid.*, xix, 20, 49-50, 97, 102, 158-9.

³²*TA*, vi, 327, 339-400; *ibid.*, vii, 118-9, 199, 271-2, 334-5, 478-9; *ibid.*, viii, 103, 149-50, 224, 462. Trumpeters of war had mainly military duties.

³³*RSS*, ii, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610; *ibid.*, iii, 2496. James Drummond, trumpeter, son of Julian was engaged in December 1526 (*ibid.*, i, 3382). The other two trumpeters of war were John Kemp and William Castlelaw. There was also a Messenger-at-arms called William Castlelaw, who may have been the same man; he is recorded from 1523 to 1537 (*TA*, v, 228; *MW*, i, 229).

³⁴*RSS*, ii, 1552; *TA*, vi, 102. Their names are rendered as Claudius de la Vallie/Claude Lavelane, Guillermus Sowdane/Guillame Soday and Vicentuis Violet/Vincent Violet.

³⁵M. G. A. Vale, *War and Chivalry* (London, 1981), 152-54.

Taverner.³⁶ From December 1541 he was named master of the king's minstrels but he may have held this post as early as December 1538 when he refused to wear the red and yellow livery provided for the other musicians and was given money to buy more suitable clothes instead.³⁷ He seems to have had a French assistant, Jakis (Jacques?), and two 'childer' or 'boys', John and William Thomson, who were 'quhisilarris' (whistlers, i.e. they played the pipe or fife).³⁸ The Swiss tabor was played by 'Tod' and 'auld Tod', presumably a father and son team, who were first recorded in May 1538 and served as a pair until 1542 with one Tod serving alone until 1544.³⁹ There are no clear references to the use of bagpipes at the court of James V; the 'pipers' listed in the accounts are almost certainly players of recorders, fifes or shawms; the term 'drone' (which would indicate bagpipes) is not mentioned.⁴⁰

The trumpeters, shawmers, whistlers and taborers formed the 'loud' music of the court and the sources give a few hints of their activities. The minstrels were often provided with outfits of clothes, usually in the red and yellow livery colours of the Stewarts.⁴¹ These clothes were of fine materials such as satins, indicating that the exceptions made for minstrels in the fifteenth-century sumptuary laws were regularly exploited.⁴² During the minority, the Italian trumpeters were in the service of both the young king and his governor; in September 1522 they were in attendance on Albany at the siege of Carlisle, and Julian was taken on 'raidis' (justice ayres) with the king and his lords in

³⁶See above n. 26.

³⁷*TA*, v, 256; *ibid*, viii, 150; *ibid*, vii, 119.

³⁸Jacques is recorded on only two occasions as a taborer: *TA*, viii, 158 (an account from May 1538 rendered in 1542) and *ibid*, vii, 290 (Feb. 1540). The latter entry is a payment for his sons' board at school. There was a French viols player called Jacques Columbelle, who had two sons boarding at school in Stirling at the king's expense, who was possibly the same man (*ibid*, vii, 328, 482; *ibid*, viii, 55, 93). The Thomsons were brothers (*ibid*, vi, 204) and appear in the records between 1532 and 1538: *ibid*, vi, 36, 92; *RSS*, ii, 2621, 2622.

³⁹*TA*, vi, 399-400; *ibid*, viii, 149, 158, 248, 291.

⁴⁰Henry George Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, 1947), 94. Drones are mentioned in the time of James IV: see *TA*, ii, 131, 367; *ibid*, iii, 190.

⁴¹E.g. In May 1538 the outfits for the minstrels sent to France to collect Mary of Guise included garments of red and yellow satin and caps trimmed with ostrich feathers: *TA*, vi, 399-400, 404-5.

⁴²*APS*, ii, 49. Heralds were similarly exempt.

1527.⁴³ They seem to have been engaged on military duties again in January 1533, during the hostilities with England, when they were stationed at the castle of Dunbar.⁴⁴ Dunbar was one of the key coastal fortresses and at that time still in the legal ownership of the duke of Albany, who had been in France since 1524 and never again returned to Scotland. In the Autumn of 1536, on James V's departure for France, the Italians were given suits of clothing, which may suggest that they travelled with him and were being dressed to impress the French.⁴⁵ However, other names on the same list clearly did not travel to France at this time,⁴⁶ so perhaps the gifts were intended as compensation for a lack of work whilst the king was absent. In June 1537, four unnamed trumpeters (perhaps the trumpeters of war) were clearly intended to take part in the royal entry that was planned for Queen Madeleine since banners were bought for their instruments.⁴⁷ It is likely that her entry, had it taken place, would have been accompanied by minstrels employed by the burgh too, but no details are recorded.⁴⁸ Her successor, Mary of Guise-Lorraine, was provided with a larger ceremonial band consisting of four trumpeters (probably the same ones), four taborers and three whistlers, who were sent by ship to France in May 1538 to collect her, along with a large escort.⁴⁹ It is reasonable to imagine that their services would also have been required at the many tournaments, ceremonies and military campaigns, such as those discussed in chapter seven, but no specific details appear in the household sources. However, Pitscottie described the musical reception awaiting James V at the

⁴³They were in attendance on Albany in April 1516 (*TA*, v, 87) and listed with the king's household later that year (*ibid*, v, 96). The Carlisle entry is *ibid*, v, 203. The raid of 1527: *ibid*, v, 318.

⁴⁴*TA*, vi, 95.

⁴⁵*TA*, vi, 301. James set sail on the 1 Sept. but the account was not rendered until 18 Oct.

⁴⁶E.g. Thomas Kellis received a doublet, hose and bonnet at the same time but on 23rd Sept. he was sent to Crawfordjohn, so he could not have gone to France; *TA*, vi, 301, 303.

⁴⁷*TA*, vi, 327.

⁴⁸Aberdeen and other burghs certainly had bands on their books, but the existence of an Edinburgh equivalent is hypothetical but likely: Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 84. Town bands were common in other countries too: in Italy they were known as *pifare*, in England as 'waits': Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1954), 545, 772; Stevens, *Early Tudor Court*, 299.

⁴⁹*TA*, vi, 399-400; *ibid*, viii, 158.

home of the duke of Vendôme (whose daughter he was engaged to marry) in 1536 thus,

Then thair was nothing bot mirrienes, bancatting and great cheir and lustie commoning betuix the kingis grace and ladyis witht great musick and playing on instrumentis, that is to say trumpatis schalmes luttis and violes virginallis or pinattis [spinets] and all uther kynd of instrumentis playand melodiouslie witht gallzart [galliard] dancing in messerie [maskery] and prattie frassis [farces] and playis.⁵⁰

His account of the wedding celebrations at St. Andrews in June 1538 includes references to 'schallmes draught trumpattis and weir trumpatis witht playing and phrassis' providing entertainment for the guests between one feast and the next⁵¹ and Leslie's description of James V's funeral also mentions 'lamentable trumpetis' and 'qwisselis of dule'.⁵²

The lutes, viols, virginals and spinets cited by Pitscottie were not part of the 'loud' musical establishment of a Renaissance court, but formed the 'soft' music of the chamber and James V was also exposed to this type of music from an early age. Amongst the earliest surviving household accounts of the reign are payments to James Graham, the king's minstrel, Bontemps, a French minstrel, and John Crook (or Craig), minstrel.⁵³ A popular chamber instrument of the fifteenth century was the harp but James V did not have a harpist on his regular staff; only three payments are recorded: to 'ane harpar' in 1520, to a Westland harper in 1529 and to an Irish (presumably

⁵⁰Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 359.

⁵¹Ibid, i, 379. A draught trumpet (or slide trumpet) was a form of sackbut, related to the modern trombone: Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 95.

⁵²Leslie, *Historie*, ii, 260. In his Latin version *buccinae querelae* and *lugubres fistulae*.

⁵³Graham appears in *TA*, v, 82-3, 117, 128 (1516-17). Bontemps (or Bountans, Bontais etc.) is listed in *ibid*, v, 44, 53, 113, 114, 156 (1515-16) but can also be traced back to 1502: *ibid*, ii, 403-4, iv, 115, 440. Crook or Craig appears in *ibid*, v, 373, 435, vi, 207 (1526/7-1534). Helena Shire has speculated that Craig the minstrel may have been the same man as Craig, the king's servitor, recorded between 1516 and 1526 (*ibid*, v, 96, 148, 197, 261, 324). She believed he was a servant of the chamber but he is described as a groom and listed alongside other men who can be traced in the stable. See Shire, 'Music for Goddis Glorie', 125. Graham was probably a tabor player, Bontemps may have played cornet and fiddle, Crook/Craig's talents are not specified. Another undesignated minstrel, Patrick Kenneth, is recorded in 1538: *RSS*, ii, 2623. See also Appendix A.

Highland) 'clairsochtar' in February 1534.⁵⁴ The place of the harp was taken by the lute, which became ever more popular as the sixteenth century progressed.⁵⁵ As we have seen, James probably played the lute himself, and he certainly employed several lutenists (or 'lutars' in Scots) in his chamber. The peculiar name of 'Urre Schennek, lutair' appears in the records for Christmas 1526 and this may have been the same person as 'Franche Orry, menstrale' who was listed in Easter of the same year.⁵⁶ The Scottish scribes always struggled to render foreign names coherently and Helena Shire speculated that his real name might have been Henri Jeannequin or Harry Senneck and that he may have been French, Flemish or English.⁵⁷ A payment to 'Hare, lutar' in the *Pursemaster's Accounts* of March 1540⁵⁸ could conceivably have been to the same man as well and, if so, it would suggest that the loss of the records of the expenditure from the king's purse for all but a few months in 1539 and 1540 is a serious obstacle to the study of the musicians in the chamber, since Urre/Orry/Hare is listed in neither the *Treasurer's Accounts* nor the *Exchequer Rolls* after 1526. William Galbraith, a yeoman of the inner chamber and a singer, was probably a lutar as well, since he was responsible for buying lutes and strings for the king.⁵⁹ At the end of the reign, James had a lutar called Cunningham, who was also paid from the king's purse, but who received some clothing from the treasurer.⁶⁰ The king was also served by a fiddle

⁵⁴*TA*, v, 256, 373; *ibid*, vi, 207. The Clarsach is the gaelic harp, which in the sixteenth century was strung with wire. The lowland harp was strung with gut: Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 88.

⁵⁵Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 91; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 119; Stevens, *Early Tudor Court*, 278.

⁵⁶*TA*, v, 312, 256.

⁵⁷Shire, 'Music for Goddis Glorie', 127-8.

⁵⁸Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 33.

⁵⁹*TA*, v, 276; *ibid*, vi, 18, 86-7 see n. 18 above. He was listed as a chamber servant between 1526 and 1533, when Henry Drummond was appointed in his place: *ER*, xv, 292, 387, 463; *ibid*, xvi, 136, 176, 296; *TA*, v, 260-1, 310, 324, 382, 375, 434. Drummond's appointment is noted in *ER*, xvi, 296. There were men of the same name also serving in the king's stable and kitchen, who may or may not have been the same person, so it is possible that he was still in the king's service at the end of the reign as William Galbraith, keeper/usher of the kitchen door, July 1542: *TA*, viii, 101.

⁶⁰Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 50 (20 May 1540); *TA*, vii, 288, 414 (Feb and Dec 1540); *ibid*, viii, 46 (Dec 1541). It is possible that a payment for bowstrings to Duncan Cunningham in June 1539 was actually for lute strings and to the same man: *ibid*, vii, 159.

player, John Cabroch, who was listed between 1530 and 1540 and who was another musician sent to France in May 1538 to escort Mary of Guise to Scotland.⁶¹

The most fashionable bowed instrument of the 1530s in the Italian and French courts was the viol,⁶² which was often played in a consort of four or six instruments of different sizes, and this trend can be detected at the Scottish court too. In November 1535 an Englishman, Richard Hume, was employed to make viols for the king⁶³ and from 1st August 1538 a consort of four viols, led by Jacques Columbello, a Frenchman, was employed in the household.⁶⁴ The fact that Columbello's appointment coincided with the arrival of Mary of Guise may be significant, for her family were notable patrons of musicians.⁶⁵ The French consort of viols remained in service until the end of the reign and unnamed violars were still receiving payment until 1550.⁶⁶ In 1542 there was also a payment to a Scottish musician, sir John Fethy, whose 'childer' played the viols.⁶⁷ In later years Fethy was a famous organist and composer, who became master of the sang schools at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but he had earlier spent some years studying abroad and was possibly in royal service from 1529/30 when a man of that name received livery.⁶⁸

⁶¹*TA*, v, 431, 435; *ibid*, vi, 37, 91 (in this entry he is called Thomas Cabroch), 204; *ibid*, vii, 152, 414. His trip to France is noted in *ibid*, vi, 399-400. The 'fiddle' he played may have been a croud or rebec: both were late-medieval bowed instruments with between two and four strings: Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland*, 92.

⁶²The viol is not to be confused with the violin, since the two instruments were quite distinct. The viol had a fretted finger-board, six strings, a less resonant sound than the violin and was placed in the lap rather than on the arm: Thurston Dart, 'The Viols' in Anthony Baines (ed.), *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (London, 1973), 184-90.

⁶³*TA*, vi, 261-2. The entries suggest that he may have been a lutar too.

⁶⁴*RSS*, ii, 2620; *TA*, vii, 118-9, 199, 271, 328, 334-5, 413, 478-9, 482; *ibid*, viii, 46, 55, 93, 103, 149-50. A consort of four viols usually consisted of two trebles, a tenor and a bass: Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 92.

⁶⁵Members of the family were among Janequin's patrons: Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 296.

⁶⁶*TA*, viii, 149-50, 240; *ibid*, ix, 127, 461.

⁶⁷*TA*, viii, 54.

⁶⁸John MacQueen (ed.), *Ballatis of Luve* (Edinburgh, 1970), xxx-xxxiii; H M Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), 54 & 260; *TA*, v, 383.

James V did not have a very good singing voice, according to Thomas Wood, but the fact that he could sight-read⁶⁹ suggests that he may have enjoyed singing part-songs, presumably in private, and he clearly employed singing men or boys (sangsters), who may have been attached to the staff of his chamber or to the chapel royal or both. William Galbraith, mentioned above, was certainly a singer in the king's chamber between 1525 and 1528⁷⁰ and there was also a singing boy/henchman called George Coutts who was listed between 1531 and 1534,⁷¹ a sangster called John Turnet listed in 1536⁷² and one by the name of Archibald Borthwick in 1541.⁷³ The most frequently noted singer was Richard Carmichael, who appears in the sources from 1534 to the end of the reign⁷⁴ and features in Knox's *History* as a chorister of the chapel royal suspected of anti-clericalism and compelled to 'burn his bill'.⁷⁵ He certainly suffered an escheat of his goods sometime before 25th March 1539, when his property was remitted to him.⁷⁶ Carmichael was also one of the king's entourage for the visit to France in 1536.⁷⁷ Whilst on this trip, the king seems to have acquired the services of an unnamed, presumably French, organist.⁷⁸ This was possibly the same man as the organist provided with mourning clothes ('dule') for Queen Madeleine's funeral in July 1537,⁷⁹ but the only named organist in the king's service, William Calderwood, was probably a Scotsman.⁸⁰ Furthermore, sir John Fethy, who was also within the court orbit (see above), introduced a new style of organ-fingering to Scotland.⁸¹ There were

⁶⁹See above, n. 16.

⁷⁰*ER*, xv, 208-463.

⁷¹*TA*, v, 432; *ibid*, vi, 92-205.

⁷²*TA*, vi, 289.

⁷³*RSS*, ii, 4151.

⁷⁴*TA*, vi, 205-429; *ibid*, vii, 22-477; *ibid*, viii, 100-105; *ER*, xvi, 167-282.

⁷⁵Knox, *Works*, i, 44-5.

⁷⁶*RSS*, ii, 2976.

⁷⁷*TA*, vi, 454.

⁷⁸*TA*, vii, 20, 22, 25. It is possible that this man was the same person as 'Sebastiano Capellano et organiste gallicis' who was given £30 in Nov. 1537 on his return to France via England: SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/7, f. 17r.

⁷⁹*TA*, vi, 350.

⁸⁰*TA*, vi, 353; *ibid*, viii, 55. *RSS*, ii, 10 April 1539.

⁸¹*TA*, v, 383; *ibid*, viii, 54; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 100; Jim Inglis, *The Organ in Scotland before 1700* (Schagen, 1991), 60. 'The curious new fingering and playing on organs' which Fethy is said to have

organs in the chapels at Stirling, Linlithgow, Falkland and Holyrood, and possibly in other royal residences too.⁸² The instrument bought for the king's chapel in 1537, and the one bought for Holyrood chapel in 1539 are both described as 'pairs' of organs in the accounts, which probably suggests that they included both flutes and reeds and would thus have had two manuals (as was common with the Dutch organs of the period), but there is no mention of pedals.⁸³ The instruments in Holyrood, Stirling and Falkland were housed in organ lofts, which may have been located on the rood screen of the chapels.⁸⁴ James, like his father, may also have owned portative organs for use in chamber music as well as the chapel.⁸⁵ Other than the paid professional musicians, mentioned above, music would also have been played in the king's chambers by the amateurs of the court. It is impossible to be sure which of the many well-connected visitors and attendants would have had any musical skills but it might be fair to guess that those men who are known to have written poetry may also have had some musical talent since the two arts were often combined. Some candidates might be George Steel (one of the king's favourites, who kept some of the royal tapestries) or sir George Clapperton (the king's master almoner and sub-dean of the chapel royal).⁸⁶ David Lindsay of the Mount, who had been the king's usher in the minority, certainly claimed to have played the lute to the king when James was a child.⁸⁷

introduced has been the subject of some controversy: it may have involved the use of the 'little fingers' or of the thumbs - Inglis. *Organ in Scotland*, 29.

⁸²Ibid, 19, 20, 62-6.

⁸³TA, vi, 353; *ibid.* viii, 55; Peter Williams, *A New History of the Organ from the Greeks to the Present Day* (London, 1980), 68.

⁸⁴Inglis. *The Organ in Scotland*, 24-5. However, it is by no means certain that these royal chapels had rood screens as there is no specific mention of such structures in the works accounts.

⁸⁵Inglis. *The Organ in Scotland*, 19.

⁸⁶MacQueen, *Ballatis of Lute*, xxxiii-xxxv, 68-72. Two songs with words by Steel have survived: *Absent I am* and *Support your Servand*: *Musica Scotica: Editions of Early Scottish Music* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1996), ii, 1-4; *MB*, xv, 158-9. Steel's servant was twice engaged to provide clothes for choristers of the chapel royal: *TA*, vii, 151, 464.

⁸⁷Lindsay, *Works*, i, 42 (*The Complaynt*). Apparently the king's favourite tune was *Ginkerton*.

It is very difficult to detect any indication of the repertoire performed by the large staff of chamber musicians, other than Pitscottie's references to dances and plays noted above. Pitscottie particularly mentions the galliard and this dance was popular in the courts of Italy, France, Flanders and England, especially in combination with the pavane.⁸⁸ Basse-dances and rounds were certainly performed at the court of James IV and may well have continued to be danced in Scotland at a later date.⁸⁹ This is implied in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (c.1550) where the shepherds in the story are said to have danced 'base dansis, pauvans, galyardis turdions, braulis, and branglis, buffons witht mony uthir lycht dancis.'⁹⁰ Although the sources are very reticent about dances at the court, it is likely that the repertoire included the branle and allemande as well as the pavane, galliard, basse-danse and round. Both the basse-danse and the pavane were stately, processional dances, which might be used as preludes to the allemande or the galliard, which were lighter, more sprightly dances. The branle and the round were both danced in circles with linked hands and had many variations.⁹¹ It is also possible that the traditional Scottish epic song, *Greysteil*, was performed at court, since James V probably gave this nickname to one of his childhood servants⁹²

⁸⁸Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 523, 553, 564, 868.

⁸⁹Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 283. Two pavaues and a galliard of the early- to mid-sixteenth century are printed in MB, xv, 190-4 and three songs with dance rhythms have also survived: *Departe, Departe* and *In a Garden so Green* are galliards and *O Lusty May* is a branle: *Musica Scotica*, ii, 17-19, 32-5, 75-9.

⁹⁰Robert Wedderburn, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. A. M. Stewart (STS, 1979), 52. There follows a long list of the names of some of the dances, which include 'al cristyn mennis dance, ... Robene hude, thom of lyn, freris al, ... levis grene, ... jhonne ermistrangis dance, the alman haye, the bace of voragon' some of which sound as if they may have emanated from the court. The instruments played by the eight shepherds are listed as 'ane drone bag pipe', 'ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid', 'ane trump', 'ane corne pipe', 'ane pipe maid of ane gait horne', 'ane recorder', ane fiddil', and 'ane quhissil' (ibid, 51-2) and some of these were certainly in use at court, as we have seen above.

⁹¹George S. Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Receptioun* (Montreal and London, 1972), 33-45; Mabel Dolmetsch, *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600* (London, 1949), 1-49, 55-128, 144-58. See also idem, *Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600* (London, 1954).

⁹²John Purser, 'Greysteil', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 145, 150-1. *Greysteil* was certainly sung to James IV: *TA*, i, 330 and ibid, iv, 96.

and *The Complaynt of Scotland* also includes a list of well-known songs, some of which may have been heard at court too.⁹³

There seems to have been a Franco-Italian influence early in the adult reign, exerted by the visit to the Scottish court of Thomas de Averencia of Brescia, a servant of Maximilian Sforza, titular Duke of Milan, between November 1529 and March 1530. Averencia became a favourite of the Scottish king because of his interest in music and James sought to delay his departure, to encourage his early return and to reward him for his attentions by making him a feed member of the household (*famulus et stipendiarius*).⁹⁴ Although obviously a native of Italy, Averencia may have been introducing James to the musical developments of the French court since his master had been deposed as Duke of Milan by Francis I in the autumn of 1515, spent the rest of his life in France as a client of the French king and died in Paris in 1530.⁹⁵ Averencia seems to have arrived in Scotland in the company of William Stewart, 'Captain of Milan' (who was also in French service), and the archdeacon of St. Andrews and all three were probably on a mission from the duke of Albany, who had a personal interest in the state of the Scottish realm under its newly liberated king. It is possible that the visits of other foreign envoys (such as Raphael Cassanzeis, a Spanish gentleman, who received a pension from James in 1542⁹⁶) also exerted a musical influence on the Scottish court but no specific details are available. It is therefore likely that the greatest impulse for musical developments (as in so many

⁹³Wedderburn, *The Complaynt*, 51. The list begins with Henry VIII's 'pastance witht gude companye' and continues with over thirty other song titles including 'lady help your presoneir', 'kyng willyamis note', 'rycht soirly musing in my mynde', 'god sen the duc hed byddin in France and delaubaute hed nevyr cum hame', 'Mastres fayr ye wil forfayr', 'o lusty maye witht flora quene', 'the battel of the hayrlau', 'the hunttis of chevet', 'my lufe is laid apon ane knyght' and 'allace that samyn sueit face'. Again the titles suggest a courtly provenance for at least some of these songs but the music and lyrics for most of them have been lost. However, *Alas that Same Sueit Face* and *O Lusty May* have survived: *Musica Scotica*, ii, 11-13, 75-9.

⁹⁴James V *Letters*, 163, 169, 170. See also Shire, 'Music for Goddis Glore', 131-3.

⁹⁵Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 77.

⁹⁶TA, viii, 54, 106, 148.

other cultural activities) came from the king's own visit to France in 1536-7 and the foreigners he employed in his household.

It is certainly possible to detect French influence in some of the surviving Scottish part-songs of the 1530s and 1540s, some of which may have been performed at court. The French songs of the period were either *chansons rustiques*, adaptations of traditional, vernacular verses and tunes which were sometimes woven into medleys (*fricassées*),⁹⁷ or settings of more courtly verses by Clément Marot, Pierre de Ronsard and even Francis I himself, set to music by composers such as Pierre Certon, Claude de Sermisy (known as Claudin) or Clément Janequin.⁹⁸ Typically, they were written for three or four parts, with the tune in the tenor, in a simple, chordal style and with a dance-like rhythm. They are almost all strophic in form, with repeated refrains, and owe something to the inspiration of the Italian *frottola* of the late-fifteenth century. In turn, the French *chansons* exerted some influence upon the embryonic madrigal form, which was pioneered in Italy by composers of French or Flemish origin, such as Philippe Verdelot and Adrian Willaert.⁹⁹ Surviving Scottish songs display very similar features: *The Pleugh Sang* (anon. c.1500), *Trip and Goe, Hey* (anon. c.1530) and *All Sons of Adam* (anon. c.1540) are medleys of popular, and sometimes bawdy, verses in the manner of *fricassées*¹⁰⁰ and perhaps bear some resemblance to the 'three-men's songs' and carols sung at the English court.¹⁰¹ The first is associated with a significant date in the agricultural year, 'Plough Monday', the second would be suitable for performance at a Maying and the third is a Christmas

⁹⁷Freedman, 'Paris and the French Court', 191-2; Helena M. Shire and Kenneth Elliot, 'La Fricassée en Écosse et ses rapports avec les Fêtes de la Renaissance', in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (3 vols. Paris 1956, 1960, 1965), i, 335-45.

⁹⁸Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 460-1.

⁹⁹Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 288-323.

¹⁰⁰Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 67-70; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 119-26; Elliot and Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 15, 21. *The Pleugh Sang* and *All Sons of Adam* are printed in *MB*, xv, 141-7, 152-4; *Trip and Goe, Hey* is printed in Kenneth Elliot, 'Trip and Goe, Hey: "A Truly Scottish Song"', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 153-178.

¹⁰¹David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 73.

song. May Day and Christmas were certainly celebrated at the Scottish court¹⁰² and it is possible that *The Pleugh Sang* was used in a theatrical parody of rural life presented there.¹⁰³ According to Kenneth Elliot, John Fethy's *O God Abuse* displays the influence of Josquin, perhaps acquired when on his travels in the early decades of the sixteenth century,¹⁰⁴ and there is a scholarly consensus that songs such as *Richt Soir Opprest* (anon), *O Lusty May* (anon) and *Deperte, Deperte* (words, and possibly music also, by Alexander Scott, c.1547)¹⁰⁵ were inspired by the style of Claudin; indeed *Support your Servand* is a Scottish version of Marot's *Sécourez moy ma dame*, a poem which was set to music by Claudin.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the process of assimilating the Franco-Italian fashion for lute songs, consorts of viols and dances such as the pavane and galliard can also be traced at the English court of the same period.¹⁰⁷

It is easy to see how the French influence could have been exerted on Scottish music, since there were many diplomatic and trading links between the two countries.¹⁰⁸ After 1528 French music could travel as easily and cheaply as any other printed text,

¹⁰²See below pp. 173-6.

¹⁰³Its form and style are too courtly and technically involved for it to be credibly categorised as a popular song, although it clearly incorporates folk traditions: Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 119-20.

¹⁰⁴Kenneth Elliot, 'sir John Fethy', in Sadie (ed.), *New Grove Dictionary*, vi, 511; idem, 'Trip and Goe, Hey', 153.

¹⁰⁵*Musica Scotica*, ii, 86-90, 75-9, 17-19. An Alexander Scott was a member of the Scottish Chapel Royal in 1539 and a man of the same name, who was a musician and organist, was appointed canon of the Augustinian Priory of Inchmahome in 1548 and organist of the Augustinian Abbey of Inchaffray by 1560: see John MacQueen, 'Biography of Alexander Scott', in D. J. McClure (ed.), *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue* (Aberdeen, 1983), 52-3. Some of Scott's later poems were also set to music.

¹⁰⁶Elliot and Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 21-3; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 123-7; Elliot, 'Trip and Goe, Hey', 153. *MB*, xv, 158-9. The music of *Support your Servand* is original even if the words are not.

¹⁰⁷Stevens, *Early Tudor Court*, 108. The cultural exchange between the English and French courts was very strong in the period and was boosted by such events as the Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520: Paul Kast, 'Remarques sur la musique et les musiciens de la chapelle de François Ier au camp du drap d'or' and Hugh Baillie, 'Les musiciens de la chapelle royale d'Henri VIII au camp du drap d'or', both in Jacquot (ed.), *Fêtes de la Renaissance*, ii, 135-46 & 147-59. Some influence may also have been exerted on the music of the English court by the visit of Charles V in 1522: Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 109-10.

¹⁰⁸See Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse* (2 vols, London, 1862), i; Teulet, *Rélations* etc.

since a Parisian printer, Pierre Attaignant, developed a technique for printing musical notation in one impression rather than in multiple impressions (which had been the earlier approach). As a result, Attaignant built up a flourishing music-publishing business and in 1529 was granted a Parisian monopoly by Francis I, who appointed him his official printer in 1537. Attaignant published the works of Claudin, Certon and Janequin, as well as the French metrical psalms of Marot, and his books were in demand all over Europe.¹⁰⁹ Some of them may have arrived in Scotland in the baggage of Thomas de Averencia, Queens Madeleine or Mary, Jacques Columbelle or James V himself, who seems to have indulged in a spending spree whilst in Paris for his first wedding¹¹⁰ and may even have visited the Attaignant workshop in the Rue de la Harpe. It is known that James purchased books whilst in France but there is no indication of their titles.¹¹¹ It is quite likely that James met Certon or Claudin for they both held posts in Francis I's chapel royal and in La Sainte-Chapelle (the chapel of the Palais de Justice on the Ile de la Cité, in the great hall of which palace the wedding supper was held) and they (along with Attaignant) had close connections to Jean, Cardinal of Lorraine, in whose Parisian residence, the Hôtel de Cluny, James was lodged for a while.¹¹² He certainly came into contact with their collaborator, Marot, who wrote a *Chant nuptial du Roy d'Écosse et de Madame Magdelene Première Fille de France* to celebrate the wedding.¹¹³ He also met the young Ronsard, who went to Scotland as a page with Queen Madeleine, and was possibly employed by

¹⁰⁹Fenlon, 'Music and Society', and Freedman, 'Paris and the French Court' in Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance*, 47-8, 181, 184-7. Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 460. In 1529 Attaignant printed a volume of lute songs, in 1530 two volumes of dances including basses-dances, branles, pavaues and galliards, and in 1531 several volumes of keyboard music for organ, spinet and clavichord: Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 557-8, 563-4.

¹¹⁰*L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 916.

¹¹¹*TA*, vii, 17, 19.

¹¹²Freedman, 'Paris and the French Court', 180-1; *Cronique du Roy François*, 202-4; Teulet, *Relations*, 107-8. The Cardinal was also one of the witnesses to the marriage contract: Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'The Auld Alliance in Iconography and Literature', 277, citing BL Harley MS 1244, fos. 159r,-163v. & Add. MS 30666, fos. 204r.-207v.

¹¹³Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'The Auld Alliance in Iconography and Literature', 279-80.

James himself for a year or so after her death.¹¹⁴ James had earlier visited Lyons, which was also a cultural centre of major importance, with a flourishing printing trade, thriving musical life and very strong Italian influences.¹¹⁵ He seems to have had his portrait painted whilst in this city,¹¹⁶ and may have bought some music here too. Given all these intimate contacts with the poets and musicians of the French court it seems highly likely that the influential French *chanson*-style entered Scotland through the court of James V at this time.

If France was the model for developments in secular (and particularly chamber) music of the period, Flanders and England took the lead in sacred music and strongly influenced the liturgical music of the Scottish court.¹¹⁷ Flemish influence was exerted on the Scottish church by Mary of Guelders, Queen of James II, and through the many diplomatic and trading links to the Netherlands. Mary introduced the Observant Franciscans to the realm and they became established as an order particularly associated with royal patrons. She also founded Trinity College, Edinburgh, a religious house that still had very strong links to the royal court at the time of James V.¹¹⁸ The English influence also operated through diplomatic exchange; however it was exerted most strongly through the person of Queen Margaret Tudor (d. 1541), who retained at least one English musician in her service after her marriage to James IV.¹¹⁹ The Flemish school of Pierre de la Rue and Nicolas Gombert specialised in

¹¹⁴Sec chapter 2.

¹¹⁵Frank Dobbins, 'Lyons: Commercial and Cultural Metropolis' in Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance*, 197-215. Music was published in Lyons between 1532 and 1547 by Jacques Moderne, who was originally from Istria: *ibid.* 207.

¹¹⁶Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'The Auld Alliance in Iconography and Literature', 276-7.

¹¹⁷Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 69.

¹¹⁸Michael Lynch, 'Scottish Culture in its Historical Perspective', in Paul H. Scott (ed.), *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 30; David McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', *JR*, x (1959), 91-96; Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as Cultural Intermediary between Town and Court', in Jan Willem Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995), 302, 304, 306.

¹¹⁹*TA*, ii, 412, 428, 460, 472.

writing dense and complex polyphony, which utilised intricate melodies with long phrases presented in a uniform texture and continuous flow of music. This contrasted with the French preference for clearly defined sections and the use of repetition.¹²⁰ Marian works were particularly popular and there was also a tradition at the Burgundian court of the Valois Dukes and their Habsburg successors of composing masses based on the popular melody, *L'homme armé*. This theme was closely associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece and the crusading ideal.¹²¹ At the English court, the sacred works of William Cornish, Robert Fairfax and John Taverner also involved complex and extended polyphony, and English choirs specialised in very high, virtuosic treble lines. Here it was common to take a section from an antiphon (particularly a Marian antiphon) to form the motif for a mass, although one secular melody, 'The Western Wind', was also used as the basis for masses by Taverner, Tye and Sheppard.¹²²

Unfortunately, very little Scottish sacred music survived the Reformation and so it is possible that the extant fragments do not present a fair picture of the early sixteenth-century repertoire. However, the available sources are quite suggestive. The most extensive oeuvre is that of Robert Carver, alias Arnot (c.1484/5-c.1568), whose known works are contained in the *Scone Antiphonary*, also known as the *Carver Choirbook*.¹²³ It is possible that Robert Carver was the son of David Carver who was working on the gallery, loft and ceiling of the Stirling chapel royal between 1497 and 1504.¹²⁴ If these men were related, it would be reasonable to explain the use of the alias by supposing that the family was from the kindred of Arnot and that Carver was

¹²⁰Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 343-8; Picker, 'Habsburg Courts', 229.

¹²¹Barbara Hagg, 'Music and Liturgy' in Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens (ed.), *L'ordre de la Toison d'or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?* (Brussels, 1996), 186; Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts', 223.

¹²²Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 778-9; Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 233-9, 251-8.

¹²³NLS Adv. MS 5.1.15. Carver's known output is published in *Musica Scotica*, i.

¹²⁴*TA*, i, 357, 364; *ibid*, ii, 318, 429. The James Carver who helped to construct the organ for the chapel of Linlithgow palace in 1512 may have been related too: *TA*, iv, 275.

applied as an occupational surname.¹²⁵ Robert Carver may have engaged in the family business for a while, since a Robert Arnot, burgess of Stirling, held a series of local offices including master of works at the parish church of the Holy Rude between 1519 and 1529 and his name appears in the Stirling records between 1516 and 1551.¹²⁶ Carver had possibly entered the University of Louvain in 1504; he was a canon of Scone from around 1511-13 and a canon of the chapel royal from 1543; his name appears in Scone documents until 1568.¹²⁷ In addition to five masses and two motets by him, the *Carver Choirbook* contains a copy of Dufay's mass, *L'homme armé*, and works by Cornish, Fairfax and other English composers. The Flemish and English influence on Carver is thus made explicit in this manuscript, which includes his own *L'homme armé* mass and settings of *Gaude Flore Virginali* and *O Bone Jesu*, both of which texts had been used by Fairfax as motifs for two of his masses.¹²⁸ Carver's works are difficult to date accurately but three of the masses and the two motets were probably written between c.1506 and 1513, and the remaining two masses probably date from the mid 1540s although one of these, *Fera Pessima*, may be from the 1520s.¹²⁹ The gap in output probably indicates that a portion of the manuscript has been lost, rather than the existence of a thirty-year crisis in Scottish music.¹³⁰ It has been argued that the musical life of the chapel royal was at a low ebb in the 1520s and the political upheavals of the minority would make this a likely proposition, but this

¹²⁵Another possibility is that Robert was an illegitimate son of David Arnot, Bishop of Galloway and Dean of the chapel royal between 1508 and 1526, and was adopted/fostered by David Carver of Stirling: Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 85.

¹²⁶Isobel Woods, 'Towards a Biography of Robert Carvor [sic]', *The Music Review*, vol. 49, no. 2 (May 1989), 90-96. Kenneth Elliot doubts whether this can be the same man because he imagines that a cleric attached to the chapel royal would be of too high a status to engage in such activities (*Musica Scotica*, vol. i, p.v), however it is known that at least two others (Master John Scrymgeour and sir James Nicholson) also acted as masters of works: see Appendix A.

¹²⁷Woods, 'Towards a Biography', 86-96; *Musica Scotica*, i, xi. If he did study in Louvain, this would explain the Flemish influence on his work.

¹²⁸Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 258.

¹²⁹Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 90. However, Elliot suggests a different chronology in *Musica Scotica*, vol. i, p. vii-ix.

¹³⁰The fact that the mass, *Pater Creator Omnium*, is lacking its first page makes this explanation seem likely: Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 43; Elliot and Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 20.

could hardly have been the case during the 1530s when the cultural life of the Scottish court, including its secular music, was so vibrant.¹³¹ The choirbook may have been copied for the chapel royal or for Scone,¹³² but it seems more likely that the chapel royal would have been able to muster the forces necessary to perform the mass *Dum Sacrum Mysterium*, which is scored for ten parts, or the motet *O Bone Jesu*, which is scored for nineteen, including eleven tenors.¹³³ Tentative suggestions have been put forward for royal occasions for which some of the pieces may have been written but they remain entirely speculative.¹³⁴

¹³¹Isobel Woods has traced the clerics of the chapel royal through the chance references in a variety of sources and taken the number of references to be an indication of the level of activity there over time: 'Towards a Biography', 97-101. This approach yields the suggestions that 'highs' occurred in 1501-4, 1506-12, 1531, 1542-51, 1554 and 1566 and some of these can be explained by events such as the foundation in 1501-4, Mary of Guise's residence there in the 1540s and the baptism of Prince Charles James in 1566. However, an absence of references during the 1520s and most of the 1530s can hardly be considered proof of a decline, since it may be a chance reading due to the uneven survival of sources. It may also indicate a period of stability (which might be taken as a good sign) in the personnel of the chapel, since many of the references Woods has noted are appointments to benefices from the *Register of the Privy Seal*.

¹³²The abbey of Scone was also within the royal orbit, since the abbot, Alexander Stewart, was of the royal kin (he was the duke of Albany's illegitimate half-brother) and after his death on 19 Dec. 1537, the temporalities were in crown hands until his successor, Patrick Hepburn, received possession on 9 Nov 1538: A. L. Murray, 'The Revenues of the Bishopric of Moray in 1538', *IR*, 19 (1968), 40-3.

¹³³Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 29-33, 35-39. Woods, 'Towards a Biography', 88, 97; Kenneth Elliot, 'Robert Carver' in Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary*, iii, 842. Experience of performing Carver's works has convinced James Ross that he must have had access to some virtuosic singers, particularly altos and tenors: *Musick Fyne*, 14-15, 60.

¹³⁴The *L'homme armé* mass has obvious connotations of chivalric and crusading ideals and has been associated with James IV and dated c.1506 or c.1509: Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 20-24; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 88. However, stylistic analysis has led to a possible alternative date of c.1520, which might suggest associations with Albany: Kenneth Elliot, 'Robert Carver', 843. The untitled six-part mass uses fanfare-type figures and may have been written for the launch of the *Great Michael* in October 1511: Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 87; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 27-8. The mass *Dum Sacrum Mysterium* was originally written for the feast of St. Michael, possibly in 1506, 1508 or 1511 and may have been recycled for James V's coronation in September 1513: Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 88-90; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 30-1; Elliot, 'Robert Carver', 842; Woods, 'Towards a Biography', 85. The motets *Gaude Flore Irginali* and *O Bone Jesu* seem to belong to Carver's 'early maturity' and the latter, with its nineteen parts, may have been intended for the nineteenth anniversary of James IV's accession (1507) or perhaps for Queen Margaret's nineteenth birthday (1508): Elliot, 'Robert Carver', 843; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 34-9. Elliot considers the mass *Fera Pessima* to be from the mid-1520s ('Robert Carver', 843) but Ross and Woods date it to the mid-1540s: Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 45-50; Woods, 'Towards a Biography', 95. The mass *Pater Creator Omnium* may have been for the acquisition of collegiate status by the church of the Holy Rude in Stirling in 1546: Woods, 'Towards a Biography', 94.

It is possible that Carver also wrote some of the unattributed pieces and fragments in the choirbook but no firm conclusions may be drawn from these.¹³⁵ It has been suggested that he was responsible for the anonymous mass, *Cantate Domino*, which appears in the *Dunkeld Antiphonary*, also known as the *Dowglas/Fischar part book*, alongside copies of works by Josquin and Willaert. If this was the case, it is an example of a mature and accomplished work.¹³⁶ The *Dowglas/Fischar* manuscript also contains another anonymous Scottish mass, *Felix Namque*, which seems to be from the pen of a composer working in a rather different idiom from Carver, that is, one strongly influenced by Josquin. It is likely that this piece was by David Peebles (fl.1530-76), a canon of St. Andrews Priory.¹³⁷ He is the only composer of his generation who can be linked to the court of James V with any certainty, for his beautiful motet, *Si quis diligit me*, was presented to the king in c.1530, according to Thomas Wood, who copied it into his part books after the Reformation. Wood preserved it as an example of the work of one of the foremost Scottish composers, despite the fact that it was written for the catholic church.¹³⁸ The motet, *Descendi in hortum meum* (c.1520), which is also influenced by Josquin, was possibly by Peebles too, but another candidate might be Robert Johnson of Duns (c.1500-c.1560), a Scottish musician who fled to England when he came under suspicion of heresy, sometime in the late 1520s or early 1530s.¹³⁹ All of Johnson's known works appear in English sources and he may have had an impact on the works of Sheppard and other English composers, but it is unclear to what extent his works were familiar to Scots before the Reformation.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 51-2.

¹³⁶Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 51-54; *Musica Scotica*, vol. i, p. ix-x.

¹³⁷Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 75-80; Elliot and Rimmer, *History of Scottish Music*, 20.

¹³⁸*MB*, xv, 111-4; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 65-71; Elliot, 'David Peebles', in Sadie (ed.) *The Grove Dictionary*, xiv, 333; Elliot and Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 19.

¹³⁹*MB*, xv, 103-5; Elliot and Rimmer, *History of Scottish Music*, 19; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 95-7.

¹⁴⁰Farmer, *A History of Music*, 112-3; Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 298; Elliot, 'Robert Johnson', in *The Grove Dictionary*, ix, 680.

The composers and performers of sacred music were particularly vulnerable to the pressures arising from the Reformation. In England both John Taverner and John Merbecke came under suspicion of heresy for a time and Thomas Tallis found his abbey at Waltham dissolved around him in 1540.¹⁴¹ There were similar problems in Scotland too: the first Scottish martyr, Patrick Hamilton, may have been a composer¹⁴² and, as we have seen, Robert Johnson went into exile for religious reasons.¹⁴³ If Thomas Wood's comments can be relied upon, David Peebles was dismayed at the rejection of the works he had written for Catholic worship and also found the restrictions imposed upon those composing for the reformed church to be burdensome.¹⁴⁴ Even Robert Carver, a master of florid polyphony, seems to have made some attempt to alter his style in response to the winds of religious change, since his mass, *Pater Creator Omnium* (1546), is a much simpler, more chordal and syllabic setting than any of his other works.¹⁴⁵ This may have been because he was writing for the limited choral forces of Stirling's parish church of the Holy Rude;¹⁴⁶ or possibly because he was responding to views such as those expressed by Robert Richardson, a canon of Cambuskenneth, in his *Exegesis in canonem divi Augustini* (Paris, 1530). In this tract Richardson (who later became a protestant) decries the use of elaborate polyphony in acts of worship because it obscures the words of the liturgy and may serve the glory of composers and performers rather than of God. He recommends the use of simple musical settings where the words may be clearly distinguished and the music serves to enhance the worship rather than the other way

¹⁴¹Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 268-9.

¹⁴²Hamilton was Precentor at St. Andrews, before his execution in 1528, and seems to have written a nine-part mass, *Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli eius*, which no longer survives: Peter Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton* (Edinburgh, 1857), 238. See also John Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers: the Less than Golden Legend', *IR*, xlv (1994), 10-18.

¹⁴³See above note 139.

¹⁴⁴Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 87-8.

¹⁴⁵*Musica Scotica*, i, 46-62; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 40-44; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 97.

¹⁴⁶Woods, 'Towards a Biography', 94.

around.¹⁴⁷ This is quite an early example of a view which influenced the development, or restriction, of sacred music in Germany from the 1520s, in England during the reign of Edward VI, and in Scotland after 1560, as well as the musical pronouncements of the Council of Trent in 1562.¹⁴⁸ However, by far the most damaging effect of religious fervour on the musical life of Scotland came from the destruction of catholic liturgical books and manuscripts at the Reformation, in which the greater part of the national musical heritage was lost.

The chapel royal at Stirling was clearly one of the centres of Scottish musical life before the Reformation. There had been a chapel in Stirling Castle from at least the twelfth century¹⁴⁹ but James III was the first king to plan the establishment of a collegiate chapel royal there. The model for his foundation was the English chapel royal of Edward IV and the plans were developed with the help of an English musician and court favourite, William Rogers. However, political difficulties prevented the implementation of the scheme¹⁵⁰ and the foundation eventually went ahead under James IV in 1501, as he was approaching marriage with an English princess. The building in which the chapel royal was housed within Stirling Castle no longer survives but the foundations of a chapel probably begun by James III and embellished by James IV have been detected beneath the existing structure which was constructed in 1594 for the baptism of Prince Henry.¹⁵¹ Although James V undertook a major building project within Stirling Castle (the construction of the palace block),¹⁵² the chapel royal seems to have received no more attention to its fabric than

¹⁴⁷Robertus Richardinus, *Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine*, ed. G. G. Couton (SHS, 1935), 80-1; Elliot and Rimmer, *History of Scottish Music*, 19-20; Farmer, *History of Music in Scotland*, 100; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 97.

¹⁴⁸David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990), 150-51; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 84-7; Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 448-50, 673-88, 781, 795-8.

¹⁴⁹Richard Fawcett, *Stirling Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1995), 17.

¹⁵⁰Norman Macdougall, 'Crown vs Nobility: the Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', in K. J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), 254-69.

¹⁵¹Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 28-32, 45-7.

¹⁵²See Chapter 3.

repairs to doors and stalls.¹⁵³ The endowments and staffing underwent some adjustment in the early years but by the end of the reign the college consisted of a dean (the Bishop of Galloway), sub-dean, sacrist, chanter or precentor, chancellor, treasurer, sub-chanter or master of the bairns and archdeacon, with a further eleven prebendaries and nine lesser canons, who were provided with incomes from the appropriated lands of several churches including Ayr, Crieff, Balmaclellan, Glenholm, Kells, Strathbran and Castellaw. There were also six boy choristers. This establishment was thus very similar in size to the Danish chapel royal, which consisted of eighteen singers in 1519.¹⁵⁴ The jurisdiction of the Dean/Bishop extended over the king, his household, all the royal residences throughout the kingdom and all the appropriated parishes.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, no list of the personnel of the chapel royal survives for the reign of James V,¹⁵⁶ although some members can be identified from scattered references in sources such as the *Register of the Privy Seal*.¹⁵⁷ At the end of this reign the senior officers included Andrew Durie, Bishop of Galloway and Dean, sir George Clapperton, Sub-Dean, and Master John Scrymgeour of Myris, Precentor, whilst among the prebendaries were Alexander Scott and Master Alexander Kyd.¹⁵⁸ All of these, except Scrymgeour, have been identified as poets¹⁵⁹ and their posts would have probably demanded also some skill in music, particularly singing.¹⁶⁰ Scrymgeour was the king's Master of Works and therefore concentrated on

¹⁵³*MW*, i. 106, 110, 228. However, it should be stressed that most of the Stirling building accounts have been lost, so some work on the chapel may have been undertaken.

¹⁵⁴Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 712-3.

¹⁵⁵I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976), 226-7; C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Grampian Club, 1882), xii-xliv; van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal', 299-301.

¹⁵⁶A list of the canons in January 1508 is in SRO MS E.34/1, fo. 6.

¹⁵⁷See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁸See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁹van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal', 303-04.

¹⁶⁰The Papal letter giving permission for the foundation in 1501 insisted that the prebendaries should be skilled in song: Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, xxxii. The cathedral at Dunkeld had a slightly smaller choir than the chapel royal but it is clear that here the prebendaries provided vicars to actually sing the services: *Rentale Dunkeldnse being Accounts of the Bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517) with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops' (A.D. 1483-1517)*, ed. and trans. R. K. Hannay (SHS, 1915), 320-31.

architectural interests but as Precentor he should have had some musical talent too.¹⁶¹ Shortly after James V's death sir John Fethy, the organist, and Robert Carver, the composer (see above), joined the college.¹⁶² We have very little information about the choirboys employed at Stirling, other than that they were usually six in number. Any of the sangsters of the chamber mentioned above may have been choristers of the chapel royal, indeed Knox described Richard Carmichael as such, and the sons of Jacques Columbello, the violar, who were at school in Stirling at the king's expense may also have been members of the establishment but there are no specific details in the sources.¹⁶³ If the English pattern was closely followed, one would expect the choristers to have been recruited from a wide geographical area on merit alone,¹⁶⁴ to have been taught Latin, liturgy and music, and to have been sent to university when their voices broke until some further preferment could be found for them.¹⁶⁵ At Wolsey's Cardinal College in the 1520s the boys were also given a courtly training similar to that provided for pages, which included waiting at table during formal meals, and some of James V's singing boys appear to have had similar duties.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹In most Scottish cathedrals and collegiate churches the precentor or chanter was usually in charge of the choir, responsible for choosing the music, keeping discipline and appointing the master of the sang school: Arthur Oldham, 'Scottish Polyphonic Music', *JR*, xiii (1962), 54. However, the office was not always exercised in person; sometimes the post was used as a sinecure and a deputy installed: Farmer, *Music in Scotland*, 96. Alexander Paterson seems to have been in charge of the music at the chapel royal in 1530, so perhaps he was Scrymgeour's deputy: Richardinus, *Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine*, 80-1. Patrick Hamilton, as Precentor at St. Andrews, seems to have been engaged in musical activities, see above.

¹⁶²Fethy was Precentor from at least 1545: *RSS*, iii, 1026; Carver was Prebendary of Ayr *sexto* from 13 July 1543: *RSS*, iii, 359.

¹⁶³See above.

¹⁶⁴Both Henry VIII and Francis I occasionally resorted to impressment, and even kidnap, to obtain the services of the most talented boys: Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 233-9; Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 458. In March 1539, two boys from Aberdeen were recruited for the chapel royal and clothes were provided for them by a servant of George Steel: *TA*, vii, 151.

¹⁶⁵Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 46, 319-25; Stevens, *Early Tudor Court*, 303-04. In the early sixteenth century boys' voices broke at about the age of eighteen, which meant that the treble part could be held by a relatively small number of experienced and powerful voices; whereas modern cathedral choirs could not sustain their activities with only six boys: Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 223-5.

¹⁶⁶Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 262; George Coutts, 'the boy that sings', was also a henchboy (*TA*, vi, 92-205) and Richard Carmichael had a place in the pantry (*ibid.*, viii, 100, 150).

What is not at all clear from the Scottish sources is the extent to which the staff of the chapel royal accompanied the king on his perambulations around the kingdom, or to what extent they were static at Stirling. Charles the Bold of Burgundy had permanent chapels at Dijon and Lille as well as the travelling ducal chapel, whilst Philip the Fair instituted a *petite chapelle* in 1501, which was intended to minister to his private devotions and was expected to perform only low mass.¹⁶⁷ Francis I also had two chapels: the *chapelle de musique*, which was capable of performing polyphonic settings of the mass and other services, and the chapel of plainchant, which conducted smaller, simpler services.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, Cardinal Wolsey's chapels made a distinction between chanters and polyphonists.¹⁶⁹ However, the main division in the chapel royal of Henry VIII, following the *Eltham Ordinances* of 1526, was between the chapel that travelled with him continually and the one that stayed in London.¹⁷⁰ There is a suggestion in Pitscottie that the Scottish chapel royal also had 'home' and 'away' teams¹⁷¹ but there is no indication in the surviving sources of how this might have been organised. James maintained chapels in all of his main residences and some of the minor ones,¹⁷² so a travelling chapel would have had access to appropriate facilities for most of the year. Each of these lesser chapels was provided with a permanent chaplain, who usually acted as keeper of the residence, but it is not clear if

¹⁶⁷Haggh, 'Music and Liturgy', 184-5; Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts', 221.

¹⁶⁸Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 458; Freedman, 'Paris and the French Court', 179.

¹⁶⁹Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 261.

¹⁷⁰Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 46-7, 323-5.

¹⁷¹Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 200.

¹⁷²The chapel of Holyrood palace was rebuilt in 1535-6; the chapel of Linlithgow palace had been built by James IV but underwent some refurbishment in 1535; the chapel of Falkland palace also dates from the reign of James IV and was extensively renovated between 1537 and 1541: see chapter two. At Edinburgh Castle, James maintained St. Margaret's chapel and the chapel of the Barres (under the South wall) but converted the church of St. Mary into a munitions house: Iain MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1993), 28-30, 54. At Stirling the old church of St. Mary continued in use even after the construction of the chapel royal: Fawcett, *Stirling Castle*, 45. There was also a chapel of St. Michael in Rothesay Castle: *ER*, xvi, 53; *ibid*, xvii, 472. In addition, James maintained chaplains at Restalrig, Cambuskenneth and Tain and took an interest in preferments at Trinity College and St. Giles, Edinburgh: see Appendix A.

these men were considered to be members of the chapel royal proper.¹⁷³ The 1508 bill of household lists twenty-four canons (with six unnamed choristers) of James IV's chapel royal and gives a separate list of nine chaplains of the closet, but no such lists exists for the reign of James V.¹⁷⁴ However, the records of 1528 to 1542 do contain scattered references to household chaplains, chaplains of the closet and king's orators, who perhaps formed the staff of the travelling chapel and assisted the king's private devotions (conducted within the small rooms leading off from the inner chambers of most of the royal residences, which were variously described as closets, oratories and studies).¹⁷⁵ These clerics seem to have been subject to the authority of the king's master almoner, and from 1535 this appointment was held by sir George Clapperton, who was also the sub-dean of the chapel royal. Such snippets of information as can be gleaned from the sources thus suggest some duplication of roles amongst the clergy within the orbit of the court and the tentacles of the chapel royal may therefore have extended much wider than is immediately apparent.

Whatever the day-to-day arrangements may have been for religious observance at court, it is clear that for the major feasts of Christmas and Easter and for state occasions the full chapel royal establishment was expected to be in attendance. Easter was usually celebrated at Stirling, so the court came to the chapel royal for this festival, but Christmas was usually kept at Holyrood¹⁷⁶ and payments were recorded

¹⁷³See Appendix A. Sir John Sharp, who was listed as chaplain and keeper of Holyrood palace between 1515 and 1538, was recorded as a prebendary of the chapel royal in 1508: *TA*, v, 13 - *ibid*, vi, 403; SRO, Bill of household, E.34/1, fo. 6. The lack of a staff list for the chapel royal of the 1530s prevents the investigation of any similar coincidences.

¹⁷⁴See Appendix C.

¹⁷⁵See Appendix A for the personnel and chapter 3 for the arrangement of the rooms. In the 1508 bill of James IV's household nine chaplains of the closet are listed separately from the prebendaries of the chapel royal; SRO, Bill of household, E.34/1, fo. 4 (see Appendix B). The list is headed by the master almoner who was also the provost of Lincluden. Only a few months later James IV wrote to the pope requesting the annexation of this benefice to the chapel royal but, although papal consent was given, the appropriation failed to take effect: *James IV Letters*, no. 156; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 227. James V employed successive provosts of Lincluden in the treasury.

¹⁷⁶See Appendix C.

to the sacristan of the chapel for transporting the relics, vestments and ornaments from Stirling for Yule and Uphaliday (Epiphany), and back again. The chapel graith was also sent to Edinburgh for the opening of Parliament in 1532, the reception of ambassadors at the ratification of the 1534 peace treaty with England, the planned entry of Queen Madeleine in 1537 and the coronation of Mary of Guise in 1540.¹⁷⁷ Both the chapel royal and the other religious foundations with royal connections seem to have been quite well provided with vestments and ornaments. The chapel royal inventory of 1505 lists several sets of richly embroidered vestments, altar cloths and hangings, silver plate, reliquaries and liturgical books, both printed and manuscript, which between them indicate that despite papal pressure to introduce the Roman rite into the new college, it was the Scottish variant of the Sarum use that was observed here. The inventory also includes three organs, one with wooden pipework and two of pewter or lead.¹⁷⁸ By January 1562 the chapel of Mary, Queen of Scots, was left with only handful of old vestment and altar-cloths, one parchment mass-book, one parchment antiphonal and a coffer.¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately no equivalent record survives for the 1530s; the items of chapel graith listed on the wardrobe inventories of 1539 and 1542/3 being sufficient only for the private altars of the king's and queen's oratories.¹⁸⁰ However, the king did purchase new items from time to time and present

¹⁷⁷*TA*, vi, 49, 50, 103, 214, 215, 279, 305, 442; *ibid*, vii, 131, 280, 297; *ibid*, viii, 46, 53. The box in which the most precious items were carried was known as 'the black kist'.

¹⁷⁸F. C. Eeles, 'The Inventory of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, 1505', *TSES*, iii (1909-10), 310-25. Impressive though this inventory may at first appear, with its preponderance of velvet and satin vestments embroidered with gold, the number of items listed is not very large; it includes only twenty copes and seventeen chasubles, whilst Magdalen College, Oxford, (which was not a royal foundation) held one hundred and fifty copes and one hundred chasubles in the 1520s. (Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 268).

¹⁷⁹Robertson, *Inventaires*, pp. cxli-cxlii & p. 59. See also *Miscellaneous Papers Principally Illustrative of Events in the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI*, ed. Andrew MacGeorge (Maitland Club, 1834), 9-12.

¹⁸⁰*Wardrobe Inventories*, 51, 58, 112. The king's oratory ornaments consisted of a cross, a bell, a receptacle for holy water, two candlesticks, two cruets, a case and patten for the host, all of silver, plus a set of purple vestments and linen for the altar. The queen's 'graith', brought to Scotland by Madeleine and kept for Mary, consisted of a cross with the Virgin and St. John, two candlesticks, a chalice and patten, two cruets, a great clamshell 'for ye lavatur' and a holy water vat, all of silver gilt, plus some black and scarlet vestments and altar cloths embroidered in gold. The queen's plate seems to have been the set purchased in France in 1537 for over a thousand francs: *TA*, vii, 36-7. There is

them to his clergy. Such purchases included a complete set of ornaments and vestments for the chapel of the Barres in February 1533 and four sets of vestments for the chapel royal at Easter of the same year, three sets of vestments for the chapel of Loretto in August 1534, a silver chalice and new vestments for the master almoner in 1535-6 and a complete set of plate and vestments for the chapel of the baby prince in October 1540.¹⁸¹ Shortly before James V's death there was an unseemly dispute between the dean and sacrist of the chapel royal over possession of the mitre and staff, presumably because these items were so valuable.¹⁸²

The liturgy observed by the chapel royal and other ecclesiastical foundations in pre-Reformation Scotland was a variant of the Sarum rite of medieval England, which had been adapted to suit national needs.¹⁸³ The Roman rite was also known in Scotland but does not seem to have been widely practised.¹⁸⁴ To the Sarum framework was added the veneration of local saints and shrines and the absorption of some aspects of religious observance from the Low Countries where, in the fifteenth century, the brand of popular piety known as the *devotio moderna* had developed. Such

also a possibility that James used a rosary to assist his private devotions since the following entry possibly refers to the purchase of such an item: 'Memorandum, deliverit to the Kingis grace ane pair of bedis of l. angell nobillis, gawdeit with ros nobillis', *TA*, vi, 467. That the rosary was a familiar devotional aid in Scotland at this time is clear from the fact that it features on the Fetternear Banner (c.1520) and that the king's printer, Thomas Davidson, included a woodcut illustrating the efficacy of the rosary as a form of prayer in his edition of Bellenden's translation of Boece (c.1540) and in the *Acts of Parliament* (1541). This is reproduced in David McRoberts, 'The Fetternear Banner', *IR*, 7 (1956), 77-8, fig.10.

¹⁸¹*TA*, vi, 93, 82, 200-01, 248, 278; *ibid*, vii, 396-7. The prince's chapel graith was provided from the plate acquired by the king on the forfeiture of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, with the addition of some newly embroidered hangings. These would have been in the care of the prince's master almoner, sir William Laing.

¹⁸²*ADCP*, 521-2.

¹⁸³David McRoberts, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy Illustrated by Surviving Documents', *TSES*, vol. xv, pt. 1 (1957), 24-40; James Galbraith, 'The Middle Ages', in Duncan B. Forrester and Douglas M. Murray (eds.), *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1984), 17-22.

¹⁸⁴In 1501 the Papal approval of the foundation of the chapel royal at Stirling included a hint that James IV might wish to consider introducing the Roman rite there but there was no compulsion: Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, p. xxxii & p. 3; Eeles, 'The Inventory of the Chapel Royal', 40. A Roman gradual was owned by Duncan Forrester of Garden, James IV's comptroller: McRoberts, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy', 32-3.

borrowings included the use of Sacrament Houses to store the reserved host (rather than the pyx suspended over the high altar, which was the English practice),¹⁸⁵ the adoption of the cult of the Holy Blood of Bruges,¹⁸⁶ the introduction of the Observant Franciscans,¹⁸⁷ and the use of the rosary to assist private devotions.¹⁸⁸ In the reign of James IV, Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen had attempted to rationalise and standardise 'the use of Scotland' but his efforts had been frustrated by the ease with which cheap liturgical books could be imported from abroad to undercut the official service-books produced by the fledgling Scottish printing trade.¹⁸⁹ This influx was disrupted only by the upheavals within the English church following Henry VIII's assertion of the Royal Supremacy in 1534, after which event French presses stopped producing books for the Sarum rite and English publications could be classed as heretical books banned by the Scottish Parliament.¹⁹⁰ However, instead of reverting to Elphinstone's grand plan, the Scottish church in the late 1530s and 1540s seems to have turned to the revised Roman rite developed by Cardinal Quignonez, since several examples of his work with Scottish provenance have survived from this period.¹⁹¹

Scottish shrines which received particular attention from the royal court in the time of James V included St. Ninian's at Whithorn, St. Duthac's at Tain, St. Adrian's on the

¹⁸⁵David McRoberts, 'Scottish Sacrament Houses', *TSES*, xv (1965), 33-56; idem, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy', 35; Galbraith, 'The Middle Ages', 20.

¹⁸⁶Galbraith, 'The Middle Ages', 20-1. There was an altar of the Holy Blood in St. Giles, Edinburgh: J. Cameron Lees, *St. Giles, Edinburgh: Church, College and Cathedral from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh and London, 1889), 90; and the Fetternear Banner may well have been made for the Confraternity of the Holy Blood c.1520, shortly after it had acquired a new altar and aisle within the church: McRoberts, 'The Fetternear Banner', 69-86. The religious processions organised by the burgh of Edinburgh were based on those of Bruges: *Edin. Recs.*, ii, 392.

¹⁸⁷See above p.153 and John Durkan, 'The Observant Franciscan Province in Scotland', *IR*, xxxv (1984), 51-7.

¹⁸⁸David McRoberts, 'The Rosary in Scotland', *IR*, xxiii (1972), 81-6.

¹⁸⁹McRoberts, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy', 31-37; Galbraith, 'The Middle Ages', 23-9.

¹⁹⁰McRoberts, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy', 39; *APS*, ii, 295, 341-2. It may be significant that the Act of 1525 which outlawed the importation into Scotland of heretical texts was repeated in 1535, shortly after the English king's break with Rome.

¹⁹¹McRoberts, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy', 37-9; idem, 'Some Sixteenth-Century Scottish Breviaries and their place in the History of the Scottish Liturgy', *IR*, iii (1952), 43-6; idem, 'Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', *IR*, iii (1952), 59-60.

Isle of May and that of the Virgin of Loretto near Musselburgh. The king made regular pilgrimages and offerings to each of these sites throughout his adult reign. He visited Whithorn in November 1529,¹⁹² July 1532,¹⁹³ June 1533¹⁹⁴ and August 1536.¹⁹⁵ He went to Tain in March and April 1534,¹⁹⁶ November and December 1535¹⁹⁷ and September 1537¹⁹⁸ and kept a relic of St. Duthac set in silver.¹⁹⁹ He sailed to the Isle of May in May 1538²⁰⁰ and August 1539 (on the latter occasion accompanied by Mary of Guise)²⁰¹ and owned a relic of St. Adrian set in silver gilt.²⁰² James walked to Loretto in August 1536 shortly before setting out on his voyage to France²⁰³ and he made offerings to the Virgin of Loretto in April and May 1537²⁰⁴ when on his return journey. Mary of Guise also walked to Loretto in August 1542²⁰⁵

¹⁹²SRO, Household Book, E.31/3, fo. 25v. He was there on Thurs 11 and Fri 12 Nov.

¹⁹³SRO, Household Book, E.32/2, fo. 119v. He made a tour of the south west between Tue 2 and Mon 15 July, leaving Edinburgh for Biggar, Castle Crawford, Dumfries, Dundrennan Abbey and Whithorn Priory; and returned to Linlithgow via Glenluce Abbey, Arstinchquhar [?], Blairquhan, Ayr, Irvine and Glasgow.

¹⁹⁴SRO, Household Book, E.31/4, fo. 87r. The pilgrimage occurred between Wed 11 and Thurs 19 June, when the king left Glasgow for Ayr, Wigton, Whithorn and Dumfries and returned to Stirling. Thurs 12 June was the feast of Corpus Christi.

¹⁹⁵SRO, Household Book, E.32/5, fo. 118v. The king landed at Whithorn on Fri 4 Aug having embarked at Pittenweem on Sun 23 June and sailed to the Northern and Western Isles. He did not stay long but headed for Stirling straight away.

¹⁹⁶TA, vi, 211 states that James was at St. Duthac's on 28 Mar. SRO, Household Book, E.31/5, 45v. & 99v. locates the king at St. Duthac's on 23 April.

¹⁹⁷SRO, Household Book, E.32/5, fos. 26v.-36r. The king left his household in Stirling whilst he headed for Falkland, Fendraucht, Dundee, Montrose and Tain between Tue 2 Nov and Sat 4 Dec.

¹⁹⁸He is specifically recorded at Tain on Fri 14 and Fri 21 Sep: SRO, Household Book, E.32/6, fo. 121r.; E.31/7, fo. 108r. but the royal household was left in Edinburgh whilst the king was away in the north-east (during which time he visited Dunkeld, Atholl, Badenoch, Ruthven, Tain, Inverness, Glamis, Elgin, Aberdeen, Dunnottar, Brechin, Montrose, Dundee, Cupar, Falkland, Perth, Stirling and Linlithgow) between Sun 2 Sep and Fri 9 Nov: See Appendix C. This relentless itinerary may have been the king's way of coping with the death of his first wife.

¹⁹⁹TA, vi, 248. Two or three of the Tain prebends were royal presentations: see John Durkan, 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', *IR*, xiii (1962), 147-56.

²⁰⁰SRO, Household Book, E.31/7, 60r. He sailed from Leith on Thurs 9 May heading for the Isle of May and Dunbar in the *Salamander*.

²⁰¹SRO, Household Book, E.31/8, fo. 99v.-100r. They sailed there from a Fife port on Sun 24 Aug and may have stayed as long as four days.

²⁰²TA, vii, 395-6. A relic of St. Mahago was also set in gilt at the same time.

²⁰³SRO, Household Book, E.32/5, fo. 120v. The source specifically states *Rex pedestre peregrinavit* rather than *equitavit* which is the term usually employed to describe his movements.

²⁰⁴TA, vi, 299; *ibid*, vii, 24.

²⁰⁵Leslie, *History*, ii, 253. She may have been accompanied by Lord James Stewart, one of the king's sons, since he also visited Loretto at about the same time: SRO, Household Book, E.32/8, fo. 125r.

and made provision to have offerings given to the shrines of St. Trygian (Ninian) and St. Adrian in the event of her death in childbirth.²⁰⁶ James's and Mary's devotion to Scottish shrines continued a custom established by James's father, who was also a regular pilgrim at Whithorn, Tain and May.²⁰⁷ However, the shrine at Loretto was a new one, established in about 1533 by Thomas Doughtie, a hermit who brought to Scotland relics from the shrine of Loretto in Italy, whither the house of the Virgin Mary was said to have been transported from the Holy Land by angels.²⁰⁸ The royal patronage accorded to this new venture was therefore instrumental in establishing the credibility and popularity of this cult, which was particularly resented by the reformers. Knox regarded Doughtie as a charlatan and the shrine as an abomination, which meant that he therefore considered James V and Mary of Guise to have been either dupes or willing collaborators in wickedness.²⁰⁹ The other newly established cult of the reign of James V was that of the True Cross at Peebles, which was ratified by Archbishop Gavin Dunbar in 1530.²¹⁰ This site also received some royal patronage, since James regularly hunted in the area from his lodge at Cramalt Tower, and this was another shrine which would have received an offering of wax in the event of Mary's death.²¹¹

Another indication of the piety fostered within the court was the king's patronage of certain religious orders and foundations. Like his great-grandmother and father, James V was a notable supporter of the Observant Franciscans, but he also took an interest in the development of Trinity College, Edinburgh, the Collegiate Church at Restalrig, the convent of Sciennes and the abbey of Cambuskenneth. The Observant Franciscans

²⁰⁶*Balcarres Papers*, i, 78-9.

²⁰⁷Macdougall, *James IV*, 196-9; Denis McKay, 'The four heid pilgrimages of Scotland', *IR*, xix (1968), 76-7.

²⁰⁸*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 17.

²⁰⁹Knox, *History*, i, 75.

²¹⁰Robert Renwick, *A Peebles Aisle and Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1893), 82-3.

²¹¹See Appendix C; *Balcarres Papers*, i, 78-9.

entered Scotland in the mid-fifteenth century and expanded with the support of Mary of Guelders.²¹² In 1494 James IV founded the house at Stirling, which he maintained with gifts of cash and provisions and to which he would retreat at Easter for a period of spiritual renewal.²¹³ This foundation has English parallels in the foundation of a house of Observant Franciscans at Greenwich by Edward IV in 1478 and there was also a friary at Richmond Palace.²¹⁴ James V continued to make regular gifts to the Stirling Greyfriars²¹⁵ and at one point took his confessor²¹⁶ from amongst them but, although he usually spent Easter at Stirling, there is no evidence that he continued the custom of regular retreats. There were probably close contacts between the Stirling friary and the chapel royal too, but only one definite link can be established: Alexander Paterson, who was sacristan of the chapel royal in the 1530s, became warden of the Stirling Observants in 1544.²¹⁷ Trinity College, Edinburgh, was still

²¹²W. Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Greyfriars* (2 vols. Edinburgh and London, 1909). vol. i. p. vii; Durkan, 'The Observant Franciscan Province', 51-7.

²¹³It is possible that a famous Scottish religious poem was originally written for one of James IV's retreats to the Stirling friary: A. A. MacDonald, 'Catholic Devotion into Protestant Lyric: The Case of *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris*', *IR*, xxxv (1984), 58-83; Bryce, *Scottish Greyfriars*, i. 62-66, 369.

²¹⁴Starkey, 'The Friar's Church: Christening and Marriage', in idem (ed.), *A European Court*, 26.

²¹⁵Bryce, *Scottish Greyfriars*, i, 76-80, 93-4, 370, 372, 374; *TA*, v, 430; *ibid*, vi, 32; *ER*, xiv, 39, 40, 41; *ibid*, xv, 465; *ibid*, xvii, 597, 598, 599. Many other friaries also received occasional donations.

²¹⁶The office of king's confessor is a difficult one to detect. There are only three people referred to in such a role for the reign of James V, two of whom were friars. Alexander Seton, a Dominican friar, seems to have acted as the king's confessor in the early 1530s. Seton came under suspicion of heresy and fled to England where he served as a chaplain in the household of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, for several years before his death in 1542: Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, *The Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surename of Seyton* (Maitland Club, 1829), 115-28; Knox, *Works*, i, 47-9, 54; S. J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c.1484-1545* (Oxford, 1988), 161, 164; Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 81-2; John Durkan, 'Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *RSCHS*, xxi (1982), 141-42. An unnamed Franciscan served as the king's confessor in September 1531 but was not recorded on any other occasion: 'Item, the xxiiij day of September, for ane hors hyre to ane grey friar of Striveling, the Kingis confessor, to ryde to Sanct Andros to heir the Kingis confessioun at the pardone - xiiij s. Item, to mak thair expens, and Robenen Purves that raid with thame to Sanct Andros - xx s. Item, deliverit to Robart Purves to mak their expens agane to Striveling - xl s.' (*TA*, vi, 32). The entry seem confused as to the number of friars involved. The 'pardone' was the triennial indulgence granted to pilgrims at St. Andrews on the feast of St. Michael and the octave thereof: David McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St. Andrew', in idem (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews* (Glasgow, 1976), 94-5. Finally, according to Knox, William Laing, who served as master almoner to the short-lived Prince James in 1540-1, was also a chaplain and confessor to the king prior to the boy's birth: Knox, *Works*, i, 74-5. Knox calls him a friar but he is only listed as sir William Laing in the household accounts (see Appendix A).

²¹⁷*TA*, vi, 214; *ibid*, viii, 46; Bryce, *Scottish Greyfriars*, i, 452.

being built in the 1530s, with royal approval, and a cleric prominent at the court, sir George Clapperton (see above) was appointed Provost in 1540.²¹⁸ The collegiate church at Restalrig was a foundation of James III but James V still maintained at least two of the prebends there, the chaplain of St. Triduana and the chaplain of the King's Wark at Leith, who were to pray for the souls of James III and James IV.²¹⁹ They were both supported with an income generated by the King's Wark, which was a property built by James I, part of which seems to have been used as a warehouse for storing supplies for the royal household which landed at Leith, and part of which was probably rented out.²²⁰ The nuns of Sciennes received a pension from the king throughout the adult reign but it is not clear why they should have been singled out for such special favour.²²¹ Cambuskenneth was the burial place of Queen Margaret of Denmark and King James III, and James V continued his father's practice of maintaining a chaplain there to pray for the souls of his departed ancestors.²²² Abbot Alexander Mylne was also prominent at court, serving as an auditor of exchequer and casualty, administrator of the lands of the prior of St. Andrews and the abbot of

²¹⁸*Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Edinburgh, 1143-1540*, ed. J. D. Marwick (SBRS, 1871), 209-10; *idem*, *The History of the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, 1460-1661* (SBRS, 1911), 26-9; RSS, ii, 3146. See also George Hay, 'The Architecture of Scottish Collegiate Churches', in G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honor of Ronald Gordon Cant* (Edinburgh, 1974), 63; Iain MacIvor, 'The King's Chapel at Restalrig and St. Triduana's Aisle: A Hexagonal two-storied Chapel of the Fifteenth Century', *PSAS*, xcvi (1962-3), 247-262. The king visited Restalrig on 6 Aug 1532 and made an offering of 20 shillings: *TA*, vi, 33.

²¹⁹Between 1524 and 1532 sir Walter Gray received the income as chaplain of St. Triduana: *ER*, xv, 93, 200, 286, 379, 459, 532, 544; *ibid*, xvi, 133, 173, 293. In 1532 sir John Learmonth resigned as prebendary of the King's Wark in Leith in favour of sir William Turner: RSS, ii, 1143. Turner received the revenue in 1536 (*ER*, xvi, 480K), 1538 (*ibid*, xvii, 170) and in 1540 the king and his officers were said to have been occupying the house (*ibid*, xvii, 283). In 1541 the same incident is mentioned again when he was paid compensation of £10 because certain houses were intruded with by men of the royal cellar and larder when the Queen entered Leith: *MW*, i, 290.

²²⁰*ER*, xvii, 170, 283, 741n.; *RC4HMS, Edinburgh*, 266.

²²¹*TA*, v, 429, 430; *ibid*, vi, 32, 200; *ibid*, vii, 198, 473; *ibid*, viii, 99. James V also supported the convent's request for Papal ratification of their annexation of the hospital of St. Laurence, Haddington, in 1532: *James V's Letters*, 232-3.

²²²Sir James Inglis is recorded as the king's chaplain at Cambuskenneth from c.1522 to 1542: *TA*, v, 199, 438; *ibid*, vi, 48, 447; *ibid*, vii, 200, 479; *ibid*, viii, 107. He is not to be confused with James Inglis, Commendator of Culross, who was also at court and was murdered in 1531: *James V's Letters*, 164, 190.

Holyrood (two of the king's illegitimate and underage sons) and first president of the college of justice on its foundation in 1532.²²³ Cambuskenneth and other Augustinian houses also maintained links with the chapel royal.²²⁴ Other religious houses with close royal connections included those held by the king's illegitimate sons (the priories of St. Andrews and Coldingham and the abbeys of Holyrood, Melrose and Kelso) and the charterhouse of Perth, which had been founded by James I, became the burial place of Queen Margaret Tudor in 1541 and numbered another royal bastard amongst its monks.²²⁵

In all of these examples of royal patronage of religious foundations, James V seems to have been acting out of conventional rather than convictional piety and indeed much of his patronage served personal and political purposes rather than spiritual ones. Similar motives may also have influenced his response to the spread of Lutheranism, which was rather an ambiguous one. James seems to have favoured a group of men within his household who would later become known as reformers and to have encouraged some criticism of ecclesiastical corruption and 'sleaze'.²²⁶ At the same time he also patronised those of the opposite persuasion, exacerbated some abuses by his blatant misuse of his powers of nomination to benefices, and allowed heresy

²²³*TA*, vi, 1-468 etc.; *ER*, xvi, 127, 165, 225, 286, 302, 356, 402, 447 etc.; *MW*, i, 55-234; *RMS*, iii, 2611; *James V Letters*, 399. For Mylne see also John MacQueen, 'Alexander Myln, Bishop George Brown, and the Chapter of Dunkeld', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643. Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron* (Oxford, 1991), 349-60.

²²⁴The Augustinian priories of Restenneth and Inchmahome were intended to be annexed to the chapel royal by James IV (Cowan and Easson, *Religious Houses*, 226-7) and, as we have seen, Robert Carver was both a canon of Scone and a prebendary of the chapel royal and Alexander Scott was attached to Inchmahome, Inchaffray and the chapel royal (see above). The association of the Scottish Augustinian houses with musical developments was noticed by Mark Dilworth, 'Canons Regular and the Reformation', in MacDonald, Cowan and Lynch (eds.), *Renaissance in Scotland*, 170-71.

²²⁵See chapter 2 and Mary Black Verschuur, 'The Perth Charterhouse in the Sixteenth Century', *IR*, xxxix (1988), 1-11. Adam Stewart was not the prior of Perth but took a pension from the monastery.

²²⁶The 'proto protestants' included Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange (treasurer and sewer), John Maccall (or MacKaw, the poultry-man) and Sir John Melville of Raith (captain of Dunbar Castle). For their adherence to reform after the death of the king see Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 277-79. For the king's toleration (and even encouragement) of anti-clerical sentiment see the discussion of David Lindsay of the Mount and George Buchanan in chapter 5.

prosecutions to go ahead, sometimes attending in person.²²⁷ The king was present to observe a heresy trial at the abbey of Holyrood in August 1534 which resulted in the execution of two men (David Straiton and Master Norman Gourlay) and the abjuration or exile of several others. His interest on this occasion was probably aroused by the fact that one of the accused was of the royal blood, and an officer of the king: Sir James Hamilton of Kincavil, sheriff of Linlithgow, who was allowed to go into exile in France.²²⁸ The king was present at another Holyrood heresy trial in February-March 1539 when six men were burned on the Castle Hill (three friars named Lyn, Beveridge and Keillor; sir Duncan Simson, Thomas Forret and Robert Forrester). However, the king's concern was probably for Richard Carmichael (a chorister of the chapel royal) and George Buchanan (the tutor of one of the king's sons): Carmichael recanted and Buchanan fled.²²⁹ The stories of the martyrs of James V's reign are well known from Knox's account²³⁰ and do not need rehearsing here but the king's strategy seems to have been essentially a pragmatic one. This involved maintaining a stance as a loyal but embattled son of the church, in opposition to his heretic uncle of England, in order to exploit the wealth and power of the Scottish church for his own ends.²³¹ His successful extortion of concessions from the papacy extended to heavy taxation of the Scottish church (ostensibly for the foundation of the college of justice in 1532, but largely for the benefit of the royal coffers), the extension of the period during which the crown could benefit from the temporalities of vacant benefices from eight months to a year in 1535, and the presentation of the blessed cap and sword in 1537.

²²⁷J. H. Burns, 'The Political Background to the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625', in D. McRoberts (ed.), *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow, 1962), 6-9; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 47-51, 86-93.

²²⁸SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/5, f 78v. See also J R N MacPhail, 'Hamilton of Kincavil and the General Assembly of 1563', *SHR*, x (1913), 156-61.

²²⁹SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/8, f 51r. & v.

²³⁰Knox, *History*, i, 44-90. See also Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 72-93, 270-84.

²³¹Knox, *Works*, i, 44-83; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 154-5; Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 163-4; 84-6, 90-1, 98-9; Donaldson, *James V to James VII*, 54-8.

The ritual year of the Catholic church largely shaped the itinerary and customs of the royal court and the cycle of feasts and fasts observed in the household of James V was very similar to that followed by other courts and communities of the period.²³² The ritual year began in Advent, a penitential season which nevertheless included some jollity in the celebrations surrounding the feast of St Nicholas, 6th December. In Aberdeen, where the parish church was dedicated to that saint, the Boy Bishop ruled over the celebrations from St. Nicholas's day until the feast of the Holy Innocents (28th December),²³³ but there is no clear indication that the court marked December 6th in any way during the reign of James V, even though his father had celebrated it.²³⁴ However, Christmas itself (Yule) was a major court festival which involved a large increase in the provisions supplied by the kitchen, pantry and similar departments and the payment of liveries to the household.²³⁵ The kitchen accounts also reveal that gifts of game were often sent to the king at Christmas by courtiers and clerics.²³⁶ The Christmas court was usually held at Holyrood, which was the royal palace most capable of coping with a large gathering, although Christmas 1539 was held at Linlithgow.²³⁷ The Christmas season included the feast of the Holy Innocents, or Childermas, 28th December, which one would expect to be marked by the election of a Boy Bishop from amongst the choristers of the Chapel Royal but no specific

²³²See Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994).

²³³*Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570*, ed. John Stewart (Spalding Club, 1844), xxv; David McRoberts, 'The Boy Bishop in Scotland', *IR*, xix (1968), 80-82.

²³⁴*TA*, ii, 128, 349, 409, 410; *ibid*, iii, 175, 176, 356.

²³⁵Increased expenditure on food can be seen, for example, in the accounts of the royal pantry, buttery and kitchen for Dec. 1532. The sums spent on the relevant day read thus: 21st, £3 14s 2d; 22nd, £14, 2s; 23rd, £8 4s; 24th, £45 18s 4d; 25th, £136 16d; 26th, £10 19s 8d; 27th, £39 6s 10d; 28th, £6 16s; 29th, £11 6s 10d; 30th, £14 2s; 31st, £17 16d - SRO, Household Book, E.31/4, fo. 35r.-37v. Yule liveries are listed in *TA*, vi, 35-7 (1531), 91-3 (1532), 203-5 (1533) and so on. The second instalment of liveries was paid at Whitsun.

²³⁶For example, at Christmas 1532 the abbot of Lindores gave a swan, two geese, three partridges, six woodcocks, a grouse and a corncrake (*conturnix*); the bishop of Moray gave a swan and two geese; the laird of Burleigh gave a swan and George Ormiston gave a swan and a grouse: SRO, Household Book, E.31/4, fo. 36r. This may suggest that these men were present at court as guests of the king.

²³⁷See Appendix C.

details survive for the period.²³⁸ In English cathedrals and churches the Boy Bishop would have worn miniature vestments and officiated at all religious services except the mass; he might even preach a mock sermon and undertake mock visitations.²³⁹ Although the calendar year began on 25th March (the feast of the Annunciation), the Roman custom of celebrating new year on the 1st January (the feast of the Circumcision) persisted. The accounts contain records of New Year gifts purchased by the king and queen to present to the senior courtiers and they were usually items of gold, silver or jewels: for example James spent £400 19s on gold and silver items, intended to be New Year gifts, supplied by Thomas Rhind, John Kyle and John Mossman, goldsmiths, in December 1538/January 1539.²⁴⁰ In January 1537, when the king was in Paris, he gave costly New Year gifts to the French royal family and some of the senior household-officers and minstrels.²⁴¹ The season of Christmas ended with Twelfth Night, Epiphany Eve, also known as Uphaliday, which is the date on which the King or Queen of the Bean might make an appearance at court. This was a person selected to preside over the festivities because they happened to receive a piece of cake in which a bean had been concealed.²⁴² This was also the occasion for which David Lindsay of the Mount produced an entertainment in 1540, which seems to have been a fore-runner of his *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*. At this performance James V is said to have approved of the criticisms levelled at the church and to have threatened to send recalcitrant clergy to England for a lesson in reform from Henry VIII.²⁴³ In addition to the Boy Bishop and the Queen of the Bean, the season of Yule might also see the appearance of such characters as the Abbot and Prior of Bonaccord

²³⁸St. Innocent's Bishop features in the reign of James IV: *TA*, iii, 285.

²³⁹Hutton, *Merry England*, 10-11.

²⁴⁰*TA*, vii, 123.

²⁴¹*TA*, vii, 7, 14-15. Gold and jewelled daggers (whingers) were given to the Dauphin, the duke of Orléans and the king of Navarre; a pair of gold and ruby bracelets to the Dauphiness; an expensive coffer to the queen of Navarre; and cash to the servants and minstrels.

²⁴²M. MacLeod Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* (3 vols., Folklore Society, 1937, 1939, 1941), i, 123, 127. In 1532 Christiane Ray was Queen of the Bean and was given livery by the Treasurer: *TA*, vi, 37.

²⁴³Lindsay, *Works*, ii, 2-6; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 49-50, 92-3. *L&P HVIII*, xv, 114.

or of Unreason and Robin Hood and Little John, who might preside over other festivals as well.²⁴⁴ General merry-making at this time is indicated by references to mumming after supper on New Year's night 1526,²⁴⁵ the purchase of play-coats for Yule 1526,²⁴⁶ a red and yellow play-coat provided for the king's son in January 1534,²⁴⁷ black and white cloth for 'certane play gounis to the Kingis grace to pas in maskrie' in December 1535²⁴⁸ and red and yellow play-coats made for Uphaliday 1540.²⁴⁹ Such activities may well have involved the men and boys of the chapel royal, since their English counterparts were central to the festivities at the court of Henry VIII.²⁵⁰

The feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, otherwise known as Candlemas, 2nd February, was the next one to be marked at court, with candles purchased especially for the day.²⁵¹ Candlemas was another feast which was marked by religious processions involving the guilds of many Scottish burghs, and something similar may have happened at the chapel royal.²⁵² This was swiftly followed by Shrove Tuesday (Fastern's Eve) and Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent. Lent was strictly observed as a meat-free season at the Scottish court and seems to have been something of a

²⁴⁴Banks, *British Calendar Customs*, iii, 189-94, 200-1, 223. The only reference to a Robin Hood at court during the reign of James V was in April 1531, presumably at the Easter celebrations: *TA*, v, 432-3.

²⁴⁵*TA*, v, 254. Mumming involved masked and silent 'guisers' entering the company in procession and starting games of dice: Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge, 1927), 128.

²⁴⁶*TA*, v, 316.

²⁴⁷*Ibid.*, vi, 186.

²⁴⁸*Ibid.*, vi, 255.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, vii, 276.

²⁵⁰Welsford, *The Court Masque*, 116-8; Stevens, *Early Tudor Court*, 252. William Cornish as master of the children of the English chapel royal was a key figure in organising the entertainments at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520: Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 72, 78; Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 302.

²⁵¹For example candles for the queen to celebrate Candlemas were listed separately in the chandlery accounts of 1539: SRO, Household Book, E.31/8, fo. 126r.

²⁵²For example, at Aberdeen, *Abdn. Counc.*, i, p.xxv, p.445, 449-51. See also Banks, *British Calendar Customs*, ii, 163-4.

holiday for the king's butcher.²⁵³ Holy Week and Easter were usually celebrated at Stirling, although not with a royal retreat as we have seen.²⁵⁴ We have no evidence of any special ceremonies on Palm Sunday, although the day is noted in the records.²⁵⁵ James distributed alms on Maundy Thursday (Skire Thursday) to a group of bedesmen whose number represented the age of the king. As James was born on 10th April, his birthday sometimes fell just before Easter and sometimes just after, but the number of bedesmen seems to have been increased by one every year regardless.²⁵⁶ They received gifts of blue gowns, bonnets, shoes and a sum of cash and were expected to remember the king in their prayers but there is no indication that he washed their feet, as was done at the English court.²⁵⁷ Following Easter, Ascension day is noted in the household accounts but does not seem to have been marked by any particular events at court,²⁵⁸ but the court did go Maying, often at St. Andrews, where jousts and feasts were held.²⁵⁹ Whitsun was the second time in the year when liveries were distributed to the royal household and the weeks following were often the time when James would choose to travel beyond his usual circuit. Summer jaunts included pilgrimages, hunting parties, justice ayres and two voyages to the Northern and Western Isles.²⁶⁰ Summer festivals which are noted in the accounts but do not seem to have been especially marked at court include the feast of Corpus Christi, St. John the Baptist (24th June), St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June), St. Laurence (10

²⁵³Robert Henderson completely disappears from the accounts during the season and fish dominates the menu, for example, in 1532; SRO, Household Book, E.32/2, fos. 66v.-84r.

²⁵⁴See above. Easter was another occasion for gifts of game to the royal kitchens: e.g. from the Abbots of Iona and Lindores and the Earl of Argyll in 1533: SRO, Household Book, E.31/4, fo. 66r.

²⁵⁵E.g. SRO, Household Book, E.32/2, fo. 81v. (1532); E.31/4, fo. 64r. (1533).

²⁵⁶In 1530 there were eighteen bedesmen, nineteen in 1531, twenty in 1532, twenty-one in 1533, twenty-two in 1534 and so on: *TA*, v, 387, 429-30; *ibid.*, vi, 32-3, 89, 200. In 1532 Easter fell before the king's twentieth birthday and in 1534 it fell before his twenty-second birthday but the numbers of bedesmen were not adjusted.

²⁵⁷Hutton, *Merry England*, 21-2, 57.

²⁵⁸E.g. SRO, Household Book, E.32/2, fo. 99r. (1532).

²⁵⁹E.g. there were jousts held in May 1530 (*MW*, i, 36) and May 1539 (*TA*, vii, 168).

²⁶⁰See Appendix C.

August) and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15th August).²⁶¹ Surprisingly, there is no indication in the accounts that St. Andrew's day (30th November) was celebrated in any way,²⁶² even though he was both a national saint and the patron of the order of the Golden Fleece, and other saints with Scottish connections such as St. Giles, St. Ninian and St. Mungo seem to have been rather neglected too. However, Bishop Leslie believed that the feasts of the chivalric saints (Andrew, George and Michael) were celebrated at James V's court but he did not give any specific examples.²⁶³

James V and many of his courtiers were clearly enthusiastic about music, and adopted a largely conventional approach to religious observance. The patronage of minstrels, singers, composers, clerics, religious orders and shrines by the members of the court was, on the whole, both generous and discerning. This aspect of the cultural life of the royal circle would appear to have been another field in which the honour, prestige and magnificence of the Scottish realm could be put on display in a manner which accorded closely with the practice at other princely courts of the period, and which built upon the achievements of earlier generations.

²⁶¹E.g. SRO, Household Books, E.31/4, fo. 82v. (Corpus Christi, 1533); E.32/2, fo. 115v. (St. John's day, 1532); E.31/6, fo. 77v. (St. Peter's day and St. Paul's day, 1535); E.32/4, fo. 125v. (St. Laurence's day, 1535); E.32/5, fo. 120v. (Assumption, 1536).

²⁶²It is mentioned in the accounts only once, in 1537: SRO, Household Book, E.31/7, fo. 20r. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Anstruther 30th November was marked as 'Collar Day' by a 'knightly' order called the Beggar's Benison, which claimed to have been founded by James V. There is no evidence to substantiate such claims, but is it possible that the custom embodied a folk memory of celebrations to mark the feast of the patron saint of the order of the Golden Fleece, whose collar James possessed? See Banks, *British Calendar Customs*, iii, 185-6.

²⁶³Leslie, *Historie* (STS), ii, 230.

5. LEARNING AND LITERATURE

James V is not usually regarded as one of the most learned of sixteenth-century princes; indeed, Lindsay's lament that he was taken too early from school is probably one of the most oft-quoted comments on the king.¹ He was certainly neither a polyglot nor a polymath, in the mould of Henry VIII or Isabella d'Este, yet nor was his court devoid of scholarship and literary endeavour. Had his minority not been so politically chaotic, he might have experienced an education similar to that provided for his Tudor kin.² By the late-fifteenth century, the established pattern at the English court was that the royal infants would be provided with a miniature household including chaplains, physicians, minstrels and menial servants but would spend their earliest years primarily in the care of a team of nurses and rockers, under the supervision of an aristocratic 'lady mistress'.³ At about the age of five to seven years, boys would graduate from the care of governesses into the hands of masters to begin a more formal education, which would have two main spheres: the literary and intellectual exercises of the schoolroom and the physical and social exercises necessary to acquire the skills of chivalry and courtesy. The first part of the

¹Lindsay, *Works*, i, 43 (*Complaynt* lines 131-2: 'Imprudentlie, lyk wytyles fullis,/Thay tuke that 3oung Prince frome the sculis,')

²The education of Francis I of France is not an exact parallel because he was not the son of a king but of the Count of Angoulême. Nevertheless, his widowed mother, Louise of Savoy (who had always cherished the ambition that he would one day become king) ensured that he learned Latin, Italian, Spanish, Biblical history and was schooled in virtuous conduct and the chivalric arts. His tutor was François Demoulins (also known as Rochefort) and he may also have received tuition from Christophe de Longueil; both men were humanists. Guillaume Budé wrote his *L'institution du prince* for him. In later years he became the patron of many distinguished scholars and writers, founded the *lecteurs royaux* of Paris, and earned the epithet 'father of letters': Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 6-8, 149-54, 306-307. The childhood of the Emperor Charles V is perhaps a more instructive parallel, since he had been left effectively orphaned at the age of six by the death of his father and the insanity of his mother. He was brought up under the auspices of his aunt, Margaret of Austria, a notably cultured and educated lady. His schoolmaster was Adrian of Utrecht, a distinguished theologian from the university of Louvain, who later became Pope Hadrian VI, and his knightly training was entrusted to Guillaume du Croy, lord of Chièvres, who instructed him in the traditions of the Burgundian court: Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V*, trans. C. V. Wedgwood (London, 1965), 47-48.

³Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: the Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984), 12-24; Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 73-76.

curriculum would be taught by the grammar master or tutor, who would often be a university-trained household cleric. The medieval practice had been for the second field to be taught by a noble master or governor, well versed in horsemanship, hunting, jousting, sword-play and courtly manners, but by the 1480s and 1490s such training was expected to be provided within the prince's household in general.⁴ It is thus impossible to tell who taught Henry VIII the boisterous knightly games at which he excelled, but his academic training was in the hands of the poet, John Skelton, John Holt (a former schoolmaster at Magdalen College School, Oxford and at Chichester), William Hone (also a former master of Chichester School) and Giles D'Ewes (a Fleming, who taught the future king French and later became his librarian).⁵ The result was a prince who knew Latin and French well (with a smattering of Italian, Spanish and Greek) and who had an abiding interest in mathematics, theology, astronomy, geometry, poetry and music.⁶ Although he undoubtedly had assistance in writing his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (1521), his primary authorship of the core of this orthodox theological tract is usually accepted.⁷ However, Henry's sister Margaret, although a product of the same Tudor nursery, was not a particularly erudite lady. This may have been for temperamental reasons, or because her marriage at the age of thirteen effectively ended her formal education, but was probably largely because the education of aristocratic women in England would not really be taken seriously for another generation.⁸ Whatever the reasons, it is clear that she could

⁴Nicholas Orme suggests that the change was a conscious decision on the part of Henry VII not to have his sons' education too closely associated with a particular noble family or faction, which might compromise their later careers, as had been the case with Edward V and his Woodeville governor, Lord Rivers: Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 23. See also A. A. MacDonald, 'The Renaissance Household as Centre of Learning', in Drivers and MacDonald (eds), *Centres of Learning*, 289-98.

⁵Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 24; Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 97.

⁶Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 14-15.

⁷The fact that it is a short, pedestrian and unremarkable work suggests that the king's personal contribution may well have been significant: Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 110-113.

⁸A watershed was reached with the publication of Juan Luis Vives's *De Institutione Foeminae Christianae* (Antwerp, 1527), which was translated into English in 1529 by Richard Hyrde. The book was dedicated to Katherine of Aragon, and advocated that women should be trained to a high level in literary studies. Lady Jane Grey, Mary I and Elizabeth I all benefited from the improved

neither write nor spell well and her apparent lack of interest in scholarship possibly had some impact on the education of her son.⁹

In his earliest years James V was provided with a household appropriate to a prince of Scotland, some of whom were appointed to their posts before his father's death. He had the usual complement of chaplains, nurses and other servants and care was taken to ensure his security.¹⁰ However, it is with the next stage of his development that problems have been identified. The king's tutor or preceptor was Master Gavin Dunbar (c.1490-1547), who appears in the household lists from February 1517, when James was nearly five years old, and was last recorded as such in September 1525, when his pupil was thirteen.¹¹ Dunbar was a nephew of the bishop of Aberdeen of the same name (the latter also held the office of clerk register) and had graduated in arts from the university of Paris and in law from the university of Angers before returning to Scotland and commencing his royal duties.¹² He was appointed to the metropolitan see of Glasgow in July 1524 but was ousted from his post as royal tutor during the regime of the earl of Angus. When the king asserted his authority in the summer of 1528, he chose not to restore the office of tutor and Dunbar was appointed chancellor instead, in which post he replaced the deposed earl.¹³ George Buchanan remarked on his learning and (as we shall see) he had links with the scholarly and literary elite of his day but the contemporary sources shed very little light on his personal qualities.¹⁴ There is no surviving indication of the curriculum he delivered to his pupil and certainly no suggestion that he ever produced a manual for the king's instruction

educational opportunities championed by Vives and his English admirers, who included Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Elyot: Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 231-235.

⁹Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 159;

¹⁰See chapter one and Appendix A.

¹¹See Appendix A. *TA*, v, 111.

¹²Major, *History*, 445.

¹³*DSCHT*, 260-61; D. E. Easson, *Gavin Dunbar: Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of Glasgow* (Edinburgh and London, 1947), 7, 25-40.

¹⁴Buchanan, *History*, ii, 239: Dunbar is described as 'upright and learned but rather deficient in political knowledge.'

which might echo the *Speculum Principis* (1501) produced by John Skelton for princes Arthur and Henry of England.¹⁵ Among the known contents of his library is nothing which might have appealed to the interest and imagination of a child.¹⁶ In later years the deficiencies of James's education would be remarked upon but if, as seems to have been the case, the king had no formal academic tuition beyond the age of thirteen for political reasons, it may not be fair to blame Dunbar entirely for the problem.¹⁷ However, the king does seem to have been able to express himself effectively in the Scots language. Several poems have been attributed to him, although without any convincing evidence being presented,¹⁸ but if Lindsay's *Answer to the Kingis Flyting* is a genuine reply to a piece of royal invective he must have made at least one attempt at writing verse which has not survived.¹⁹ Furthermore, John Bellenden's *Proloug apoun ye traductioun of titus liuius* (1533) also suggests that the king was a poet in his own right:

And 3e, my souerane, be lyne continewall
 Ay cumin of kingis 3oure progenitouris,
 And writis in ornate stile poeticall
 Qwik flowand verfs of rethorik cullouris,

¹⁵Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 103. In 1522 the king's schoolmaster was directed to teach him to read, write and speak Latin and French and to instruct him in the virtues but nothing more specific than this is recorded in the contemporary sources: *HMC Rep. Mar and Kellie*, 11.

¹⁶The list (which is almost certainly a fraction of the whole) consists of the report of the enquiry into the works of Erasmus by the University of Paris, the decrees of the Provincial Council of *Senonensis* [Siena?] (1528), Josse Clichtove's *Compendium Veritatem* (Paris, 1529) and Johannes Cochlaeus, *Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia Johannis Cochlaei Adversus Personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum* (c.1534): J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), 30-31.

¹⁷'The kingis grace I know is nocht perfite/ In Latyn tounge, and nemelie in sic dyte/ It wilbe tedious, that dar I tak on hand,/ To reid the thing he can nocht vnderstand': William Stewart, *The Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1858), i, 4. On 31st December 1536, James was accorded the honour of a ceremonial entry into the city of Paris at which he was addressed by the first president of the parlement. He responded by embracing the civic dignitaries warmly but without saying a word, apparently because his French was very poor: 'Registres de Parlement' in Teulet, *Relations*, i, 107-8.

¹⁸Eyre-Todd attributed *Peblis to the Play*, *Chrystis Kirk on the Grene*, *The Gaberlunzie Man* and *The Jolly Beggar* to James V: George Eyre-Todd, *Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1892), 159-82. *The Jolly Beggar* and *The Gaberlunzie Man* are probably about James V rather than by him. *Peblis to the Play* is attributed to King James I by John Major, *History*, 366 and *Chrystis Kirk on the Grene* to the same king by George Bannatyne, *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest, 1568*, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, (4 vols., STS, 1934 & 1928 & 1930), ii, 268.

¹⁹Lindsay, *Works*, i, 101-104.

Sa freschlie springand in 3oure lusty flouris,
To þe grete comforte of all trew Scottismen;
Be now my muse and ledare of my pen.²⁰

James seems to have been a much more able pupil in the field of courtesy and chivalry than in the schoolroom. Here the poet, Lindsay, in his role as the king's master usher, claimed some credit for teaching the boy music, dancing, games and tales.²¹ The king also had a mule from 1517, when he was four years old, and his yeoman of the stable at that time, Robert Purves, must have had a hand in teaching him to ride.²² The ordinance for the keeping of the king which was drawn up in August 1522 (shortly before Albany left for France for the second time during his regency) placed the king under the keepership of John, lord Erskine, at Stirling Castle and named as his closest servants not only Erskine but also Alan Stewart (captain of the guard), Andrew Towers (Stewart's lieutenant) and Robert Borthwick (master gunner) as well. These men would almost certainly have contributed to the king's love of riding, shooting, archery, sword play and other chivalric pursuits. Furthermore, the ordinance implies that at ten years old the king was already very keen to ride out into the countryside on a regular basis and it made elaborate arrangements for his security on such jaunts.²³ In 1524 when the household was re-organised under Queen Margaret's second regency, Lindsay was replaced as master usher by Andrew, lord Avandale, and the king's guard, previously dominated by men loyal to the duke of Albany, was re-constituted

²⁰Bellenden's *Livy*, i, 1.

²¹The holder of the post of Master Usher to an adult king would be responsible for regulating entry to the king's chambers and ensuring orderly conduct within these apartments. However, as a child, James V had a much smaller household establishment than as an adult and it is likely that Lindsay's duties were therefore more wide-ranging. The poet himself claimed to have acted as the king's sewer, carver, cupbearer, pursemaster, chief 'cubiculare', usher and playmate rolled into one: *Works*, i, 4-5 (*The Dreame*, lines 18-25). In one revealing entry of 1517 he was accorded the technically incorrect, but perhaps functionally accurate, title of master of household: *TA*, v, 160.

²²*TA*, v, 130. See also Appendix A.

²³*HMC Rep. Mar and Kellie*, 11-12. Neither Dunbar nor Lindsay are mentioned by name in the ordinance but the posts of master and usher are listed as part of the household establishment.

and staffed by men loyal to Margaret and Henry VIII (who was paying their wages).²⁴ Prominent among these new attendants was Henry Stewart, soon to become Queen Margaret's third husband, lord Methven and master of the king's artillery. Avandale and Methven are likely to have taken over the king's knightly training as well and to have been followed in their turn, during Angus's rule, by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, whom the king apparently nicknamed Greysteil.²⁵

During this period in his development, it is highly unlikely that the king would have been kept in complete isolation from other children but it is very difficult to discover who might have been his classmates and sparring partners. In 1540-41 James's short-lived son and heir would have had the companionship of his half-sister, Lady Jane, and several French page-boys who were attendant on the Queen.²⁶ The childhood friends of his successor, the four Marys, are legendary²⁷ but the youthful companions of James V (if there were any) are shrouded in mystery. The death of his younger brother, Alexander, duke of Ross, in December 1515 deprived him of the company of a sibling, but there is one reference which suggests that one of his half-sisters, the Lady Margaret, may have been at court until the mid-1520s.²⁸ Beyond this we are in the realms of supposition and speculation. It is possible that James found some companionship in the children and wards of his senior household officers. In later life, almost all of his mistresses were the daughters of such men,²⁹ and he seems to have been close to the earl of Huntly, who for a while shared the same guardian, the earl of Angus.³⁰ Moreover, in the records of the household of the minority appear the names

²⁴Wood, *Letters*, i, 341-45; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 196-8; *L&P Henry VIII*, iv (1), 600, 637, 656, 657, 658, 674, 767, 797, 803, 805, 806, 809, 811, 813, 817, 823, 835, 889, 1026.

²⁵John Purser, 'Greysteil', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 150-51.

²⁶See Appendix A.

²⁷Rosalind K. Marshall, *Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1988), 27.

²⁸*TA*, v, 314 (1526/7). This is probably a reference to Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Margaret Tudor and the earl of Angus. Her serving-woman was Marion Maxton.

²⁹See chapter 2.

³⁰Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 262. Huntly's mother was an illegitimate daughter of James IV.

of several 'henchmen' who may have been boys from good families sent to court to be brought up alongside the king. In the English court the role of henchman was clearly defined along these lines and well organised,³¹ but the surviving records shed no light on their position in the Scottish court. None of the names on the list are particularly distinguished and several of them seem to have obtained subsequent employment in the royal stables so their role at the Scottish court may not have been as prestigious as their English counterparts.³²

However hazy the details of the king's education and upbringing may be, it is quite clear that as he grew older he increasingly became the focus of literary offerings by Scottish scholars and writers hoping to obtain his patronage and approval, and even to influence his beliefs and attitudes. By the early sixteenth century the tradition of the advice-to-princes genre was well established, of which there were several Scottish examples. His father, James IV, had been the dedicatee of John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* (1490) and in 1456 Sir Gilbert Hay had translated into Scots (from a French translation of the Latin) one of the standard texts on the subject, the *Secreta Secretorum*, which purported to be the advice offered to Alexander the Great by Aristotle.³³ In addition to such works from the past, James V was presented with a series of new volumes instructing him on how to live the life of a virtuous, vigorous and successful ruler. Among the earliest were two monumental tracts on Scottish history produced by two of the most respected scholars of the day, John Major or

³¹A henchman was the son of a knight or peer in service at court, which he would treat as a kind of prestigious finishing-school. Their duties were entirely social and ceremonial, acting as the attendants and companions of a young king or prince and they would have their own servants to look after them and their own master or chaplain to educate them: Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 50-53; Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 72, 80-81, 84-85.

³²See Appendix A. The names are James Edmonston, Patrick Bruce (possibly a son of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan), Robert Ormiston, the laird of Many (?) and Troilus.

³³John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, ed. C. Macpherson, F. Quinn and C. McDonald (3 vols, STS, 1926, 1965, 1990); Gilbert of the Haye, *Prose Manuscript (A.D. 1456)*, ii: *The Buke of Knychthede and The Buke of the Governauce of Princis*, ed. J. H. Stevenson (STS, 1914); J. Burns, 'John Ireland and "The Meroure of Wyssdome"', *JR*, vi (1955), 77-98. Haye's translation was dedicated to the earl of Caithness, chancellor of Scotland, rather than to the king.

Mair (c.1467-1550) and Hector Boece (c.1470-1536). Much ink has already been spilled in analysing these two masterful yet contrasting texts (Major's *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* [Paris, 1521] and Boece's *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari* [Paris, 1527]),³⁴ and it is not necessary to rehearse the details here, but it is important to stress that whatever other motives may have spurred the two writers into action, both works were dedicated to the king and explicitly intended for his edification.

Major had not published any historical works prior to 1521 but rather, during the course of a long career at the university of Paris, he had become renowned as a scholastic logician and theologian.³⁵ It is therefore worth considering why he should make his sole foray into history at this point. In 1518 he returned from Paris to Scotland where he was briefly principal of Glasgow University and treasurer of the chapel royal at Stirling.³⁶ He had originally been offered the chapel royal prebend in

³⁴For Major: John Major, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland compiled from the Ancient Authorities 1521*, ed. and trans. A. Constable with a *Life of the Author* by Æ. J. G. Mackay (STS, 1892); J. Durkan, 'John Major: After 400 Years', *IR*, i (1950), 131-39; idem, 'The School of John Major: A Bibliography', *ibid*, i, 140-57; J. H. Burns, 'The Scotland of John Major', *ibid*, ii (1951), 65-76; idem, 'New Light on John Major', *ibid*, v (1954), 83-100; Roger A. Mason, 'Kingship, Nobility and Anglo-Scottish Union: John Mair's *History of Greater Britain* (1521)', *ibid*, xli (1990), 182-222; *DSCHT*, 540-41.

For Boece: Hector Boece, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. John Bellenden (1531), eds. R. W. Chambers and E. C. Batho (2 vols., STS, 1938 & 1941); L. J. MacFarlane, 'Hector Boece and Early Scottish Humanism', *The Deeside Field*, xviii (1984), 65-9; *DSCHT*, 82-3.

For both: A. Ross, 'Some Scottish Catholic Historians', *IR*, i (1950), 5-21; J. Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *ibid*, iv (1953), 5-24; John and Winifred MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', in R. S. Jack (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature Volume One: Origins to 1660* (Aberdeen, 1988), 227-43; John MacQueen, 'Aspects of Humanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Literature', in idem (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), 19-26; J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1996), 54-92.

³⁵A. Broadie, *The Circle of John Mair: Logic and Logicians in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Oxford, 1985); idem, 'Philosophy in Renaissance Scotland: Loss and Gain', in MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, 75-93; idem, *The Shadow of Scotus: Philosophy and Faith in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995).

³⁶Durkan, 'John Major', 132; Burns, 'New Light', 89-91.

1509 but he was named in the post only in documents of 1520, 1522 and 1525.³⁷ In 1520 he designated Andrew Durie as his successor in the post, but the next holder actually seems to have been Robert Galbraith, between 1528 and 1532.³⁸ It is not possible to detect Major's presence in the court circle during the years when he was at least nominally a canon of the chapel royal and he may never have taken up residence in Stirling, but it seems almost certain that his *Historia Majoris Britanniae* was written in the years 1518-20³⁹ and it was perhaps his brief association with a royal college which inspired him to write it. The young king himself was certainly in residence in Stirling between 1522 and 1524⁴⁰ and Major explicitly stated in his preamble that he intended the work for the king.⁴¹ He hoped to educate James in the nature of his realm and of his subjects and he provided a dispassionate and even rather clinical critique of the poorly-educated, chivalry-obsessed Scots nobility, who were failing to maintain peace and civil order. Like so many other writers of the period, he stressed that a king should rule for the common good of the whole realm (*bonum commune*) rather than for singular profit, but he was quite original in his definition of what constituted the common good. For Major, stability and prosperity would be most effectively gained by the union of the two realms of England and Scotland and James V, the son of a Stewart king and a Tudor princess, would be the person most likely to achieve it.⁴² Major's constitutional views were also note-worthy: drawing on his knowledge of Aristotle, Marsilius of Padua and Jean Gerson, he considered

³⁷RSS, i, 1977: Burns, 'New Light', 88, believes that he rejected the offer in 1509 but he may have accepted the prebend as an absentee. RSS, i, 3067; Major, *History*, Appendix, p. cxvii.

³⁸RSS, i, 3067; RMS, iii, 605; RSS, ii, 1104. Durie had studied at the university of Montpellier, was later abbot of Melrose and (from 1541) bishop of Galloway and dean of the chapel royal. He was also named as a poet by John Rolland, *The Seuin Seages*, ed. G. Black, (STS, 1932), 1-2; and by John Knox, *Works*, i, 261-62. Galbraith was, like Major, a scholastic philosopher at Paris before his royal preferment in Scotland (see John Durkan, 'The Cultural Background', in D. McRoberts [ed.], *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625* [Glasgow, 1962], 282, 295) and he may have been the 'Galbreith' listed as one of the poets of the court of James V by Lindsay, *Works*, i, 57 (*Papyngo*, line 47).

³⁹Burns, 'New Light', 91.

⁴⁰Emond, 'Minority', 313, 416.

⁴¹Major, *History*, 41-2, 186, 217-19, 289.

⁴²Mason, 'Kingship, Nobility', 183-222.

sovereignty to reside in the will of the people (or the 'worthier part' thereof), who therefore had the collective right to depose tyrants.⁴³ Considering his difficulties with Latin, it is unlikely that the king ever read the book, although his tutor or one of his clerks may have explained it to him. However, John Major does not appear to have received any further royal patronage after its publication. Indeed, he moved away from the Glasgow/Stirling orbit to St. Andrews in 1523 (perhaps in the train of Archbishop James Beaton who was translated from the see of Glasgow to the primacy in that year) and spent the years 1526-31 in Paris again. However, from 1533 until his death in 1550 he was provost of St. Salvator's College at St. Andrews, where his patrons would probably have been the two Beaton archbishops rather than the crown.⁴⁴ His vision of a united kingdom never aroused the enthusiasm of the king who, as we have seen, was rather more interested in renewing the auld alliance with France, and one can imagine Major being bitterly disappointed with the course of events after 1542. However, the archbishops of St. Andrews were significant figures in the court and government of the realm, from 1538 the prior of St. Andrews was a son of the king, and the court was frequently in residence there between 1538 and 1542, so even if his views were disregarded, Major was never very far from the orbit of the royal court.

In contrast to Major's work, Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* was well received at court. Like Major, Boece had also taught at the university of Paris but he returned to Scotland c.1503 and from 1505 he served as the first principal of the university of Aberdeen, a post he held until his death in 1536.⁴⁵ He was a humanist admirer of Erasmus and had written an earlier historical work, *Murthlacensium et*

⁴³Ibid, 206-213; John and Winifred MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', 235-6. Major's views directly influenced George Buchanan's *De jure regni apud Scotos* (1579) and (through him) resistance theories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Mason, 'Kingship, Nobility', 213. Buchanan had been a pupil of Major's at Paris.

⁴⁴Burns, 'New Light', 92-100; Durkan, 'John Major', 132.

⁴⁵J. & W. MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', 236-7.

Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae (Paris, 1522), which consisted largely of a panegyric of William Elphinstone (bishop of Aberdeen between 1483 and 1514, who had founded Boece's university in 1495).⁴⁶ Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* may well have been intended as a response to Major's work, since it discusses much of the same material with a very different style and emphasis. Although Major is usually categorised as a scholastic, he was aware of humanist developments and took his inspiration at least partially from Sallust and Livy (but also Bede).⁴⁷ His work was intended primarily as a piece of didactic literature and he was critical of his sources and sceptical about some of the origin-myths of the Scots.⁴⁸ Boece, on the other hand, took Tacitus, Livy and Cicero as his models, presented his history as a piece of rhetorical literature, and was rather cavalier in his use of sources: relying largely on Fordun and Bower's *Scotichronicon*, citing a mysterious medieval writer called Veremund (whose work has since been lost) and adopting uncritically the traditional stories of ancient Egyptian refugees and a long line of Celtic kings.⁴⁹ In this he was writing history in a similar style to Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Illustrations de Gaule* (1510-1513), in which the myth of the Trojan origins of the French kings and the legend of the Gallic Hercules were popularised.⁵⁰ More importantly for Boece, the history of the Scots was one of persistent and noble resistance to repeated assaults from aggressively expansionist English kings and, far from advocating a union of the

⁴⁶Hector Boece, *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. and trans. James Moir (New Spalding Club, 1894). Boece may have been inspired by a similar work produced a few years earlier by another learned Scot, Alexander Mylne (c.1474-c.1549), who later became abbot of Cambuskenneth, president of the college of justice and administrator of the priory of St. Andrews for the underage commendator, Lord James Stewart. Myln's *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium* (1515), was essentially a panegyric on Bishop George Brown, written when the author was Official of Dunkeld: see Alexander Mylne, *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1823) and a partial translation in *Rentale Dunkeldense*, ed. and trans. R. K. Hannay (SHS, 1915), 302-334.

⁴⁷Major, *History*, pp. cxxxiii - cxxxv & pp. 4, 64.

⁴⁸Mason, 'Kingship, Nobility', 183-89

⁴⁹Veremund may have been Richard Vairement, a Culdee of St. Andrews in the 1250s: MacQueen, 'Aspects of Humanism', 20-25; J. & W. MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', 236-7; MacFarlane, 'Hector Boece', 68.

⁵⁰I. D. McFarlane, *A Literary History of France: The Renaissance, 1470-1589* (London, 1974), 49-50.

realms, he saw the king of Scots as the most important focus of heroic national independence.⁵¹ Before his history was published in 1527⁵² Boece does not appear to have been the recipient of any royal patronage, but his work was also dedicated to the young James V in the hope that he would profit from the lessons contained therein, and the author did subsequently receive royal recognition. In July 1527 he was granted an annual pension of £50 to be paid from the casualties of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen. In July 1529 the same pension was assigned to the Aberdeen customs revenues and was to be paid until the king could allocate him a benefice worth 100 merks per annum. In 1533 and 1534 the pension was paid jointly by the treasurer and comptroller and in 1535-36 it ceased upon Boece's appointment to the rectory of Tyrie.⁵³

Boece's history was so popular with James V that he commissioned one of his clerks, John Bellenden, to translate it into Scots for him. Bellenden (c.1495-1548) was a graduate of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, served as a clerk of the expenses to James V between 1515 and 1522, was archdeacon of Moray between 1533 and 1538, precentor of Glasgow from 1538 to his death, and rector of Glasgow University between 1542 and 1544.⁵⁴ His family was prominent in royal service: his father, Patrick, was Queen Margaret's steward until his death in 1514; his mother, Mariota or Marion Douglas, was probably one of the king's childhood nurses; his sister, Katherine, was a seamstress in the royal wardrobe from 1537 and the wife of a royal favourite, Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn; his brother, Master Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoul, was a senator of the college of justice from 1535, director of chancery

⁵¹J. & W. MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', 238; MacFarlane, 'Hector Boece', 68. For Leslie. Boece's history was 'so eloquent stile, so truelie and diligetlie collected, that none of all the wreittaris at that tyme wreitt better': Lesley, *History* (Bann. Club), 144.

⁵²Both Boece and Major used the same Parisian publisher, Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Jose Bade).

⁵³RSS, i, 3841; ER, xvi, 42, 63; RSS, ii, 251; TA, vi, 102, 213; RSS, ii, 2192.

⁵⁴ER, xiv, 55, 119, 228, 321, 466; *ibid*, xv, 88, 89, 200; TA, v, 435, 438; RMS, iii, 1877; RSS, ii, 2368. See Appendix A; E. A. Sheppard, 'John Bellenden', in Bellenden, *Chronicles*, ii, 411-35; van Heijnsbergen, 'Interaction', 185, 191-94.

from 1538 and justice clerk from 1539.⁵⁵ It was probably this family tradition of loyal service which saved him from reprisals by the king when, in September 1528 he appeared before the parliament to register a formal protest against the charges of treason levied against the earl of Angus and his adherents.⁵⁶ The following April Bellenden and his servant, William Fleming, received a precept of remission for treasonably assisting the Douglasses, and the commission to translate Boece was probably granted in 1530.⁵⁷ In 1531 he received three payments totalling £66 for 'translating of the cronykill' and his work was later printed by Thomas Davidson and read 'to the greit furderance and common weille of the hole natione.'⁵⁸ In his preface to the translation, Bellenden re-iterated Boece's dedication to James V and stressed the advisory purpose of the work:

I, that bene thi native and humyll seruitour sen thi first infance, be impulsiou of luff and vehement affecciou quhilk I bere vnto the samyn, has translait 'The History of Scotland' ... in quhilkis ar contenit nocht only the nobill feetis of thi wail3eannt anticessouris, bot als be quhat industry and wisdome this realme bene gouernit thir xvij c. & lx 3eris, quhilk was nevir subdewitt to vncouth empire, bot onlye to the native princis thairof, howbeit the samyn had sustenit grete affliccioun be Romanis, Inglis & Danys.⁵⁹

and in the *Ballat apone þe Translatione*, otherwise known as the *Proheme of the Historie*:

Þocht þow pafs furtht as bird implume to licht,
 His gracious eiris to my werk implore,
 Quhair he may se, as in ane mirrour bricht,
 Sa notabill storeis baith of wice and glore,
 Quhilk nevir was sene into his toung afore;
 Quhairthrow he may be prudent governyng
 Als wele his honoure as his realme decore,

⁵⁵See Appendix A; Sheppard, 'John Bellenden', 411-35; van Heijnsbergen, 'Interaction', 191-94.

⁵⁶APS, ii, 322, 324. He is described here as Angus's 'seruitour and secretar.'

⁵⁷RSS, ii, 56.

⁵⁸TA, v, 434; *ibid*, vi, 36; Lesley, *History* (Bann. Club), 144. The Davidson edition was printed sometime between 1536 and 1540: see below.

⁵⁹Bellenden, *Chronicles*, i, 16.

And be ane wertuous and ane nobill king.⁶⁰

In 1533 Bellenden was paid £12 for 'ane new cornikle' [sic] which may have been a revision of his Boece or may have been a reference to his translation into Scots of the first five books of Livy's *History of Rome*, which he produced between July 1533 and January 1534.⁶¹ This translation was also a royal commission, dedicated to James V, and again Bellenden seems to have intended it to educate the king in politics and government, for he draws many direct parallels between ancient Rome and sixteenth-century Scotland.⁶² In particular he hopes that the king will emulate the moral virtue and military prowess of the Romans:

Of awfull batallis þe crafty gouernance,
The wise array, þe manlie Ieoperdie,
3e may fynd here, with mony doutsum chance,
Als quyk as þai war led afore 3our Ee.
3e may also be mony stories see
Quhat besynes may proffitt or avance
3oure princely state with ferme continuance...

... ffor in quhat sorte 3oure hienes will delite,
3e may gett stories to 3oure appetite

Richt proffittabill till undermynde youre fais
And for to lere þe arte of chevelrie⁶³

Bellenden was not only a Latin scholar of some stature but also a vernacular poet of some renown. In 1530 David Lindsay, surveying the literary scene at court, considered him one of the foremost poets of the day:

Bot, now, of lait, is starte vpe, haistelie,
One cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie,
One plant of Poetis, callit Ballentyne,
Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne:

⁶⁰Bellenden, *Chronicles*, ii, 408.

⁶¹*TA*, vi, 97. Payments totalling £36 were also made specifically for the Livy translation: *ibid.*, vi, 97-8, 206.

⁶²*Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1533*, ed. W. A. Craigie (2 vols., STS, 1901 & 1903); MacQueen, 'Aspects of Humanism', 11-19.

⁶³Bellenden's *Livy*, i, 4-5.

Gett he in to the courte auctoritie,
He wyll precell Quintyng and Kennetie.⁶⁴

Likewise, in 1560 John Rolland looked back upon the court of James V and listed Bellenden as one of the greatest poets there, alongside David Lindsay, Andrew Durie and William Stewart.⁶⁵ Each of his translations was accompanied by prefatory verses: *The Proheme of the Historie*, *The Proheme of the Cosmographie* (both 1531) and *The Proloug apoun ye traduction of titus liuius* (1533)⁶⁶ and the printed edition of his Boece additionally contained *The Excusation of the Prentar*, which is usually attributed to Davidson, but was claimed as Bellenden's work by one commentator.⁶⁷ However, all of these verses post-date Lindsay's encomium in *Papyngo* (c.1530). We have only one other Bellenden piece which is undated, *The Benner of Peetie*, and therefore if Lindsay's praises were ever justified there must have been many more poems which have since been lost. All of Bellenden's known poems are addressed, whether directly or indirectly, to the king. *The Proheme of the Cosmographie* reminds James of the poet's service and his loss of office under Albany's second regency:

And first occurrit to my remmembring
How that I wes in service witht the King,
Put to his Grace in 3eiris tendirest.
Clerk of his comptis Thocht I wes inding
Witht hart and hand and every vthir thing
That nicht him pleifs in ony maner best.
Quhill hie invy me frome his service kest.
Be thame that had the court in gouerning
As bird but plumes heryit of hir nest.⁶⁸

It then proceeds to describe a dream-vision in which the allegorical ladies, 'Delyt' and 'Vertew' contend for the affections of a crowned king, who like the nineteen-year-old

⁶⁴Lindsay, *Works*, i, 57 (*Papyngo*, lines 49-54). Quintin and Kennedy were both poets of the court of James IV: *ibid*, iii, 68-70.

⁶⁵Rolland, *Seuin Seages*, 1-2.

⁶⁶Bellenden, *Chronicles*, ii, 403-409; *Bann. MS*, iv, 313-16; *ibid*, ii, 9-20; Bellenden's *Livy*, i, 1-5.

⁶⁷Eyre-Tod, *Scottish Poetry*, 134-5.

⁶⁸*Bann. MS*, ii, 10.

James has 'tender downis rysand on his beird.'⁶⁹ The poet does his best to recommend the ultimate rewards of virtue and to decry the disgrace brought by indulging in delight but the poem ends before the choice has been made. Considering that by 1531 James had already sired the first two of his seven recorded illegitimate children,⁷⁰ it is hardly surprising that Bellenden does not seem to have been confident of his advice being heeded. *The Proheme of the Historie* is more explicitly an advice-to-princes poem, suggesting that true nobility arises from virtuous deeds rather than exalted pedigree and that a successful king should be prudent, courageous, generous and fair.⁷¹ As we have seen, *The Proloug apoun ye traduction* is also addressed directly to James V, urging him to accomplishments of which the ancient Romans would have been proud. The *Benner of Peetie* is not obviously in the same mould, for it is essentially a pious meditation upon the incarnation and crucifixion, but Bellenden borrowed his theme and structure from book two of John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* and this association with a work intended for the instruction of James IV, as well as the morality it preaches, places *The Benner of Peetie* firmly within the *speculum principis* tradition.⁷²

John Bellenden was not the only vernacular poet of the court of James V to make a translation of Boece's *History* and address advisory verses to the king. The other was William Stewart (c.1476-1548), also a graduate of St. Andrews, possibly related to Lord Methven, who was in royal service from 1526. It is possible that he was also vicar of Pencaitland (East Lothian) and rector of Quothquan (Lanarkshire) and he may have continued in service with Mary of Guise after the death of the king.⁷³ His

⁶⁹Ibid. ii, 11.

⁷⁰See chapter 2.

⁷¹Bellenden, *Chronicles*, ii, 403-09.

⁷²Sally Mapstone, 'A Mirror for a Divine Prince: John Ireland and the Four Daughters of God', in J. Derrick McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller (eds.), *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1986), 308-23.

⁷³A. A. MacDonald, 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of James V', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 187; J. M. Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts of the Sixteenth Century: Mr William Stewart,

verse translation of Boece's *History* was written between April 1531 and September 1535 and was undertaken on the orders of a lady, who has been identified as Queen Margaret, but who may have been just an imaginary allegorical muse.⁷⁴ It is also dedicated to James V (although no specific payments for it can be traced in the surviving *Treasurer's Accounts*) and prefaced with a verse prologue in which Stewart makes it clear that he hopes the stories of his royal ancestors will inspire the king to great deeds comparable to those of the 'nine worthies' of chivalric lore:

Thair sall he find als nobill and als fyne,
As euir wes ony of the nobill nyne.
And fra his grace consider weill sic thing
How that he wes predestinat to ring,
Siclike as tha, into thair settis suir,
I traist he suld do diligence and cuir,
To follow thame with possibilitie,
So like with poettis for to prysit be.⁷⁵

Many of Stewart's other known poems⁷⁶ also offer advice to James V on the traditional themes of leading an upright and noble personal life, respecting good

Poet, and William Stewart, Elder, Depute Clerk of Edinburgh'. *The Stewarts*, 17 (1984), 25-46; Lindsay, *Works*, iii, 76-77. One commentator considers the author of the metrical translation of Boece to have been the William Stewart who was bishop of Aberdeen and lord high treasurer but this view has not been widely accepted: M. P. McDiarmid, 'The Metrical Chronicles and Non-alliterative Romances', in Jack (ed.), *History of Scottish Literature*, i, 36.

⁷⁴Stewart, *The Cronicles*, vol. i, p. vii & pp.1-5; MacDonald, 'William Stewart', 190. At about the same time there was a third (prose) translation of Boece's *History* undertaken by an anonymous clerk of the diocese of Dunkeld, which is named after the house in which the manuscript was discovered in 1928: *The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland by Hector Boece*, ed. George Watson (STS, 1946). Perhaps a suitable candidate for the vacant post of translator would be Laurence Telfer, who was treasurer of Dunkeld between 1532 and his death in 1545 (Watt, *Fasti*, 114). Telfer was described as the king's familiar and as a faithful servant of James IV and James V (*James V Letters*, 67, 247-8); he was employed by James V as one of the collectors of the ecclesiastical taxes of 1531 (*TA*, v, 454, 156-58, 461) and he moved in scholarly and literary circles since he was, along with Henry Balnaves, a godfather to James Bannatyn's eldest son in 1539 (*Bann. MS.* i, p. cxlii).

⁷⁵Stewart, *The Cronicles*, i, 2.

⁷⁶The full list of attributions is given by MacDonald, 'William Stewart', 199-200 and runs as follows: *First lerges, the king, my cheife* (*Bann. MS.* ii, 254-55); *For to declair þe he magnificens* (ibid, iii, 256-58); *Furth ouer the mold, at morrow as I ment* (ibid, iv, 40-42); *Maist ameyn roseir, gracious and resplendent* (ibid, iii, 265-6); *O man remember, and prent in to thy thocht* (ibid, ii, 90-95); *Precelland Prince, havand prerogatyue* (ibid, ii, 231-32); *Rolling in my remembrance* (ibid, ii, 249-51); *Schir, sen of men ar diuers sortis* (ibid, ii, 256-57); *Thir lenterne dayis ar luvly lang* (ibid, iv, 6-8); *This hindir nycht, neir þy the hour of nyne* (ibid, ii, 228-31); *Thow leis, loun, thow leis* (ibid, iii, 22-26). MacDonald also gives a detailed anatomy of the poems: 'William Stewart', 188-98.

counsel and ruling justly and wisely. None of these poems are dated but internal evidence, such as comments on the king's youth or references to his mother and regency council,⁷⁷ suggests that some were written during the minority (*Precelland prince*, *Rolling in my remembrance*, *Schir, sen of men* and *This hindir nycht*). As one might expect, they complain of injustices and misrule and exhort the king to cultivate the virtues he will need in order to give redress to his subjects. *This hindir nycht* in particular depicts the allegorical figure of 'Dame Verite,' who catalogues the vices which will need to be driven from the court if James is to rule well ('wilfull wrang,' 'hid hatreit,' '3ung counsale,' 'singular proffeit,' 'dissimvlance,' 'flattery,' 'falsheid,' 'ignorance,' 'tressone,' 'murthor' and 'symone') and recommends their replacement by virtues ('iustice,' 'prudens,' 'forfs,' 'temperans,' 'commounweill,' 'auld experience,' 'concord,' 'correctioun,' 'cunnyng,' 'constans,' 'lufe,' 'lawty,' 'science,' 'obedience,' 'gud conscience,' 'trewth,' 'intelligence,' 'mercy,' 'mesour,' 'fayth,' 'houp,' and 'cherite'). In this analysis of the ills of the minority of James V, Stewart seems to be anticipating the more famous representation of the ills of the minority of Mary by Lindsay in his *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*.⁷⁸ Other poems appear to date from the adult reign: *O man remember* is a religious lyric, focused on the Passion of Christ, which has a tone very similar to Bellenden's *Benner of Peete* in that it is apparently addressing all sinners but also makes a direct appeal to the king ('Thow lykis in lust & ryalte to ring,' line 108). *First lerges*, is more obviously a poem of the court in that it makes a sardonic comment on the lack of generosity displayed by a series of courtiers at the annual ritual of the distribution of new year gifts.⁷⁹

⁷⁷E.g. 'thy 3eiris 3ing', 'so tendir aige', 'thy counsale seige', 'thy noble genetryce', (*Precelland Prince*, lines 5, 9, 11, 53); 'Chryst bring our king to perfyte ege', (*Rolling in my remembrance*, line 46); 'the quene thy moder', (*Schir, sen of men*, line 23); 'flowdoun feild', (*This hindir nycht*, line 60).

⁷⁸MacDonald, 'William Stewart', 189.

⁷⁹MacDonald makes a convincing case for dating this poem to January 1542 rather than 1527 and provides identifications for the figures who appear: 'William Stewart', 195-97. However, he does not appreciate the full extent of the joke in the reference to the earl of Bothwell 'The quhilk in fredome dois excell.' He notes that Bothwell seemed to be banished from the court at the time. This was certainly the case but moreover, he had spent most of the 1530s in ward, first in Edinburgh Castle and later at Inverness under (justified) suspicion of treasonable dealings with Henry VIII. From 1539

Other minor poets of the period also wrote in a similar vein to Stewart. Three anonymous poems of the minority also make complaints of unjust rule by regency lords who are only interested in their own profit: *Suppoifs I war in court most he, Iesu chryst þat deit on tre* and *Now is our king in tendir aige*.⁸⁰ The latter, in its representation of 'Iohine vponland' also anticipates one of the heroes of Lindsay's *Satyre* and *Iesu chryst* has the refrain, 'Allace our king is nocht of eild.'⁸¹ Two other anonymous poems which used to be attributed to William Dunbar discuss similar problems: *Quhen the Gouvernor Past in France* (c.1517) and *We Lordis hes chosin a Chiftane Mervellous* (c.1520) have the respective refrains 'For, but thy [Christ's] help, this kynrick is forlorne,' and 'In lak of iustice this realme is schent allace.'⁸² Similarly, *The rich fontane of hailfull sapience* by Alexander Kyd discusses the familiar advice-to-princes *topoi* and, in its direct appeal to a 'rycht potent prince preclair,' seems to be addressed to the adult James V. Conventionally, it recommends that the king cultivate virtue, abhor vice and rule wisely and justly, but it takes an unusual twist in the penultimate stanza:

Eftir þi meit of instrumentis muisicall
 Thow suld be fed witht plesand armony
 quhilk is exercitioun most regall
 Lichtis the mynd plesand to heir & se
 attour all thing in musick cunnand be
 quhilk ornat homeir decoir of discepling
 ane kendill of curage off rankour Inneme
 musik callit wirthy for ony king.⁸³

Kyd's particular concern with the musical education of the king is probably explained by his own occupation: he was a prebendary of the chapel royal at Stirling (holding

Bothwell was not only banished from court but also from the realm and by 1541 he had travelled as far as Venice. His 'freedom' was therefore that of the exiled felon: Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 159-66.

⁸⁰*Bann. MS*, ii, 233-34, 245-47, 247-49.

⁸¹See MacDonald, 'William Stewart', 198.

⁸²Dunbar, *Poems*, ii, 235-6, 237-8.

⁸³*Bann. MS*, ii, 245.

the canonry of Strathbrawn *primo* until 1531, when he was promoted to the canonry of Ayr *sexto*) and from 1533/4 he was succentor of Aberdeen, which was a post involving musical responsibilities.⁸⁴ It is therefore likely that Kyd was not entirely disinterested when he sought to encourage the king to take a greater interest in music.

Of course, the most famous court poet of the reign was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, James V's senior herald and former master usher, and many of his works were clearly intended for the entertainment and edification of the king. Lindsay's career and oeuvre have been thoroughly and effectively examined in a recent monograph by Carol Edington and it is not necessary to rehearse her findings here.⁸⁵ However, it is important to stress the extent to which Lindsay's pre-1542 output is grounded in his experience as a courtier and confidante of the king. His first surviving work, *The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay of the Mount, Familiar Seruitour to our Souerane Lord Kyng James the Fyft* (c.1526), is 'topped and tailed' by direct appeals to the young monarch, *The Epistil* and *The Exhortatioun to the Kyngis Grace*, in which the poet makes a conventional examination of the qualities necessary for good kingship and exhorts James V to cultivate them. In between are *The Proloug* and *The Complaynt of the Comoun Weill of Scotland* in which the allegorical figures of 'Dame Rememberance' and 'John the Commonweal' consider the plight of Scotland under the misrule of the minority and look forward to the reign of 'ane gude auld prudent Kyng.'⁸⁶ All of Lindsay's next seven poems dating from c.1530 to c.1542 are explicitly set at court and discuss the lives and concerns of courtiers. *The Complaynt of Schir David Lindsay* (c.1530) is a combination of two traditional genres: the begging poem, appealing for preferment or reward for loyal service, and the advice-to-princes poem, in which Lindsay relates how he personally, and the realm generally, suffered under

⁸⁴RSS, ii, 786, 787; ER, xvi, 370.

⁸⁵Edington, *Court and Culture*.

⁸⁶Lindsay, *Works*, i, 3-38.

the immoral and irresponsible minority regimes and seeks better government from the new king.⁸⁷ *The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo* (c.1530) is also an advice-to-princes poem combined with a morality tale of how 'pride goeth before a fall' and a beast-fable satirising the avarice and corruption of the clergy.⁸⁸ The 'papyngo' of the title is the king's pet parrot, who after a foolish and useless life of luxury and vanity is inspired on her deathbed to offer sage advice to others (not just the king, but also the courtiers). There is clear evidence that James V actually did possess a pet parrot,⁸⁹ but Lindsay may also have had in mind two earlier courtly poems which utilised the same device: the *Première epistre de l'amant vert* of Jean Lemaire de Belges (the court poet and historiographer to Margaret of Austria at Mechlin)⁹⁰ and *Speke Parott* (1521) of John Skelton.⁹¹

The Complaint and Publict Confessioun of the Kingis Auld Hound, callit Bagsche is very similar to *Papyngo* in that it is another beast-fable offering moral advice to the king and court.⁹² This time the speaker is the king's pet dog who discourses upon the

⁸⁷Ibid, i, 39-53.

⁸⁸Ibid, i, 55-90.

⁸⁹In April 1537, whilst James was still in France, Captain Lundy purchased one for the king (*TA*, vii, 22) and in 1538 Thomas Kells was paid as the keeper of the king's parrots (ibid, vi, 390, 429). The dating of these entries might suggest that the poem was written slightly later than was previously thought.

⁹⁰Martin Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts in the Netherlands and Austria, 1477-1530', in Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance*, 229; McFarlane, *Literary History*, 41-43; Janet M. Smith, *The French Background to Middle Scots Literature* (Edinburgh, 1934), 135-36. The poem was written in 1505 and published in 1510, by which time Lemaire had moved into the service of Anne of Brittany. It is in the form of a letter to the Regent from her pet parrot, who is on its deathbed. It may be significant that Lindsay, as Snowdon Herald, undertook an embassy to the court of the Netherlands in May 1531 (*James V Letters*, 191, 193-4, 204; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 32). By then Margaret was dead and Charles V had returned briefly to his Burgundian territories to appoint her successor as Regent, Mary of Hungary (Brandt, *Charles V*, 320-22).

⁹¹John Skelton, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (Harmondsworth, 1983), 230-46. This poem is different from the other two in that it is not set at the bird's deathbed, but is a dialogue between a caged parrot and its courtly mistress, full of pseudo-scholarly nonsense imitating a parrot's chattering. However, it shares with *Papyngo* a viciously anti-clerical satirical edge, in this case directed at Cardinal Wolsey. It should also be noted that Lindsay had made visits to the English court too in 1532 and 1535: *TA*, vi, 44, 46; *L&P Henry VIII*, ix, 151; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 32-3.

⁹²Lindsay, *Works*, i, 91-99.

vices indulged in by many influential courtiers and the fickleness of favour and fortune. Again, Lindsay was using the names of a real pets, known to have been owned by the king, for both Bagsche and Bawte (the young dog to whom he addresses his advice) appear in the records.⁹³ *The Answer quhilk Schir David Lindesay maid to the Kingis Flyting*, as we have seen (above), was Lindsay's response to a poetic challenge from the king himself.⁹⁴ The flyting genre was a popular one in middle-Scots verse and involved a verbal duel between two competitors, fought with the weapons of poetical and rhetorical invective.⁹⁵ Since the literary gauntlet had been thrown down by the king, Lindsay had to be somewhat circumspect in his response; nevertheless he made a stinging attack upon James's notorious predilection for sexual promiscuity and expressed the wish that an eagerly-anticipated French wife would curb his excesses. *The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene* (1537) is a poem commemorating this first French wife, in which Lindsay describes in detail the joyful preparations made by the town of Edinburgh to welcome their new queen and how all was turned to sorrow upon her sudden and early death.⁹⁶ *The Iusting betuix James Watsoun and Ihone Barbour, seruitouris to King James the Fyft* (1538-42) is a comic poem describing a parody of a chivalric tournament in which the combatants are not accomplished knights but rather humble, clumsy and cowardly household servants.⁹⁷ *Ane Supplication Directit frome Schir David Lyndesay, Knycht, to the Kyngis Grace, in Contemptioun of Syde Tallis* (1537-42) is a comic petition to the king in which the poet requests the proscription

⁹³TA, vii, 96 (Oct. 1538) records payment to John Campbell, a 'leiche' (a doctor, or in this case presumably, a vet) 'for mending of the kingis dog callit Bogsche'. Murray, 'Accounts of King's Pursemaster', 40 notes payment to a smith of Stirling called Purves for a chain for a dog called Bawte.

⁹⁴Lindsay, *Works*, i, 101-104.

⁹⁵E.g. *The Flyting of Dunbar & Kennedy* in Dunbar, *Poems*, ii, 11-29.

⁹⁶Lindsay, *Works*, i, 105-112.

⁹⁷Ibid, i, 113-116. James Watson was the king's barber-surgeon and John Barbour was a groom in the wardrobe: see Appendix A.

of fashionably over-long ladies' gowns, which he presents ironically as a source of great wickedness within the realm.⁹⁸

These poems are the only surviving examples of Lindsay's work from the reign of James V but two other pieces of his are noted in contemporary sources. One was a collaborative effort between him, Sir Adam Otterburn (the king's advocate) and Sir James Foulis (the clerk register) to produce a suitably dignified oration to welcome Queen Mary of Guise on her entry into Edinburgh in July 1538, and the other was a court entertainment or interlude, which seems to have been a prototype of his play *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (1552),⁹⁹ staged at the palace of Linlithgow on twelfth night 1540, in the presence of the king, queen and court dignitaries. We know of the Edinburgh oration only from a brief entry in the *Burgh Records*,¹⁰⁰ but the Linlithgow entertainment was described in some detail in an English espionage report because it was thought to indicate the king's willingness to respond to Henry VIII's demands that the Scottish church should be reformed in line with English practice.¹⁰¹ However, such hopes proved to be ill-founded, for James well understood the distinction between enjoying in private some ribald anti-clerical humour and publicly throwing himself into the arms of his heretic uncle. It is probably worth noting that in writing *Ane Satyre* and, to a lesser extent, the Linlithgow interlude, Lindsay seems to

⁹⁸Lindsay, *Works*, i, 117-122.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, ii.

¹⁰⁰*Edin. Recs.*, ii, 91.

¹⁰¹*L&P Henry VIII*, xv, 114; Lindsay, *Works*, ii, 1-6. The report was sent 26 Jan. 1540 by Sir William Eure at Berwick to Thomas Cromwell in London. Eure had met with two gentlemen of James V's council who were sympathetic to religious reform. One, Sir Thomas Bellenden (justice clerk), told Eure that James had specifically asked for the interlude to be staged because he was minded to curb the power of his prelates and that at the end of the performance 'the king of Scotts Dide call vpon the busshope of Glascoe being Chancelour and diverse other busshops exorting thaym to reform thair facions and maners of lyving saying that oneles thay soe did he wold sende sex of the proudeste of thaym vnto his vncler of england and as thoes were ordoured soe he wold ordour all the reste that wolde not a mende and thereunto the Chancelour shuld aunswer and say vnto the King that one worde of his graces mouthe shuld suffice thayme to be at commaundement and the king haistely and angrely aunswered that he wold gladely bestow any words of his mouthe that could a mend thaym.' As this report seems so much at variance with James's actual policies at the time, it is possible that Bellenden was engaged in a campaign of disinformation to keep Henry VIII at bay.

have been influenced by the work of John Skelton for a second time.¹⁰² There are many parallels between Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (written in 1519 but published in 1532) and the first part of *Ane Satyre*. Both plays depict a young and impressionable king ('Magnyfycence' in Skelton, 'Rex Humanitas' in Lindsay) swayed by the persuasive tongues of allegorised vices into a life of luxury and profligacy, which results in the neglect of good government. Justice is eventually restored by the intervention of virtues offering good counsel, and reforms which benefit the whole realm are ultimately instituted. The 1540 interlude does not follow quite the same pattern but even here the king is influenced by 'Placebo,' 'Pikthanke' and 'Flaterye,' (who bear some resemblance to Skelton's 'Fansy,' 'Foly,' 'Crafty Conveyaunce,' et al.) and is rescued by 'Experience' brandishing a vernacular New Testament (who is not unrelated to Skelton's 'Good Hope,' 'Perseveraunce' and 'Redresse'). In dispensing such strong medicine to James V, it might be imagined that Lindsay was rashly provoking the royal wrath, but some comments by Greg Walker on the Skelton play may make the position clearer. He suggests that within the enclosed world of the royal or noble court, a household retainer had a certain licence, even a duty, to speak his mind. 'The notion of "good counsel" provided both the stimulus for offering harsh advice and a framework which partially neutralized its harmful implications,' he states, and proceeds to explain how a play which was overtly critical of royal policy was, by its very existence, imposing the role of virtuous prince upon the patron, by assuming that he would be willing to accept unpalatable advice.¹⁰³

¹⁰²Skelton, *Complete English Poems*, 140-214; Gregory Kratzmann, *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations, 1430-1550* (Cambridge, 1980), 168, 196, 204-219; Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1991), 61-89. It has also been suggested that Lindsay's *Satyre* was partially influenced by two French plays, Pierre Gingore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz* (1511) and André de la Vigne's *La Mystère de Saint Martin* (1496): Kratzmann, *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations*, 196; Smith, *French Background*, 124-137.

¹⁰³Walker, *Plays of Persuasion*, 58.

Lindsay's association with Foulis and Otterburn in 1538 connects him with the neo-Latin culture of the humanists at the Scottish court, for both of these men were authors of Latin verses. Some verses by James Foulis of Colinton were published in Robert Galbraith's *Quadraperitium* (Paris, 1510),¹⁰⁴ and whilst he was a student at the university of Orléans in 1512, Foulis also published a volume of poetry on Scottish themes dedicated to Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St. Andrews (who was a half-brother of James V and a former pupil of Erasmus in Siena): *Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis Calamitose pestis Elegia deploratio. Eiusdem ad divam Margaritam reginam Sapphicum carmen. De mercatorum facilitate aesclepiadeum item et alia quedam carmina*.¹⁰⁵ In the same year he was elected procurator of the Scottish nation at the university of Orléans and he inserted his *Carmen elegum* into its *Register*.¹⁰⁶ In 1516 Foulis returned from France to Scotland and set himself up as a lawyer in Edinburgh; from 1529 he was employed as an auditor of some of the royal accounts; in 1530 he was acting king's advocate in the absence of Otterburn and in March 1532 he was appointed clerk of the rolls, register and council.¹⁰⁷ His only known work to address the king directly was the *Strena ad Jacobum V. Scotorum Regem de Suscepto Regni Regimine*, which was probably printed in Edinburgh by Thomas Davidson c.1528.¹⁰⁸ The poem celebrates the king's assumption of authority and predicts the

¹⁰⁴J. Ijsewijn and D. F. Thomson, 'The Latin Poems of Jacobus Follisius or James Foullis of Edinburgh', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xxiv (1975), 133-34.

¹⁰⁵Ibid, 102-32; Durkan, 'Beginnings of Humanism', 8; MacQueen, 'Scottish Latin Poetry', in Jack (ed.), *History of Scottish Literature*, i, 214.

¹⁰⁶Ijsewijn and Thomson, 'Latin Poems', 135-34; John Kirkpatrick (ed.), 'The Scottish Nation in the University of Orleans, 1336-1538', in *SHS Misc.*, ii (1904), 82, 97. The poem is addressed to the realm of Scotland, who keeps faith with her treaties, is proud, hardy and true to God. The realm will fight to defend her borders rather than for the bribes of other countries because the nation is virtuous and noble under a glorious king, James IV, to whom the poet wishes a long life. This is clearly a comment on the growing international crisis of 1512-13.

¹⁰⁷*MW*, i, 8; *ADCP*, 335, 338; *RSS*, ii, 1189. See Appendix A. See also L. O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Wisconsin, 1991), 47-64. An indication of Foulis' learning is the list of books known to have formed a part of his library. They are Paulus Aemilius, *De rebus gestis Francorum* (Paris, 1520), Simon Grynaeus, *Novis orbis* (Basle, 1532), Bartolus, *Super Digesto novo* (Lyons, 1538), Bartolus, *Super digesto veteri* (Lyons, 1538); Durkan and Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, 99-100.

¹⁰⁸*Strena*, in *Bann. Club Misc.*, ii, (1836), 3-8; Ijsewijn and Thomson, 'Latin Poems', 135-37.

dawning of a new golden age for Scotland in Ovidian terms. Fradenburg speculates that his motive may have been to stress the loyalty of himself personally and the town of Edinburgh corporately to the new regime, because both had co-operated with the minority regime of the earl of Angus.¹⁰⁹ His Edinburgh associate, Sir Adam Otterburn of Oldham and Redhall, was also suspected of Douglas sympathies, was warded for a year from September 1538 and only released on payment of a heavy fine (£2,000).¹¹⁰ However, before this (as we have seen) he had served for fourteen years as king's advocate and had also been a provost of Edinburgh, lord of session, royal councillor and ambassador to England.¹¹¹ None of his poetry survives but it was praised by George Buchanan, who may be considered a competent judge.¹¹² Foulis and Otterburn not only collaborated on the oration for Mary of Guise's Edinburgh entry but also worked together with Adam Mure on *Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni*, which Durkan considers to be an outstanding example of Renaissance Latin.¹¹³

The Latin culture of the Scottish court was given a boost with the residence there of Giovanni Ferrerio (1502-1579) between 1528 and 1531. Ferrerio was a Piedmontese scholar who had met Robert Reid, abbot of Kinloss, at the university of Paris and been persuaded by him to spend some years living and working in Scotland.¹¹⁴ He spent most of his time at the abbey of Kinloss (1531-37 and 1540-45), teaching the monks and expanding the library, but whilst at the royal court he established friendships with Sir Walter Lindsay, Sir John Campbell of Lundy, Sir Thomas Scot of

¹⁰⁹Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, 57-64.

¹¹⁰*ADCP*, 479-80; He was replaced as King's Advocate by the man who had delivered the oration to Mary of Guise, Master Henry Lauder.

¹¹¹See Inglis, *Sir Adam Otterburn*.

¹¹²McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 50.

¹¹³J. Durkan, 'Adam Mure's "Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni,"' *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xviii (1979), 199-231. See also, idem, 'Adam Mure: a biography', *ibid.*, 232-3.

¹¹⁴See Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism', 14-16 and idem, 'Giovanni Ferrerio. Humanist: His Influence in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in K. Robbins (ed.), *Studies in Church History*, 17 (Oxford, 1981), 181-194.

Pitgormo, Laurence Telfer and Foulis of Colinton.¹¹⁵ In 1531 he wrote *De vera cometarum significatione* for James V, to persuade him that his interest in astrology was superstitious and irrational and that he should put all his trust in God.¹¹⁶ Ferrerio had a long and distinguished academic career after he left Scotland, but his sojourn there had obviously had quite an impact upon him and he later undertook a continuation of Boece's *Historia Scotorum* (Lausanne, 1574). He was an admirer of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and a humanist in the Erasmian mould, which was reflected in the curriculum he devised for Kinloss.¹¹⁷ Before he left he wrote a history of the abbey and a life of Thomas Crystal, Reid's predecessor as abbot.¹¹⁸

The most distinguished Scottish neo-Latinist of the day was George Buchanan (1506-82) and, although most of his output was produced after the death of James V, he was briefly a member of the court circle and wrote poetry for the king. He had studied under John Major at the universities of St. Andrews and Paris in the 1520s, had served as a regent at the college of Sainte Barbe between 1528 and 1531 and was employed as tutor to Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis between 1531 and 1535.¹¹⁹ At this period in his development he seems to have come under the influence of Lefèvre d'Étaples, Guillaume Budé and Erasmus: his biographer describes him as 'a vanguard humanist susceptible to evangelical currents' but he had so far published only a translation of Linacre's *Rudimenta* and Vives' *De ratione studii puerilis*.¹²⁰ In 1535 he returned to Scotland in the train of his noble pupil and found employment as the tutor

¹¹⁵Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism', 15; idem, 'Giovanni Ferrerio', 183.

¹¹⁶This was published in Paris in 1540 and dedicated to Cardinal Beaton.

¹¹⁷He introduced Lefèvre's editions of Aristotle, Dionysius the Areopagite and George of Trebizond as well as the works of Cicero, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, Valla et al: Durkan, 'Education: The Laying of the Foundations', in MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism*, 125-6, 153.

¹¹⁸Ferrerii, *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club, 1839).

¹¹⁹McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 22-47. See also J. Durkan, S. Rawles and N. Thorpe, *George Buchanan (1506-1582) Renaissance Scholar* (Exhibition Catalogue, Glasgow University Library, 1982); J. Durkan, *Bibliography of George Buchanan* (Glasgow, 1994), p. ix-xiii; idem, 'George Buchanan: New Light on the Poems', *The Bibliothek*, x (1990), 1-9.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 40-45.

of one of the king's illegitimate sons, Lord James Stewart, between 1536 and 1539.¹²¹ In 1535 he wrote a poem, the *Somnium*, which was partially a translation of the first four stanzas of William Dunbar's poem *The Dreame*, but which then developed a life of its own and became a satirical attack on the order of St. Francis. This was followed by his *Franciscanus* (apparently written at the behest of the king),¹²² which is a lengthier and even more savage consideration of the same theme, and the *Pallinodiae* (both c.1536/7) which purport to be recantations and apologies but actually reinforce the earlier criticisms.¹²³ None of these poems were published before 1566 and were almost certainly subject to later revision, so it is not possible to be sure how much of the invective actually dates from the reign of James V. However, the poems as they were written in the 1530s (they probably circulated in manuscript-form) seem to have been sufficiently strident to attract the enmity of the Scottish clergy. Since it was clearly possible for other poets, such as Lindsay, to write in an anti-clerical vein without being pursued on a charge of heresy and driven into exile (as happened to Buchanan in 1539), perhaps the most significant enemy he made during his brief residence at the Scottish court was not a friar but the king's favourite mistress, Lady Margaret Erskine. James V had three natural sons named James and Buchanan seems to have been engaged to educate the eldest, who was produced by Elizabeth Shaw of Sauchie in 1529.¹²⁴ Margaret Erskine's son was the second lord James (born 1531) and she may have been jealous of the special provision made for another woman's child. In any event, Buchanan himself clearly identifies her as the person behind his

¹²¹Ibid. 48-51; *TA*, vi, 289, 353, 430; *ibid*, vii, 59; *RSS*, ii, 384; *ER*, xvii, 169. See Appendix A.

¹²²Buchanan tells us this himself (Aikman, i, p. xii-xiii see also Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Greyfriars*, i, 111ff) but the king was, at least publicly, very supportive of the order: see chapter 4.

¹²³John MacQueen, 'Scottish Latin Poetry', in Jack (ed.), *History of Scottish Literature*, i, 214-5. MacQueen identifies the classical influences on Buchanan's style as Catullus and Horace (*Somnium*), Juvenal (*Franciscanus*) and Ovid (*Pallinodiae*). Buchanan may also have been inspired by Erasmus: as Lutheranism gathered momentum, Erasmus found himself accused by a senior Franciscan, Nicholas Feber or Herborn, of sowing the seeds of evangelism (in his book, *Enarrationes evangeliorum* [1533]). Erasmus responded by writing two anti-Franciscan *Colloquia*, one of which included a satirical description of a dream-vision of St. Francis: Durkan, 'Beginnings of Humanism', 9-10.

¹²⁴Buchanan, *History*, i, p. xii.

persecution¹²⁵ and one of the men appointed to examine him was Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, the king's secretary and possibly a kinsman of the Lady Margaret. Buchanan managed to escape his captivity, apparently with the connivance of the king, and did not return to Scotland until after the reformation, when he was to become classical tutor to Mary, Queen of Scots and then her son, King James VI, rather than a royal bastard.

The doctrinal disputes of the Renaissance humanists had already impinged on the court of James V even before Buchanan became the object of a heresy enquiry. The debate was opened by Alexander Allan, known as Alesius (1500-1565). He had been an Augustinian canon of St. Andrews and an admirer of Patrick Hamilton, who fled to Germany after the latter's execution and became a follower of Melanchthon. In 1533 he published his *Epistola contra Decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia*, which attacked the Scottish proscription of evangelical texts (in particular, the vernacular Bible) and wrote to James V on the same subject.¹²⁶ The gauntlet was taken up by John Dobneck, known as Cochlaeus, a Catholic controversialist and friend of Erasmus.¹²⁷ He replied with *Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia Iohannis Cochlaei Adversus Personatum Alexandrum Alesuim Scotum*, which he wished to dedicate to James V. Since the king of Scots had never had any previous contact with him, Cochlaeus sought recommendations from his friend, Erasmus, and his sovereign, Ferdinand, king of the Romans. They both wrote to James on behalf of Cochlaeus in December 1533 and January 1534 and the king replied a few months later thanking them for their interest and graciously accepting the book.¹²⁸ Erasmus's letter is of interest in that he presumes upon his Scottish royal connections, established by his

¹²⁵McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 67; Buchanan, *History*, i, 4-8.

¹²⁶*James V Letters*, 241; R. J. Lyall, 'The Literature of Lowland Scotland, 1350-1700', in Paul H. Scott (ed.) *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 89.

¹²⁷Durkan, 'Beginnings of Humanism', 10.

¹²⁸*James V Letters*, 241, 252, 271. *TA*, vi, 236. A copy of this tract was owned by Chancellor Dunbar: Durkan and Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, 31.

former role as tutor to the king's half-brothers (the late Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St. Andrews, and James Stewart, earl of Moray), in order to urge Cochlaeus's case and he obviously remembers his erstwhile pupils with some affection.¹²⁹

As with other aspects of Scottish cultural development, the literary life of the court was considerably affected by James V's visit to France in 1536-37. James may well have taken his presentation copy of Davidson's edition of Bellenden's translation of Boece with him, because the binding is apparently of Parisian workmanship.¹³⁰ If this was so, it could also have been the source of a French description of Scotland, list of its kings and brief history which was written in the final months of 1536 for the Princess Madeleine, to inform her about her new realm. The book, *Summaire de l'origine description & meruilles Descosse. Avec vne petite cronique des roys du dict pays iusques a ce temps*, was clearly based upon Bellenden's work and was written by Jean Démontiers, a learned gentleman in the household of Francis I, who had possibly served the duke of Albany.¹³¹ It was not printed until the spring of 1538, by which time Madeleine was already dead, so the book was extended to include a description of her marriage, voyage and death and was dedicated to the dauphiness, Catherine de Medici. The printed edition also included four Latin epitaphs for the dead queen; one was anonymous (perhaps by Démontiers himself) and the other three were by Etienne Dolet, Jean Visagier and Nicolas Desfrenes.¹³² The inclusion of Dolet's name on the list may indicate that there was possibly some substance to Buchanan's view that Madeleine was inclined to evangelicalism, since Dolet's advanced opinions brought him under suspicion of heresy in the late 1530s and he was eventually burned at the

¹²⁹*James V Letters*, 252.

¹³⁰Its gilt tooling consists of a border formed by Italianate arabesques and a pair of portrait medallions of Plato and Dido: D. W. Doughty, 'Renaissance books, bindings and owners in St. Andrews and elsewhere: the humanists', *The Bibliothek*, vii (1974-5), 119. This volume is now in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York.

¹³¹A. H. Millar, 'Scotland described for Queen Magdalene: A Curious Volume', *SHR*, i (1903-4), 27-38; Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 282.

¹³²The four epitaphs, with translations, are printed in Millar, 'Scotland described', 37-38.

stake in 1546.¹³³ Desfrenes, a Louvain theologian and follower of Lefèvre d'Étaples, was also in the evangelical camp.¹³⁴ Visagier produced two other neo-Latin poems to commemorate Madeleine's death, which were also published in Paris in 1538.¹³⁵ French verses commemorating the late queen were penned by Giles Corrozet (*Vers funèbres sur la mort de très noble dame madame Magdalaine de France, Roynne d'Escosse*)¹³⁶ and Pierre Ronsard, who was a page in her train, would later write about her death and James's grief in *Le Tombeau de Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Savoye*.¹³⁷ It may be significant that the only surviving Scottish poem commemorating the death of Queen Madeleine, Lindsay's *Deploratioun*, was written in a French genre¹³⁸ and it was certainly the case that the French *chanson*-form became very popular with Scottish poets.¹³⁹ More joyful poetry had earlier been written at the French court to celebrate the wedding of James and Madeleine in January 1537: Clément Marot offered a *Chant nuptial du Roy d'Escoce & de Madame Magdelene Premiere Fille de France*¹⁴⁰ and Jean Leblond, seigneur de Branville, produced a broadsheet edition of his *Nuptiaulx Virelayz du mariage du roy Descoce: et de madame magdaleine premiere fille de France*.¹⁴¹ Two anonymous poems were also presented to the happy couple on the morning after their wedding: *Epithalame ou vers nuptiaulz pour les nopces du serenissime roy d'Escosse et*

¹³³Buchanan, *History*, i, p. xii; *ibid*, ii, p. 256: Buchanan considered the influence of Marguerite of Navarre, Madeleine's aunt, to be crucial in this context. For Dolet see Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 467, 508, 510. Dolet had a printing shop in Lyons and Visagier was also based in this city in the 1530s: McFarlane, *Literary History*, 151-2. See also Henri Weber, 'Étienne Dolet: l'énigme d'une pensée et le sens d'un combat', in Pauline M. Smith & I. D. McFarlane (eds.), *Literature and the Arts in the Reign of Francis I* (Lexington, 1985), 237-248.

¹³⁴Millar, 'Scotland described', 37.

¹³⁵*Istud es expertus* and *Dulce decus patris*, printed in *Inscriptionum libri duo* (Paris, 1538): see Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 282.

¹³⁶*Cronique du Roy*, 217-20.

¹³⁷Pierre Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. G. Cohen (20 vols., Paris, 1950), ii, 480-91. See also McFarlane, *Literary History*, 104-115.

¹³⁸Lindsay, *Works*, i, 105-112.

¹³⁹See chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰Clément Marot, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. C. A. Mayer (6 vols. London, 1958-80), iii, 314-18. See also McFarlane, *Literary History*, 297-327.

¹⁴¹Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 280.

Madame Magdaleine de France fille aisnee du Roy son espouse and *Elegie nuptiale presentee a Madame Magdaleine, premiere fille de France, le lendemain de ces nopces et mariage celebre avec le Roy d'Escoce*.¹⁴² All of these poets were lavish in their praise of the royal couple and several classical allusions were drawn, such as the comparison of Madeleine with Helen of Troy, or of James with the sun-god, Phoebus.¹⁴³

At the English court there was a post of king's printer, which was held by Richard Pynson before his death in 1530 and by Thomas Berthelet thereafter.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, Francis I appointed several specialist printers, such as Robert Estienne, who was the king's printer of Latin, Hebrew and Greek texts from 1539.¹⁴⁵ James V had only one king's printer, Thomas Davidson of Edinburgh, who received his official appointment in August 1536 but had been working for the king since at least 1534/5 and possibly earlier.¹⁴⁶ He seems to have been a native of Aberdeen and may have learned his trade in Louvain in the 1520s.¹⁴⁷ There does not seem to have been any obvious connection or continuity between Davidson's press, set up in Edinburgh in the mid-1520s, and the earlier venture of Chepman and Millar (1507-10), although in March 1542 the king granted him the tenancy of the tavern and booth previously held by Walter Chepman.¹⁴⁸ Davidson does not appear to have done very much to foster a native

¹⁴²Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 281. Extracts from several of these French poems are printed in Lindsay, *Works*, iii, 127-30.

¹⁴³E.g. 'De beaulté d'homme avoit plus grande part/ Que le Troyen qui fut espris d'Helene' (Marot, *Chant Nuptial*, lines 19-20) and 'Ton blond Phebus' (*Elegie nuptiale*, line 28).

¹⁴⁴H. G. Aldis, J. Carter and B. Crutchley, *The Printed Book* (Cambridge, 1951), 34.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 27-28.

¹⁴⁶*RSS*, ii, 2141; *ER*, xvi, 398.

¹⁴⁷Habakkuk Bisset, *Rolment of Courtis (1626)*, ed. Sir Philip J. Hamilton-Grierson (3 vols, STS, 1920, 1922, 1926), i, 71-2 describes him as 'ane northland man borne on the wattirsyde of die', and suggests that he was designated as King's Printer as early as 1532. See also Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 275, 277. In Oct. 1541 Davidson and James Bannatyne were appointed 'conjunctlie and severalie, sercheouris generale to us [James V] in all partis of our realme, off all and sindry Inglismen thair schippis, marchandice and gudis cumand within this oure realme but sufficient conduct, and of unlefull gudis and marchandice coft or to be coft be thame in the samyn': *RSS*, ii, 4275.

¹⁴⁸*RSS*, ii, 4521; *RMS*, iii, 2612.

Scottish printing trade: he bought type and woodcuts from the Netherlands, paper from France and hired labour from both countries.¹⁴⁹ Scottish printers clearly found it very difficult to compete with the more skilful, numerous and economical editions from the continental presses (we have already seen that both Major and Boece took their histories to Paris for publication) but royal patronage at least ensured the survival of the Davidson press during the lifetime of the king. Davidson's known output consists of only Foulis's *Strena* (c.1528), Douglas's *Palice of Honour* (1530s), Bellenden's Boece (c.1536) and *The New Actis and Constitutions of Parliament maid be the Rycht Excellent Prince Jame the Fift Kyng of Scottis*, for which he received a commission in December 1541.¹⁵⁰ In addition, he may have printed some lost editions of Lindsay's poetry¹⁵¹ and a little tract called *The Trompet of Honour* (c.1537), the title page of which apparently accorded James V the style Defender of the Christian Faith. The book itself has not survived but its existence was noted in an undated letter from an English minister to a Scottish prelate, which indicated how angry Henry VIII was with this usurpation by his nephew of the title he considered to be his alone.¹⁵² In his patronage of Davidson, James V seems to have had in mind the same reasons of state which motivated his father's establishment of the Chepman and Millar press in 1507: that is, the creation of a native print shop, under crown control, which would produce editions of the laws of Scotland, the liturgy of Scotland (in James IV's case, urged by Bishop Elphinstone) and the 'official' history of Scotland.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹P. B. Watry, 'Sixteenth-Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland with an Introductory Survey of the Scottish Book Trade' (University of Oxford, DPhil thesis, 1993), 20.

¹⁵⁰RSS, ii, 4335. Watry, 'Printing Types and Ornaments', 19-20.

¹⁵¹Ibid, 20.

¹⁵²*L&P Henry VIII*, xvi, 1301; John Durkan, 'The Trompet of Honour (Edinburgh? 1537)', *The Bibliothek*, xi (1982). 1-2. The writer was probably Thomas Cromwell and the recipient David Beaton, and the letter probably dates from June or July of 1537. Durkan has linked the use of the title to the papal gift of the blessed cap and sword, bestowed upon James V in February of that year. Furthermore, a payment of £3 was made in Jan. 1539 to an Englishman who came from the Borders with writings concerning 'the ballatt maid of the king of England' (*TA*, vii, 132) and the two incidents may possibly be connected.

¹⁵³The royal patent of 15 Sept. 1507 authorised Chepman and Millar 'for imprenting within our realme of the bukis of our lawis, actis of parliament, croniclis, mess bukis and potuus efter the use of our realme ... and al utheris bukis that sal be sene necessare' (RSS, i, 1546).

James IV is also praised frequently for his enlightened patronage of Scottish educational developments such as the new university of Aberdeen, founded in 1495, or the education act of 1496, which required all property holders to ensure that their heirs were given at least the basic rudiments of literacy and numeracy, as well as a familiarity with the laws of the realm.¹⁵⁴ However, benign and gracious though the king's role may have been in such projects, it is clear that the real initiative (as with the printing press) was taken by Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen.¹⁵⁵ This being the case, there seems little reason to deny James V the same aura of sanctity, since new educational initiatives, driven by ecclesiastics, were taken in his reign as well. We have already seen (above) how Robert Reid recruited Giovanni Ferrerio to establish a humanist academy at the abbey of Kinloss (which, incidentally, developed amicable links with the nearby university of Aberdeen) and another new project was the foundation of St. Mary's College by the two Beaton archbishops at the university of St. Andrews. James Beaton seems to have been toying with the idea of a new college during the 1520s and 1530s, spurred on by the schemes of Archibald Hay, who published *Ad Reverendissimum in Christo patrem D. Iacobum Beaton, pro Collegii erectione* in Paris in 1538.¹⁵⁶ Hay, like David Beaton, was a nephew of Archbishop James and he had made his mark teaching at the college of Montaigu in the university of Paris. His plan for the new foundation was to include the teaching of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and, if possible, Chaldaic as well as the more usual curriculum. He also hoped to establish an extensive library and printing press. When David Beaton succeeded his uncle as primate in 1538, he went ahead with the scheme, and Hay eventually moved from Paris in 1545 to become the first principal of the new college, just as the political

¹⁵⁴Macdougall, *James IV*, 114-5, 174-5, 218, 284-5.

¹⁵⁵L. J. MacFarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1995), 236-7, 245, 290-402.

¹⁵⁶John Durkan, 'Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations', in MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism*, 154-55; James K. Cameron, 'Humanism and Religious Life', in *ibid.*, 165-67; Durkan, 'Beginnings of Humanism', 14.

fabric of Scotland was rent by the 'Rough Wooing.' In May 1546 David Beaton was murdered at St. Andrews by his political and religious enemies and in September 1547 Hay died at the battle of Pinkie. However, St. Mary's College did survive this inauspicious start and was reconstituted by Archbishop John Hamilton in the 1550s. Likewise, the ghost of the intellectual patronage of the court of James V can be detected in the establishment of three royal lecturers (in Law, Greek, Latin and Philosophy) in Edinburgh in the 1550s. The inspiration probably came from Francis I's *lecteurs royaux* of 1530 and the initiative was driven by Robert Reid (by that time promoted from Kinloss to the see of Orkney) and patronised by Mary of Guise. This project also served as a basis for the 'Toun College' of Edinburgh, opened in 1583 and partly funded from Reid's legacy, which later developed into the University of Edinburgh.¹⁵⁷

The early death of the king in December 1542 was undoubtedly a blow to the literary and scholarly culture which had evolved at the royal court, and some creative momentum was almost certainly lost in the ensuing minority. There is no indication of any significant cultural activity within the circle of the regent Arran, who does not seem to have had much interest in such matters, and the production of poetry and prose by many of the figures discussed above seems to have ceased after 1542. None of Thomas Davidson's editions can be dated later than 1541; no poems by John Bellenden or William Stewart can be traced to Mary's minority; Giovanni Ferrerio departed from his haven at Kinloss in 1545 to return to work in France; and George Buchanan remained in exile on the continent until after the Reformation. However, talent and creativity cannot just be turned off like a tap, and the 1540s and 1550s is a period of Scottish cultural history which has received little attention so far. Further

¹⁵⁷John Durkan, 'The Royal Lectureships under Mary of Lorraine', *SHR*, lxii (1983), 73-8; D. B. Horn, 'The Origins of the University of Edinburgh', *University of Edinburgh Journal*, xxii (1966), 213-225, 297-312; M. Lynch, 'The Origins of Edinburgh's "Toun College": a Revision Article', *IR*, xxxiii (1982), 3-14.

research into this area may well yield interesting results and two areas which probably merit closer inspection would be the francophile court which coalesced around Mary of Guise at Stirling Castle and the patronage wielded by some of the Scottish burghs of the period. Indeed, Theo van Heijnsbergen has identified the circle around the dowager queen as an important focus for the poetic talents of the young Alexander Scott (who also spent some time in France during the 1540s);¹⁵⁸ whilst the burgh of Cupar was the scene of the first full-scale performance of Sir David Lindsay's *Satyre* in 1552. Certainly, Lindsay retreated from the royal court after the death of James V to settle on his Fifeshire estates and his later poems, whilst still concerned with the issues of monarchy and high politics have, according to Carol Edington, a broad socio-political vision concerned with the community of the realm and the commonweal, which he developed out of his more courtly works of the 1530s.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal', 307-08; idem, 'Interaction', 222-23. See also MacQueen (ed.), *Ballatis of Luve*, pp xxxvi-lix; idem, 'The Biography of Alexander Scot and the Authorship of *Lo, quhat it is to lufe*', in J. Derrick McClure (ed.), *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue: Studies in the Language and Literature of Lowland Scotland in honour of David D. Murison* (Aberdeen, 1983), 52-8; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 49-55.

¹⁵⁹Edington, *Court and Culture*, 115-41.

6. TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The possession of a fleet of warships armed with the latest artillery was a matter of strategic importance and also of some prestige to sixteenth-century monarchs.¹ Henry VII began to develop a navy in the latter years of his reign and this concern was taken up enthusiastically by his son who built new dockyards at Deptford and Woolwich, expanded the facilities at Portsmouth and appointed a council 'for marine causes' to administer the commissioning and maintenance of the royal ships. By 1520 he possessed a standing navy of about thirty ships and by the end of his reign this number had increased to seventy.² James IV was also obsessed with developing a royal navy and, with French financial and technical aid, he had built up a fleet of about a dozen ships by 1513 and created a modern shipyard at Newhaven, not far from Leith.³ The pride of Scotland was the *Great Michael*, a ship of a thousand tons launched at Newhaven in October 1511. This was a vessel larger than those at the command of the king of England and Henry's response was to commission the equally large *Henry Grâce à Dieu*, which was laid down in December 1512 but not launched until June 1514. By then, however, the *Great Michael* had been sold to the French king following the defeat at Flodden.⁴ James IV's leading captains were Andrew Wood of Largo and Andrew Barton of Leith and kinsmen of both these men were prominent in the service of James V, who resurrected his father's naval ambitions in the latter part of his adult reign.⁵

¹David Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot, 1992), 2-5; E. H. Jenkins, *A History of the French Navy from its Beginnings to the Present Day* (London, 1973), 10-11.

²David Loades, 'Henry VIII: the Real Founder of the Royal Navy?' in David Starkey (ed.), *European Court*, 172; idem, *Tudor Navy*, 72.

³Macdougall, *James IV*, 223-43.

⁴Norman Macdougall, "'The greatest schein that ever sailit in Inland or France": James IV's "Great Michael"', in Macdougall (ed.), *Scotland and War, AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991), 36-60; Loades, 'Henry VIII', 174; idem, *Tudor Navy*, 65-6.

⁵See Appendix A. See also W. Stanford Reid, *Skipper from Leith: The History of Robert Barton of Over Barnton* (Oxford, 1962).

It is not at all clear what ships, if any, were owned by the Scottish crown in 1528 and when James V was planning his pacification of the Western and Northern Isles in 1531 it is entirely possible that he was intending to use ships hired from his captains (Robert Wood, John Barton and George Wallace) alongside four boats from Anstruther and Crail which were pressed into service for a month.⁶ The Isles raid did not take place as it had originally been planned because the troublesome MacDonald chief, Alexander Johncanochson of Islay, submitted to the king at Stirling at the last minute⁷ but the expenses of ships, men, victuals and artillery listed in the accounts, and enigmatic references to 'the raid of Caithness' suggest that some sort of expedition was mounted at this time although its purpose and progress is obscure.⁸ The first definite mention of ships owned by the king occurs in 1533 when ships were captured from the English during the hostilities of 1532-33. In February 1533 Chapuys reported that Henry VIII had sent four ships to 'stop the trade' of the Scots⁹ and in April 1533 messengers were being sent to all parts of the Scottish realm to order the strengthening of coastal defences.¹⁰ At this point Hector Maclean of Duart seems to have raided Ireland and the Isle of Man and captured an English ship which he presented to James V.¹¹ The king was in correspondence with him over this ship in July 1533¹² and in September and October 1533 he went into Argyll to take

⁶*TA*, v, 460-1.

⁷*ADCP*, 358.

⁸*TA*, v, 450-62. A tax was raised on the church to finance the expedition and some of it was actually spent on the preparations. The original plan had been for a two-pronged assault launched from Kintail under the earl of Moray and from Ayr under the king: *ADCP*, 348. Unfortunately the kitchen accounts for this period are missing, since this record would have been the best source for the king's itinerary.

⁹*L&P Henry VIII*, vi, 142. Chapuys also noted the capture of English ships by the Scots but did not know the precise details: *ibid.*, 296.

¹⁰*TA*, vi, 129-30. The measures extended to the detention of the archbishop of St. Andrews, who was suspected of being pro-English. His castle was held by the king's officers at this time: *ibid.*, vi, 128; *ADCP*, 370, 400-2.

¹¹*ER*, xvi, 90.

¹²*TA*, vi, 136.

possession in person.¹³ One of the king's captains, Robert Fogo, was also involved in the capture of an English ship at this time.¹⁴ Neither the ship captured in the Isles nor that taken by Fogo are named in the 1533 accounts but the likelihood is that one was the *Mary Willoughby* and the other the *Lion*, since both these names appear in later accounts.¹⁵ The ship taken in the isles was given a thorough refit at Dumbarton between December 1533 and August 1534 under the supervision of her skipper, George Wallace, and in 1535 he sailed her to Dieppe and Bordeaux, perhaps to buy wines for the king.¹⁶

In 1536 the king made two major voyages and expanded his fleet of ships. Firstly, he set sail from Pittenweem on Sunday 23rd July, sailed north to the Pentland Firth and back down the West coast landing at Whithorn on Friday 4th August.¹⁷ The names of

¹³The king was absent from the household (which was left at Stirling) in Argyll from Sat. 30 Aug. to Mon. 20 Oct. 1533: SRO MS, Household Book, E.31/4, fos. 99v.-105v.; E.31/5, fos. 1r.-5v.; E.32/3, fos. 7r. & v. James was hunting during this period too and there are several references to him having been at Inveraray: *TA*, vi, 87, 216; *RSS*, ii, 1560; *James V Letters*, 249.

¹⁴*TA*, vi, 163-4. Fogo had an interest in several ships from Leith and engaged in piracy as a side-line; one of the king's gunners, David Falconer, was one of his partners: Reid, *Skipper from Leith*, 194-8.

¹⁵At this period it is difficult to be certain of the identities of named ships, let alone unnamed ones, because names were often duplicated both in series and in parallel. The original *Mary Willoughby* was named after Maria de Salinas, Katherine of Aragon's favourite lady-in-waiting, who married lord Willoughby in 1516 (Mattingly, *Katherine of Aragon*, 128). The first ship of this name must therefore have been built sometime between the Willoughby marriage and the onset of the royal divorce crisis c.1527, after which date a loyal friend of Queen Katherine would have been *persona non grata* with Henry VIII. In 1522 the *Mary Willoughby* appeared on an English navy list alongside the *Lion*, both of which were said to be of 140 tons (*L&P Henry VIII*, iii[2], 2014). However, some historians have suggested that the ship was not built until 1533/4 (Loades, *Tudor Navy*, 91) or 1536 (M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* [London, 1896], 50). In the latter instance, Oppenheim was aware of the 1522 list and considered it to have been misdated, but he did not explain his reasons for this belief. The ship of 1533-6 was possibly a mark-II *Mary Willoughby*, built to replace the vessel lost to the Scots in 1533, laid down in 1533/4 and launched in 1536. If so, it was built alongside a mark-II *Lion*, which suggests that this was the other ship taken by the Scots that year. In 1547 the first *Mary Willoughby* and *Lion* were retaken by the English during the 'Rough Wooing'. This *Lion* was subsequently lost with all hands off Harwich but a *Mary Willoughby* was rebuilt in 1551 and was still in service in the English navy in the 1560s (Loades, *Tudor Navy*, 142, 153, 228).

¹⁶*TA*, vi, 233-6, 262. Unfortunately the accounts of the king's wine cellar are not extant for this period, but the later accounts confirm that the king did import wines from Bordeaux e.g.: SRO MS, E.31/8, fo. 137v. Again the king's ship is unnamed in 1534-5 but in July 1537 George Wallace was skipper of the *Mary Willoughby*: *TA*, vi, 330.

¹⁷SRO MS, Household Book, E.32/5, fos. 112r.-118v.

the ship(s) used in this voyage are not recorded but the king seems to have been accompanied by the earl of Atholl, the earl of Rothes, Walter Lundy of that ilk, Robert Barton of Overbarnton, Andrew Wood of Largo and his brothers, John and Robert, all of whom were granted remission from legal actions against them whilst they were away.¹⁸ The sources are very confused about the purposes of this trip and it may have been the case that the king deliberately shrouded it in a cloud of disinformation. The household book simply states that he was sailing to the Northern Isles (*versus boriales insulas*) but Queen Margaret had assured Henry VIII that James was coming to visit the English court and had been driven north by contrary winds.¹⁹ However, Leslie, Pitscottie and Buchanan relate the story that James was intending to sail to France by a westerly route (to avoid the possibility of interception by the English) but, encountering stormy weather, took shelter in Whithorn. It is even suggested that the ship(s) were turned back when the king was asleep, on the orders of Hamilton of Finnart, who thereafter fell from royal favour.²⁰ The chroniclers also assert that the king undertook this voyage without consulting his council and without making proper arrangements for the government of the realm in his absence, but the council records show that they knew of his departure from at least the 27th July and

¹⁸RSS, ii, 2108, 2113, 2114; *ADCP*, 455-6. The respite for Rothes and Lundy states that they are leaving Scotland to go on pilgrimage to St. John of Amiens, which might suggest that James was intending to head for France, but the text does not specifically state that they were to travel with the king. Indeed, Rothes made an appearance before the council on 2nd August, while James V was still at sea, so if he had set sail with the king he did not stay on board for the whole of the voyage and seems to have been making little progress in the direction of Amiens: *ADCP*, 458. It is also possible that James was accompanied on his voyage by the bishop of Aberdeen and the earl Marischal, both of whom were with him in Pittenweem just before he sailed and witnessed a charter: *ADCP*, 458.

¹⁹SRO MS, Household Book, E.32/5, fo. 112v.; Wood, *Letters*, ii, 278-80.

²⁰Lesley, *Historie* (Bannatyne Club), 150; Pitscottie, *History*, i, 355; Buchanan, *History*, ii, 311-14. There does seem to have been some sort of breach in the hitherto cordial relationship between Hamilton of Finnart and the king at this period. John Penven, writing to Sir George Douglas from France in October 1536, described how the earl of Moray had asked James V where Finnart was and the king replied that he had 'fawttid sore to him and should never have his favor again.' The same source in a separate letter described how the king had blustered to a companion on the voyage, 'If I would but once look merely upon the earl of Angus, Sir James would drowp; for by the wounds of God, for all Sir James' bragging, the earl of Angus and he never met but Sir James turned ever the back seams of his hose': *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 916. This may have been wishful thinking on the part of a Douglas adherent, since Finnart seems to have recovered royal favour quite quickly and remained a prominent member of the court until his sudden fall in August 1540.

that a council of regency was acting on 2nd August.²¹ On Friday 1st September he set sail again from Kirkcaldy. This time France was definitely his destination and the proper arrangements for a council of regency were certainly made.²² He landed at the Newhaven of Dieppe on 9th September and spent the next nine months as a guest of the French king, whose daughter he married on 1st January 1537. James must have made the outward voyage with several ships but only the *Mary Willoughby* is named in the accounts, whilst Pitscottie claims that the *Lion* went too.²³ However, payments are also recorded for Thomas Richardson's ship, Patrick Barcar's ship, and John Lawson's ship, but these vessels were probably hired by the king rather than owned by him.²⁴ Almost as soon as he had landed in France, James sent two men off to purchase a new ship for him, but since Francis I later decided to cover his guest's expenses the purchase became a gift.²⁵ This acquisition was probably the *Moriset*, which was provided with some new fittings in October 1536 and set sail for Scotland on 15th

²¹*ADCP*, 455, 458. The lords regent were named as the chancellor and the earls of Huntly, Argyll, Eglinton and Montrose.

²²SRO MS, Household Book, E.32/6 fo. 1r. The council of regency consisted of the chancellor, the archbishop of St. Andrews (now rehabilitated after the scare of 1533), lord Maxwell and the earls of Huntly, Montrose and Eglinton: *RMS*, iii, 1618. The earl of Argyll was travelling this time and obtained a respite from legal actions whilst he was away for himself and a long list of dependents: *RSS*, ii, 2150, 2151. Similar respites were granted to James Gordon of Lochinver, David Beaton, lord Fleming and the earl of Arran, all of whom were also on the voyage: *ibid.*, ii, 2155, 2158, 2162, 2166, 2167, 2173. Two further respites were granted to John Hamilton of Colmskeith and Thomas Doughty (the hermit of Loretto), but neither was specifically stated to have been accompanying the king: *ibid.*, ii, 2165, 2175.

²³*TA*, vi, 451-2, 462-5; Pitscottie, *History*, i, 367. The *Mary Willoughby* had a crew of 38 men and was sent to Bordeaux in March 1537 to buy wines for the king: *ibid.*, vi, 452, 462. One English account stated that James took five ships with him, including the *Mary Willoughby*, but also reported that he landed in France on 27 August: *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 631. At Berwick the Scottish fleet of six ships was reported to be sailing south on 4th September. The informant believed that the king was accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyll and Rothes, lord Fleming, the abbot of Arbroath, the prior of Pittenweem and the laird of Drumlanrig. According to this account the *Mary Willoughby* had become a ship of 700 tons: *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 400.

²⁴Thomas Richardson's ship was sent back to Scotland in October 1536 carrying lord Erskine and the earl of Rothes who were to take possession of Dunbar Castle in the king's name (*TA*, vi, 453). By January 1537 Richardson's ship had obviously returned to France again because he was paid compensation for damage it sustained in transporting the king's horses and hounds (*TA*, vii, 15). Patrick Barcar's ship was sent to Scotland in April 1537 with a cargo of wine for the king and John Lawson's ship returned to Scotland a week or two later (*TA*, vi, 464-5). Lawson was paid extra for spying on the English coastline near Calais to ensure that it was safe for James and Madelaine to set sail for Scotland in May (*TA*, vii, 22).

²⁵*TA*, vi, 454.

November carrying powder, guns and some of the king's gentlemen.²⁶ By March 1537 the *Moriset* was back in France and was one of the ships used to bring the king and queen home in May.²⁷ The French king also presented James with a second ship, the *Salamander*, which appears in the records from March 1537, when it was provided with a mast at Honfleur.²⁸ There was a reward of twenty crowns paid to 'the maister tymmerman quhilk maid the Salamander' in May, which seems to suggest that the vessel was commissioned especially for the king of Scots, but since Francis had had no warning of James's visit, and the construction of a new ship often took a year or two at this period, this is unlikely.²⁹ The ship was presumably destined for James's fleet as it neared completion, having been originally intended for the French king (the salamander was his personal badge). When James and Madeleine returned to Scotland in May, their ships were escorted by two French galleys, *Perforce* and *Monsieur de Roy*, but these ships did not stay in Scotland.³⁰

Ships were also prepared in May 1538 to sail to France to collect Mary of Guise, although the king himself did not travel on this occasion. The accounts specifically mention the *Salamander*, the *Moriset*, the *Mary Willoughby* and 'the French challop' but others may have been hired from the two Leith captains who received payments at this time (John Barton and Robert Wood) and crewed by men summoned into service from across Scotland.³¹ Like Madeleine, Mary received an escort of French galleys (one was called the *Riall*) under the command of 'Captain Marmoling' and the English coast was reconnoitred by Archibald Pennecuik.³²

²⁶*Ibid.*, vi, 451, 453.

²⁷*Ibid.*, vi, 463, 466. Archibald Pennicuik and Robert Smailhum were in charge of provisioning this vessel.

²⁸*Ibid.*, vi, 463.

²⁹*TA*, vii, 24. The *Salamander*, along with another royal ship, the *Unicorn*, was captured by the English fleet at Leith in 1544. The English navy lists describe the *Salamander* as a ship of 300 tons and the *Unicorn* of 240 tons: Oppenheim, *Royal Navy*, 50.

³⁰*TA*, vii, 25.

³¹*Ibid.*, vi, 390-1, 400-1, 406; *ibid.*, viii, 157-62.

³²*Ibid.*, vii, 59-60. Monsieur Marmoling had also escorted Madeleine in 1537: *ibid.*, vii, 24.

By this time it is clear that the king was building his own ships in Scotland. In March two ships were sent to Lochaber to collect timber for building galleys, and from July Walter Howieson, with his two assistants, was employed as the 'master timberman' (i.e. wright) of the king's ships.³³ At the same time John Barton provided timber, labour, painted sails and other supplies for the king's 'row boit' and the *Moriset* was repaired.³⁴ It is interesting that James was building 'galleys' (or probably galleases) rather than sailing ships; perhaps he was inspired by his visit to the Western Isles in 1536, for galleys were the mainstay of Gaelic seafaring, or perhaps he was hoping to imitate the French Mediterranean fleet, which also relied on such vessels.³⁵ The English navy also contained galleys/galleases but not in any large number.³⁶ In January 1539 workmen were still constructing the king's new ships at Leith and by July the *Unicorn* was launched, armed with artillery, given sea trials in the Forth (with the *Mary Willoughby* in attendance), and sent to seek pirates off the east coast.³⁷ By August the 'litill new bark' was ready for launch and sea-trials (when she 'previt salage'). The ship, which was named the *Little Unicorn* to distinguish her from the *Meikle Unicorn*, was furnished with colourful banners, flags and pennants, richly carved chambers for the king and queen, and masts, sails and oars that were painted and gilded with arms and faces (grotesques?).³⁸ The *Little Unicorn's* maiden voyage (accompanied by the *Meikle Unicorn* and the *Mary Willoughby*) was a four day trip in which she took the king and queen on pilgrimage to the Isle of May and then on to Dundee for the queen's royal entry and the wedding of the earl of Errol, before returning to Leith.³⁹ In celebration of the successful launches, the master shipwright,

³³Ibid. vi, 381; ibid. vii, 257.

³⁴Ibid. vi, 421, 381. The reference to sails being provided for a rowing boat suggests that it was a gallease rather than a galley. Galleys were driven by oars alone, whilst galleases had the option of using oars or sails.

³⁵Jenkins, *French Navy*, 10-11.

³⁶Loades, *Tudor Navy*, 95.

³⁷*TA*, vii, 190, 224-5, 228.

³⁸Ibid. vii, 140, 189-90, 229.

³⁹SRO MS, Household Book, E.31/8, fos. 99v.-102r.

Walter Howieson, now titled 'the patrour' of the king's ships, was presented with a silver whistle on a long chain.⁴⁰ Howieson continued to receive payments for some years and ship-building obviously continued, for later in the year more timber was supplied along with ropes and pulleys.⁴¹ Another ship which may have been the result of his operations was the *Lychtar*, recorded as a king's vessel in July 1542.⁴²

In June 1540 the king made his second major voyage to the Western and Northern Isles, shortly after the birth and baptism of the Prince James at St. Andrews.⁴³ Unfortunately, the household accounts of this period have not survived to help construct his itinerary, but it is clear that his fleet set sail from somewhere in Fife on Saturday 12th June and on Tuesday 6th July a letter was written from Edinburgh in the king's name, so he was probably back by then. However, 6th July was also the date on which the ships of Dumbarton, Ayr and Irvine had been ordered to meet the king in the Isles with provisions, so perhaps he returned a little later.⁴⁴ The ships named for the voyage were the *Lyon*, the *Great Unicorn*, the *Little Unicorn*, the *Salamander* and the *Mary Willoughby*, a stone-boat from Burntisland (perhaps a barge for carrying stores and baggage) and ships owned by Alexander Wallace and Peter Falconer may also have taken part.⁴⁵ The king's cabin was provided with bedding, curtains and hangings and all the ships were furnished with flags, tents and guns. The king's goldsmith even supplied some silver plate for the royal table, and a

⁴⁰*TA*, vii, 197.

⁴¹*Ibid*, viii, 148, 169; *ibid*, vii, 204, 207. Timber was also obtained for ship-building in 1541: *ibid*, vii, 474. Howieson was still in royal service in May 1546, when he was described as the 'patrour' of the *Lion*: *ibid*, viii, 458.

⁴²*Ibid*, viii, 94.

⁴³In the absence of the king Matthew, earl of Lennox, William, earl of Montrose and John, lord Erskine were jointly appointed 'tutouris testamentouris, gydaris and governors' to the baby prince. These men were presumably not present on the voyage: *HMC Rep. Mar and Kellie*, 14.

⁴⁴*TA*, vii, 353; *Letters*, 402; *TA*, vii, 317. Alternatively, the provisions may have been intended to supply the king's ships for the return voyage around the entire Scottish coastline and back to Leith, whilst James himself travelled back overland from Dumbarton to Edinburgh.

⁴⁵*TA*, vii, 353-5, 314.

gold whistle for the royal costume, symbolic of naval command.⁴⁶ English espionage reports suggest that the 'raid' was made by sixteen ships carrying between two and four thousand men and that the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Arran, Atholl, Errol, Moray, Cassillis and the earl Marischal, as well as Lord Maxwell (the lord admiral) and Cardinal Beaton were in attendance. However, the same reports also suggested that James was bound for France or Ireland so their accuracy may be questioned.⁴⁷ According to Leslie, the fleet sailed up the east coast as far as Caithness and then made the crossing to Orkney, where the king visited the bishop, Robert Maxwell, and replenished supplies. The voyage proceeded to Lewis, Skye and then down the coast of Ross past Knapdale and Kintyre to land at Dumbarton.⁴⁸ Leslie states that the king landed regularly to receive the submissions of the clan chiefs and to take hostages or pledges from the Macleods, McConnells, MacDonalds and MacLeans, whom he retained in ward thus ensuring obedience and payment of crown revenues for the rest of the reign.⁴⁹ This explanation for the voyage is perfectly credible and in character, and indeed there is a record of Highland men being warded at Dunbar, Tantallon and the Bass shortly afterwards.⁵⁰ A recent commentator has suggested that the king was also concerned to secure the lands of the MacIans which reverted to the crown in 1519 but of which sasine had not been taken.⁵¹ Another significant factor in the general crackdown may have been that the crown earldoms of Orkney and Ross and the lordships of Ardmannach and the Isles formed a part of the jointure of the

⁴⁶Ibid, vii, 309-314, 353-7. This is very reminiscent of Henry VIII decking himself out as a sailor and blowing a golden whistle at the launch of the *Great Galley* in 1515: Loades, *Tudor Navy*, 71; *L&P Henry VIII*, ii, 1113.

⁴⁷*L&P Henry VIII*, xv, 632, 634, 709, 710. The French ambassador to England, Marillac, knew perfectly well that the king of Scots was visiting his Isles and that the English were unduly alarmed about his intentions: *ibid*, 736.

⁴⁸Lesley, *History*, 156-7.

⁴⁹There is a Macleod tradition that James V visited Dunvegan Castle in 1536 and 1540 and that on the first visit he was feasted in the open air by the chief, Alasdair Crotach: W. Douglas Simpson, 'A Chronicle History of Dunvegan Castle', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xxxvii (1934-6), 377.

⁵⁰*TA*, vii, 323.

⁵¹Cameron, 'Crown Magnate Relations', 415-6, 424.

recently-crowned queen.⁵² Furthermore, the newly-born Prince James of Scotland was also styled duke of Rothesay and the construction of the forework at Rothesay Castle, which had been started by James IV was resumed at this time and completed in 1541-42.⁵³ Shortly after the voyage Archibald Stewart was paid for the expenses of three gunners in the castles of 'Dunnewik and Iland, Lochbrum in Ilay' (Dunivaig and Port Ellen on Islay?) of which the king seems to have taken possession, and in October, a ship called the *Little Forfar*, captained by Colin Porterfield, was sent with supplies to the Master of Kilmaurs in the Isles.⁵⁴ Another highland fortress, Dunaverty Castle in Kintyre, also received attention at this period: £200 was spent on building work there and the castle was manned by two or three gunners under the captaincy of the master of Glencairn.⁵⁵

Another consequence of the king's 'circumnavigation' of Scotland in 1540 (or perhaps of the 1536 voyage) was the production of the first comprehensive rutter of the Scottish seas by the pilot, Alexander Lindsay.⁵⁶ For a king who was concerned to create a royal navy and to enforce his authority on the more distant parts of his realm by visiting them in person, such a project would seem to have been a natural extension of his activities. A rutter was a list of instructions for navigating coastal waters by sailing from one headland to the next using only a compass, sand-glass, traverse-board

⁵²*James V Letters*, 340-1.

⁵³Denys Pringle, *Rothesay Castle and St. Mary's Church* (Edinburgh, 1995), 2, 9, 19; Pitscottie, *History*, i, 389. The work was undertaken by Hamilton of Finnart from April 1540 until his execution in August, thereafter the name of the master of works is not known, but it may have been the chaplain of St. Michael's, Master Andrew Hamilton: *ER*, xvii, 472. The prince's official style was James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothesay, earl of Carrick, lord of Kyle and Cunningham, baron of Renfrew and steward of Scotland: *RSS*, ii, 3535.

⁵⁴*TA*, vii, 328, 400. Porterfield was paid again for a voyage to the Isles in March 1541: *ibid*, vii, 438.

⁵⁵*MW*, i, 269; *TA*, vii, 444, 482; *ibid*, viii, 106; *RCAHMS Argyll (Kintyre)*, 157. The gunners in 1541 were James Bonar and Patrick Cant and they were joined by John Johnston in the summer of 1542.

⁵⁶Alexander Lindsay, *A Rutter of the Scottish Seas, c.1540*, eds. A. B. Taylor, I. H. Adams and G. Fortune (Maritime Monographs and Reports, no. 44, 1980); Alexander Lindsay, 'The Navigation of King James V Round Scotland, the Orkney Isles and the Hebrides or Western Isles', ed. Nicholas d'Arville, trans. Robert Chapman, in *Miscellanea Scotica: A Collection of Tracts Relating to the History, Antiquities, Topography and Literature of Scotland* (3 vols., Glasgow, 1820), iii, 100-122.

and lead-line as navigational aids.⁵⁷ In north-western Europe the use of rutters preceded the use of charts by about a century and the rutters usually included information on tides, currents, winds and soundings as well as descriptions of the main landmarks, harbours and dangers to be encountered.⁵⁸ Courses were set by compass points and the distances to be covered were calculated very roughly in miles or 'kennings'.⁵⁹ The earliest English rutters and French *routiers* in manuscript date from the late-fifteenth century and they were available in print from the 1520s.⁶⁰ Lindsay's rutter gives directions for voyages from Leith south to the Humber, from Leith north to Duncansby Head, from Duncansby Head to the Mull of Kintyre (taking in Orkney) and from the Mull of Kintyre to the Solway. He seems to have drawn upon information from earlier local or regional rutters but he made no record of his sources. His original manuscript has not survived but we know of its existence from English versions derived from the one made to assist the 'Rough Wooing' (c.1546)⁶¹ and a French translation by Nicholas de Nicolay, sieur d'Arfeville, and chief cosmographer royal (c.1547 but published in 1559 and 1583).⁶² Indeed, it is from d'Arfeville's account that we learn that the rutter was compiled at the command of James V, since there is no record of expenditure on such an item in the surviving household accounts, and Lindsay himself hardly features in the Scottish sources either.⁶³

⁵⁷Lindsay, *A Rutter*, 5.

⁵⁸Lindsay, *A Rutter*, 23-26.

⁵⁹A 'kenning' was a variable unit of distance extending as far as the eye could see. In Lindsay's rutter it is taken to be approximately 14 miles: Angelo Forte, 'Kenning be Kenning and Course be Course': Maritime Jurimetrics in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Northern Europe with Particular Reference to Scottish Maritime Law' (paper delivered to the 39th Conference of the Colloquium for Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Pitlochry, 7th January, 1996).

⁶⁰See D. W. Waters (ed.), *The Rutters of the Sea* (New Haven and London, 1967). In the Mediterranean world these documents were called 'portolans'.

⁶¹In 1546 the admiral of England, John Dudley, lord Lisle, possessed a copy of the rutter, perhaps acquired from one of the 'assured Scots' taken at Solway Moss (the Scottish admiral, Lord Maxwell, would be a likely candidate). The best of the later English versions is NLS, Adv. MS, 33.2.27: see Lindsay, *A Rutter*, 6, 7, 9, 33, 34, 38.

⁶²D'Arfeville took his copy from a Scots text lent to him by Dudley and then had it translated into French with assistance from Ferrerio: see Lindsay, 'The Navigation', 103 and *idem*, *A Rutter*, 6, 28, 30, 31, 36.

⁶³An Alexander Lindsay was recorded as an usher of the queen's outer chamber between July 1539 and July 1542 but this may not have been the same man: *TA*, vii, 182; *ibid*, viii, 101. A man of the

The final indication of the king's interest in naval matters was his construction of a new harbour at Burntisland, Fife, between August 1540 and 1542, where Robert Orrock of that ilk was master of works.⁶⁴ Over £2,300 was spent in these two years on the new haven, renamed 'Our Lady Porte', which seems to have been located just below Rossend Castle.⁶⁵ The castle was a property belonging to the abbey of Dunfermline, which was officially made over to the king in 1542 by the commendator, George Durie, in a deal involving an exchange of lands.⁶⁶ James V also founded the royal burgh of Burntisland in 1541.⁶⁷ Alongside the fortifications at Kinghorn, Ravenscraig and Inchgarvie and the harbours at Leith and Blackness, the new port seems to have been part of a system for defending the Firth of Forth from English seaborne assault, and an English account of 1544 described the harbour at Burntisland as having a pier and three blockhouses.⁶⁸

James V clearly took the defence of his realm seriously. Having ascended the throne following the battle of Flodden, he was brought up to be aware of the destructive potential of war with England, and he twice had to defend his kingdom from English incursions, in 1532-33 and in 1542. During his adult reign he not only spent heavily

same name (who was possibly from Kinghorn) made a clock ('orlage') for Falkland Palace in 1540/1 and he may well have been the compiler of the rutter: *MW*, i, 275. An Alexander Lindsay was also recorded as one of the crew on James IV's *Great Michael* in 1513: *TA*, iv, 504. For the Tudor king's interest in cartography see Peter Barber, 'Henry VIII and Mapmaking', in Starkey (ed.), *European Court*, 145-51.

⁶⁴*TA*, vii, 331, 429, 474, 494, 500; *ibid*, viii, 94-5, 114.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, vii, 331, 474; *ibid*, viii, 95, 114; Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland: Fife*, 108.

⁶⁶*RMS*, iii, 2731. Even before this, in February 1541, some sort of arrangement had been reached with the abbey since the laird of Sillebawbe (Alexander Orrok, brother of Robert) was given £33 to be paid to the monks for sealing a charter relating to Burntisland: *TA*, vii, 429.

⁶⁷*RMS*, iii, 2383.

⁶⁸*Hamilton Papers*, ii, App. II, nos. 714-5: 'Burnt ysland, cauld the New Haven:- wher the gret schips comonly doth lye in a dokk. And ther ys a pire and thre blok houses, but at a place a quarter of a myle be west Brent island cauled the Myll dame, there ys good landyng out of the danger of the ordnaunce.' The same source describes Inchgarvie thus: 'iiij myle be weste Brent island. Ther ys a pyle or a fortres faysible to be wone, and good landinge with schipps or bottes. An island.'

on naval developments (as we have seen) but also on fortifications.⁶⁹ It used to be thought that the years between 1480 and 1560 constituted a barren period in the building of Scottish castles and fortifications, but a more recent examination of the archaeological record has shown this to be a misconception.⁷⁰ An investigation of the documentary sources also suggests considerable activity and development at this period. James V followed the precedent of his immediate forbears by legislating to encourage the propertied classes of Scotland to contribute to the defence of the kingdom. In 1426 James I had ensured that all holders of castles beyond the Mounth were obliged to restore and maintain their properties, and in 1481 James III had ordered all coastal and border fortresses to be repaired and supplied with men, provisions and artillery in readiness to resist English incursions.⁷¹ As we have already seen (above) James V issued similar instructions for the fortification of coastal towns and castles during the hostilities with England of 1533, and in 1535 he followed this up with another act of parliament 'for bigging of strenthis on the bordouris.'⁷² In addition, Zeune's analysis of the feu charters recorded in the *Register of the Great Seal* indicates that the Stewart monarchs were encouraging and licensing their

⁶⁹The naval expenditure in the two years 1538-40 alone amounted to at least £3,600: *TA*, vi, 381, 421, 438, 450-4, 463; vii, 19, 24, 140, 169, 189-90, 204, 207, 257-8, 281, 297, 310-14, 322.

⁷⁰'From 1480 or thereabouts until after the Scottish Reformation of 1560, few tower-houses of consequence were built. The impetus to building flagged. It died with the mediaeval chivalry of Scotland at Flodden in 1513... The lost generation could not build ... The continuation of the tower-house tradition was thus interrupted for some 80 years... By and large, in comparison with the great numbers of tower-houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and their proliferation after 1560, the blankness of the secular architectural record of the first half of the sixteenth century is one of the most remarkable in Scotland's building history': Stewart Cruden, *The Scottish Castle* (Edinburgh and London, 1960), 144-5. However, a study of the archaeological sources, which resulted in a revised chronology for many Scottish castles, led one architectural historian to conclude that 'This claim [Cruden's] is one of the most momentous fallacies in Scottish castellology. The reigns of James IV and James V ... saw in fact a peak of castle-building activities': Zeune, *Last Scottish Castles*, 310.

⁷¹*APS*, ii, 13, 133. The castles specifically listed in the latter act were Dunbar, Lochmaben, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Tantallon, Hailes, Dunglass, Hume, Edrington and Hermitage but the order also included 'sic uther castells and strenthis as may be kept and defendit fra oure Ennemyis of England.'

⁷²*TA*, vi, 129; *APS*, ii, 346. The act stipulates that all holders of lands worth £100 should build a stone barmkin extending to 60 square feet within walls 1 ell thick and 6 ells high, and that landholders of more modest means should build peel towers.

subjects to build fortified residences, and that James V was the most active in this respect.⁷³

In the upgrading of the defensive capabilities of royal castles, James V had been set an example by his regent, John, duke of Albany, for whom a new blockhouse had been constructed at his castle of Dunbar between 1515 and 1523. No accounts of the building work survive and we know that the blockhouse was in existence by June 1523 only because of an espionage report by lord Dacre, which is corroborated by a comment in Pitscottie.⁷⁴ Perhaps the fortification was planned by Antoine d'Arces, sieur de la Bastie, who was Albany's captain of Dunbar until his murder in September 1517, or maybe the scheme was devised by Moses/Mogin Martin, the master mason, who subsequently worked for James V at Falkland.⁷⁵ The French gunners at Dunbar, under the command of master Wolf, may have contributed to the design as well, for the blockhouse contains the first dateable Scottish examples of the wide-mouthed gun-port of the period, and was clearly intended to exploit the defensive possibilities of heavy artillery and smaller firearms.⁷⁶ The squat shape, with massively thick walls, also indicates that it was designed to withstand the pounding of attacking gunfire, and its layout is somewhat reminiscent of the most up-to-date Italian angle-bastioned fortifications; although it has been suggested that this may have been serendipitous rather than deliberate, for it is largely dictated by the shape of the rock on which it

⁷³Zeune calculates that between 1463 and 1567 513 feu charters granting licence to fortify were issued, of which 371 date from the reign of James V. Even within this reign the incidence of charters is not evenly spread: 73 were issued in 1525-28 and 93 in 1540-42: Zeune, *Last Scottish Castles*, 109-11. The latter concentration is easily explained by the outbreak of hostilities with England, but the earlier one might suggest that the earl of Angus's regime was not quite as confident of support from Henry VIII as has often been thought.

⁷⁴*L&P Henry VIII*, iii, 3134; Pitscottie, *History*, i, 303. The Dacre letter describes Dunbar as 'in manner imprenable.' He states that he has seen it for himself and it has only one entrance, heavily fortified with a new bulwark, and supplied with ordnance by Albany.

⁷⁵See chapter 3.

⁷⁶For a detailed description see Iain MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places of Strength in the Lothians and the East Border, 1513-1542', in David H. Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), 107-119.

stands.⁷⁷ However, Albany had had experience of Italian campaigns and had close Italian connections through the marriage of his sister-in-law, Madeleine de la Tour Auvergne, to Lorenzo de Medici in 1518.⁷⁸ After Albany's death without legitimate issue in June 1536, Dunbar Castle reverted to the crown and the blockhouse may have served as the inspiration for some of James V's subsequent fortifications at Blackness, Tantallon and elsewhere.⁷⁹

Blackness Castle, near Linlithgow, was originally built in the 1440s for Sir George Crichton but was annexed by James II (along with other Crichton properties) on his death in 1454. Improvements to the fortifications there seem to have been planned by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, as captain of Linlithgow, from August 1536, just as the works at the palace approached completion,⁸⁰ and were concluded (after Finnart's execution in August 1540) under the rector of Dysart, John Denniston, in 1542.⁸¹ Well over £1,000 was spent during this period⁸² in thickening the walls of the southern and eastern defences to a depth of 5.5 metres, constructing vaulted gun-emplacements and raising the south tower. The bulwark thereby constructed at the

⁷⁷For Italian developments see David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1995), 76-85 and Geoffrey Stell, 'Late Medieval Defences in Scotland', in Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications*, 43. For the Dunbar layout see MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places', 112-13.

⁷⁸Marie W. Stuart, *The Scot who was a Frenchman* (London and Edinburgh, 1940), 96-99.

⁷⁹During the 'Rough Wooing' Dunbar Castle again became the seat of a French garrison. In 1553, it was manned by a French captain, six officers, thirty men-at-arms, thirty-five arquebusiers, twenty-five privates, a fifer, a tabourer (for which, see chapter 4) and a *fourrier* (quartermaster): R. S. Rait (ed.), 'Muster-Roll of the French Garrison at Dunbar, 1553', *SHS Misc.*, ii (1904), 103-114.

⁸⁰See chapter 3.

⁸¹In 1540 John Bog, a yeoman of the king's stable, was named as the keeper of Blackness Castle and he may have contributed to the works as well: *ER*, xvii, 289.

⁸²On 17th August 1536 Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton, John Simpson and Robert Watson were ordered to pay £1,000 (which was owing to the king for Hepburn's escheat) to Finnart in two instalments of £500 at Christmas 1536 and Whitsun 1537 for the works at Blackness: *ADCP*, 453. In April 1537 £133 6s. 8d. owed by Finnart for a wardship was set against his expenses on the works of Linlithgow and Blackness: *TA*, vi, 304. In September 1538 £180 was paid to Finnart as a part of his expenses at Linlithgow and Blackness: *TA*, vii, 91. A further £300 part-payment was made in April 1540: *TA*, vii, 302. In 1540/1 Charles Denniston was paid £3 19s. 6d. for roofing the dungeon and kitchen tower at Blackness and for three locks: *TA*, vii, 474. In April 1542 the parson of Dysart was paid £133 6s. 8d. to complete the works at Blackness: *TA*, viii, 73.

southern approach to the castle bears some resemblance to the blockhouse at Dunbar in its polygonal plan and deep casemates opening at wide-mouthed gun-ports.⁸³ Furthermore, the south tower, which contained the principal accommodation, probably also had the capability to house a great gun at the hall window and small arms on the parapet.⁸⁴ A similar concern for the use of masonry on a massive scale and the provision of gun emplacements was a feature of the works carried out for James V at Tantallon. With its massive curtain wall and extensive outer earthworks, the castle of the earl of Angus was sufficiently well-fortified to withstand the besieging forces of the king in October and November 1528.⁸⁵ By April 1529 the castle (and other Douglas property) was in the king's hands following a deal with England which sent Angus into exile.⁸⁶ Although the castle was manned and supplied at an early date,⁸⁷ there is no evidence of any major construction work there until 1538 and 1539, when nearly £1,300 was spent.⁸⁸ The master mason was George Semple and the accounts were handled by the king's secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine, and his cupbearer, Oliver Sinclair, who was listed as the captain of Tantallon from September 1539 to August 1542.⁸⁹ The works involved filling in the mural stairs and chambers, which had created weak-spots in the curtain wall, attaching a forework to the central gate-tower, constructing a crenellated parapet along the top of the curtain wall, and improving the defences of the towers. The bases of the east and mid towers were reinforced with heavy masonry and had wide-mouthed gun-ports inserted, on a pattern related to that of the Dunbar blockhouse, and it is likely that the Douglas (north) tower was treated in a similar way, but most of this structure has been lost.⁹⁰

⁸³Zeune, *Last Scottish Castles*, 278-9.

⁸⁴MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places', 128-32; idem, *Blackness Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1993), 4-20.

⁸⁵*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 12.

⁸⁶Cameron, 'Crown Magnate Relations', 106-134.

⁸⁷E.g. in 1530-31 £20 was spent 'to furnys the necessaries' at Tantallon: *TA*, v, 434.

⁸⁸Sums totalling £1291 17s were assigned to the works at Tantallon between Mar. 1538 and Oct. 1539: *MW*, i, 198, 200, 228, 236, 241; *TA*, vii, 256; *ER*, xvii, 120.

⁸⁹*MW*, i, 236, 241; *ER*, xvii, 120, 601; *TA*, vii, 256.

⁹⁰MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places', 132-3; Zeune, *Last Scottish Castles*, 278.

By 1543, as a result of the works undertaken for James V, Sir Ralph Sadler could report that both Blackness and Tantallon castles were impregnable.⁹¹

The combination of these works at Burntisland, Dunbar, Blackness and Tantallon considerably strengthened the defences of the approach to Edinburgh from England by land or sea and this seems to have been a quite deliberate policy, for other strategic sites also received attention at this period. James IV had appointed John Dundas to fortify the island of Inchgarvie in the Forth in 1491⁹² and these works were still being completed in 1515-1516 when Charles Denniston, captain of Inchgarvie, was paid for a large staff, the majority of whom were masons.⁹³ His account also shows that the castle was armed with two serpentines (large, breech-loading, forged-iron guns) which were supplied with five chambers (canisters containing shot and powder to be loaded at the breech).⁹⁴ In 1529-30 Patrick Wemyss of Pittencrieff (later a master household depute) had been keeper of Inchgarvie for four years and was protesting to the council that he had not been paid.⁹⁵ In February 1533, in the midst of the hostilities with England, James Dundas of Dundas was appointed keeper for a year and was paid £33 6s. 8d. for minor repairs.⁹⁶ However, by 1535 Patrick Wemyss was in charge again, although it is not stated in the sources why the post of keeper was alternated in this way.⁹⁷ In May 1544 the English forces reported the capture and slighting of the 'blockhouse' on the island of Inchgarvie.⁹⁸ The assault was swift, so

⁹¹*L&P Henry VIII*, xviii (1), 897; *ibid*, xviii (2), 343.

⁹²*APS*, ii, 270; *RMS*, ii, 2038. See also William M. Mackenzie, *The Medieval Castle in Scotland* (1972), 219, 225.

⁹³*TA*, v, 20-26. The works were evidently nearing completion because they had reached the lintels and doors. The laird of Dundas and his lady had still been responsible for the works there until 1513: *TA*, iv, 445, 529.

⁹⁴*TA*, v, 24.

⁹⁵*ADCP*, 314, 322.

⁹⁶*Ibid*, 397; *TA*, vi, 125, 161.

⁹⁷*TA*, vi, 262.

⁹⁸*Hamilton Papers*, ii, 366, no. 232: 'Richard Broke, capitaigne of the *Galey Subtile* hath taken a blockhouse scytuate in an islande within this ryver, called Ynchegarvy, whiche after a lytell assault made therunto, and some shott out of his galey, was rendered unto him. And ... the said blockhouse shalbe furthwith rased.'

presumably the fortifications here were not particularly effective. Another Forth tower on which some work was done for James V was Kinghorn Tower in Fife, but no details survive.⁹⁹

Further south, work was undertaken on several of the border towers and castles as well. A little way to the south of Peebles, beneath the waters of the Meggat reservoir, lies the site of Cramalt Tower, which James V used regularly as a hunting lodge.¹⁰⁰ The limited architectural evidence surviving from a dig undertaken before the site was flooded suggests that one of the two towers on the site dates from c.1500 and the other from the latter half of the century,¹⁰¹ but some minor work must have been done there in 1533-4 when 36s. was paid to a mason called Bickerton *per edificatione domorum in Cramald*.¹⁰² Unfortunately there are no further references to works there in any of the surviving sources, and this entry need not necessarily have had defensive implications. However, further west, at Crawfordjohn, Lanarkshire, fortification was almost certainly carried out for James V, even though no traces now remain. In 1513 James Hamilton of Finnart had been granted half of the lordship of Crawfordjohn by his father, the earl of Arran, and in 1529 he obtained the other half by exchange.¹⁰³ In February 1536 the lands of Crawfordjohn were in turn exchanged with the king for the rents of Kilmarnock¹⁰⁴ and by March the king was able to announce his intention to build a 'fortalice' in Crawfordmuir (which is probably a reference to the subsequent work at Crawfordjohn) to the council.¹⁰⁵ Payments totalling £423 2s. for works at

⁹⁹*MW*, i, 228: £3 was spent on timber, probably for roof repairs.

¹⁰⁰See Appendix C.

¹⁰¹Alastair M. T. Maxwell-Irving, 'Cramalt Tower: A Historical Survey and Excavations, 1977-9', *PSAS*, cxi (1981), 421-3 suggests dates in the 1460s or 1470s, but this date is revised by Zeune's reappraisal of Maxwell-Irving's findings: Zeune, *Last Scottish Castles*, 223-4. The first documentary record of a building on the site is in 1530: *ADCP*, 329.

¹⁰²SRO MS Household Book, E.32/3, 127r., 128v. Andrew Bickerton from Perth was employed as a mason at Holyrood in 1535-6: *MW*, i, 154-62.

¹⁰³*RMS*, ii, 3803; ii, 768, 769.

¹⁰⁴*RMS*, iii, 1543.

¹⁰⁵*ADCP*, 451.

Crawfordjohn are recorded between 1535 and 1541 involving the mason, Thomas Cadder, the master wright, John Drummond, and the glasswright, Thomas Peebles.¹⁰⁶ Although it is impossible to say exactly what was done at Crawfordjohn at this time, a report sent to the earl of Hertford in 1547 suggested that the site contained a tower and barmkin, typical of the borders, and on a rather small scale.¹⁰⁷ The tower of Cockburnspath, held by Queen Margaret, was also reinforced at this period.¹⁰⁸

Hermitage Castle in Liddesdale was another border fortress where work may have been carried out for James V. This key stronghold had been the property of the earl of Bothwell, who was convicted of treasonable dealings with the English in 1531, warded for some years and eventually exiled in 1539.¹⁰⁹ Hermitage (along with the property formerly belonging to other forfeited lords such as Angus, Glamis and Finnart) was annexed to the crown in the parliament of December 1540.¹¹⁰ The castle was initially entrusted to the care of James Sandilands of Calder and later transferred to that of Lord Maxwell.¹¹¹ In August 1542 two gunners, James Law and John Byres were posted to Hermitage and provided with munitions, just as tensions with England were reaching boiling point.¹¹² It looks as if some work was done there at this period which involved building up the western entrance and replacing it with a smaller, better defended one. Wide-mouthed gun-ports were inserted at strategic points, to facilitate the work of the artillery men, and an outer earthwork or ravelin may also have been

¹⁰⁶*MW*, i, 192, 198, 228; *TA*, vi, 364; *ibid*, vii, 495-7; *ER*, xvii, 128. There is a tradition that James V built the castle of Boghouse, close to Crawfordjohn, as a residence for one of his mistresses, Elizabeth Carmichael, daughter of Carmichael of Meadowflat, hereditary keeper of Crawford Castle and that she lived there until her marriage to the laird of Cambusnethan: George Vere Irving and Alexander Murray, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated* (3 vols., Glasgow, 1864), i, 126. However, the name Boghouse appears nowhere in the records of the period, the site is always called Crawfordjohn.

¹⁰⁷'The Hous is wele ludgit within, bot it is of na strynth, for the barmekyn beand wyne, the hous is gottin': *CSP Scot*, i, no.67.

¹⁰⁸*ADCP*, 450.

¹⁰⁹Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 159-69.

¹¹⁰*APS*, ii, 360-1.

¹¹¹*ADCP*, 382, 410, 455; *TA*, vi, 165, 237; *ibid*, 204, 281.

¹¹²*TA*, viii, 110, 111.

constructed at the same time.¹¹³ Another castle annexed in 1540 was Finnart's seat at Craignethan in Lanarkshire. The king installed his own staff to keep Craignethan from September 1540, that is immediately after Finnart's execution and before the parliament sat in December. The keeper, who seems to have had a staff of five or six men, was initially David Orrok and after a year he was replaced by Gavin Gifford.¹¹⁴ There is a record of stables being built there for the king in 1542¹¹⁵ and if David Orrok was any relation to the Robert Orrok who was master of works at Burntisland, there may have been work on the fortifications undertaken there too. The surviving defences at Craignethan, which are usually ascribed to Hamilton of Finnart in the 1530s, are certainly remarkable, and it is at least possible that some of the work was done for the king after Finnart's fall. The promontory on which the castle stands is defended by a deep, stone-lined ditch in which was constructed a caponier. This structure is an enclosed, vaulted, stone gun-gallery (entered from a staircase leading to the castle itself), with wide-mouthed and angled gun ports, capable of raking the entire ditch and thus turning it into a killing-field. This is the only known Scottish example of a caponier until the eighteenth century and suggests some familiarity with Italian developments, since caponiers were in use in Italy from the late-fifteenth century. The western rampart, which lies immediately beyond the ditch and caponier, is a massive masonry barrier, similar to the south wall at Blackness. The loops in the caponier and enceinte were suitable for small firearms whilst the parapets atop the western rampart and tower house could mount larger guns.¹¹⁶ Craignethan's spell as a royal castle was a brief twenty-eight months (on James V's death it passed to the

¹¹³Nick Bridgland, *Hermitage Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1996), 23.

¹¹⁴In September 1540 David and James Orrok were sent to take charge of Craignethan (*TA*, vii, 393) and in September 1541 David Orrok accounted for the wages of five other men: George Tod (the porter), Quentin Weir, John Millhouse, Malise Hill and Atkin Gardner (*ibid*, vii, 480-1). Gavin Giffard's arrival is noted in *ibid*, viii, 37, 55. See Appendix A. Unnamed foresters and gardeners at Craignethan also received payments in 1542: *ER*, xvii, 582-3.

¹¹⁵*ER*, xvii, 583.

¹¹⁶Charles McKean, 'Craignethan Castle', *PSAS*, cxxv (1995), 1069-90.; MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places', 124-5; Zeune, *Last Scottish Castles*, 281-2.

second earl of Arran) and therefore often overlooked, but given the king's enthusiasm for defence work elsewhere, and that he is known to have built stables at the castle, it is possible that the fortifications there were completed for the crown rather than for Finnart. Even if this were not the case, the speed with which the king moved to take possession of the castle may indicate that he was well aware of its importance.

All the ships in James V's navy and all the strategic fortifications which attracted his attention were at some point provided with artillery, shot and gunners. Again, James V was following a precedent in this respect, for his great-grandfather, James II, was the king for whom Mons Meg was sent to Scotland, and who perished at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460 when he stationed himself too close to one of his own guns, which exploded and killed him.¹¹⁷ James III and James IV had also been enthusiastic collectors of artillery pieces: the manufacture of cast iron guns was undertaken in Edinburgh in the 1470s and 1480s, and forged iron guns were made at Stirling Castle at the same period.¹¹⁸ From about 1505 James IV was employing French workmen to cast bronze guns, which were more accurate, reliable and had a longer range than their iron predecessors and could fire iron shot instead of stone.¹¹⁹ By the end of his

¹¹⁷Claude Gaier, 'The Origins of Mons Meg', *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*, v (1965-7), 425-52; David Caldwell, 'Royal Patronage of Arms and Armour Making in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in idem (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications*, 74; McGladdery, *James II*, 111, 156.

¹¹⁸*TA*, i, 48-9, 54, 68, 69, 74; *ER*, viii, 234, 275; *ibid*, ix, 218, 286, 291, 416, 434. See also Caldwell 'Royal Patronage', 75.

¹¹⁹John Veilnaif [Jean Villeneuve?], a French gunner, appears in the record from 1505 (*TA*, iii, 139) and a team of French gunners under 'Gervez' [Gervaise?] was employed from 1512 (*TA*, iv, 276-7, 372, 378). Other references to the manufacture of guns for James IV appear in *TA*, iv, 109-13, 116-7, 127, 132-6, 139. The fifteenth-century iron guns were bombardars (great siege guns, such as *Mons Meg*) and serpentines (medium-sized weapons for mounting on fortifications) and were usually loaded at the breech by the insertion of a 'chamber' or canister containing shot and powder. They were cheaper than the cast bronze guns and continued to be used in blockhouses and on ships, where there was not enough room behind the gun-ports to retract a muzzle-loading piece. The muzzle-loading cast bronze guns of the sixteenth century ranged in size from the large cannon and culverins (which were battering guns), through the smaller culverins and larger falcons (which were carriage-mounted field guns), down to the smaller falcons and hagbuts of crock, which were mounted on wooden rails at gun loops and parapets. There were also even smaller culverins and hagbuts which could be used as hand-guns. See MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places', 97-99.

reign Edinburgh castle had become the centre of such operations under Robert Borthwick and John Drummond, both of whom continued to serve James V.¹²⁰ The Scottish army at Flodden was well supplied with artillery, much of which had been purchased abroad, but some was likely to have been of native manufacture. These pieces were captured by the English.¹²¹ Consequently the Scottish royal arsenal had to be restocked after 1513 and there is some evidence of this work being undertaken for the duke of Albany. When Albany landed at Dumbarton on 17th May 1517, he arrived with a fleet of ships including the *Margaret* and the *James*, which had accompanied the *Great Michael* to France in the summer of 1513, and guns from these ships were immediately retrieved and returned to Edinburgh.¹²² Albany's castle of Dunbar was manned by a group of French gunners and craftsmen and a new blockhouse built there, as we saw above.¹²³ At the main royal arsenal in Edinburgh Castle, a new furnace was built and Borthwick (with his French assistant, Piers Rouen) and Drummond were instructed to re-arm under the supervision of a Frenchman, Captain Jean Bouskat, who was described as commissioner of the artillery.¹²⁴ Two Dutch culverin-makers (George Keppin and his servant, Kasper Lepus), who had worked for James IV, also continued in service at this time.¹²⁵ Much of the ordnance used by Albany in his campaigns against Carlisle (1522) and Wark (1523) may well have been

¹²⁰Borthwick was master melter of the king's guns from 1512 (*RSS*, i, 2374; *TA*, iv, 261, 515) and died in 1531-2 (*ADCP*, 354, 390). Drummond was employed as a wright from 1506 (*TA*, iii, 114), was appointed the king's principal carpenter and founder or melter of his artillery on 18 June 1532 (*RSS*, ii, 1304). He was still receiving livery at Christmas 1550: *TA*, ix, 461.

¹²¹Caldwell, 'Royal Patronage', 76-7.

¹²²In July, fourteen pieces, great and small, which had already been moved as far as Glasgow were taken to Blackfriars, Edinburgh. In October a further two cannon were carried from Glasgow to Edinburgh: *TA*, v, 16-17. According to Pitscottie, Albany brought six cannon, six large field guns and many smaller guns: *Historie*, i, 288.

¹²³Between October 1517 and September 1518, wages were paid to the following gunners: Master Wolf and Jehan Maryen in Dunbar, Hans in Inchgarvie, Nicholas Brand in Dumbarton and seven others whose location is not stated specifically, but was probably Dunbar (Jehan Rouen, Nicholas Bestiane, Pierre Combat, Robert Combat, Robert Harrowar, James Hog and Cunningham). Thomas Cameron was named as the keeper of the artillery: *TA*, v, 161-2.

¹²⁴*TA*, v, 17-19, 30, 32, 36, 37, 41, 52, 66-7, 69, 71, 93.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, iv, 276, 333, 374, 379, 439; *ibid.*, v, 32-3, 69. It is not clear in the accounts whether they were manufacturing the larger field culverins, or the smaller hand-held culverins, or both.

imported from France and returned there afterwards.¹²⁶ Despite the efforts made in 1515-17 to replenish the Scottish royal arsenal, by 1528 there was little serviceable artillery available. Indeed, the adult James V seems to have started a re-armament programme virtually from scratch.¹²⁷

The inadequacies of the arsenal taken over by James V in the summer 1528 were amply demonstrated by the failure of the siege of Tantallon in October and November of that year. Angus and his adherents had been forfeited in the September parliament and the king was eager to enforce his authority by seizing control of this key Douglas stronghold. The host was called to muster on 20th October, but the master of the king's artillery, Sir Alexander Jardine of Applegarth, immediately protested to the council that he was insufficiently supplied and should not be held responsible for the outcome.¹²⁸ The experienced gunners and armourers of James IV, Robert Borthwick and John Drummond, were called upon to solve the problem and they advised the council about how to make the best use of what little ordnance it possessed. Only four cannons and a culverin battard, with enough shot to fire thirty-rounds a piece, seem to have been available at Edinburgh Castle and they suggested the best way of transporting these guns to the siege. They also recommended purchasing munitions abroad and seeking help from the French garrison of Albany's castle at Dunbar.¹²⁹ According to one account, the captain of Dunbar supplied the king with two great cannon, two great battards, two medium-sized pieces, two double-falcons, four quarter-falcons, plus powder, shot and gunners, but only upon receipt of pledges for

¹²⁶An English report suggested that when he returned in October 1523 he brought 1000 hagbuts, 900 serpentes and falcons and sixteen cannon for the siege of Wark, along with 4000 foot-soldiers, 500 light horse and 500 men-at-arms: *L&P Henry VIII*, iii (2), 3403. The figures may be exaggerations.

¹²⁷This predicament is echoed in Buchanan's comment that 'when he came of age, he entered into empty palaces, stript of all their furniture, every room of which he had to refurnish at once; and his guardians had squandered the royal revenue': *History*, ii, 324.

¹²⁸*ADCP*, 284.

¹²⁹*Ibid*, 285.

their safe return.¹³⁰ Another report suggested that James also made use of munitions belonging to the exiled king of Denmark, Christian II, which had been entrusted to Robert Barton of Leith as security for credit.¹³¹ The siege probably took place between 18th October and 4th November¹³² and ended with humiliation for the royal forces. The artillery that the council had managed to scrape together was unable to make any significant impression on the fortress because the outer earthworks forced the guns out of range of the castle walls; the king therefore ordered the siege to be lifted, at which point Angus's force made a sally, attacked the rearguard, killed two royal soldiers (Henry Borthwick, a gunner, and David Falconer, the captain of the footband) and captured many of the remaining guns and their captain, Robert Borthwick. Borthwick and the ordnance were returned to the king soon afterwards but the humiliation rankled.¹³³

Following this embarrassing episode, the king made strenuous efforts to improve his ordnance. In January 1529 he wrote to King Frederick of Denmark asking for supplies of ships and armaments¹³⁴ and in 1530 he turned to the duke of Albany for French and Italian supplies and expertise.¹³⁵ In 1531 powder was purchased from Robert Barton in Leith,¹³⁶ Thomas Stewart, laird of Gawston, was sent to France to purchase munitions¹³⁷ and by that summer the arsenal at Edinburgh Castle was sufficiently well-

¹³⁰Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 330-1.

¹³¹Reid, *Skipper from Leith*, 223, 226.

¹³²Fraser, *Douglas*, iv, 137-8, no.122. Another account dates it to 20 Oct to 5 Nov: *Diurnal*, 12.

¹³³Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 98-9, 128-9. Fraser, *Douglas*, iv, 137-8, no.122.

¹³⁴*James V Letters*, 150

¹³⁵In April 1530 Albany was authorised to treat for the king's marriage to Catherine de Medici on condition that she should bring a lavish dowry including *munitiones quoque bellice vari igeneris cum pulvere nitrato seu bombardico*: *James V Letters*, 171-2. By November one of Albany's men had arrived in Scotland with a gift of great horses and he was accompanied by a French armourer: *TA*, v, 439. The latter was possibly the Frenchman called Laurence who went with the king's gunner, Hans, on the Isles raid of 1531: *TA*, v, 461. Hans was accorded the surname Cunningham, so he may have been a naturalised Scot of Dutch or German descent: e.g. *TA*, vi, 47.

¹³⁶*TA*, vi, 48.

¹³⁷*Ibid*, v, 458; *James V Letters*, 176, 189-90. Stewart was paid £140 expenses and £100 for carriage of the goods but the sum spent on the purchases is not recorded.

stocked to supply artillery for the Isles raid.¹³⁸ Men in the king's service at this period who were probably involved in the manufacture of guns included John Drummond, George Ormiston, Robert Borthwick and his French assistant, Piers Rouen.¹³⁹ In addition there were several men described as smiths and armourers, who were probably making swords, helmets and items of plate and chain-mail armour, but who may also have been involved in the manufacture of artillery.¹⁴⁰ There seems to have been a royal armoury on quite a large scale established at Holyrood in 1532, where 'Ewo' (Yves?), a French wright from the castle of Dunbar, set up a new horse-mill for the armourers, which operated in conjunction with an armoury, forge, harness-house, melting-house and coining-house.¹⁴¹ This development echoes the establishment of the English royal armouries at Greenwich in 1511 and 1515, which were staffed mainly by Flemings, Italians and Germans.¹⁴² Also in 1532 James despatched his master almoner, Master James Scrymgeour, to Flanders with over £2,000 to spend on munitions and tapestries.¹⁴³ It was just as well that the king moved quickly on this matter, for by December 1532 artillery from Edinburgh Castle was needed on the

¹³⁸*TA*, v, 461; vi, 372-3.

¹³⁹Drummond's presence in the service of James IV has already been noted (see above) but on 18 June 1532 he was appointed the king's principal carpenter and founder or melter of the king's artillery: *RSS*, ii, 1304. Borthwick had held a similar title until his death (see above) and was succeeded by Rouen on 30 April 1532: *RSS*, ii, 1213; *ER*, xvi, 152-3. Rouen was serving as Borthwick's assistant from 1515: *TA*, v, 18. Ormiston was described as a gunner in 1532 but by 1535 he was listed as an engineer (*machinator*): *TA*, vi, 39; *ER*, xvi, 398. See Appendix A.

¹⁴⁰E.g. William Smibert who was appointed master armourer to the king in 1526 (*RSS*, i, 3402) and who was in royal service throughout the reign. There were also two French armourers, Guillaume Haymont and Jean Counseill, who appear in the records of 1532 and 1533 (*TA*, vi, 75, 90, 94). William Hill, a smith, who is recorded throughout the 1530s and 1540s (and received regular wages as one of the staff of the Edinburgh arsenal until 1561: *TA*, xi, 104) was usually paid for making iron window frames, locks etc. (*MW*, i, 3f.-259) but in September 1536 was employed to make falcons (*TA*, vi, 303). See Appendix A.

¹⁴¹The Holyrood horse-mill had cogged wheels of oak, grinding stones, 'polysouris' (polishers) covered with leather and a wooden axle 32 feet long, which passed through the mill and the building in which it was housed. It was driven by two horses: *MW*, i, 96, 101-2, 242, 290; *TA*, vi, 34. A wright from Dunbar called Evone (presumably the same man) had also given assistance at the siege of Tantallon: *ADCP*, 285.

¹⁴²Karen Watts, 'Henry VIII and the Founding of the Greenwich Armouries', in Starkey (ed.), *European Court*, 42-6.

¹⁴³*TA*, vi, 151. Unfortunately Scrymgeour died in Flanders (*ADCP*, 249) but 7½ tons of copper, powder and saltpetre, which he had purchased, made their way back to Scotland: *TA*, vi, 158.

borders to help resist the English incursions. Guns were retrieved from Ross (following the raid of Caithness the previous year), timber was transported from Lochaber to make gun-stocks and a series of expeditions were armed from the arsenals at Edinburgh, Dunbar and Tantallon.¹⁴⁴ At Haddington in December 1532 the king's forces were supplied with eighty hagbuts and their 'trestis' (the forked staves on which they were propped for firing), forty-four culverins, seven falcons, their attendant pioneers and a large force of footsoldiers.¹⁴⁵ In January 1533 more artillery was despatched from Edinburgh Castle and in March four falcons were sent to the lieutenant, the earl of Moray, at Jedburgh.¹⁴⁶

Even after this crisis was resolved by a peace treaty (which was intended to last for the rest of the reign), James continued his campaign to expand the crown's military capability. Indeed, the English ambassadors who visited Edinburgh for the ratification of the treaty in June 1534 were treated to a demonstration of the capabilities of the Scottish royal arsenal when a salute was fired from the castle.¹⁴⁷ In 1534 James sent a request to Stuart of Aubigny for two or three expert armourers to be despatched to Scotland, along with 'Lorge Montgomery' as a military adviser, and an expedition to Denmark was launched to purchase war horses and metal for making armaments.¹⁴⁸ The newly refitted *Mary Willoughby* was armed with cannon sent from 'Ilingreg' (Eilean Craig?) by the earl of Argyll and three cannon were brought to Edinburgh from Dumfries by John Drummond.¹⁴⁹ In November 1535 munitions worth £80 were purchased from Katherine Hamilton and in September 1536 the smith, William Hill,

¹⁴⁴*TA*, vi, 155-7.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, vi, 158-60.

¹⁴⁶*ADCP*, 395; *TA*, vi, 161.

¹⁴⁷*TA*, vi, 215.

¹⁴⁸*James V Letters*, 262, 272. Jacques de Montgommery, seigneur de Lorges, was related to the earls of Eglinton and in the service of Francis I. It is not clear if he responded to the invitation at this time but he made an expedition to Scotland in 1545: see *Balcarres Papers*, i, 119.

¹⁴⁹*TA*, vi, 223, 237.

was supplied with iron and lead to make falcons.¹⁵⁰ In October 1536, with the king away in France, the lords regent summoned the royal artillery to the siege of Edgarston house, a relatively minor border incident which they seem to have handled competently.¹⁵¹ At this period James V also legislated for the use and provision of armaments. In February 1531 the use of small arms (culverins or 'lime wands') in hunting wild fowl or great fish was forbidden (presumably to conserve stocks), a measure which suggests that these modern weapons were becoming more popular in Scotland.¹⁵² However, in the parliament of 1535 acts were passed suggesting that there was a shortage of ordnance in Scotland and instituting regulations to address the problem. One act obliged all landowners (temporal and spiritual) and the burghs to furnish themselves with hagbuts of crock, culverins, powder, shot and skilled gunners according to their degree.¹⁵³ A second statute required merchants travelling abroad to return with as much artillery, powder or gunmetal as they could carry.¹⁵⁴ These two statutes were repeated in the parliament of 1540.¹⁵⁵

However, the greatest expansion of the royal arsenal took place after the king's visit to France, when gifts from his father-in-law and the purchasing power of two French dowries allowed him to indulge his enthusiasm for artillery and other arms. The earliest purchases of guns and powder bought in France in September and October 1536 were shipped to Scotland in November on the *Moriset* (as we have seen) and acquisitions continued. In November the king obtained two stands of harness (one in

¹⁵⁰*TA*, vi, 261, 303.

¹⁵¹*TA*, vi, 303, 308; *MW*, i, 193; Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 310-11.

¹⁵²*ADCP*, 350-51; *TA*, vii, 422. The king himself had used hagbuts at a hunt in 1530-31: *TA*, v, 435-6.

¹⁵³'Of Hagbutis and vtheris small artalzery to be furnest within the realme': *APS*, ii, 345-6. Hagbuts of crock were handguns intended to be used from parapets, and were therefore supported by wooden rails in the embrasures rather than by 'trestis'.

¹⁵⁴'That merchandis bring hame hagbutis culueringis calmes powder and hernes': *APS*, ii, 346. The act immediately following these two was 'For bigging of Strenthis on the Bordouris' already noted above.

¹⁵⁵*APS*, ii, 371-2.

the style of Francis I and one in the style of the dauphin); armour, blades, spears and crossbows were bought in Paris in January 1537; culverin powder was bought in Rouen in February; in March artillery was being sent to the Newhaven of Dieppe (probably gifts from the French king), crossbows and spears were bought in Rouen, and in April the master mason of Dunbar (who had accompanied James to France) was preparing munitions for the Scottish fleet.¹⁵⁶ Apart from the mason of Dunbar (Moses or Mogin Martin), William Smibert and Piers Rouen were also present on this trip and put in charge of the new guns and munitions.¹⁵⁷ The munitions staff was also expanded since seven new names appear in the records at this time, some of whom were obviously foreigners.¹⁵⁸ From March 1538 until well beyond the end of the reign there were regular payments to a team of gunners in the king's service, many with foreign names, whose number fluctuated over time but was not usually less than three.¹⁵⁹ In May 1538 John Drummond and William Hill were members of the party sent to France to escort Mary of Guise to Scotland and at the same time the two sons of Piers Rouen were sent into apprenticeships in France and munitions were

¹⁵⁶*TA*, vi, 453, 460, 462-4; vii, 8, 13-14. It is not clear whether the stands of harness were trappings for the king's horses or body-armour for James himself, or both.

¹⁵⁷*TA*, vi, 315-6, 462-3; vii, 16, 23.

¹⁵⁸Two gunners called Nicholas Burdit and Hollay were paid wages in January 1537 (*TA*, vii, 16). In March 1537 the name Gavin Hamilton appears in the records of James V's entourage (*TA*, vii, 20) and in June 1537 a man of this name founded two guns for the king, along with David McPherson, who founded two more (*TA*, vii, 25). In April 1537 the French gunner Christopher Grand Morsen first appears in the record, and he continued to work for the crown until September 1548 (*TA*, vi, 464; ix, 484). In June 1537 Robert Hector founded three guns for the king and he continued to manufacture guns until February 1541, when his son was sent as an apprentice gun-founder to Flanders (*TA*, vi, 466, 438; vii, 194, 428). The gunner, William Agradane/Agagarant entered royal service in July 1537 and served until September 1539 (*TA*, vi, 334; vii, 205). See Appendix A.

¹⁵⁹E.g. in March 1538, Christopher, William Agradane, Jacques Leschender and John Cunningham: *TA*, vi, 382. In April 1538, the same four plus John Byres and James Law: *ibid*, vi, 389-90. The first four gunners were paid in July and August 1538 but by September Christopher was missing from the payroll because he had returned to France for a few months to recover some property: *ibid*, vi, 432, 441; *James V Letters*, 349. He returned in Jan. 1540: *TA*, vii, 281. Other entries for gunners appear in *TA*, vii, 96, 105, 132, 140-1, 152, 169, 176, 185, 197, 205 etc. In May 1538 two armourers called Jean Merchioun and Jakkis Alexander were employed at Stirling: *TA*, vi, 403. See Appendix A. A staff of wrights and gunners at Edinburgh castle was still being funded in 1566, having been a permanent establishment since the latter years of James V. By then the Frenchman, Andrew Manson, was in charge and he had carved the cradle for the baby prince of Scotland in 1540: *TA*, xi, 505; *ibid*, vii, 307.

purchased there for the king by John Barton.¹⁶⁰ From the middle of 1538 until the end of the reign, guns, powder, shot, spears, bows and war-horses were imported in large quantities from Denmark, Flanders and France at a total cost of over £7,000.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, the production of guns both large and small, forged and cast, at Edinburgh Castle was also carried out on a grand scale.¹⁶² To facilitate these operations a new munitions house and powder mill were constructed at the castle, and, as if for good measure, a new register house was built there as well to store the crown archives. The munitions house was built in the converted chapel of St. Mary, which had old doors and windows blocked and a new great door struck out; also, a new passage was blasted out of the rock to allow access for cannon.¹⁶³ It was the Edinburgh arsenal which supplied arms to the king's expanding navy and he seems to have taken a close interest in its operation, making a personal visit there in June 1539, when the guns were laid out for him to inspect.¹⁶⁴ Alongside his enthusiasm for the latest artillery pieces, James V also maintained supplies of traditional weapons (swords, knives, pikes, halberds, crossbows and bolts, longbows and arrows) and employed staff to manufacture and maintain them, such as a cutler, a sword-slipper, a crossbow-maker and an English bow-maker (i.e. he made longbows).¹⁶⁵ Much of this interest in traditional arms was stimulated by the king's chivalric obsession with

¹⁶⁰*TA*, vi, 401-2, 413-4. One of the sons, David, later joined his father as a principal maker and melter of the king's guns: *RSS*, ii, 4964 (27 Oct. 1542).

¹⁶¹*TA*, vi, 441; vii, 48, 51, 59, 184, 257, 405, 438, 498; viii, 46-7, 59, 72, 94, 118-20, 123, 151-5.

¹⁶²*TA*, vi, 438, 441; vii, 123, 195, 209-10, 213, 217, 348-51, 359-60, 428, 489, 501; viii, 124-7; *MW*, i, 229-34.

¹⁶³*TA*, vii, 214-5, 220, 224, 226-31, 337, 341-5, 349, 359, 489-90, 499; viii, 132. The works on the munitions house are first recorded in April 1539 (undertaken by the mason William Cadisle) and by December 1540 the floor had been laid. It then took eight workmen three days to stock it with guns, shot etc. The powder mill was operational by February 1541 and by August 1542 the five workmen employed there had produced eighteen barrels of powder (each barrel weighing fifteen stones): *TA*, vii, 491; viii, 130. The register house was under construction by 1540 and was completed by August 1542 when the doors and windows were painted and glazed and the walls were plastered; the mason was John Merliene: *TA*, vii, 337; viii, 132-3. See also *RCAHMS Edinburgh*, 4.

¹⁶⁴*TA*, vii, 222. Guns supplied to ships included four falcons and twelve hagbuts for the *Mary Willoughby* and eleven double falcons and twenty-four hagbuts for the *Unicorn* in July 1539: *ibid*, 225-6.

¹⁶⁵William Rae, Thomas Soflaw, Adrian Abel, John Bower: see Appendix A.

tournaments (see chapter seven) but many were also stockpiled for military campaigns.¹⁶⁶

Another aspect of technological development in Scotland in which James V had a particular interest was the exploitation of the gold deposits in Crawfordmuir. It seems likely that silver deposits had been worked in Scotland since the thirteenth century and in 1424 parliament reserved rights to all precious metals to the crown.¹⁶⁷ The gold mines of Crawfordmuir had first been worked in the reign of James IV, who appointed Sir James Pettigrew as overseer of the Flemish or Dutch miners.¹⁶⁸ Interest in the mines was also sustained by the duke of Albany, who commissioned John Campbell, bishop-elect of the Isles, accompanied by a French finer and melter of gold, John Drane, to supervise the workings at Crawfordmuir in 1515.¹⁶⁹ The Albany medal of 1524 was probably made from Scottish gold.¹⁷⁰ Under the earl of Angus in 1526, a forty-three year lease of all the Scottish gold and silver mines was granted to a group of Dutchmen and/or Germans and the same men received a ten-year contract in 1527 for minting the Scottish coinage.¹⁷¹ However, neither the lease nor the contract ran to full-term, for in 1529 it was suggested that the foreign miners had failed to honour the terms of the contract and in 1531 they left Scotland, leaving James Atkinson (or Acheson) operating as the master coiner.¹⁷² In 1532 a new sixteen-year contract was

¹⁶⁶E.g. in March 1542 3500 pikes, 486 halberds and 535 spears were delivered to the Edinburgh arsenal: *TA*, viii, 122-3. See also Gladys Dickinson, 'Some Notes on the Scottish Army in the first half of the Sixteenth Century', *SHR*, xxviii (1949), 133-145.

¹⁶⁷R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878), pp xiii & xxxv; *APS*, ii, 5. See also J. Moir Porteous, *God's Treasure-House in Scotland* (London, 1876) and Stephen Atkinson, *The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland* (1619), ed. Gilbert Laing Meason (Bannatyne Club, 1825).

¹⁶⁸The foreign miners were Sebald Northberge (master finer), Andrew Ireland (finer) and Gerald Essemer (melter). In 1513 John Damien, alchemist and commendator of Tongland inspected the mines at Crawfordmuir: *TA*, iv, 273, 396, 408, 442; *HMC 4th Rep.*, 517.

¹⁶⁹*TA*, v, 19-20, 154-9.

¹⁷⁰Cochran-Patrick, *Early Records*, p xiv; *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p.101-2, no. E105.

¹⁷¹The men were Joachim Hochstetter, Quintin de Lawitz, Gerard Sterk, Erasmus Sohets and Anthony de Nikets: *HMC, 4th Report*, 517; *ADCP*, 247, 350; *James V Letters*, 146-7.

¹⁷²*James V Letters*, 160; *TA*, v, 387, 406, 437, 441. Atkinson had held this post since 1526 (*APS*, ii, 310) and continued until 1538 when he was succeeded by Alexander Orrok, who was listed as master

made with men of Hamburg to mine for lead, copper, tin, gold and silver in Scotland. The Germans were to pay £1,500 a year for their rights which gave them a monopoly in Scotland and were requested to allow Richard Wardlaw and James King (of the royal coining-house) to work alongside them.¹⁷³ In 1535 officers were appointed to search for specie being exported at Scottish ports and a commission was set up to consider the working of the gold deposits and to offer a contract to foreign miners.¹⁷⁴ By 1537 and 1538, gold from the mines of Crawfordmuir was being delivered to the royal treasury.¹⁷⁵ After Mary of Guise arrived in Scotland her family were asked to send experienced miners to help with the operations and they arrived in 1539 and worked at Crawfordmuir between July and October, where interpreters had to be provided for them.¹⁷⁶ As a token of gratitude, a nugget of Crawfordmuir gold was sent to the duke of Guise in February 1540.¹⁷⁷ In the same year the export of bullion from Scotland was prohibited and another foreign miner, Balthasar Rusler or Howster, arrived from Norway or Germany seeking employment with James V.¹⁷⁸ Much of the metal mined at this time seems to have been used in the royal regalia, which was extensively re-fashioned, but a new issue of coins made from native gold was also struck between 1539 and 1542 (the distinctive 'bonnet pieces').¹⁷⁹ James V

of the mint until June 1542. In 1531, 1538, 1539 and 1540, Richard Wardlaw was recorded dealing with the coinage. In 1541-3 Atkinson resumed a role in the 'cunzehous': see Appendix A. In 1540 William Galbraith was paid compensation for relinquishing his hereditary interest in the mint: *ADCP*, 508; *TA*, vii, 315, 338-9.

¹⁷³*ADCP*, 350, 360-1. The men of Hamburg were named as Nicholas Troist, Nicholas Tryle, James Huelp and John Hose, who were acting as agents of John Huelp, Matthew Wackin, Henry Heulk, John Helbarth and Frederick Schomakre. One result of these operations may have been the order for the minting of new gold and billion coins in March 1532: *ibid*, 398-9.

¹⁷⁴*APS*, ii, 343; *James V Letters*, 287-8.

¹⁷⁵*TA*, vi, 332, 393.

¹⁷⁶*Balcarres Papers*, i, 17-18, 19-20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 32-3; *TA*, vii, 182, 193-4, 256.

¹⁷⁷*TA*, vii, 289.

¹⁷⁸*TA*, vii, 440, 307; *James V Letters*, 412, 415. Christian III of Denmark protested to James V that Balthasar had been in his service and had absconded with silver belonging to the Danish crown. By the time that he received this letter James had already sent the man to Campbell, accompanied by Richard Wardlaw of the mint, to search for silver deposits. It is possible that the mention of someone apparently called 'Bartilmon Kello' at Linlithgow in August 1540 is also a reference to the same man: *TA*, vii, 329.

¹⁷⁹For the regalia, see chapter 7. For the 'bonnet pieces' see I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (London, 1955), 75, 78, 146.

seems to have been proud of his exploitation of the Scottish gold deposits if one story traditionally told of him has any basis in fact. The tale relates how at a banquet given for some French visitors to Scotland, the king declared that the dessert would consist of the fruits of the countryside and presented them all with cups filled with gold coins.¹⁸⁰

This story may well be apocryphal but from the amount of money spent, and the personal supervision exercised, by James V in all aspects of the technological development of Scotland, it is probably fair to conclude that he considered such matters to contribute significantly to his dignity and status as a Renaissance prince.

¹⁸⁰Walter Scott, *The Tales of a Grandfather* (Edinburgh, 1872), 238. There is no indication in the surviving contemporary sources that this incident ever took place.

7. PAGEANTRY AND CEREMONIAL

In the sixteenth century it seemed natural to utilise grand state occasions such as royal entries, coronations, weddings and funerals as opportunities for making public statements of power and prestige.¹ At such events the monarch would be presented in all his splendour, accompanied by great nobles, prelates and other dignitaries, all of whom would be paraded before the populace. Even the poor would be included in the ceremonies, not just as onlookers but also as the recipients of alms and largesse. The image of the monarch could be portrayed in several ways stressing his genealogy, his Christian piety, his sovereignty, his wisdom, or the popular loyalty and obedience he commanded, for example. All of these concepts were familiar features of medieval royal and ecclesiastical pageantry, which persisted into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition, the Renaissance spirit brought a tendency to compare kings to the Roman emperors of old, through the use of the closed 'imperial' crown and triumphal arches. Monarchs were also likened to the heroes of classical mythology, such as Hercules, a character who was of supreme importance in the iconography of both Charles V and Henry II.² Furthermore, the cult of chivalry was developed to glorify the prince as a valiant knight and the heraldic devices and chivalric orders could also be used to develop a sense of national identity.³ Such tendencies have already been detected in France, England and the Habsburg lands, as well as in the Scotland of James II, III and IV⁴ but very little attention has been paid hitherto to the

¹Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London, 1973), 23-44, 8-99; idem, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984), 7-11, 65-9, 75-85; Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle and Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), 100-23.

²Marcel Bataillon, 'Plus Oultre: La Cour découvre le nouveau monde', in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (3 vols, Paris, 1956, 1960, 1975), ii, 13-27; Lawrence M. Bryant, 'Politics, Ceremonies, and Embodiments of Majesty in Henry II's France', in Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson and David Sturdy (eds), *European Monarchy, its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times* (Stuttgart, 1992), 127-54.

³Steven Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court', in Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), 107-28.

⁴Jenny Wormald, 'The House of Stewart and its Realm'; Norman Macdougall, 'The Kingship of James IV of Scotland: "The Glory of All Princely Governing"?'; Roderick Lyall, 'The Court as a

court of James V, who, despite a long and turbulent minority was to prove a vigorous and ambitious ruler during his brief adult reign.⁵ Since James maintained connections with all of his neighbouring monarchs, and made a personal visit to the court of France in 1536-7 (as we have seen), it would be surprising if he had not attempted to utilise state occasions in the contemporary manner. This study of the relevant events of his majority appears to indicate that he wished to participate fully in the courtly developments of the day.

There is some poetic justice in the fact that the first major state ceremony of the reign, James V's marriage to Madeleine de Valois, was held in France and paid for by the French king.⁶ James had first been promised the hand of one of Francis I's daughters under the Treaty of Rouen, a grudging and conditional agreement extracted from a half-hearted ally by the personal and forceful attention of the regent Albany in August 1517.⁷ At that time and for most of his reign, Francis I's foreign ambitions were largely directed to pursuing his claims to the duchy of Milan and he would make and break alliances with the Papacy, the Empire and England as circumstances dictated in order to maintain his Italian interests. The role he expected his Scottish allies to play in this scheme was to threaten the English borders when Henry VIII was planning

Cultural Centre', all in Jenny Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), 12-24, 25-35, 36-48.

⁵Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations'. The most successful exploration of the culture of the court of James V has so far come through a study of a poet: Edington, *Court and Culture*, but see also Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*.

⁶Francis paid for the expenses of James V, Madeleine and 'Madame Marguerite' (probably Madeleine's younger sister, rather than Teulet's identification of James's mother, who stayed in Scotland) from 13th October 1536. This was the date on which James joined the French court, although he had been in France since 10th September. (He had almost certainly spent the intervening weeks at St. Quentin with the Duke of Vendôme.) By 31st January, the bill had reached £14,615 10d. tournois (almost £6,500 Scots): Teulet, *Relations*, 108-9; see also Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 343. Francis also gave many valuable gifts to the king of Scots, including two ships, horses, harness, armour and artillery: see chapter 6. James spent large sums of his own money on cloth, jewels, wine and presents for the French royal family: see *TA*, vi, 450-466 and *ibid*, vii, 3-25. The only expenses of the marriage James had to bear for himself were his own clothes, the marriage contract, his wife's 'spousing ring' and an offering at the nuptial mass: *TA*, vii, 33, 35, 18, 14; *ibid*, vi, 461.

⁷*James V Letters*, 51-2; Teulet, *Papiers*, i, 39-43. The treaty was not ratified until 1521-2: Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 19-20.

campaigns in northern France (as he was in 1522-3) and to participate meekly as junior partners in peace treaties with England when this suited French diplomacy (such a deal was forced on the Scots without consultation in May 1515 and August 1525 and French envoys brokered the Anglo-Scottish peace of 1533-4).⁸ Once James V began to rule in his own right in 1528 he started to pursue actively a marriage that would bring him personal prestige and political advantage and he naturally turned first to France. However, in the aftermath of defeat and capture at Pavia (1525) and a peace treaty with the Emperor (Cambrai, 1529) which acknowledged Habsburg supremacy in Italy for the time being, Francis had to be careful not to antagonise Henry VIII. Henry was becoming increasingly alienated from both the Papacy and the Empire by his quest for a divorce from Katherine of Aragon and therefore an Anglo-French rapprochement would suit both monarchs for a few years but a Franco-Scottish marriage alliance might jeopardise the delicate relationship. Thus the Scottish king's marriage became an issue for international diplomacy and James found himself negotiating with Francis, Henry and Charles (or his regents in the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary) simultaneously; but as the years passed and no conclusion was reached, it became clear that each king was offering potential brides not so much out of enthusiasm for a Scottish match as from a desire to disrupt negotiations with a rival power if they looked too promising.⁹ Therefore by March 1536 James found himself engaged not to one of Francis's own daughters but to a less prestigious and more diplomatically acceptable alternative, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme.¹⁰ Her father was the first prince of the blood royal after the king's own sons and Francis offered to give her the title of an adopted

⁸Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 195, 200-1, 244; David M Head, 'Henry VIII's Scottish Policy: a Reassessment', *SHR*, lxi (1982), 1-24; *TA*, vi, 124-131, 133-5, 151-3.

⁹Bapst, *Mariages*, 7-281; *James V Letters*, 170-2, 181, 199-201, 212-3, 215-6, 237, 245-6, 255, 257-8, 277, 280-3, 289, 294-5, 297-9, 302-7, 314-5. A total of seventeen different ladies from eight states were considered as potential brides of James V between 1517 and 1537: see Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations', 267; McNeill and MacQueen (eds), *Atlas*, 123.

¹⁰Teulet, *Papiers*, 109-121. See chapter 2 for her dowry and jointure.

daughter of France as a sop to Scottish sensibilities. However, once James actually reached France in the Autumn of 1536 he was able to persuade Francis to revert to the original arrangement of the Treaty of Rouen. It is unclear exactly how this was achieved but James seems to have categorically refused to marry Marie after visiting her at St. Quentin and perhaps he took advantage of Francis's desire to appear as a gracious host.¹¹ His arrival in France coincided with a retreat of Imperial forces from campaigns in Provence and Picardy and it was widely reported that the one event had precipitated the other because James had arrived with troops and artillery to assist his ally in an hour of need.¹² There is no evidence that James had really intended to engage in battle with the Emperor's forces (he had brought courtiers with him not soldiers) but the story was a useful piece of propaganda to explain honourably Francis's sudden change of heart toward the Scottish king. It is also possible that James played upon the debt owed by France to Scotland after Flodden and that the Princess Madeleine's own wishes may have added to the pressure.¹³ Whatever the strategy, it is clear that Francis hesitated from giving his consent until he had gauged the likely English reaction and discovered that Henry was far too preoccupied with domestic problems to do more than write a few letters of complaint; the Pope was also consulted.¹⁴ Even then, Francis tried strenuously to substitute his younger

¹¹Bapst, *Mariages*, 289-90; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 357-363.

¹²The same reason was later given for James being accorded a Parisian royal entry as if he had been the Dauphin; see below. For varying versions of the story see Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 357-8; Bapst, *Mariages*, 288; Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecosais en France les Français en Ecosse* (London, 1862), i, 400-1; Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 275. The real reasons for the retreat were more prosaic - famine and disease amongst the imperial troops: Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 337-8.

¹³ Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecosais*, 419-20; Bapst, *Mariages*, 302; Pierre de Bourdeilles, Abbé et seigneur de Brantôme, *Oeuvres Complètes* (13 vols, Paris, 1890), ix, 298-9. Brantôme cites the poet, Ronsard, as his source. Ronsard was a page in Madeleine's service and told Brantôme that Madeleine had been determined to become a queen but found life in Scotland very hard: "'Hélas! j'ay voulu estre reyne"; couvrant sa tristesse et le feu de son ambition d'une cendre de patience, le mieux qu'elle pouvoit.' The Bishop of Faenza, Papal emissary to the French court, reported a similar story: *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 1183.

¹⁴Bapst, *Mariages*, 295-303. *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 848, 984, 1012. Henry's main problem was the sequence of uprisings known as the Pilgrimage of Grace which occurred between October 1535 and March 1537: Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 339-45.

daughter, Marguerite (who was only thirteen), for Madeleine (aged sixteen). Francis pleaded Madeleine's frailty as an impediment to marriage (with good cause, as events were to show) but marriage to the eldest daughter of a king traditionally carried more prestige with it than a union with a younger sister and James would not be deterred. The marriage contract with Madeleine was duly signed at Blois on 26th November, in the presence of the English ambassadors.¹⁵ The date of the wedding was set for 1st January 1537 in Paris and Francis ordered the reluctant city to accord James the singular honour of a Parisian royal entry, as if he had been the Dauphin of France, the day before.¹⁶ This was a triumph of international significance not only for the Scottish king but also for the political standing of his realm.

Accordingly, at 2pm on Sunday 31st December 1536, a mounted procession of civic and clerical dignitaries and the members of the Paris Parlement in their scarlet robes of office made their way to greet James V at St. Anthoine des Champs, just outside the city's bounds. There they found the King of Scots accompanied by the Dauphin, the King of Navarre and other princes and nobles of the realm, and official speeches of welcome were made by the chancellor, the First President of the Parlement and other senior figures. According to an English report, James had suffered a head injury that morning during some sort of martial sport¹⁷ and this may explain his reluctance to respond to the *harangues* with a speech of his own; the *Register of the Parlement* records that he simply embraced the orators without a word because his command of the French language was very poor.¹⁸ James was provided with a canopy of estate of

¹⁵*L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 1183; *James V Letters*, 325-6. See also chapter 2.

¹⁶The first President of the Parlement made an official protest that this was contrary to custom on 22 Dec. 1536 but Francis insisted on it because James had come in person to visit him. Teulet, *Relations*, i, 106-7. James was also treated as if he were the Dauphin in one other respect: the household of the Dauphin Francis, which had not yet been disbanded after the latter's death in August 1536, was transferred to James's service whilst he was in France: *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, 916. The *maitre d'hôtel* of this establishment was given a New Year's gift of 300 crowns: *TA*, vii, 15.

¹⁷*L&P Henry VIII*, xii (1), 12.

¹⁸Teulet, *Relations*, i, 107-8.

cloth of gold and the assembled company then paraded through the streets of Paris which were hung with tapestries and decorated with the arms of France, Scotland, the French Queen and the Dauphin.¹⁹ Sir David Lindsay of the Mount compared the procession to a Roman triumph complete with triumphal arches:

O Paris, of all Citeis principall,
Quhilk did resaeue our Prince with laud & glorie,
Solempnitlie, throw Arkis truiumphall,
Quhilk day bene digne to put in memorie.
For as Pompey, efter his Uictorie,
Was in to Rome resaut with greit Ioy,
So thou resaut our richt redoutit Roy.²⁰

A service of thanksgiving was held at the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, where King Francis joined his guest, and James was then escorted to his lodgings where he was feasted by the citizens.²¹ Probably as part of the same event James also exercised the *droit de grâce*: the granting of pardons to prisoners.²² No account exists of the details of the entry procession but it almost certainly followed a traditional route through the streets of Paris punctuated by *tableaux vivants* at 'stations' along the way celebrating the 'auld alliance' and the impending marriage using biblical, classical and heraldic allusions, since this was how Parisian entries were customarily conducted. Indeed, something very similar was staged at the Parisian royal entry given for the Emperor Charles V on 1st January 1540, which included imperial imagery (triumphal arches, eagles, figures of hercules and decorations *à l'antique*). It could even be suggested that, since this was only the second occasion ever on which a foreign prince was accorded such an honour, the entry of Charles V may have followed precedents set by the entry of James V.²³ The fact that the Parisian entry was a civic ritual, offered by

¹⁹Ibid, i, 107-8; *Cronique de Roy*, 201-5.

²⁰Lindsay, *Works*, i, 108 (*Deploratioun*, lines 71-77).

²¹Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature', 278.

²²*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 21.

²³Lawrence M Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva, 1986); Bryant, 'Politics, Ceremonies, and Embodiments of Majesty in Henry II's France' in Duchhardt, Jackson and Sturdy (eds.), *European Monarchy*, 127-54.

the burgesses and the Parlement as a compliment to their sovereigns (usually) meant that James was bound not only to the French royal family by ties of blood but also, symbolically, to the community of the French realm.

At ten o'clock the following morning the royal party processed along a specially constructed platform, which raised them above the heads of the crowd, from the palace of the Bishop of Paris to a stage at the west door of Nôtre Dame. First came many musicians, guards, heralds and prelates, then followed the Dauphin with his younger brother (the duke of Orléans), Francis I and James V arm-in-arm, the English ambassadors (Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Master John Wallop), then the Princess Madeleine escorted by the king of Navarre, the queens of France and Navarre, the Dauphiness and other royal and noble ladies. At the door of the cathedral James and Madeleine were married by the Cardinal of Bourbon and then the bridal party entered the church for the nuptial mass celebrated by the bishop of Paris, whilst largesse was cried and distributed to the crowd by the heralds. After the service a sumptuous dinner was held in the *grande salle* of the Bishop's Palace and that evening another feast was hosted by the Parlement at the Palais de Justice. Both banqueting halls were hung with rich cloths and tapestries, buffets displayed gold and silver plate and musicians played throughout. In addition, the evening feast was notable for being held at a marble-topped table and was followed by dancing and masques, led by James, the Dauphin and the Cardinal of Lorraine. There followed a fortnight of celebrations and tournaments at the palaces of the Louvre and Tournelles.²⁴ According to Pitscottie, James had secured the attendance at his marriage of many Scottish magnates: six earls, six lords, six bishops and twenty great barons of the realm.²⁵ They are not named but the abbot of Arbroath, earl of Lennox

For Charles V's entry see Jean Jacquot, 'Panorama des fêtes et cérémonies du règne', in idem (ed.), *Fêtes de la Renaissance*, iii, 437-39.

²⁴L&P Henry VIII, xii (1), 12; *Cronique du Roy*, 202-5; Teulet, *Relations*, i, 107-8;

²⁵Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 364.

and Lord Darnley were certainly present and the congregation possibly included the earls of Argyll, Arran and Moray, lords Fleming and Erskine, Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.²⁶ Pitscottie also suggests that the celebrations were so splendid as to recall the golden age of Charlemagne. He mentions jousts and tournaments both on horse and on foot, artillery salutes, feasts, triumphs and plays involving elaborate special effects such as fire-breathing dragons flying in the air, or mock naval battles conducted in the flooded streets.²⁷ The pageantry of this marriage was to be repeated almost exactly for James V's daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, on 24th April 1558, when she processed along a walkway from the Bishop's Palace to her wedding to the Dauphin, Francis, at the door of Nôtre Dame. The locations and protocol correspond to those used in 1537 down to the marriage being performed by the Cardinal of Bourbon and the evening feast being held at the marble table of the Palais de Justice. We have more information about the evening's entertainment in 1558, which included figures dressed as the seven planetary deities, artificial horses ridden around the hall by young princes and artificial ships 'sailed' around the floor by the guests (the ship was the emblem of the city of Paris).²⁸

Just as James had been honoured by his Parisian entry, so Madeleine was to receive a royal entry into Edinburgh at the time of her coronation as Queen of Scots. The

²⁶David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, received the first instalment of Madeleine's dowry on behalf of James on 4 Jan 1537: Teulet, *Inventaire*, 83; *TA*, vii, 2. Lennox and Darnley were given letters of naturalisation as French subjects in Paris, Jan. 1537, perhaps as part of the celebrations surrounding the wedding: Teulet, *Inventaire*, 81. They were also involved in the jousting: Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 366. The other lords are known to have been in France with James at some stage during his visit but cannot be specifically located there at the time of the wedding.

²⁷Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 365-6. The reference to the air-borne, fire-breathing dragon is very reminiscent of the fireworks staged for the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, which included the same feature: J. C. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (London, 1969), 176. The dragon appears on the panoramic painting which commemorates the event, reproduced in Starkey (ed.), *European Court*, 50-1.

²⁸Teulet, *Papiers*, i, 292-303; *Ceremonial at the Marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the Dauphin of France*, ed. W. Bentham (London, Roxburghe Club, 1818); Gabriel de Pimodan, *La Mère des Guises* (Paris, 1925), 157-64. As in 1537, this marriage was followed by the issue of letters of naturalisation to Scots in France: Teulet, *Papiers*, i, 303-9.

Provost and officers of the burgh began preparations on 17th March 1537 with a decision to offer her a 'propine' (formal gift) of forty tuns of wine and to raise a tax of £1,000 to cover the expenses of this event and other (unspecified) public works.²⁹ The lord treasurer spent £100 on 'cottis of armour' (armorial tabards) for the heralds who would be involved in the entry, and a convention of lords was called to Edinburgh to coincide with the ceremony.³⁰ Unfortunately, these fragments of information are the only surviving official records of the plans and it is clear from the royal household books that the entry and coronation never actually took place.³¹ Madeleine was almost certainly consumptive; the newlyweds' return to Scotland had been delayed until May 1537 to allow her to gather her strength but nevertheless the voyage took its toll. They landed at Leith on Saturday 19th May, rested there (presumably in the King's Wark) on Sunday 20th (Whitsun) and moved to Holyrood Palace on Monday 21st. Madeleine did not stir from Holyrood for the next seven weeks and died there on the morning of Saturday 7th July, mourned by the people of two kingdoms. The only evidence we have of the pageantry that should have been staged in Edinburgh for Queen Madeleine is in Lindsay's poem, *The Deploratioun*.³² He describes fountains ready to flow with wine and stages prepared with colourful scenery on which 'disagysit folkis' would have acted out stories of 'creaturis deuyne'. He lists the categories of civic dignitaries that would have taken part in the procession: the craftsmen in green; the burgesses in scarlet and 'grane'; the provost, baillies and lords of the town with the senators of the college of justice in purple, black and brown silk; the lords of parliament, barons and 'banrents' in silk and gold; the clergy in their vestments; the musicians playing tabours, trumpets, shawms and

²⁹*Edin. Recs.*, ii, 74.

³⁰*TA*, vi, 303 & 313.

³¹SRO, Liber Emptorum, E. 32/6, fos. 61v.-88r. This shows that the king and queen landed at Leith, moved to Holyrood and stayed there until the day of the queen's death. During this period, James made one visit to Tantallon on 26 June but returned to Holyrood by the evening of the same day. See Appendix C.

³²Lindsay, *Works*, i, 105-12.

clarions; the heralds in their tabards and macers with their batons and finally the new queen herself, bedecked in silks and jewels, under a pall of cloth of gold, escorted by the ladies of the realm and the king's guards. The company would have paraded through the burgh to the cheers of the populace and eloquent speeches of the dignitaries until the queen reached her coronation at the abbey of Holyrood, which would have been followed by banquets, tournaments and other celebrations. As Snowdon Herald and acting Lord Lyon, Lindsay would have been in charge of the arrangements for this event and the picture he paints in his poem is therefore not only vivid but authentic. It corresponds well to the more detailed account of the previous entry, marriage and coronation of a new Queen of Scots, that of Margaret Tudor on 7th and 8th August 1503, which was recorded by the English herald, John Young.³³ However, Young refers to holy crosses and relics being offered to the King and Queen for them to kiss: a ritual that is not mentioned in Lindsay's poem, perhaps because of his own scepticism about such matters.³⁴ Young also notes the details of the *tableaux vivants* presented at intervals along the route and it is highly likely that similar scenes would have greeted Madeleine, with suitable adjustments made to replace English badges and heraldic devices with French ones. The scenes in 1503 were as follows: just outside the town two knights pretended to be in dispute over a lady, thus according the king an excuse for arranging a chivalrous combat to be held later. At the burgh gate (probably the West Port) Margaret was met by the Greyfriars carrying relics and was then presented with the symbolic keys to the burgh by angels in a tower (a tower is still the emblem of the burgh). As she moved through the town she was met by the college of St. Giles (also with relics), passed a fountain flowing with wine and scenes depicting the Judgement of Paris, the Annunciation, the marriage of the Virgin Mary and Joseph, the four Cardinal Virtues trampling on their corresponding Vices and a representation of a unicorn with a greyhound and a thistle

³³Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 287-96.

³⁴Edington, *Court and Culture*, 145-62.

with a rose (i.e. Stewart and Tudor badges). With the exception of the heraldic emblems, all of these images would have been equally suitable for Madeleine's entry as for Margaret's and indeed the presentation of keys (by angels in 1590 but by boys in 1561 and 1579), the personification of four Virtues (not necessarily the same ones), fountains of wine and biblical and mythological allusions continued to feature in Edinburgh entries later in the century, suggesting a strong element of tradition in the arrangements.³⁵

An Edinburgh entry was performed for the reception of James's second French wife, Mary of Guise-Lorraine, on Saturday 20th July, 1538.³⁶ She had spent the previous night at Dunfermline as a guest of the abbot and made a stop at Costorphine before entering Edinburgh.³⁷ The burgh records note that the streets were to be cleaned of all refuse, beggars were to be expelled, the mercat cross was newly painted and scaffolding for the pageants was to be erected at the West Port, the Overbow, the Tolbooth, the Mercat Cross, The Tron and the Netherbow. Each station was assigned to two or three prominent burgesses as their specific responsibility under the overall control of Sir David Lindsay. Lindsay, Adam Otterburn and James Foulis wrote a French oration of welcome which was to be delivered by Master Henry Lauder³⁸ and the order of the civic procession was set: twelve burgesses in three relays of four were appointed to carry the queen's pall and were to be dressed in velvet gowns of purple (for the first quartet), tanny (for the second) and black (for the third). An escort of sixteen footmen wearing the burgh's livery of a black coat with the town's arms on the sleeve was also appointed, along with a mounted escort of thirty-seven burgh

³⁵*Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, 1561-1650*, ed. Sir Patrick Walker (Edinburgh, 1822); A. A. MacDonald, 'Mary Stewart's Entry to Edinburgh: an Ambiguous Triumph', *IR*, xlii (1991), 101-10; Michael Lynch, 'A Royal Progress: Court Ceremony and Ritual during the Personal Reign of James VI' (unpublished paper). I am very grateful to Professor Lynch for allowing me to see the draft of this article.

³⁶SRO, Liber Domicili, E. 31/7, fo. 79v.

³⁷*Ibid*, fo. 79v.; *TA*, vi, 431-2.

³⁸For Lindsay, Otterburn, Foulis and Lauder see Appendix A and chapter 5.

dignitaries dressed in silk with their horses trapped in velvet. The clothing and conduct of the lesser inhabitants of the burgh was also regulated for the occasion.³⁹ No contemporary narrative account has survived to impart any more details of the imagery and allusion displayed at this event but it is again reasonable to assume that it would have been similar to that staged for Queen Margaret in 1503 and planned for Queen Madeleine in 1537.⁴⁰ Perhaps the Edinburgh entry involved some sort of mechanical device for moving scenery as apparently happened at Mary's earlier entry to St. Andrews on 16th June 1538.⁴¹ According to Pitscottie, David Lindsay arranged for her to be met at the New Abbey Gate by a cloud descending from heaven from which stepped a lady dressed as an angel to present her with the keys of Scotland 'in signe and taikin that all the heartis of Scotland was opnit to the resawing of hir grace'. Lindsay then made 'certane wriesouns and exortatiouns ... quhilk teichit hir to serue her god, obey hir husband, and keep hir body clene according to godis will and commandement.'⁴² The following day her marriage to James, which had already been performed in France with Lord Maxwell as the king's proxy, was confirmed in the abbey kirk and three weeks of celebrations followed involving feasts, music, dancing, plays, 'farces', tournaments and hunting.⁴³ Queen Mary also made ceremonial entries into the burghs of Dundee (28th August 1539), Perth and Old Aberdeen (both in the

³⁹*Edin. Recs.*, ii, 89-91.

⁴⁰*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 22, notes only that 'sho maid her entres in Edinburgh with greit triumphe, and als with ordour of the haill nobillis; hir grace come in first at the West Port, and raid down the hie gait to the abbay of Halyrudhous, with greit sportis playit to hir grace throu all the pairtis of the toun.' Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 381, states 'the king and the quen was weil resawit witht great treumph 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 witht spyce and wyne gold and silluer and also greit triumph phraissis maid and playis wnto the queins grace on the expenssis of the said toun.'

⁴¹Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 379. SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/7, fo. 70r. This manuscript makes it clear that Mary arrived in Scotland on Trinity Sunday (16 June 1538) and not Whitsunday (9 June) or any other earlier date: Lesley, *Historie* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 155 says 10th; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 378 says 8th; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 66-7 says Whitsun; Strickland, *Lives*, i, 356 says 12th or 19th. The *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 22 has the correct date.

⁴²Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 379.

⁴³Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 378-81.

Autumn of 1541),⁴⁴ although no descriptions of the first two survive. For the Aberdeen event we have only a brief entry in the burgh records⁴⁵ and Bishop Lesley's comment that she 'was ressavit thair with diverse triumphes and playes maid be the town, and be the university and scules thair of, and remanit thair the space of fiftein dayes, weill intertenit be the bischop, quhair their wes excersise and disputationes in all kind of sciences, in the colledge and scules, with diverse oratiouns maid in Greke, Latine and uther languages, quhilk wes mickell commendit be the King and Quene, and all thair company.'⁴⁶ The Aberdeen entry may have resembled the processions staged by the burgh for major feast days such as Candlemas (2nd February) or Corpus Christi (a moveable feast in May or June), which involved each guild taking responsibility for staging a pageant depicting the life of a saint or biblical story.⁴⁷ The burgh employed an organist and corps of minstrels to provide music for these and other civic occasions.⁴⁸ It is also possible that the entry of Mary of Guise to Aberdeen resembled that of Margaret Tudor, which was staged in 1511 and of which the poet, Dunbar has left an account.⁴⁹ In this event Margaret was met at the burgh gates by artillery salutes and the burgesses in their finest clothes, who arranged for four young men clad in velvet to carry the crimson pall over her head. The streets were hung with tapestry, the crowds cheered, minstrels played and a fountain of wine was set at the mercat cross. Pageants were presented depicting the Annunciation, the Adoration of

⁴⁴SRO, Liber Domicili, E. 31/8 fo. 101r.; The Queen arrived at Dundee by ship from St. Andrews: *TA*, vii, 202; Leslie, *Historie* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 159.

⁴⁵*Abdn. Counc.*, i, 179.

⁴⁶Leslie, *Historie* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 159.

⁴⁷On 22 May 1531 it was settled that the Fleshers would stage the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (a popular plague saint); the Barbers would present the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence; the Skinners would show the Martyrdom of St. Stephen; the Cordiners (shoemakers) would produce the Life of St. Martin; the Tailors were responsible for the Coronation of the Virgin; the Listars staged a pageant of St. Nicholas (the patron saint of the burgh); the Websters, Waulkers and Bonnetmakers were in charge of St. John; the Baxters did St. George; the Wrights, Masons, Slaters and Coopers produced the Resurrection; and the Smiths and Hammermen were to provide the bearers of the cross. These arrangements were apparently based on the practice followed by the guilds of Edinburgh. *Abdn. Counc.*, i, 450-451.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 95, 105.

⁴⁹Dunbar, *Poems*, ii, 251-3 (*Blyth Aberdeen*).

the Magi, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden, and the Stewart family tree descending from king Robert Bruce (perhaps making a comparison with the traditional depiction of the ancestry of Christ in the 'Tree of Jesse'). Finally, when the queen reached her lodgings, she was presented with a gold cup filled with coins as a 'propine.' The emphasis on nativity and genealogy would have been entirely suitable for the entry of a queen who, after eight years of marriage and four pregnancies, had hitherto failed to produce a healthy heir. A similar anxiety would also have surrounded the entry of 1541, which occurred only a few months after the deaths of two baby princes, and this coincidence may have suggested to the burgesses that it would be appropriate to re-produce some of the 1511 scenes, quite apart from the natural tendency to rely on precedence and tradition.

These ceremonial entries for the new queen were financed and organised by the burghs concerned, with the assistance of the king's senior herald, and were intended not only to welcome and honour her but also to serve as an opportunity for the burgesses to engage in a ritualised form of political dialogue with the crown. The use of allegorical figures of virtues, representations of biblical scenes and classical heroes or heroines was designed to emphasise the peace, justice, prosperity and good rule that the people sought from their sovereign lord and lady. The expressions of loyalty and devotion were accompanied by symbolic reminders of the responsibilities and duties of the monarchs to secure the welfare of their subjects and to uphold the church. In fact it is possible to interpret the royal entries of this period as a visual equivalent of the traditional *speculum principis* literary genre. The reception of Mary of Guise at St. Andrews and Edinburgh also had an international dimension. As with the earlier marriage to Madeleine, the wedding of 1538 was accompanied by diplomatic manoeuvres designed to delay and disrupt. James requested a replacement bride from Francis with what would be considered today as indecent haste but at the

time was an indication of political and dynastic necessity. However, having lost one Princess to the rigours of the Scottish climate, Francis could hardly be expected to offer the hand of his sole surviving daughter, Marguerite, and in any case James had now acquired the dignity and prestige that marriage to the eldest daughter of the King of France could bestow and was more concerned with finding a bride capable of bearing sons (Marguerite was still only fourteen). Yet there was no question of him reverting to the jilted Marie de Vendôme, for this would have been a slight to his honour, and so Francis quickly suggested the recently widowed duchess of Longueville, who had borne her first husband two sons, was twenty-two and healthy.⁵⁰ The marriage was delayed for a few months whilst the details of the dowry and jointure were negotiated (and perhaps to allow Mary to complete a full year's mourning for her first husband)⁵¹ and this allowed Henry VIII to enter the fray. His third wife, Jane Seymour, died in October 1537 after giving birth to Prince Edward and immediately Henry instructed his ambassadors to sue for the hand of the duchess of Longueville, asserting that he would accept no one else as his fourth queen.⁵² This was such a blatant attempt to prevent a renewed Franco-Scottish match that Francis found little difficulty in dispensing with it, especially as his relationship with the English king was less important than formerly because he was becoming increasingly friendly with the Emperor. The marriage therefore went ahead in June 1538 as a means of binding Scotland into the new Catholic alliance that was developing in Europe and which was threatening to launch a crusade against the heretic king of

⁵⁰Bapst, *Mariages*, 311-7.

⁵¹There was concern among Mary's family that the settlement proposed by Francis I would be prejudicial to the interests of her son, the young duke of Longueville, because it involved assigning money from her first dowry to be used in her second marriage; this money should have stayed with the Longueville estates: *Balcarres Papers*, i, no. III, p. 2-5. Mary's first husband died 9 June 1537 and she set sail for Scotland on 10 June 1538: Pimodan, *La Mère des Guises*, 65-6.

⁵²*L&P Henry VIII*, xii, 1004, 1201, 1285, 1292 & 1293. The French ambassador in London, Louis de Perreau, sieur de Castillon, suggested that Henry would have given half his kingdom to have married her.

England.⁵³ Henry naturally took it as a personal and political slight by his nephew and embarked upon a diplomatic campaign to detach him from his French alliance by other means.⁵⁴ So the ceremonial and pageantry attending Mary of Guise's reception at St. Andrews and Edinburgh, which was witnessed by the eminent French delegation escorting her to Scotland, was also significant as a sign of Scotland's commitment to her foreign allies and an expression of respect and reverence for France.

The ceremonial entry of Mary of Guise into Edinburgh in 1538 differed in one major respect from that of Margaret Tudor in 1503: it was not a prelude to the queen's coronation. As she was not a king's daughter, Mary was not of sufficient status to expect this as a matter of course and the timing of her eventual coronation at the abbey of Holyrood (22nd February 1540) was calculated to stress the importance of her child-bearing duties. The plans for her coronation were laid only from October 1539,⁵⁵ when she would have been two months pregnant, and by February 1540 the fact that she was expecting a baby would have been clearly visible. Her coronation was the most solemn ritual acknowledgement of her status as one chosen by God as an instrument of international alliance and as a means of perpetuating a line of kings. We have no narrative of the event but there are clear indications in the *Treasurer's Accounts* that James V intended the occasion to enhance the dignity of the Scottish monarchy. His own coronation as a child in the aftermath of Flodden had been a muted and hurried affair, a political act that simply had to be accomplished swiftly so that the more urgent business of securing the Scottish realm from the English threat could be attended to.⁵⁶ In preparation for his marriage to Madeleine he had ordered some embellishments and alterations to the royal regalia and further work was

⁵³Knecht, *Warrior and Patron*, 385-9; Head, 'Henry VIII's Scottish Policy', 14-5; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 355-63.

⁵⁴Sir Ralph Sadler's embassies of 1540 and 1541 were aimed at securing a meeting between Henry VIII and James V and persuading the Scots to reject papal authority: *Sadler's Papers*, i, 3-55.

⁵⁵*TA*, vii, 254.

⁵⁶The coronation took place at the chapel royal, Stirling, 21 September, 1513: *ADCP*, 1.

undertaken in 1539 and 1540 as the queen's coronation approached. Most work was concentrated on the king's crown; it was repaired in May 1532 and October 1533⁵⁷ and remodelled in August 1532 and January-February 1540.⁵⁸ In the alterations of 1532 the goldsmith, Adam Leys, was paid £6 for mending the crown 'and making of the spryngis thairto.' It is possible to interpret this phrase to mean that this was the date on which the Scottish crown was closed with 'imperial' arches for the first time, bringing it into line with the image that had been used on coins and portraits since the reign of James III.⁵⁹ If so, this would indicate that James V was keen to exploit the political symbolism attached to a 'closed' rather than an 'open' crown.⁶⁰ This version of the crown appears in the *Wardrobe Inventory* of 25th March 1539, where it is described as made of gold, set with twenty diamonds and sixty-eight oriental pearls and lacking one golden fleur de lys.⁶¹ In the remodelling of 1540 John Mossman added 41½ oz of gold from the mine of Crawfordmuir and twenty-three stones including three great garnets and a great amethyst.⁶² This is the version of the royal crown that still survives today on display in Edinburgh castle. An analysis of the gold and the construction suggests that at this point Mossman melted down and recast the gold fillet with the additional metal but then simply re-attached the arches as they had been made in 1532.⁶³ The mound and cross which is set at the point where the arches intersect and the enamelled oak-leaf decorations applied to them are of French manufacture and were possibly purchased by Mossman when he was sent to France in

⁵⁷TA, vi, 25-6, 179.

⁵⁸TA, vi, 73 and *ibid.*, vii, 278.

⁵⁹C. J. Burnett and C. J. Tabraham, *The Honours of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), 24; A. J. S. Brook, 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland', *PSAS*, xxiv (1889-90), 82-7. Both these authorities agree that the Scottish crown was closed before 1540 but have not identified the point at which this occurred. See also *Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland*, ed. William Bell (Bannatyne Club, 1829).

⁶⁰The closed crown imitated the form of the imperial crown and was understood to embody the maxim *Rex est imperator in suo regno*. It was first used in England by Henry VII and in France by Charles VIII: Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960), 118n.

⁶¹SRO Wardrobe Inventory, E. 35/1, fo. 21r.

⁶²TA, vii, 278.

⁶³Brook, 'Technical Description', 59-62, 82-92.

September 1539 with £50 to spend on gold work.⁶⁴ He delivered the new crown to James V at Holyrood on 8th February 1540 at which point a new purple velvet cap, lined with purple satin, and a new case were provided for it.⁶⁵

Other items of the royal regalia also received attention. James V had two swords of state, both of which were Papal gifts. The first had been sent to his father by Pope Julius II in 1507 and in July 1536 Adam Leys was employed to mend and gild it.⁶⁶ In March 1539 a new case was made for the sword of honour, and since the sword of 1507 (which is also on display in Edinburgh Castle) still has its original scabbard this was probably for the second one which was sent by Paul III and presented to James V at Compiègne in February 1537.⁶⁷ The gift signified Papal approval of the marriage alliance and the hope that the Scottish king would act as a defender of the true faith in the face of pressure from his English uncle to defect.⁶⁸ The royal sceptre was yet another papal gift, sent by Alexander VI to James IV in 1494, and at the same time that Leys was working on the sword he was also commissioned to extend and gild the sceptre.⁶⁹ On 10th May 1537, whilst James was on his way home from France, Leys was again employed to gild 'the knoppis of the kingis stule' (possibly his throne) with £3 worth of gold ducats and at the same time the 'stule' was lined with red leather, covered with green velvet and fringed with silk and gold.⁷⁰ As the coronation approached the preparations became more intense. The refashioning of the king's

⁶⁴*TA*, vii, 204.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, vii, 285.

⁶⁶*Ibid*, vi, 285. 3 oz of English silver groats were supplied for the repairs and an angel noble for the gilding.

⁶⁷*TA*, vii, 142.

⁶⁸C. Burns, 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarch: The Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword', *IR*, xx, (1969), 180-3; *James V Letters*, 328.

⁶⁹*TA*, vi, 285-6. The old sceptre contained 15 oz of silver to which Leys added a further 11½ oz. He was given £9 worth of gold to gild it. His work is clearly distinguishable from the Italian craftsmanship and had the effect of lengthening the sceptre considerably: Brook, 'Technical Description', 101-4.

⁷⁰*TA*, vi, 299. The quantities of fabric used (6 skins and 3½ ells of velvet) suggest a large chair rather than a stool as we would understand the word today.

crown, noted above, was accompanied by many other purchases. On 5th October 1539 Mossman was provided with 35 oz of gold from the mine with which to fashion the queen's crown. He also provided the stones and pearls for its decoration.⁷¹ On 21st January 1540 payments are recorded for the king's 'robe royal' made of 38 ells of purple velvet, lined with forty dozen skins of spotted ermine and for the queen's robe made of 22½ ells of purple velvet and lined with 10 ells of white taffeta.⁷² At the same time a gold belt set with a sapphire, and a turquoise ring were purchased, perhaps also for the coronation.⁷³ On 6th February, John Mossman was given four rose nobles (worth £10 12s.) to gild the queen's sceptre which he had fashioned from 31½ oz of silver and which was topped with 'ane quhyt hand'.⁷⁴ This description suggests that the queen's sceptre was made in the French style and therefore is not the unidentified wand which was recovered with the rest of the royal regalia in 1818.⁷⁵

All this work on the royal regalia suggests that the coronation of February 1540 would have been a magnificent occasion but unfortunately we have no narratives of the event. We are still reliant on snippets of information from the financial accounts to paint the picture. Nineteen cart-loads of timber boards and spars were used to construct the tiered stands erected in the abbey Kirk to seat the congregation.⁷⁶ The ladies of the great families of Scotland were summoned to attend the queen, as we know from the payments made for sending letters to them, but we have no specific details of which ladies responded to the call nor of the roles they played in the

⁷¹*TA*, vii, 254.

⁷²*Ibid*, vii, 277.

⁷³*Ibid*, vii, 278.

⁷⁴*Ibid*, vii, 285-6. SRO Wardrobe Inventory E.35/4 fo. 41r.

⁷⁵For the French *main de justice* see Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Regalia: les instruments de sacre des rois de France et les 'honneurs de Charlemagne'* (Paris, 1987), 76-7. This sceptre had been in use from at least the 13th century. Henry IV had a new one made in 1594: *ibid*, 79. For the suggestion that the wand traditionally known as 'the Lord Treasurer's Rod' might have been the queen's sceptre see J. J. Reid, 'The Scottish Regalia, Anciently Styled the Honours of Scotland', *PSAS*, xxiv (1889-90), 27.

⁷⁶*TA*, vii, 487.

ceremonial.⁷⁷ Presumably they would have supplemented Mary's staff of ladies-in-waiting and maids of honour to give her an expanded train. Eleven chaplains from the chapel royal were present in Edinburgh from 14th February to 22nd March and were paid an allowance of two shillings a day each⁷⁸ but we have no information on the duties they performed. Presumably they would have assisted in the religious rites attending the coronation, thus enhancing the dignity and solemnity of the occasion by simply expanding the number of clergy present. At the same time thirty guns were placed at the head of David's Tower in Edinburgh Castle, probably to fire salutes but no more details are recorded.⁷⁹ There are no documents of established authenticity recording the pre-Reformation Scottish coronation service and the first Scottish order of service which has survived, that for the coronation of Charles I at Holyrood in 1633, makes no mention of the procedure for crowning a queen consort.⁸⁰ At the coronation of Anna of Denmark in May 1590 she was invested with a crown, sceptre and robe at a ceremony in the abbey kirk of Holyrood which involved a procession, acclamation, unction and sermon. Anna gave an oath to support the church and realm of Scotland and received the homage of the Scottish estates.⁸¹ There was no recitation of the royal genealogy which was traditional for the investiture of a reigning monarch.⁸² Mary of Guise's coronation may well have been very similar to Anna's, with the addition of a solemn Mass and without the references to stamping out Popery.⁸³

⁷⁷Ibid, vii, 302. See chapter 2.

⁷⁸*TA*, vii, 297.

⁷⁹Ibid, vii, 346-7.

⁸⁰R. J. Lyall, 'The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth-Century Evidence', *JR*, xxviii (1977), 3-21.

⁸¹Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 104-07.

⁸²Lyall, 'Scottish Coronation Service', 19; Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, 'The Style and Title of "Lord Lyon King of Arms," *JR*, 44 (1932), 200.

⁸³Cardinal Beaton celebrated the mass according to one account, *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 23

The celebrations surrounding the queen's coronation were followed swiftly by rejoicing for the birth of a male heir, Prince James, at St. Andrews on 22nd May. Again we have no detailed narrative but since the child was baptised within a few days of his birth (on Wednesday 26th May)⁸⁴ the pageantry could not have been as elaborate as that attending the baptism of Prince Charles James, the future James VI, at Stirling in December 1566, which took six months to prepare.⁸⁵ The godparents in 1540 were Margaret Tudor, the queen dowager, Cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews and Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow.⁸⁶ Fifteen ells of white Genoese taffeta were used as serviettes to hold the torches at the baptism and the child was provided with a cradle carved by a French craftsman (Andrew Manson) and a canopy for his bed of state.⁸⁷ Members of the nobility were again summoned to attend and coats of arms were painted.⁸⁸ Some of the king's silver plate was sent from Edinburgh for the occasion⁸⁹ and a payment of £666 13s 4d (one thousand merks) was made to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount and his wife, Janet Douglas, for services which are not specified but were probably connected with the baptism.⁹⁰ James V could not have been in St. Andrews at the time of the birth since a messenger was sent to him with the news and was rewarded with a fine suit of clothes.⁹¹ The news of the birth was also sent to James V's uncle, Henry VIII, and father-in-law, Francis I.⁹² It is possible that the birth was celebrated with a fireworks display as the munitions

⁸⁴SRO, Despence de la Maison Royale, E.33/1, Lib. 7, fo 13v.

⁸⁵Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *SHR*, 69 (1990), 1-21.

⁸⁶*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 23. In Leslie's account (*History*, 157), the archbishop of Glasgow is replaced by the earl of Arran.

⁸⁷*TA*, vii, 304, 307.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, vii, 308-9.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, vii, 314.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, vii, 315.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, vii, 322. The king may have been in Leith making preparations for his voyage to the Northern and Western Isles, which took place a few weeks later: *RSS*, ii, 3508. However, the *Pursemaster's Accounts* suggest that the king was in St. Andrews on 22 May 1540: Murray, 'Pursemaster's Accounts', 50.

⁹²George Elphinstone was sent to England: *TA*, vii, 307. James Scrymgeour was sent to France: *ibid.*, vii, 328.

accounts of May 1540 reveal that some French gunners were paid for dealing with 'fyre werk schot devisit be the Kingis grace'.⁹³ As fireworks were certainly used in France to celebrate the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, and may have been used to mark the wedding of James and Madeleine in 1537 (see above), this is perhaps another example of French influence on the Scottish court. The following April the birth and baptism of James and Mary's second son, Robert, duke of Albany, was celebrated at Stirling.⁹⁴ He must have been born on or shortly before 24th April, for on this date payments were entered for eight ells of white taffeta for serviettes to hold the candles at his baptism and for guns to be hauled on to the wall-head at Edinburgh Castle to fire a salute.⁹⁵ However, any celebrations on this occasion were short-lived for the baby died within a few days (a lead capsule to encase his body for burial was paid for on 29th April)⁹⁶ to be joined in the grave by his elder brother at about the same time. The boys were buried at Holyrood.⁹⁷

All of the events considered above were accompanied by jousts and tournaments as part of the traditional celebrations.⁹⁸ Both James II and James IV had achieved international fame for the splendid tournaments they staged in Scotland⁹⁹ and,

⁹³*TA*, vii, 357.

⁹⁴He appears in *TA*, vii, 442 & 495 as 'the Lord Duke.' He is named Robert in *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 23 and Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 382. Lesley, *Historie*, 158, calls him Arthur, but he is probably confusing him with the son of that name born to James IV and Margaret Tudor. James V was fond of the traditional Stewart names; he had three illegitimate sons called James and two called Robert but none called Arthur (see chapter 2). The significance of the name Arthur in 1509 was that James IV was stressing his son's proximity to the English succession by suggesting he might become king of a greater Britain, like the hero of legend (Macdougall, *James IV*, 295; Lynch, *A New History*, 160). In 1541 such a point would have fallen rather flat since by then Henry VIII had acquired a son and two daughters, each of whom would have preceded James V and his first child, let alone his second, in the English succession.

⁹⁵*TA*, vii, 442, 495.

⁹⁶*TA*, vii, 442.

⁹⁷*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 24.

⁹⁸These are specifically mentioned for the first marriage (*L & P Henry VIII*, xii, (1), 12; *Cronique du Roy*, 204-5), for the entry planned for Madeleine (*The Deploratioun: Lindsay, Works*, i, 111), for the second marriage (*TA*, vi, 402, 412-3), for the coronation (*MWA*, i, 288; *TA*, vii, 278, 292-3) and for the first baptism (*TA*, vii, 317).

⁹⁹McGladdery, *James II*, 41-2; P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1891), 30-8; Macdougall, *James IV*, 294-5.

although the chivalric exploits of James V's reign have not acquired the same legendary status, it is likely that they were also quite spectacular. James was a keen participant from an early age. Even when he was only thirteen years old, English envoys were reporting to Henry VIII that he relished his martial training and particularly desired a full-sized adult sword, rather than the smaller versions usually given to children,¹⁰⁰ and early in his adult reign references to lists appear in the accounts, such as those erected at Holyrood in May 1530 or at Stirling in January 1531.¹⁰¹ James seems to have regarded jousts and tournaments as a necessary part of celebrating such festivals as Christmas, Easter and May Day¹⁰² and his wardrobe accounts are scattered with purchases of spears, swords, horse harness and riding jackets throughout the reign, although it is not always specifically stated that such items were for use in martial sports (they would also have been used for hunting and for judicial progresses such as the border raids of 1529 and 1530). However, it is also apparent from the accounts that the jousts and tournaments staged to celebrate the marriages, coronation and baptisms of the years 1537 to 1541 were on a much grander scale than the earlier, seasonal events. For example, at the jousts of Christmas 1530 and New Year of 1531 the wardrobe purchased three dozen spears and several swords but for the celebrations of the marriage to Madeleine over 400 spears were acquired and 181 French crowns were spent just on the feathers to decorate the caps and caparisons of the king and his knights.¹⁰³ According to Pitscottie, James himself along with the earl of Lennox and his brother, Lord Darnley, particularly distinguished themselves in these tournaments.¹⁰⁴ This is hardly surprising as James seems to have spent most of the time between his betrothal and marriage either hunting or jousting

¹⁰⁰Wood, *Letters*, ii, 19-20.

¹⁰¹*MW*, i, 36; *TA*, v, 411-2.

¹⁰²E.g. James is recorded running at the lists in Falkland on 2nd May 1539, when the only special occasion was the Maying season: *TA*, vii, 168.

¹⁰³*TA*, v, 411-12; *ibid*, vii, 8, 16.

¹⁰⁴Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 366. A French source particularly commends the performances of James and the Dauphin: *Cronique du Roy*, 204-5.

with the Dauphin.¹⁰⁵ Considerable expense was also undertaken for the jousting at St. Andrews in June 1538 to celebrate Mary of Guise's arrival in Scotland: lists and counter-lists were erected under the supervision of George Elphinstone, 500 spears were imported from France, cataphract horses were imported from Denmark, and the king had three new sets of velvet harness and jousting outfits, one red, one blue, and one multi-coloured, all embroidered with gold.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, for the queen's coronation, more horses were sought abroad, lists were erected at Holyrood and James had three more jousting outfits, this time of black silk and tanny velvet, embroidered with gold crowns, thistles, fleurs de lys and mottoes, whilst his harness was hung with gilt badges.¹⁰⁷

Lindsay's poem, *The Iusting*, describes a comic parody of a chivalrous combat held between two distinctly un-knightly figures: James Watson and John Barber.¹⁰⁸ Watson was a barber-surgeon and servant in the king's chamber, whilst Barber was a groom in the wardrobe, working under John Tennent.¹⁰⁹ Lindsay sets their exploits at St. Andrews on Whitmonday, which is where the court really was in 1539 and 1542,¹¹⁰ and describes their incompetent progress from riding at one another with spears to a sword fight on foot and finally resorting to fisticuffs. However, their blundering ensured that 'that day was sched no blude.' In *The Historie of Squyer William Meldrum* a single combat is described where the champion and his challenger meet formally in the lists attended by heralds, trumpeters and a crowd of onlookers to defend their honour.¹¹¹ The two knights run several courses at the lists, breaking each other's spears and unseating one another. Meldrum wins the contest when his

¹⁰⁵*Cronique de Roy*, 201; Bapst, *Mariages*, 304-5.

¹⁰⁶*MW*, i, 221-2; *James V Letters*, 345; *TA*, vi, 402, 412-3; *ibid*, vii, 48.

¹⁰⁷*James V Letters*, 388; *MWA*, i, 288; *TA*, vii, 278, 292-3, 295.

¹⁰⁸Lindsay, *Works*, i, 113-6.

¹⁰⁹See Appendix A.

¹¹⁰SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/8 fo. 74 v. & SRO, Despence de la Maison, E. 33/1, Lib. 12, 38v.

¹¹¹Lindsay, *Works*, i, 156-61.

opponent is seriously wounded in a fall but chivalrously declines to accept his prize of his opponent's horse and armour; thus winning even more fame and honour for himself with the knights of three nations (France, Scotland and England). These stories, together with the snippets of information from the financial accounts, suggest that James was staging in Scotland the same sort of chivalrous combat that was popular at all the European courts of the period.¹¹² This included mounted knights tilting with lances and sword-play, often on foot, at the barriers. The tournament would usually be fought by teams of knights responding to a challenge, which arose from a fictitious scenario taken from Arthurian Romance or something similar, but most of the action concentrated on a series of single-combats, where the knights would attempt to break their spears or unseat their opponents. The most famous Scottish example is James IV's tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, staged in 1507 and again in 1508¹¹³ but, sadly, there is very little information on the themes adopted for James V's tournaments. The tournaments of 1507 and 1508 had involved an artificial 'Tree of Esperance,' a group of 'wild men' and a 'black lady.' Such features had already been developed at the obsessively chivalric court of the Valois dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, to which the Scottish court had links through James II's marriage to Mary of Guelders. For example, the tournament held to celebrate the marriage of Duke Charles to Margaret of York in Bruges, 1468, was staged as the *Pas d'armes de l'arbre d'or* and the *Pas d'armes de la dame sauvage* was staged at Ghent in 1470.¹¹⁴ The fashions set by the Burgundian court continued to influence the chivalric exploits of the sixteenth century and perhaps the most famous example of the use of a tree of honour was that constructed for the lists at the

¹¹²Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), 107-37.

¹¹³*TA*, iii, 393-7; *Ibid*, iv, 117-25; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 241-44; Lesley, *Historie*, 78; Macdougall, *James IV*, 294-5.

¹¹⁴Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 121-4.

Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520.¹¹⁵ There is no indication that James ever used 'savages' in his tournaments but a French account of his Paris wedding of 1537 suggests that the lists were decorated with a heraldic tableau of a similar nature to a 'tree of honour.' At one end of the lists there was a sumptuous stage on which was displayed all the arms of the combatants, surmounted by two mannequins dressed as knights carrying lances with pennons in one hand and the escutcheons of Scotland and France in the other.¹¹⁶ A hint that the servants of James V were familiar with such chivalric imagery is also to be found in the pages of the household account books: in 1534, the clerk writing the accounts of the spice-house, wine cellar and avery opened his work with some sketches. The first shows a unicorn, a thistle and a rose, as well as the figure of a lady who appears to be stabbing herself with a small sword (the identity and significance of this figure remains a mystery). The second is of a tree in blossom from which hangs an escutcheon depicting the head of a man wearing a curious headband. The third seems to be of a pavilion, such as was often used by knights at tournaments (although it also resembles a tree, wound around with ribbons), with an impish figure in a feathered cap alongside and surmounted by the motto *Spes Fove*.¹¹⁷ A later sketch in the kitchen accounts of 1538 depicts the arms of the king and queen perched upon a thistle branch.¹¹⁸ These pieces of graffiti can hardly be taken as conclusive evidence of a pervasive chivalric culture at the court of James V but the fact that a scribe turned to such material for his doodles is certainly suggestive.

¹¹⁵Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 112-3. See also Sydney Anglo, 'L'arbre de chevalerie et le perron dans les tournois', in Jacquot (ed.), *Fêtes de la Renaissance*, iii, 283-98.

¹¹⁶*Cronique du Roy*, 205: 'Au bout de ladicte lisse y avoit ung théâtre fort sumptueux auquel estoient attachées les armoiries de tous les princes et nobles, tant du sang royal que aultres et mesmes ceulx qui estoient destinez à la joustes; au summet duquel estoient appousez deulx hommes de bois paintz, en figure d'hommes armez, qui tenoyent deulx lances au bout desquelles y avoit deulx panonceaulx, et, à la main d'abas tenoyent chescun ung escuson aux armes de France et d'Ecosse.'

¹¹⁷SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/6, ff 97r., 103r. & 105r. The conjunction of a heraldic image with a motto possibly suggests that this is a representation of an *impresa*: see Kirsten Lippincott, 'The Genesis and Significance of the Fifteenth-Century Italian *Impresa*', in Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, 49-76. The motto *Spes Fove* also occurs on the back cover of a book which was once owned by John Denniston, rector of Dysart, and an extraordinary member of the king's household: see Durkan & Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, 87-8.

¹¹⁸SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/8, fo. 3r.

Equally tantalising is the one mention in Lindsay's poems of a 'tabyll rounde' at Stirling and the fact that a member of the Dunbar garrison went by the name of Lancelot de Lake.¹¹⁹

There was no office of the revels at the Stewart court, as there was south of the border,¹²⁰ so the responsibility for planning and staging the entries, weddings, coronations, baptisms and tournaments fell across several departments of the royal household, including the office of arms, the stable, the wardrobe and the musicians. However, it seems clear that the senior officers at each of these events were the heralds. James had an establishment of six heralds (Albany, Islay, Marchmont, Ross, Rothesay and Snowden), six pursuivants (Bute, Carrick, Dingwall, Kintyre, Ormond and Unicorn), with two extraordinary pursuivants instituted if necessary (Falkland and Stirling), up to a dozen macers and many messengers-at-arms.¹²¹ The entire department was under the control of the Lyon King of Arms. This title was held for most of the adult reign by Thomas Pettigrew of Magdalensyde, but the functions were actually performed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who succeeded to the full title on Pettigrew's death in 1542.¹²² Lyon had the status of a great officer of state as well as a senior figure within the household¹²³ and between them the heralds acted as the priesthood of the cult of chivalry. Their duties included organising and policing all the public events discussed above; adjudicating in disputes over precedence, genealogy and armorial bearings; making public the royal proclamations; carrying royal letters

¹¹⁹*The Testament of the Papyngo*: Lindsay, *Works*, i, 75. Edington considers the round table to have been a symbol of the chivalric culture of the court rather than a physical entity (Edington, *Court and Culture*, 103–4). However, such an item was created for Edward III of England and repainted in Tudor times. It is still preserved in the great hall of Winchester Castle; Winchester Cathedral was the location for the baptism of Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1486 (Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 208). Lancelot de Lake was presumably an alias: *TA*, vii, 256.

¹²⁰Anglo. *Spectacle and Pageantry*, 261; Loades, *Tudor Court*, 113.

¹²¹See Appendix A.

¹²²*RSS*, ii, 4910. See also Edington, *Court and Culture*, 27.

¹²³Innes of Learney, 'Lyon King of Arms', 198; Sir Francis James Grant, *Court of the Lord Lyon, 1318-1945* (SRS, 1945), p. i.

and messages and accompanying foreign embassies.¹²⁴ In all their functions they represented the person of the monarch and in the case of the Lyon this aspect of his role was stressed to the extent that he was crowned at his inauguration and to deforce him was an act of treason.¹²⁵ The heralds of James V's reign clearly took their responsibilities seriously: Sir David Lindsay's *Armorial* (c.1542) is one of the earliest known Scottish heraldic registers¹²⁶ and there are several other heraldic manuscripts surviving from the libraries of his immediate subordinates. These are the manuscripts which once belonged to John Scrymgeour of Myres (the Hereditary Macer), Peter Thomson (Bute Pursuivant and Islay Herald), John Meldrum (Marchmont Herald) and Robert Forman (Ross Herald and Lindsay's successor as Lyon after 1555).¹²⁷

Lindsay's *Armorial* was intended as a work of reference recording all the heraldic bearings of the Scottish royal family from the accession of the Stewarts as well as the arms of 114 noble and over 300 lairdly families.¹²⁸ However, the work opens with depictions of the fictitious arms accorded to Prester John, the biblical Three Kings, and the Nine Worthies of chivalric folklore,¹²⁹ followed by the arms of the monarchs of all the main European states. In this Lindsay was placing the Scottish armigerous community firmly within the context of the heroes of chivalric legend as well as among the leading European exponents of the cult of chivalry of his own day. In

¹²⁴Sir James Balfour Paul, *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art* (Edinburgh, 1900), 90-1, 98-103; J. H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland* (2 vols, Glasgow, 1914), ii, 421-435.

¹²⁵Balfour Paul, *Heraldry*, 91; George Seton, *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1863), 29-31. In 1515, Lord Drummond was forfeited for striking the then Lord Lyon, Sir William Cumming of Inverlochy, and only restored the following year by the special pleading of the Queen and Parliament: APS, ii, 284; Seton, *Law of Heraldry*, 29; Emond, 'Minority', 77.

¹²⁶NLS, Adv. MS. 31.4.3 and *Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, 1542*, ed. W. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1822).

¹²⁷NLS, Adv. MSS, 31.5.2, 31.7.22, 31.6.5, 31.4.2.

¹²⁸H. A. B. Lawson, 'The Armorial Register of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount', *The Scottish Genealogist*, iv (1957), 12-19; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 37-9.

¹²⁹The Nine Worthies were three biblical, three classical and three medieval heroes who embodied all the chivalric virtues of valour, piety etc. They were David, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Hector of Troy, Charlemagne, Arthur and Godfrey of Bouillon (the first crusader-king of Jerusalem) and chivalric tradition accorded them all armorial bearings.

addition, the references to Prester John and Godfrey of Bouillon also suggest the lingering importance of the Crusading ideal for the code of honour of the period. Lindsay may have been inspired by the heraldic ceiling of St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, (1520-1) which includes many of the same arms and appears to have been designed for a similar purpose.¹³⁰ The arms of the only Scottish royal saint, St. Margaret, are also given a prominent position both at Aberdeen and in the *Armorial*, perhaps suggesting an attempt to acquire the same type of prestige that the French kings gained from their descent from St. Louis, and the English from their connections with St. Edward. The main difference between the manuscript and the ceiling is that the Aberdeen scheme includes the arms of all the Scottish bishops, whilst Lindsay includes the arms of only one prelate (one who was so eminent that it would have been almost impossible to ignore him), David Beaton, Cardinal of St. Stephen's, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, Chancellor, Legate, Bishop of Mirepoix and Commendator of Arbroath.¹³¹ The absence of other ecclesiastical arms may be another indication of Lindsay's own anti-clerical prejudices.¹³² Scrymgeour's manuscript is a version of a heraldic treatise copied in 1494 by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant, from a mid-fifteenth-century original by Sir Gilbert Hay.¹³³ It includes instructions on how to run a tournament and how to cry largesse, as well as comments on the offices of constable and marshal, the technicalities of blazon and a chivalric code of conduct. Thomson's manuscript includes similar material with information on the coronation of an emperor or king

¹³⁰Helena M. Shire, 'The Heraldic Ceiling of St. Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen, c.1520', in Hadley Williams (ed.) *Stewart Style*, 63-72. See also, David McRoberts, *The Heraldic Ceiling of St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1976).

¹³¹The fact that Beaton is given the title of Chancellor in the manuscript, to which office he was appointed in January 1543, suggests that the *Armorial* was not fully completed in 1542. However, the absence of any reference to Mary, Queen of Scots, means that it was largely a work of James V's reign.

¹³²Edington, *Court and Culture*, 145-62.

¹³³For Loutfut's work see *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript*, ed. J. H. Stevenson (2 vols. STS, 1914), vol. II, pp xxi-xxxiii and *The Buk of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, ed. Alfred T. P. Bayles (EETS. Original Series, 168, London, 1926), xxvi-xxix. Hay was an author certainly known to Lindsay see *The Testament of the Papyngo*: Lindsay, *Works*, i, 56.

and an account of the jousting which took place at the wedding of Katherine of Aragon to Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1501. Meldrum's manuscript includes copies of two popular heraldic treatises, Bartolus de Saxoferato's *De insignis armis* and Nicholas Upton's *De studio militari*. Forman's manuscript is another Armorial, not as fine as Lindsay's but probably compiled for the same purpose, as a work of reference. The survival of these manuscripts (and many others) is a considerable testament to the antiquarian enthusiasms of a seventeenth-century Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, from whose collection they passed to the Advocates' Library and were thus preserved. However, given that so many records from the reign of James V have not survived the centuries, it may well have been the case that there were many more like these in circulation among the heralds of the 1530s and 1540s and if this were indeed the case it would indicate the officers' erudition, dedication and cosmopolitan outlook (the above texts originated in England, France and other European lands).

One of the distinctive features of European chivalry from the fourteenth century onwards was the foundation by sovereign princes of chivalric orders.¹³⁴ These were exclusive knightly brotherhoods who would swear to obey the statutes of their order, wear distinctive insignia and/or robes of membership and who were expected to maintain the highest standards of honourable deportment. Societies such as the Order of the Garter in England (founded in 1349 by Edward III) or the Order of St. Michael in France (founded in 1469 by Louis XI) added lustre to kings who sought to present an image of knightly dignity and prowess, and at the same time bound their nobles to them in ties of fellowship, loyalty and patriotism. They also perpetuated the Crusading ideal in knightly circles, which (along with the veneration of patron saints and the provision of masses and prayers for the souls of departed brethren) added a veneer of piety to the pursuit of martial glory. It soon became customary for the princely heads

¹³⁴D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987).

of these fraternities to admit one other to their own orders on the clear understanding that such membership was intended as a mark of esteem and that any oaths of obedience would be given to the head of an order only in that capacity and not as a sovereign lord. James V who, as we have already seen, was enthusiastic about all things chivalric was eager to be admitted to each of the most prestigious European orders and used the diplomatic leverage of his tangled marriage negotiations to obtain his wishes. The first honour to be acquired was membership of the Burgundian order of the Golden Fleece, conferred upon him on 26th April 1532 when Charles V was trying to tempt him to an imperial match. Charles sent his chamberlain, Sieur Pierre de Rosimboz, accompanied by Burgundy King of Arms to invest James with the collar and mantle at Edinburgh.¹³⁵ Possibly as part of the events surrounding the embassy James gave the Imperial envoys a demonstration of his adherence to the Catholic church when a heresy trial was staged at Holyrood Abbey¹³⁶ and showed his commitment to chivalry when a judicial duel was fought at the palace between the lairds of Drumlanrig and Hempsfield.¹³⁷ The king's admission to the order also coincided with the preparations for the institution of the college of justice, another prestigious public occasion, which took place a few weeks later on 27th May.¹³⁸

Having thus obtained one chivalric status symbol, James would be able to exert increased pressure upon the kings of France and England to present him with others if they wished their diplomatic missions in Scotland to succeed. Accordingly James was elected a knight companion of the Order of the Garter in January 1535,¹³⁹ a few months after a peace treaty had been sealed between Scotland and England which was

¹³⁵*James V Letters*, 221-2.

¹³⁶*MW*, i, 100.

¹³⁷*Ibid*, i, 102

¹³⁸*ADCP*, 373-8. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 15-16. There is no detailed narrative of the ceremonial at this event.

¹³⁹*James V Letters*, 285; *L&P Henry VIII*, viii, 69; G Holmes, *The Order of the Garter: its Knights and Stall Plates 1348 to 1984* (Windsor, 1984), 74.

supposed to endure for one year beyond the lifetime of whichever king died first.¹⁴⁰ On 21st February the English ambassador, Lord William Howard (who was accompanied by Garter King of Arms) administered the oath of the order to James V, attached the garter to his left leg and invested him with the gown, mantle and collar of the order at a solemn mass in Holyrood Abbey.¹⁴¹ This was followed by a great feast, noted in the household books.¹⁴² The statutes of the order, which were also presented at the ceremony, still survive in the National Library of Scotland.¹⁴³ Lord Erskine (accompanied by Sir David Lindsay) was sent to England in July to act as the king's proxy at his formal installation in the chapel of the order at Windsor on 22nd August.¹⁴⁴ The last European order to offer membership to the king was that of St. Michael and James was driven to demanding that he be admitted as a condition for his acceptance of Marie de Vendôme as a bride instead of Madeleine de Valois. The marriage was agreed in March 1536¹⁴⁵ and in May a *valet de chambre* of Francis I, Monsieur d'Izernay, arrived in Scotland with the collar of the order, accompanied by the earl of Moray, who had been in France negotiating the match and who was already a member of the order.¹⁴⁶ Although not strictly an order of chivalry, it is possible to view the Papal gift of the blessed cap and sword as a similar distinction conferred upon James as part of the diplomatic routine of the 1530s, and this again underlines the religious connotations of the distribution of honours at this period.

¹⁴⁰Peace was signed on 11 May 1534: *L&P Henry VIII*, vii, 647. The English ambassadors, were received into Edinburgh for the confirmation of the peace on 30 June 1534: SRO, Liber Domicili, E. 31/5, fo. 62v.; Liber Emptorum, E. 32/3 fo. 84v; *L&P Henry VIII*, vii, 911. It was ratified in England on 2 Aug: *ibid*, vii, 1031 & 1032.

¹⁴¹*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 19; *L&P Henry VIII*, viii, 70; Brook, 'Technical Description', 126-9. Chapuys reported that the oath was deferred and that the ceremony was held in the private chapel of Holyrood palace rather than in the abbey: *L&P Henry VIII*, viii, 429.

¹⁴²SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/6, f. 42v.; Liber Emptorum, E.32/4, f. 55v. The same sources record a similar banquet on the 28th, perhaps at the departure of the English envoys: E.31/6, f. 44v.; E.32/4, f. 58v.

¹⁴³NLS, MS 7143.

¹⁴⁴*James V Letters*, 297; *TA*, vi, 303, 315; *L&P Henry VIII*, vol viii, no 1009, p 399; vol ix, no 7, p 2; no 178, p 53; no 233, p 77.

¹⁴⁵Teulet, *Papiers*, i, 109-21.

¹⁴⁶*James V Letters*, 318.

Traditionally the decision on which prince should become the recipient of the gift was made by the Pontiff each Christmas and the Papal chamberlain, Giovanni Antonio di Campeggio made the ceremonial presentation at Compiègne on 19th February 1537.¹⁴⁷ It was intended to reward James for eluding the summit meeting with Henry VIII that had been planned for September 1536,¹⁴⁸ to congratulate him on his marital alliance with the Most Christian King and to encourage him to be a firm upholder of the Catholic church. Henry VIII thought that the Pope was intending to rescind his title of *Fidei Defensor* and award it to James instead¹⁴⁹ but James never used this style publicly.¹⁵⁰ According to Lesley, James was very proud of these honours and used to mark the feasts of the patron saints of each order with great pomp, wearing his insignia in the court.¹⁵¹ The feast day of the order of the Garter is St. George's day, 23rd April; that of the French order was Michaelmas, 29th September; and that of the order of the Golden Fleece was St. Andrew's day, 30th November. None of these dates receives any special attention in the household accounts to indicate that a feast was being marked and even though St. Andrew was also the patron saint of Scotland, his day is noted only once, in the account book for 1537.¹⁵² Lesley may have been mistaken on this point but he was certainly correct to state that James had the arms and collars of his orders carved above the outer gate of Linlithgow palace.¹⁵³ On this site, alongside the insignia of the Garter, Golden Fleece and St. Michael, was set the arms and collar of the Scottish order of the Thistle, which Lesley calls 'the ornamentis of S. Andro quilkes ar the proper armes of our Natioune.'¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷C. Burns, 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: The Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword', *IR*, xx (1969), 180-3; *James V Letters*, 328.

¹⁴⁸*James V Letters*, 316.

¹⁴⁹*L & P Henry VIII*, vol xii, (1) 665.

¹⁵⁰For one possible instance of its unofficial use see Durkan, 'Trompet of Honour', 1-2, and chapter 5.

¹⁵¹Lesley, *Historie*, 230.

¹⁵²SRO, Liber Domicili, E.31/7, f. 20r. However, a letter of the bishop of Aberdeen to Cromwell says that James V intended to wear his Garter insignia on St. George's day: *L&P Henry VIII*, ix, 7.

¹⁵³See chapter 3.

¹⁵⁴Lesley, *Historie*, 230.

The exact status of the order of the Thistle at this date is something of a puzzle. It was not founded as a properly constituted order of chivalry until the reign of James VII, yet the thistle collar, or collar of St. Andrew, appears on a portrait of James III and surrounds the royal arms on books and official documents from the reigns of James IV to Charles II.¹⁵⁵ One commentator has classified the order of the thistle as a 'clential pseudo-order' and suggested that it was little more than a Stewart livery badge or collar, awarded to royal familiars from the reign of James III onwards, just as the same king had rewarded Anselm Adornes (a Flemish knight who frequented his court) with the 'Ordre de la Licorne.'¹⁵⁶ However, if this were the case one would expect to find contemporary evidence that the 'order' was bestowed upon key nobles and servants and so far nothing of this nature (such as a portrait of a noble wearing the collar or badge) has come to light. There is one comment in Lesley's *Historie* that James IV awarded 'his ordour of Scotland' to the lord of Campveere in 1507,¹⁵⁷ and Chapuys' report that James V delayed taking the Garter oath until he was in a position to offer Henry VIII a reciprocal honour.¹⁵⁸ There are also a few oblique references to chivalric orders in the Scottish records for the reign of James V. In the accounts of the French trip of 1536-7 there is a goldsmith's bill for 100 crowns for a chain from which was hung 'the king of Frauncis ordour' and 20½ crowns for a chain from which was hung another order which is not named.¹⁵⁹ More hopefully, in April 1538 the Edinburgh goldsmith, John Mossman, was paid for mending 'the kingis ordour and

¹⁵⁵R. J. Malloch, 'The Order of the Thistle', *Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, 1 (1977-8), 35-46; Charles Burnett, 'Reflections on the Order of the Thistle', *The Double Tressure: Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, v (1983), 39-42. C. J. Burnett, 'The Development of the Royal Arms to 1603', *Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, i (1977-8), 7-19; C. J. Burnett, 'Outward Signs of Majesty, 1535-1540', in Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style*, 289-302; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 104-7. In March 1540 James V ordered the manufacture of new matrices for the great and privy seals and the images they were to bear were specified. Each was to carry the royal arms surmounted by a 'clos crown' and, in addition, the great seal was to show 'the kingis grace ordour of the mollettis and thrissillis about the scheld fra the nukis of the crown': *ADCP*, 485.

¹⁵⁶Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 399.

¹⁵⁷Lesley, *Historie*, 75.

¹⁵⁸*L&P Henry VIII*, viii, 429 & 430. James has to 'dressé son ordre.'

¹⁵⁹*TA*, vii, 39.

targat':¹⁶⁰ this may be a reference to the thistle collar and pendant but as April is the month in which the feast of St. George falls, it is probably the Garter. Finally, in January 1539 there was a purchase of ten ells of black ribbon from which to hang the 'tabillatis' which the king gave away during the New Year's mass.¹⁶¹ There is no corresponding bill for the purchase or manufacture of these 'tablets' (medals or pendants). This entry might mean that James was presenting his favourites with the badge of St. Andrew but it is so ambiguous as to be open to other interpretations too. Perhaps the most telling evidence for the non-existence of the order of the Thistle at this period is the *Wardrobe Inventory* in which the robes and insignia of the English, French and Burgundian orders (and the Papal swords and hat) are clearly listed but no mention is made of a Scottish order.¹⁶² James may have found it useful to have a thistle collar portrayed on his arms and portraits but there is no firm evidence that he actually possessed such an item of jewellery.

The final instance of a rite of passage which could also be a public occasion full of pageantry and ceremonial but not celebration, was the royal funeral, and the court of James V staged several: those of Queen Madeleine in July 1537, the Princes James and Robert in April 1541, Queen Margaret in October 1541 and the king's own in January 1543, after which his household establishment seems to have been disbanded. Madeleine died on 7th July 1537 at the palace of Holyrood and was buried in the Abbey, probably on the 14th.¹⁶³ She had brought a large and eminent entourage with her to Scotland which included Jean de Langeac, bishop of Limoges and Anne de Boissy, dame de Montreuil,¹⁶⁴ and James seems to have been determined to give her a funeral which would impress them. Many of the leading Scottish clerics were

¹⁶⁰Ibid. vi, 394.

¹⁶¹Ibid. vii, 123.

¹⁶²SRO, Wardrobe Inventories, E.35/1, f. 21r. & 41r.

¹⁶³SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.32/6, f. 88r. The funeral expenses are recorded up to, but not beyond, 14th July: *TA*, vi, 313-4, 330-2, 334, 339, 342-3, 349-52, 354.

¹⁶⁴See appendix A.

summoned to Edinburgh to attend the obsequies¹⁶⁵ and there was considerable expense on mourning clothes ('dule') and funerary trappings. Four French ladies were provided with mourning garb 'of the fassone of preistis gounis,' two ladies of honour were given fur-lined gowns and hoods, and the queen's nine pages were dressed in black.¹⁶⁶ A French tailor, organist, apothecary, cook and priest were also given new outfits and the king wore a 'dule coit and hude.'¹⁶⁷ The coffin and bier were draped with purple¹⁶⁸ and black velvet palls which were fringed in black and embroidered with white crosses, armorial bearings and 'knoppis and fassis.'¹⁶⁹ The choir of the abbey church was hung with black velvet and 400 arms, and there was such a shortage of black cloth in Edinburgh that the burgh of Dundee was ordered to bring its supplies to the capital.¹⁷⁰ A *castrum doloris* or *chapelle ardente* was constructed at the abbey holding 210 great candles and smaller candles were kept burning at her tomb for at least two years after her death.¹⁷¹ Every year whilst James was still living, the anniversary of her death was marked by a ceremony at Holyrood which is variously described in the accounts as her 'suffrage' or her 'soul mass and dirge.' This seems to have involved between 150 and 215 chaplains saying prayers for her soul in a solemn service for which a bell was tolled and the church was again decorated with arms, candles and black hangings. In July 1538 a 'powpenny' (an offering made on behalf of the deceased) of 20 shillings was paid by Sir David Lindsay as 'Lyoune herald.' In 1539 the earl of Moray made the offering and in 1541 it was given by the

¹⁶⁵*TA*, vi, 313-4.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, vi, 354, 334, 342-3.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, vi, 350, 339.

¹⁶⁸If this were the royal purple it was probably a deep crimson or vermilion colour: Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 56-7.

¹⁶⁹*TA*, vi, 332, 350-2.

¹⁷⁰*TA*, vi, 352, 334, 330. The editor of the *Treasurer's Accounts* suggested that the latter entry meant that the inhabitants of Dundee were called to attend the funeral wearing their mourning clothes (*TA*, vi, xviii) but elsewhere in the accounts such garments are always referred to as 'dule', whereas 'black', 'blue', 'red' etc. usually indicates uncut cloth.

¹⁷¹SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.31/7, ff. 98v, 102v; E.31/8, ff. 126v, 131r.

earl of Buchan but the persons performing this office in 1540 and 1542 are not recorded.¹⁷²

George Buchanan considered Madeleine's obsequies to be the first occasion on which public mourning was undertaken in this manner in Scotland¹⁷³ and, whether he was correct or not, the king's devotion to the memory of Madeleine suggests that James regarded his first marriage as an event of supreme importance not just for himself but also for the Scottish realm. In comparison, the arrangements made for the funerals of his two young sons must have been very low-key and private for the only trace of them to emerge in the records is the purchase of a lead capsule to enclose one of the tiny bodies, noted above. We know that the boys were buried at Holyrood, probably in a joint funeral, but there is no evidence of public mourning or anniversary services as for Madeleine.¹⁷⁴ The bereaved parents were naturally greatly distressed at the double loss and it may have been the case that neither had the heart to undertake an elaborate rite to mark their sons' passing. There are not even any entries for the purchase of 'dule' for the king and queen and the mourning gown that was provided for the Countess of Errol, one of the queen's ladies, was for the death of the earl, which also occurred in April 1541.¹⁷⁵ However, the death of the king's mother, Queen Margaret, in October 1541 was followed by a state funeral. The great earls, lords and abbots were summoned to attend her burial at the charterhouse of Perth and dule clothes were provided for the king, queen, Lady Jane Stewart and many of the ladies of the court as well as for David Blyth, Dingwall Pursuivant, who was sent to the English court.¹⁷⁶ Leslie considered that she was interred 'with greit honour and pompe

¹⁷²*T.A.*, vi, 422-3; *ibid.*, vii, 181, 321, 446; *ibid.*, viii, 90-1.

¹⁷³Buchanan, *History*, ii, 315: 'Her death occasioned such a general sorrow to the whole country besides, that then first, I believe, mourning dresses were worn by the Scots, which even now, after forty years, are not very frequent, although public fashions have greatly increased for the worse.'

¹⁷⁴*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 24.

¹⁷⁵*T.A.*, vii, 449.

¹⁷⁶*ibid.*, viii, 26, 34-7, 39-40, 42-3, 47-8.

funerall' and the following Christmas feast seems to have been a solemn occasion since the king's and queen's chambers and the chapel were entirely hung with black.¹⁷⁷ The following summer the queen and her ladies were again in mourning, this time for the death of her sister, Louise de Lorraine, who had been married to the Prince de Chimay for only one year before her death.¹⁷⁸

The death of James V at Falkland Palace on 14th December 1542 precipitated the grandest state funeral of them all. Leslie describes the occasion thus:

Not lang efter [James's death] his buriall with publik processioune was brocht frome Ffalkland till Ed~, quhair quhat evir culd be devysed in solemne pompe, or honourable decore, or duilful dolour and dule, sturt and kair, heirall was done fillit with all dew ceremonies and all diligence, Torches lychtet, places spred with Tapestry, with notable claith, and weil paincted, lamentable trumpetis, qwisselis of dule; Cardinalis al in sadnes, as thair heidis shew; The Erles of Argyle, Arran, Rothese, and Merchal, and otheris in gret number of the nobilitie, filthie in dule weid; war al in the meine tyme sa drest, that albeit ye may mervel mekle of thair pompe in ordour, in colour, nochttheles esilie dule ye mycht sie, (for al war in dule weid), quhen in Ed~ in the abbay of haly rudhous, in the samyn sepulchre quhair Magdalen his sueit wyfe was buriit, was he layd.¹⁷⁹

The surviving pages of the financial accounts suggest that Leslie's depiction of pomp and splendour is quite plausible. Sir David Lindsay was clearly in charge of the arrangements and most of the accounts are in his name as Lyon King of Arms.¹⁸⁰ It was certainly a heraldic funeral, fit for a knight of three major chivalric orders, and all the Scottish heralds and pursuivants and four macers were in attendance, dressed in dule habits and bonnets.¹⁸¹ A black velvet cloth of state with a white satin cross on it, a black velvet pall, black hangings for the bier and a crimson and gold banner of arms

¹⁷⁷Leslie, *Historie*, 157; *TA*, viii, 42-3.

¹⁷⁸*TA*, viii, 83-4, 93; *Balcarres Papers*, vol. i, p. xii.

¹⁷⁹Leslie, *Historie*, 259-60.

¹⁸⁰*TA*, viii, 141-7.

¹⁸¹*Ibid*, viii, 143-4.

were the first purchases made.¹⁸² The banner was supplemented by 1,648 great and small arms and a black 'Dolorus Chapell' was constructed to hold candles, clubs, spears and arms.¹⁸³ As at the queen's coronation three years earlier, the abbey church was provided with timber stands in which to seat the notables attending the service.¹⁸⁴ An effigy of the king was constructed, laid on a canvas mattress and provided with a replica crown, sceptre and shield.¹⁸⁵ The body was encased in lead and a stone tomb was erected on which were carved a lion, a crown and an inscription in Roman letters.¹⁸⁶ At this point, infuriatingly, two pages of the accounts have been lost and they resume with payment for the king's soul-mass and dirge, which was often observed thirty days after the death and thereafter on the anniversary. For this a bellman was employed (as for Madeleine's services) and the lord governor (the earl of Arran) offered the 'powpenny'.¹⁸⁷ Alms were distributed to the poor and to the chaplains who performed the service by the king's master almoner, sir George Clapperton, and one of his clerks, Master George Cook.¹⁸⁸ We also have the payments made for mourning clothes for the queen, her ladies and their horses and litters, to messengers to summon the Scottish lords to attend the funeral and to order the men of Fife to convey the body from Falkland to the Forth ferry at Kinghorn (which they did on Sunday 7th January, immediately after the festive season of Christmas, New Year and Epiphany had ended).¹⁸⁹

The funeral took place on Monday 8th January at Holyrood¹⁹⁰ and for the details of the sort of chivalric ceremony that probably took place we need to turn again to the

¹⁸²Ibid, viii, 141-2.

¹⁸³Ibid, viii, 142.

¹⁸⁴Ibid.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Ibid, viii, 142-3.

¹⁸⁷Ibid, viii, 143.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹Ibid, viii, 143-7.

¹⁹⁰*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 25.

poetry of Lindsay. In *The Testament of Squyer William Meldrum* the hero explains at great length the type of heraldic funeral which he would like his executors to arrange for him and he specifies that Sir David Lindsay is to be in charge of the ceremonial, as he was in fact for the funeral of James V.¹⁹¹ This poem was probably written in 1550, when the pageantry of 1543 would still have been quite fresh in Lindsay's memory, and the grand scale of the demands made by Meldrum suggests a funeral for a king rather than a Fife laird. First of all the body was to be embalmed and enclosed in a finely carved coffin of cedar or cypress wood. The heart and tongue were to be enclosed separately in golden, jewelled caskets. The tomb for his body was to be of sculpted marble, designed to honour Mars, the god of war; whilst his tongue was to be offered to Mercury, the god of eloquence, and his heart to Venus, the goddess of love. (Lindsay presents these pagan elements in a Christian ceremony in a 'deadpan' manner but the reader is clearly intended to notice, and be amused by, the incongruity.) The funeral procession was to be headed by a champion carrying Meldrum's 'pensil' (pennon) and accompanied by a thousand hagbutters instead of the monks or friars that would conventionally enter a funeral cortège at this point. There would then follow a thousand foot soldiers in livery carrying spears, bows and shields; then a hundred mounted noble men-at-arms, escorting their captain who should ride a 'bardit' (caparisoned) horse and carry Meldrum's standard. The banner was also to be borne by the same band, who were to be accompanied by musicians playing the instruments of war: the tabour, trumpet, clarion and horn. Next should ride the champion of honour, carrying Meldrum's helm, and followed by knights bearing his sword, gauntlets, shield and coat of arms. Then, just before the bier, would come the 'corspresent' (an offering to the church on behalf of the deceased) of Meldrum's caparisoned horse, spear, harness, armour and an altar cloth. The horse was to be ridden or led by a knight impersonating the dead man and wearing his armour. Here

¹⁹¹Lindsay, *Works*, i, 190-4.

Meldrum specifies that no black 'dule' is to be worn but only his livery colours because he considers mourning garb to be a form of hypocrisy (Lindsay is being rather sardonic here). The bier is to be escorted by earls, lords, knights and other men of good pedigree, all bearing laurel branches 'in signe of victorie/ Becaus I fled never out of the feild/ Nor yit, as presoner, unto my fois me yeild.' This could well be a sly comment on the battle of Solway Moss, appropriate to an account of James V's funeral but not to one of Meldrum's. The squire specifies that no priest should be allowed to take part in the proceedings 'without he be of Venus Professioun' and all who were 'most exercit in hir warkis' were to be specially summoned to attend. Here, Lindsay is clearly being ironic again since, as a reading of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis* makes clear, in his opinion virtually all clerics met this qualification.¹⁹² A bishop of the same persuasion was to say the soul mass with more (joyful) music being played and after a gospel reading and the offertory, an eulogy was to be given from the pulpit, followed by prayers. Then the interment was to be made, not to the tolling of bells but to the firing of canon and the thousand hagbuts. The funeral achievements (Meldrum's harness, shield, spear, coat of arms, banner, helm and crest) were to be hung over the tomb. An epitaph was to be inscribed on the grave in letters of gold telling of his fame and prowess. Meldrum expected that the ladies of France, England and Ireland would be distraught when they heard of his death and would wear mourning in his honour.

If this account of a heraldic funeral bears any relation to what actually happened at the burial of James V in January 1543, it would accord well with what was common practice in France and other countries at the time. It was certainly necessary to embalm the body if the coffin were to be kept lying in state for several weeks before the burial and the process would have required the removal of the entrails, which

¹⁹²Lindsay, *Works*, ii.

would be buried separately. This was the case in the funerals of Francis I and Henry VIII (both in 1547)¹⁹³ and seems to have happened for James V too.¹⁹⁴ The account of Meldrum's funeral makes no mention of an effigy but, as we have seen, one was certainly made for James V. If it followed royal funerary customs in other countries, this would have been a life-size and life-like recumbent image of the king as he had been in his prime (as if he were just sleeping with his eyes open), dressed in the royal robes of state and invested with replica royal regalia.¹⁹⁵ In France, the royal effigy was imbued with mystical significance as the embodiment of the maxim *le roi ne meurt jamais* for the period between the death of the old king and the coronation of the new, during which time the new king's exact status was somewhat ambiguous because he held all the powers of a king but the effigy possessed the regal dignity.¹⁹⁶ Thus it was that in the French funeral procession through the streets of Paris, the coffin and the effigy were separated so that the former could be attended by signs of mourning, whilst the latter was paraded in triumph and regal splendour.¹⁹⁷ There is a faint hint that something similar may have happened for James V in Meldrum's insistence that at his funeral no dule should be worn and that the music should be joyful and triumphant but the evidence is insufficient to determine conclusively the symbolic significance of the Scottish effigy. If the English practice were followed, the effigy served the practical purpose of substituting for the corpse when the body was too old to be displayed, thus allowing preparations for an elaborate funeral to be made without undue haste.¹⁹⁸ However, Kantorowicz has argued that the English effigy represented

¹⁹³Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 2; Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London, 1984), 216.

¹⁹⁴An account for packets of spices rendered on 9 Jan 1543 may have been for this purpose: SRO, Liber Emptorum, E.32/8, fo. 127v.

¹⁹⁵Julian Litten, 'The Funeral Effigy: Its Function and Purpose', in Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer (eds), *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994), 3-19. I am grateful to Dr Alison Rosie for drawing my attention to this volume.

¹⁹⁶Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 174-192. At the accession of Francis I in January 1515 it was necessary to be even more cautious than usual because there was the possibility that Louis XII's widow, Mary Tudor, might be pregnant with a male heir: *ibid*, 188.

¹⁹⁷Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 119-23.

¹⁹⁸Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 223-4.

the enduring royal dignity and that in a monarch's funeral there was an element of symbolic role-reversal: whilst the king was alive it was the 'body natural' that was visible and the 'body politic' that was hidden, but the opposite was the case in a monarch's funeral.¹⁹⁹

The 'Dolorus Chapell' of James V's accounts was a feature of royal funerals that would have been familiar to the French court as a *chapelle ardente* and to the English as a 'hearse' or 'tabernacle'.²⁰⁰ It was a raised wooden stand, shaped like an elongated pyramid, draped in black and decorated with arms and hundreds of candles. The coffin would be placed underneath it and chaplains would be employed to say prayers for the soul of the departed alongside. A depiction of how a Flemish artist imagined a Scottish dolorous chapel would look appears in the *Book of Hours* of James IV and Margaret Tudor and is usually identified as a picture of the funeral of James III.²⁰¹ That prepared for James V may well have resembled this portrayal. James V's accounts suggest that heraldic achievements²⁰² were prepared and these also feature in squire Meldrum's instructions. They were also used in French and English customs and consisted of symbols of knighthood such as replicas of the dead man's escutcheon, helmet and other accoutrements which would be paraded in the funeral and deposited at the grave, just as Meldrum describes (in France they were known as the *pièces d'honneur*).²⁰³ Heraldic funerals abroad might also include the display of a standard, banner and pennon, a champion, a knight impersonating the deceased and

¹⁹⁹Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 423.

²⁰⁰Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 10; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 216, 219.

²⁰¹Reproduced in Leslie MacFarlane, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor'. *IR*, xi (1960), plate vii, between pages 16 & 17.

²⁰²*TA*, viii, 142.

²⁰³Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 9; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 172, 220. The original funeral achievements of the Black Prince (d. 1376) are still on display near his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral: D. Ingram Hill, *Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1986), 133-4.

making offerings on his behalf and a eulogy (in French the *oraison funèbre*).²⁰⁴ In addition, at royal and noble funerals, the household officers of the deceased would continue in their posts until the moment of burial, at which point they would break their wands of office and throw them into the grave.²⁰⁵ This may well have happened at Holyrood in January 1543 and it was certainly the case that the household of James V was disbanded at about this time: hardly any of his servants were retained in the service of the lord governor, who preferred to use his own staff. The funeral of January 1543 was thus the last service these men provided for their sovereign lord.

The pageantry and ceremonial of the court of James V was clearly intended to emulate the most fashionable aspects of such events as staged at the courts of Francis I, Henry VIII and Charles V, as well as drawing on the taste for princely magnificence developed by earlier Scottish kings. In his attention to the royal regalia, his pride in his membership of foreign orders of chivalry, his enthusiasm for jousting and feasting, his adoption of elaborate funerary rites and the detailed consideration given to all aspects of public display, James V was signalling his ambition to be taken seriously as a modern monarch both on the international stage and at home in Scotland.

²⁰⁴Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 12-17, 90, 119; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 171-8, 219-20. The *Oraison Funèbre* for Mary of Guise by Claude d'Espence was published in Paris in 1561.

²⁰⁵Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*, 17; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual*, 179, 220.

CONCLUSION

The adult James V did not develop the image of Scottish kingship and courtliness within a cultural vacuum. As we have seen, contacts with the courts of England, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Denmark and other countries were well established and regular.¹ Furthermore, his predecessors and namesakes, the first four Jameses were all noted for their interest in art, architecture, literature, music, the cult of chivalry, state ceremonial and so forth and the ways in which these pursuits could be utilised to bolster the authority of the king.² Some of the most significant examples of this focus in earlier reigns include the Burgundian and Flemish influences that shaped the cultural life of the Scottish court following James II's marriage to Mary of Guelders in 1449 and the splendid tournaments of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady staged by James IV in 1507 and 1508.³ Certainly, James IV was in touch with the English court through his marriage to a Tudor princess; with the French court through the contacts with Bernard Stewart, Sieur d'Aubigny; with the Low Countries through trading links; with the Spanish kingdoms through Pedro de Ayala; and with the Pope, from whom he received a gift of the blessed cap and sword in 1507.⁴ This cosmopolitan and sophisticated outlook could not simply vanish after the battle of Flodden, especially since the regent for the young James V between 1515 and 1524 was a French nobleman, with Scottish royal ancestry, John Stewart, duke of Albany. However, the

¹The king's correspondents included all the popes of the period, Francis I, Henry VIII, Christian II and Frederick I of Denmark, Charles V, Margaret of Austria, Mary of Hungary, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, John III of Portugal and many other European princes and dignitaries: *Letters of James V*, 146-446.

²See Alastair Cherry, *Princes, Poets and Patrons: The Stewarts and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1987), 9-37; Michael Lynch, 'Scottish Culture in its Historical Perspective', Roderick Lyall, 'The Literature of Lowland Scotland, 1350-1700', Duncan Macmillan, 'Scottish Art', and Charles McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', all in Paul H. Scott (ed.), *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993), 17-39, 77-94, 207-11, 235-37.

³McRoberts, 'Scoto-Flemish Contacts', 91-96; Macdougall, *James IV*, 294-95.

⁴Macdougall, *James IV*, 146-47, 155, 196-97, 218, 254-55, 282-87. See also Barbara E. Crawford, 'Scotland's Foreign Relations: Scandinavia', and Norman A. T. Macdougall, 'Scotland's Foreign Relations: England and France', both in Jennifer M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), 85-100, 101-11.

political upheavals of the minority certainly would have made cultural patronage very difficult to develop consistently and there is no evidence that Albany was responsible for the creation of anything more culturally significant than a new blockhouse at the castle of Dunbar during his time in Scotland.⁵ From the poetry of the minority one might obtain the impression of the court almost holding its breath until the young king should come of age.⁶

It would appear that the first role-model James sought to emulate was his own father. The new departure of the years immediately after 1528 attempted to wipe out the unhappy memories of the minority regimes and to recall the golden age of King James IV. Of course, James V would not have remembered very much (if anything) about his father but he still had men within his household and government who had served his father and who would be able to inform him about the 'good old days'. These men included the king's senior chaplain and almoner, sir James Haswell; another chaplain and keeper of Holyrood Palace, sir John Sharp; Sir John Campbell of Lundy, who was the justice depute and a former lord treasurer; and most notably, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.⁷ Lindsay's depiction of James IV in his poem *The Testament of the Papyngo* (c.1530) provides a recipe for good kingship which James V seems to have made every effort to follow.

Allace, quhare bene that rycht redoutit Roie,
That potent prince, gentyll king Iames the feird?
I pray to Christe his Saule for to conuoye;
Ane greater nobyll rang nocht in to the eird.
O Atropus, warye we maye thy weird,
For he wes myrrour of humylitie,
Lode sterne and lampe of libiralytie.

Duryng his tyme so Iustice did preuail,

⁵MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places', 107-19.

⁶MacDonald, 'William Stewart', 184-94. See also chapter five.

⁷*James V Letters*, 155; SRO, Bill of Household, 1507/08, E.34/1, f. 6r. (and appendix B); *T4*, v, 13, 70, 438, 463; *ibid*, vi, 36, 403; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 13-25.

The Sauage Iles trymblyt for terrour;
Eskdale, Euisdale, Liddisdale, and Annerdale
Durste nocht rebell, doutyng his dyntis dour,
And of his Lordis had sic perfyte fauour:
So, for to schaw that he aferit no fone,
Out through his realme he wald ryde hym alone.

And, of his court, through Europe sprang the fame
Off lustie Lordis and lufesum Ladyis 3ing,
Tryumphand tornayis, iustyng, & knyghtly game,
With all pastyme accordyng for one kyng.
He wes the glore of princelie gouernyng,
Quhilk, through the ardent lufe he had to france,
Agane England did moue his Ordinance.⁸

Setting aside the reference to Flodden in the last two lines of this extract, Lindsay's description of Scottish kingship would appear to be equally applicable to James V as to James IV. James V's pursuit of firm governance in the Isles and Borders was discussed in chapter six and, as we saw there, his concern was accompanied by an enthusiasm just like his father's for ship-building and one even more pronounced than his father's for artillery manufacture and fortification. Lindsay's mention of humility is presumably a reference to James IV wearing an iron belt as a life-long penance for his part in the overthrow and murder of his father, James III, in 1488: an example which James V did not need to follow.⁹ However, the patterns of religious observance and conventional acts of piety, which also seem to have been virtually identical in the adult reigns of James IV and James V, were discussed in chapter four. James V's reputation for making incognito excursions among his humble subjects was similar to that of his father, and this also receives some corroboration in the household accounts (where the food and other supplies provided for him when he was away from the main household establishment are listed separately)¹⁰ and in the itinerary (Appendix C) which plots his relentless perambulations across the realm. For the other items on Lindsay's 'shopping-list' we can turn to the household accounts and the records,

⁸Lindsay, *Works*, i, 70-71 (*Papyngo*, lines 486-506).

⁹Macdougall, *James IV*, 52-3.

¹⁰See chapter 1.

narratives and cultural artefacts of the court considered in this study. Here we have found considerable evidence of the king's liberality, not just in his lavish expenditure (by Scottish standards) on palaces, furnishings, clothes, ceremonial and so forth but also in his presentations of gifts of suits of clothes, swords, items of plate and jewellery and purses of money to courtiers and visitors to his court.¹¹ The same sources also note purchases and arrangements made for tournaments and jousts, which (as we saw in chapter seven) were staged seasonally throughout the reign and in greater splendour for special occasions such as a wedding, coronation or peace treaty.

For Lindsay, the lavish chivalric display pioneered by James IV and developed by James V was a magnet drawing 'lustie Lordis and lufesum Ladyis' into the royal affinity, reflecting glory on all concerned, and ensuring that 'through Europe sprang the fame' of the Scottish court. Lindsay's view would seem to confirm the opinion of many scholars of the early modern period that the Renaissance court was a tool used by assertive and centralising monarchs to 'tame' potentially 'over-mighty' magnates to the royal will by turning them from warriors into courtiers. Geoffrey Elton and David Starkey have postulated such a role for the court of Henry VIII of England and Norbert Elias has painted a similar picture on the broader canvas of Germany and France, culminating in the court of Louis XIV.¹² The essential contention is that Renaissance monarchs drew their nobles to courts from which emanated all political patronage and influence, and that this process effectively neutralised the capacity of the greater magnates to act independently (and especially in defiance) of the crown, which was in any case (mainly for reasons of cost) beginning to monopolise the most up-to-date aspects of military technology. The medieval model of kingship exercised

¹¹See chapter 3.

¹²Elton, 'The Court', 211-28; Starkey (ed.), *English Court*, 1-24, 71-117; idem 'From Feud to Faction: English Politics c.1450-1550', *History Today*, xxxii, (Nov 1982), 16-22; N. Elias, *The Process of Civilization* (2 vols., Oxford, 1978-82); idem, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983).

by a monarch who ruled as a *primus inter pares* was to be transformed into a more autocratic pattern of government by a sovereign wielding imperial power over his subjects and presiding over a more standardised, centralised, bureaucratic machine. The use of imperial imagery in the coinage, regalia and heraldry, and the iconography of court pageantry and ceremonial were designed to enhance the political pretensions of the Renaissance prince, whilst the Renaissance nobleman-turned-courtier was encouraged to view attendance at court and personal service to the king (even of a rather menial nature) as an honourable sphere of activity. This adjustment was sweetened by the attractions of the chivalric and heraldic displays of the tournaments, festivals and ceremonies in which the Renaissance court specialised.¹³

This vision of the civilising tendency and propaganda role of the Renaissance court certainly provides a coherent and compelling framework into which to place the disparate aspects of courtly culture of this reign. Indeed, the exploration of classical (or neo-classical) models, imperial imagery, and humanist concerns, which has been detected in the developing culture of the Scottish court of the 1530s, seems to fit very neatly into this wider framework. However, as is so often the case in history, developments which may appear to be novel need not necessarily be so, and it may well have been the case that there was rather more evolution than revolution, more adaptation than innovation, in the cultural and political activities of the sixteenth-century royal court. We have already seen how Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* mined a deep vein of medieval moral discourse about courts and courtiers in order to expound his vision of the Renaissance ideal.¹⁴ Clearly the perception of the court as a

¹³Starkey, 'Court History in Perspective', in idem (ed.), *English Court*, 1-24; Prevenier and Blockmans, *Burgundian Netherlands*, 214-41; R. G. Asch, 'Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries' and David Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England' both in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), 1-38, 175-203; Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', 212-13; Strong, *Splendour at Court*, 19-76; idem, *Art and Power*, 21-26, 42-62, 65-69, 76-85.

¹⁴See the introduction.

location where urbanity, courtesy and chivalric honour could be acquired (and where the vices of flattery, deceit, and greed also thrived) has a very long pedigree. Such views were held of the knightly companions of Richard II, of some of the German courts of the thirteenth century, and of the courtly culture of the reign of Henry II.¹⁵ Indeed, the very term 'courtesy' (*curialitas*) would appear to have entered the Latin language at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,¹⁶ at about the same time that the knightly values of the cult of chivalry began to be formulated.¹⁷ In a recent consideration of the courtly culture of the Valois dukes of Burgundy (a court which is often considered to have been the prototype for the Renaissance courts of northern Europe) Werner Paravicini suggests that there was little that was demonstrably original in the phenomenon. Rather, the Burgundian court of the mid-fifteenth century harked back to the traditions and customs of Charles VI of France and Richard II of England. Yet there clearly were things that had changed over time, and Paravicini argues that the Valois dukes (and their sixteenth-century imitators) created a courtly culture that was grander, more flamboyant, and more costly than anything seen before: 'a quantitative excess that led to a qualitative difference'.¹⁸ To this one might add the self-conscious and single-minded pursuit of worldly fame and glory, such as to leave a great impression on posterity, which Jacob Burckhardt long ago identified as one of the abiding characteristics of Renaissance culture.¹⁹

¹⁵Gevase Mathew, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968), 1-52, 106-28; Given Wilson, *Royal Household and King's Affinity*, 160-74, 187-88; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley, 1991), 275-413; Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, 55, 113-75. See also A. G. Dickens, 'Monarchy and cultural Revival: Courts in the Middle Ages', in idem (ed.), *Courts of Europe*, 8-31 and Greg Walker, 'Henry VIII and the Invention of the Royal Court', *History Today*, xlvii (February 1997), 13-20.

¹⁶R. E. Latham (ed.), *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), 126.

¹⁷Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, pp xi-xvi.

¹⁸Werner Paravicini, 'The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy,' in Asch and Birke, *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility*, 69-102.

¹⁹Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (Oxford and London, 1945; originally Basel, 1860), 87-93.

It is difficult to be precise about exactly where the Scottish experience fits into this analysis of late medieval and early modern European courts and kingship. For many years it was taken as almost self-evident that the adult reigns of the first five Jameses were essentially aimed at reducing their 'over-mighty', factious and violent nobles to a state of peaceful, law-abiding subjection; and that with every turbulent minority the initiative was lost and had to be revived when the next king came of age.²⁰ In this scenario, the glittering chivalric court with its pageantry and protocol could be useful as a vehicle for stressing the power and dignity of the king as part of a campaign to overawe potentially unruly lords. However, in the last twenty years, a very different explanation of the relationship between the crown and the magnates has been developed by Alexander Grant and Jenny Wormald, which stresses the co-operation and inter-dependence of the king and the nobles in a realm which successfully maintained a decentralised, *laissez-faire* tradition of government.²¹ For Grant and Wormald, violence and political crisis were the exceptions rather than the rule, and when kings found it necessary to crush an individual noble or noble faction, it was undertaken with the compliance and support of the remainder of the second estate. In this scenario, the court was a broadly based community which united the monarch and his lords in political, religious and cultural activities reflecting their mutual interests in stability, hierarchy and honour. As we have seen, the cultural activities of the court of James V seem to have developed from a combination of many influences and considerations and to have served multiple purposes. In the use of imperial symbolism and classical allusion, many of the visual images cultivated within the court could indeed be used to glorify the dignity and status of the monarch, in emulation of the grander kings of other realms. But the chivalric code and national spirit which were

²⁰For example, P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1909-12), i, 184-401.

²¹A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984), 153-97; J. Wormald, 'Taming the Magnates?' in K. J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), 270-80; Jennifer M. Brown, 'Introduction', in idem (ed.), *Scottish Society*, 1-9; J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London, 1981), 3-26.

also cultivated in the literary and ceremonial life of the court could well have bound monarch and nobility together rather than stressed the distinction between them. The surviving contemporary sources are such that (as we saw in chapter one) it is very difficult to know just how many of the Scottish nobles actually attended court functions on a regular basis. Yet Cameron's study of the politics of the adult reign concluded that there was much more co-operation and goodwill between James V and his nobility than has previously been acknowledged, and that magnate participation in the administration was quite broadly-based and effective.²² If so, this would probably have been reflected in the culture of the court, where a magnate presence at the coronation, baptisms, royal entries and funerals would almost certainly have been significant, and it is highly likely that they willingly participated in the celebrations of religious feasts, hunts, jousts, pilgrimages, sailing-trips and other events as well. Certainly, the king's itinerary indicates that he made regular excursions into areas of Scotland beyond the Lothian-Fife-Perthshire-Stirlingshire heartlands, and so if the nobles did not frequently come to court, it occasionally came to them.

James V emerged defiantly from a long and turbulent minority, and in the fourteen years of his adult reign managed to create an exuberant and cosmopolitan court, of some cultural significance. Historiographically, interest in his reign has traditionally been overshadowed by the romantically tragic figures of his father and daughter, but in dissecting the domestic structure and many-sided cultural patronage of his court this study aims to demonstrate that such neglect is unwarranted. Indeed, the most notable cultural developments of the court of James IV took place after 1503, the year in which he celebrated his thirtieth birthday and fifteen years on the throne, whilst his son's court had already attained considerable distinction before the king's thirtieth year (and James V did not live to see his thirty-first birthday). Although we are

²²Cameron, 'Crown-Magnate Relations' 562-73.

lacking detailed accounts of the tournaments and jousts of the 1530s which might enable some comparison to be made with those of 1507 and 1508, James V's membership of the most prestigious orders of knighthood suggests that his chivalric credentials probably did justice to his father's memory. Certainly, the architectural, musical, religious, literary, military and ceremonial developments of his court equalled, and in some areas excelled, the cultural achievements of his forbears and are worthy of greater interest than they have attracted hitherto.

APPENDIX A

The Royal Household

This appendix is in two parts: part one lists the personnel of the royal household of the period alphabetically and part two lists the same people departmentally. Part one cites the references locating these people in the records of the period. The abbreviations adopted in these references are the same as those used in the text of the thesis, with a few exceptions (for reasons of space):

<i>PA</i>	'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster, 1539-1540' ed. A. L. Murray, <i>SHS Misc.</i> x (1965), 13-51
<i>Letters</i>	<i>Letters of James V</i> , eds. D. Hay and R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1954)
<i>DMR</i>	SRO MS, Despence de la Maison Royale, 1538/9, E.33/1
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler</i> , ed. A. Clifford (Edinburgh, 1809).

The dates given for each person are not necessarily the dates of their appointment and dismissal/retirement from a particular position (although they might be), but are the dates of the first and last reference to them in that particular post. The symbol '+' after a date indicates that further references to the person concerned may be found in the records of the reign of Mary. The symbol '†' after a date indicates that the person was dead on or before that date. The order in which the departmental table is laid out is one which has been suggested by the livery lists and rates of pay of the period, but should not be taken to be a definitive statement of the structure of the royal household. The household accounts are very ambiguous and contradictory on such matters, and the reality might well have been much more untidy than this table would appear to imply.

Part One

Abel, Adrian	Maker & Grather of the King's Crossbows	3 Jun 1537	3 Jun 1537	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2271
Abercrombie, Master David	Sub Dean of Chapel Royal	2 Feb 1508	29 Nov 1531	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1596; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1066
Acheson, Mavis	King's Laundress	1517	1 Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 287; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Acquys, Monsieur	Servant of Queen Mary	Oct 1538	1 Aug 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 96; <i>TA</i> , vii, 194
Adamson, John	Messenger	1515	20 Feb 1533	<i>TA</i> , v, 28; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1511
Adamson	Gunner	10 Nov 1533	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 206; <i>TA</i> , vi, 203
Affleck, sir John	Carter of the silver vessels	1539	1 Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 206; <i>TA</i> , viii, 65
Agradane, William	Gunner	Jul 1537	1 Sep 1539	<i>TA</i> , vi, 334; <i>TA</i> , vii, 205
Ahannay, James	Gunner/Culveriner	1529/30	1530/31	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , v, 432
Aikenhead, James	Keeper of the Cups	1526	1 Sep 1532	<i>ER</i> , xv, 289; <i>TA</i> , vi, 36
Aikenhead, James	Master of Avery	1528	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 460; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Aikenhead, James	Yeoman in Wine Cellar	1531	1 Aug 1541	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 134; <i>TA</i> , vii, 475
Aikenhead, James	Squire in the king's household	14 Oct 1524	14 Oct 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3302
Aikenhead, sir Robert	Gardener at Linlithgow	19 Jun 1541	19 Jun 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4072
Aikman, Francis, burgess of Edinburgh	Apothecary	13 Feb 1532	1543+	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1162; <i>RSS</i> , iii, 34
Alan (Ellem), sir James	Chaplain of the Barres	6 Jun 1508	1542	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1689; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 464
Alexander, Jacques	Armourer	May 1538	1 May 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 403
Alexander, Sanders (Alexander)	Groom/Varlet/Marshall	1522 (1524)	1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 197; <i>ER</i> , xv, 381
Alexander, Simon	Queen Mary's carter	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 15r.
Allershaw, Peter	Servant of Queen Margaret	1531	1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 434; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 597
Alloutet, Jean	Queen Mary's Valet of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 11r.
Anderson of Sterheuch, James	Carrick Pursuivant	2 Apr 1526	6 Apr 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3367; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 16
Anderson, James	Footman	1525	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 204; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Anderson, James	Buys munitions in Denmark	1538	1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 152; <i>TA</i> , viii, 154-5
Anderson, James	Cupbearer	Aug 1542	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 117
Anderson, John	Footman/Postman	1526/7	1530/1	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>TA</i> , v, 460
Anderson, John	Cook in Hall Kitchen	1533	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 295; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Anderson, Patrick	Groom in Pantry	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 122; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Anderson, Thomas	Master Furrier	1522/24	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 198; <i>TA</i> , v, 384
Angoux, Georges	Queen Mary's groom of the hall kitchen	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12v.
Angus, Andrew	Dichter of the king's palaces	1538	1 Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 405; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101

Angus, Andrew	Under groom in Kitchen	Aug 1541	1 Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 476
Angus, John	Yeoman of Kitchen	Aug 1537	1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 353; <i>TA</i> , vi, 438
Angus, John	Groom in Kitchen	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Angus, Thomas	Painter	May 1532	1538	<i>MW</i> , i, 86; <i>MW</i> , i, 215
Annan, James (John)	Gunner/Footman	1526/7	SEp 1532	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>TA</i> , vi, 36
Arbuthnot, Doctor	King's Mediciner	16 Dec 1508	Jun 1541	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1783; <i>MW</i> , i, 290
Armstrong, Kentigern	Keeper of the king's Flock	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 289
Arnot, David	Vicar of the Church in Stirling Castle	before 19 May 1539	19 May 1539	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3028
Arth, Alexander	Messenger	Sep 1536	Nov 1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 306; <i>TA</i> , vi, 309
Arth, John	Yeoman in Hall Kitchen	1525	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 202; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Arth, John	Cook in Hall Kitchen	1531	1533	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 135; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 295
Arth, Nicholas	Horse Marshal	Dec 1538	1 Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 127; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Arthur, Thomas, Burgess of Edinburgh	Master Tailor	1529	1 Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 357; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Atkinson, sir George	Chaplain of the oratory	11 Dec 1540	11 Dec 1540	<i>ADCP</i> , 497
Atkinson, James	Master coiner/Master of the mint	1529/30	Aug 1543	<i>TA</i> , v, 387; <i>TA</i> , viii, 224
Atkinson, James	Juggler	Mar 1539	Mar 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 150
Auchter, John, citizen of Glasgow	Gardener at Holyrood	31 Aug 1539	Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3134; <i>TA</i> , viii, 96
Autier, Claude	Queen Mary's Master of the Wine Cellar	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 8v.
Autigny, Claude d'	Queen Mary's Master of the Pantry	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 8v.
Autigny, Renée d', Mlle de la Touche	Queen Mary's Lady	1538/9	1540	<i>DMR</i> , 9r.; <i>BP</i> , 39-40
Averencia of Brescia, Thomas de	Familiar & Stipendary Servant	20 Mar 1530	20 Mar 1530	<i>Letters</i> , 169/70
Ayton, James	Keeper of dogs	Dec 1541	Feb 1543	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46; <i>TA</i> , viii, 170
Ayton, John	Master Mason	1526/7	16 Jan 1532 †	<i>TA</i> , v, 268; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1119
Ayton, sir William	Canon/Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr tertio)	15 Feb 1507	8 Oct 1515	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1431; <i>RSS</i> , i, 2635
Badman	Finds the hares	7 Mar 1540	14 May 1540	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>PA</i> , 49
Bailey, David	Groom of Stable	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 109
Balfour, Master Andrew	Familiar Servant	11 Apr 1533	15 Apr 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 96; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2539
Balfour, Bartilman	Squire & Gentleman in the king's household	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3279
Balfour, Master David	Buys munitions	Aug 1539	Aug 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 231
Balfour, Master David	Payments/Expenses	Aug 1539	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 231; <i>TA</i> , viii, 135
Balfour of Bursburgh, David	In the King's Buttery/Ale Cellar	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 290; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Balfour, David	Porter	1516	Feb 1534	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 136; <i>TA</i> , vi, 207
Balfour, Duncan	In the Larder	1524	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 95; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Balfour, sir Henry	Chaplain	Sep 1536	May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 288; <i>TA</i> , vii, 307

Balfour, John	Porter	1524	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 95; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Balfour, John	Messenger/Unicorn Pursuivant	1515	28 Jul 1535	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 119; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1752
Balfour, John	Albany Herald	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 578
Balfour, Michael	In the King's Buttery/Ale Cellar	1514	1531	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 10; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 136
Balfour, sir Thomas	Chaplain at Falkland	1514	1529	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 12; <i>ER</i> , xv, 475
Balglavy, George	Keeper of Holyrood Palace	Nov 1531	Dec 1542	<i>MW</i> , i, 63; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Balglavy, John	Carter	Aug 1538	Jan 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 434; <i>TA</i> , vii, 418
Balnaves, Gilbert	Gunner	25 Sep 1542	25 Sep 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4890
Balnaves of Halhill, Henry	Clerk of Treasury	Sep 1538	1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 468; <i>TA</i> , viii, 152
Bannatyne, William	Page/Squire	1526	1 May 1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 279; <i>RSS</i> , i, 3752
Barbour, Gavin	Servant of lord James Stewart	Aug 1540	1 Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 328; <i>TA</i> , viii, 64
Barbour, John	Groom of the Wardrobe	Jul 1537	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 340; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Barclay, Mistress Christina	Mother of a king's Son	1532	Aug 1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 37; <i>TA</i> , vi, 196
Barclay, Thomas	Captain of Falkland	1528	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 401; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 470
Barclay of Rhynd, William	Captain of Falkland	4 Mar 1528	4 Mar 1528	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 558
Bard, William	Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	1525	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 201; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Baron	Falconer	6 Mar 1540	6 Mar 1540	<i>PA</i> , 34
Barton, John	Sent abroad to buy wines, supplies & as envoy	Jul 1537	Jul 1542	<i>Letters</i> , 333; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Barton of Overbarnton, Robert	Treasurer	6 Mar 1529	10 Sep 1530	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4104; <i>TA</i> , v, 333
Barton of Overbarnton, Robert	Comptroller	6 Mar 1529	7 Apr 1530	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4104; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 929
Barton of Overbarnton, Robert	Master of the Coin and Great Customar	6 Mar 1529	6 Mar 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4104
Barton of Overbarnton, Robert	Comptroller	12 Oct 1516	7 Aug 1525	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 279; <i>ER</i> , xv, 194
Basset, Anthony	Queen's Surgeon	Aug 1542	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 116
Bauchop, Andrew	Tailor	1532	1532	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92
Baxter, Christina	Lady Jane Stewart's Nurse	Oct 1538	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 97; <i>TA</i> , viii, 54
Baxter	John Tennent's Falconer	Jan 1539	25 Apr 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 130; <i>PA</i> , 45
Bay, Michael, Frenchman	Causeway Maker	Aug 1540	Dec 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 359; <i>TA</i> , vii, 489
Bayne, John	Sumpterman	1526	Dec 1538	<i>ER</i> , xv, 295; <i>TA</i> , vii, 126
Beato, Hector, Frenchman	Plasterer	Jan 1538	Aug 1538	<i>MW</i> , i, 213; <i>MW</i> , i, 224
Beaton, Cardinal/Archbishop, David	Ambassador to France	Feb 1533	10 Feb 1539	<i>TA</i> , vi, 125; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1914
Beaton, Cardinal/Archbishop, David	Keeper of the Privy Seal	3 Jan 1529	11 Aug 1542	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4019; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4827
Beaton, Archbishop, James	Chancellor	Nov 1513	15 Jun 1526	<i>APS</i> , ii, 281; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 359
Beaton, Archbishop, James	A Lord Regent in King's absence	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1618; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1640
Beausse, Jean de	Queen Mary's butler in the pantry	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 13r.

Begg, Donald	Servant of lord James Stewart	Aug 1539	Aug 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 194
Beghome, Andrew	Groom in Hall	1536	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Bell, John	Keeper of the Assize Door	before 13 Dec 1540	13 Dec 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3747
Bell, Patrick	King's Furrier	Oct 1540	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 401; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Bell, Walter	Page/Servant of the Abbot of Kelso	Oct 1538	Aug 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 97; <i>TA</i> , vii, 192
Bell, William, in Stirling	Paid for balls in a Cachpule & a Coffor	15 Mar 1540	21 Apr 1540	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>PA</i> , 44
Bell, William	Groom of Larder, dichts the vessels	Jul 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 429; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Bellenden, James	Writer of Signet, Exchequer & Treasury	24 Jun 1538	Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2601; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Bellenden, Master John	Clerk of Expenses	Aug 1514	1524	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 119; <i>ER</i> , xv, 99
Bellenden, Master John	Translator of the Chronicle & Livy	1530/31	1533/4	<i>TA</i> , v, 434; <i>TA</i> , vi, 206
Bellenden, John	Writer of Signet (in criminal causes)	1524	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 238; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Bellenden, Katherine	Of the Wardrobe	Feb 1537	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 298; <i>TA</i> , viii, 87
Bellenden, Master Thomas	Director of Chancery	10 Sep 1538	12 Dec 1543	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2709; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2975
Bellenden, Master Thomas	Justice Clerk	27 Dec 1539	11 Aug 1546	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3239; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 3297
Bellenden, Thomas	Writer to Signet	1529/30	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 391
Beveridge, David	Cupbearer	1534	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 349; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Bickerton, Andrew	Master Mason in Holyrood	1535	1536	<i>MW</i> , i, 154; <i>MW</i> , i, 162
Bickerton, John	Smith and Culverin maker	Jul 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 499; <i>TA</i> , vii, 501
Bickerton, Laurence	Messenger	1529	1530	<i>TA</i> , v, 354; <i>TA</i> , v, 385
Bimont, Jean de	Queen Mary's butler of the wine cellar	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13r.
Binning, Robert	Glasswright/painter	17 March 04	Mar 1540	<i>MW</i> , i, 224; <i>TA</i> , vii, 349
Binning, Walter	Painter	Feb 1540	Feb 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 348
Bisset, James	Messenger	1515	10 Dec 1540	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 119; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2252
Bisset, John	Cook	1515	1518	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 121; <i>TA</i> , v, 148
Bisset, William	Messenger	Oct 1532	Oct 1532	<i>TA</i> , vi, 112
Black, James	Mason at Holyrood/Falkland	1536	1539	<i>MW</i> , i, 154; <i>MW</i> , i, 256
Black, Robert, Burgess of Edinburgh	Macer	7 Mar 1539	Dec 1542+	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2919; <i>TA</i> , viii, 139+
Blackstock, Master Andrew	Advocate for the Poor	7 Jan 1540	Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3261; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Blair of Ayr, David	Pursuivant/Messenger	1531	Feb 1533	<i>TA</i> , v, 458; <i>TA</i> , vi, 124
Blantyre, David	Yeoman of Great Larder	1529	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Blyth, David	Clipper for the false Placks	1518	1518	<i>TA</i> , v, 148
Blyth, David	Dingwall Pursuivant	1526	1 Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , v, 277; <i>TA</i> , viii, 47
Bog, James	Porter	May 1539	12 Sep 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 169; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2781
Bog of Burnhouse, John	Yeoman of Stable	1525	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 204; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151

Bog, John	Keeper of Blackness Castle	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 289
Boissy, Dame de Montreuil, Anne de	Queen Madeleine's Chief Lady	Apr 1537	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 21; <i>TA</i> , vii, 6161
Bonar, Andrew	Messenger	1522	1539	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 463; <i>MW</i> , i, 24
Bonar, David	Groom of the Wardrobe	1525	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 252; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Bonar, James	Gunner in Dunaverty Castle	Nov 1540	Apr 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 405; <i>TA</i> , vii, 444
Bontel, Ambroise	Queen Mary's patissier	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 15r.
Bontemps, Frenchman	Minstrel	29 Sep 1502	1518	<i>TA</i> , ii, 403; <i>TA</i> , v, 156
Bordais, Jean	Queen Mary's Master Cook of the hall kitchen	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12v.
Borthwick, Archibald	Sangster	5 Aug 1541	5 Aug 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4151
Borthwick, Sir John	King's Familiar	27 Jul 1535	Feb 1540	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1493; <i>Sadler</i> , i, 19
Borthwick, Captain Robert	Principal Gunner	Dec 1511	30 Apr 1532 †	<i>TA</i> , iv, 261; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1213
Borthwick, William, Lord	Guardian of king James V	May 1517	1525	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 285; <i>ER</i> , xv, 199
Boswall, James	Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	1525	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 205; <i>ER</i> , xv, 545
Bower, John, Englishman	Bowmaker	1530	1538 †	<i>TA</i> , v, 407; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 170
Boyd, Adam	Gentleman in king's household	27 Mar 1527	27 Mar 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3701
Boyd, Adam	Keeper of the coining irons	27 Jul 1527	27 Jul 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3858
Boyd, William	In the Pantry	1528	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 459; <i>ER</i> , xv, 462
Brady, John	Cupbearer	1528	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 461; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Braidhow, Cornelius	Gunner	Oct 1539	May 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 258; <i>TA</i> , vii, 450
Braidwood, Thomas	Carter	Dec 1538	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 117; <i>TA</i> , vii, 500
Brand, Master Alexander	Keeper of Glamis & Baky	18 Aug 1537	18 Aug 1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 334
Brosses, Francois, Frenchman	Master of Artillery	1521	1521	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3229
Brown, Ninian, Italian?	Trumpeter	1529/30	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 432; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Brown, William	Albany Herald	8 Nov 1516	18 Nov 1540 †	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 108; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2232
Brown, William	Servant of lord James	Jun 1539	Mar 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 175; <i>TA</i> , vii, 438
Brownhill, John	Master Mason	16 Jan 1532	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1119; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Bruce, Patrick	Familiar Servant	9 Feb 1542	24 Oct 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4484; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4955
Bruce, Patrick, the Elder	Henchman	1526	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 278; <i>TA</i> , v, 383
Bruce, Patrick, the younger	Henchman	1529/30	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Buchan, sir Alexander	Clerk/Canon of Chapel Royal	11 Nov 1500	7 Jan 1530	<i>RSS</i> , i, 591; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 496
Buchanan, Master George	Tutor of lord James	1536	1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 289; <i>TA</i> , vi, 430
Bungo, John	Gunner/Hagbutter in Dunbar Castle	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 278
Bunkle, Marion	Servant of Queen Margaret & king	1512	1542	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 34-5; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 578
Buntine, Peter	Messenger	Jan 1541	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 422; <i>TA</i> , viii, 140+

Burdit, Nicholas	Gunner	Jan 1537	Jan 1537	<i>TA</i> , vii, 16
Burn, Patrick	Keeper of the Assize door	13 Dec 1540	13 Dec 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3747
Button, Rob	Poultreymen	1514	1521/22	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 39; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 416
Byres, John	Gunner	Apr 1538	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 389; <i>TA</i> , viii, 110
Cabroch, John/Thomas	Fiddler	1530/31	Dec 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 431; <i>TA</i> , vii, 414
Cacopety	Bard	1538	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 143
Cadder, James	Principal Cook in Hall Kitchen	1526	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Cadder, Thomas	Mason at Crawfordjohn	1538	Aug 1541	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 128; <i>TA</i> , vi, 484
Cadislie, William	Mason	Aug 1529	Dec 1539	<i>MW</i> , i, 1; <i>TA</i> , vii, 344
Cairncross, Robert, Abbot of Holyrood	Treasurer	19 Jul 1528	8 Feb 1529	<i>ADCP</i> , 281; <i>ADCP</i> , 304
Cairncross, Robert, Abbot of Holyrood	Clerk of the King's Household Expenses	1529	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 531; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480D
Cairncross, Robert, Abbot of Holyrood	Treasurer	29 May 1537	11 Feb 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2264; <i>ADCP</i> , 464
Cairns, John	Servant to the King's 2 sons	Dec 1539	Dec 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 273-4
Calderwood, William	Supplier of Organs	1537	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 353; <i>TA</i> , viii, 55
Caldwell, John	Falconer	1532	May 1543	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 551; <i>TA</i> , viii, 188
Callum, John	Cupbearer	1529	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 535; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Cameron, David	Messenger	1515	1524	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 119; <i>ER</i> , xv, 97
Campbell, Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll	Master of the Household	29 Oct 1529	27 Apr 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 402; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2343
Campbell, Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll	Justice General	29 Oct 1529	27 Apr 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 402; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2343
Campbell of Clauchan, Archibald	Yeoman in Wine Cellar	24 Mar 1538	Aug 1541	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1757; <i>TA</i> , vii, 475
Campbell of Clauchan, Archibald	Master of Wine Cellar	Jan 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 53; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Campbell, Charles	Macer	1514	1533	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 23; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 257
Campbell, Colin, 3rd Earl of Argyll	Master of the Household	3 Dec 1513	5 Nov 1529	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 5; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 861
Campbell, Colin, 3rd Earl of Argyll	Justice General	12 Jul 1514	5 Nov 1529	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 19; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 861
Campbell of Loudon, Hugh, Sheriff of Ayr	Master Usher to the king	1 Nov 1526	1 Nov 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3541
Campbell, James	Singer in Chapel Royal	1 May 1527	1 May 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3751
Campbell of Lundy, Sir John	Ambassador to Flanders	28 Apr 1529	5 Oct 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 59; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3666
Campbell of Lundy, Sir John	Justice Depute	1530	13 May 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 449; <i>ADCP</i> , 518
Campbell of Thornton/Lundy, Sir John	Treasurer	17 Jan 1517	24 Jun 1526	<i>TA</i> , v, 100; <i>TA</i> , v, 270
Campbell, Patrick	In the Wine Cellar	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Canin, François	Queen Mary's groom of the kitchen	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12r.
Canochson, Angus	Servant of lord James	Nov 1538	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 104; <i>TA</i> , viii, 64
Cant, Patrick	Gunner in Dunaverly Castle	Nov 1540	Apr 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 405; <i>TA</i> , vii, 444
Cantley, Master John	Precentor of Chapel Royal	before 18 Oct 1529	18 Oct 1529	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 371

Cantley, Master John	Clerk of Expenses	1524	1524	<i>ER</i> , xv, 88
Carraig alias Hecht, Alexander	Messenger	1517	Dec 1542+	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 248; <i>TA</i> , viii, 141+
Carraig, Cuthbert	Messenger	Oct 1538	Oct 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 97
Carmichael, George	Payments to	Oct 1539	Jul 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 256; <i>TA</i> , vii, 464
Carmichael, John	Captain of Crawford	20 Dec 1528	20 Dec 1528	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4013
Carmichael, Richard	Sangster	1534	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 205; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Carmichael, Richard	In the Pantry	Jul 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Carmichael, Robert	In the Pantry	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Carmichael, Thomas	Servant of lord Robert	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 93
Carmuir, Master James	Clerk of the Closet	27 Feb 1529	27 Feb 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4090
Carmuir, Master James	Writer of the Casualties	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 484
Carpenter, George	Doorman in Queen's Pantry	Mar 1539	Mar 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 151
Carslaw, William	Trumpeter of war	2 Jul 1538	2 Jul 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2610
Castlelaw, Alexander	Trumpeter	23 Apr 1498	5 May 1533	<i>RSS</i> , i, 194; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1281
Castlelaw, William	Messenger	1523	Mar 1537	<i>TA</i> , v, 228; <i>MW</i> , i, 229
Cessford, James	King's Shepherd at Commonsie	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Chalmer, Alexander	Painter	Feb/Mar 1532	May 1532	<i>MW</i> , i, 79; <i>MW</i> , i, 86
Champnay, Robert	Messenger	1525	10 Dec 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 259; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2232
Champnay, William	Messenger	Sep 1540	Nov 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 395; <i>TA</i> , viii, 137+
Chapman, Master John	Writes the King's Letters	1528	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 465; <i>ER</i> , xv, 550
Chapman, Master John	Writer to Signet/Exchequer	1531	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 47; <i>TA</i> , vi, 213
Charteris of Cuthilgurdy, John	Keeper of the king's great horse	Jun 1538	1 Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 159; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Chastaignier, Pierre	Queen Mary's groom of the wine cellar	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13v.
Chastillon, François de	Queen Mary's usher of the hall	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12r.
Chesman	Falconer	Jul 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 429; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Chiene, Master William	Messenger	1529	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 375
Chisholm, Master John	Clerk of expenses	1514	1522	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 8; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 468
Chisholm, Master John	Clerk of Treasury/Exchequer	1523	1539	<i>ER</i> , xv, 53; <i>MW</i> , i, 239-40
Choury, Jean de	Queen Mary's carter	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 15r.
Christison, sir David	Comptroller's Clerk	1527	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 386; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 4801
Christison, sir David	Steward of the Household	1535	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 393; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Christison, Jock	Messenger	1531	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 445
Christison, sir Robert	Chaplain of St. Michael in Stirling Castle	4 Jun 1518	4 Jun 1518	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3040
Christison, William	Messenger	1522	Aug 1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 200; <i>TA</i> , vi, 223

Clapperton, sir George	Master Almoner	23 Jun 1535	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1704; <i>TA</i> , viii, 143
Clapperton, sir George	Sub Dean of Chapel Royal	23 Jun 1535	23 Jun 1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1703
Clapperton, sir George	Prebendary of Chapel Royal	before 23 Jun 1535	23 Jun 1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1704
Clement, sir James	Master Gardener in Stirling	Aug 1533	Aug 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 102
Clement, sir Walter	Gardener in Stirling	1534	1535	<i>TA</i> , vi, 205; <i>TA</i> , vi, 264
Clerk, Constantine	Quarrier	Aug 1529	Feb 1540	<i>MHW</i> , i, 2; <i>MHW</i> , i, 272
Clerk, John	Principal Jak Maker & Gunner	Apr 1539	Aug 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 155; <i>TA</i> , viii, 115+
Clerk, Patrick	Master/Keeper of the Household Pantry	1525	Jul 1538	<i>ER</i> , xv, 210; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Clerk, Patrick	Groom/Server in Hall	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Clerk, Rolland	Queen Margaret's Master Cook	29 Mar 1542	29 Mar 1542 †	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4562
Clydesdale, John	Groom in the Spice-House	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Cobb, John	Messenger & Macer	1531	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 444; <i>TA</i> , viii, 140+
Cochran, Alexander	Of the Wardrobe	Dec 1539	Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 274; <i>TA</i> , viii, 46
Cochran, Allan	Armourer	1505	1522	<i>TA</i> , iii, 39; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 466
Cochrane, John	Messenger	29 Apr 1540	29 Apr 1540	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2135
Cochrane, Master John / Hans	Master Gunner	Aug 1539	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 199; <i>TA</i> , vii, 479
Cockburn, Master Adam	Clerk of the closet	1 Mar 1527	1 Mar 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3668
Cockburn, Christian	One of the king's rockers	1515	1515	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120
Colden, Master John	King's Familiar	Jan 1530	Jan 1530	<i>Letters</i> , 164
Colden, Master John	Clerk of Expenses	Sep 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 2; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Columbell & his 3 fellows, Jakis	Viols player	9 Jul 1538	1 Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2620; <i>TA</i> , viii, 93
Colville of Ochiltree/E Wemyss, Sir James	Director of Chancery	2 May 1523	25 Jul 1538	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 233; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1804
Colville of Ochiltree/E Wemyss, Sir James	Comptroller	10 Sep 1525	7 Mar 1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 282; <i>ER</i> , xv, 539
Colville of Ochiltree/E Wemyss, Sir James	Comptroller	23 Oct 1530	Sep 1538	<i>ER</i> , xv, 585; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 155
Colville, James	Messenger	31 Oct 1536	31 Oct 1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 308
Colville of Ochiltree, Robert	In the Pantry	1528	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 462; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Cook, Master George	Foreman in Hall Kitchen	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Cook, Master George	Writer of the Rolls	1532	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 177; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 173
Cook, Master George	Scribe of Privy Seal	20 Apr 1539	Jan 1543	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 772; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 773
Copland, Thomas	Server in Hall	1529	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 384
Corbet, John	Keeper of the King's dogs	Jul 1541	Apr 1543	<i>TA</i> , vii, 464; <i>TA</i> , viii, 183
Cornton, Florence, in Leith	Clerk of munitions of Ships	Dec 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 266; <i>TA</i> , viii, 104
Corry, Thomas	Gentleman in king's household	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3291
Counseill, John, Frenchman	Armourer	1533	1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 90

Coutts, George/James	Sangster (boy)	1531	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 432; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Coutts, George/James	Henchboy	1532	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Coutts, Dean Robert	Depute Clerk of Expenses	24 Jul 1529	24 Jul 1529	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 233
Coutts, Master Thomas	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	before 8 Jan 1530	8 Jan 1530 †	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 499
Cowper, sir Laurence	Keeper of the Coining Irons	12 Jul 1536	12 Jul 1536	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2082
Craig, John	Servitour/Varlet/Groom of the chamber	1515	1526	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120; <i>ER</i> , xv, 287
Craig, Robert	Servant to Thom Arthur	Dec 1538	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 112; <i>TA</i> , viii, 54
Craig, Thomas	Servant to Thom Arthur	1537	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 331; <i>TA</i> , vi, 344
Crammy, sir John	Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	24 Jan 1529	2 Mar 1530	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4045; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 559
Crammy, John	Master of Entry & Principal Porter	5 Feb 1536	Aug 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1934; <i>TA</i> , vii, 333
Crammy, John	Queen Madeleine's Page	1537	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 343
Crammy, John	Queen Mary's Page	Jul 1538	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Crammy, Patrick	Porter	5 Feb 1536	Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1934; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Crammy, William	Porter	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 121; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Crammy, William	In the Prince's Household	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Crawford, David	Servant in Chamber	1514	Dec 1538	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 23; <i>TA</i> , vii, 122
Crawford, James	Groom/Varlet/Marshall	1522	1527	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 468-9; <i>ER</i> , xv, 381
Crawford, John	Wright & Gunner	Jul 1535	16 Jun 1542+	<i>MW</i> , i, 170; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4706
Crawford, John	Servitor of Queen/Cupbearer in Hall	1514	1527	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 23; <i>ER</i> , xv, 383
Crawford of Oxgangs, Nichol	Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	1515	1535	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 67; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 402
Crawford of Oxgangs, Nichol	Justice Clerk	8 Feb 1525	5 Feb 1536	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 297; <i>RSS</i> , iii, 1542
Crawford, sir Thomas	Chaplain	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 247; <i>ER</i> , xv, 487
Crawford, William	Groom/henchman	1522	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 197; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Crichton, David	Groom/Servitour in pantry/chamber	1516	1525	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 202; <i>TA</i> , v, 261
Crichton, David	Yeoman of the Wardrobe	1525	Jun 1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 201; <i>TA</i> , vi, 284
Crichton, David	Master of Avery	1516	1528	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 223; <i>ER</i> , xv, 460
Crichton, David	Master of the Wardrobe	1536	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Crichton of Nauchtane, David	Captain of Edinburgh Castle	16 Mar 1542	Jun 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4542; <i>TA</i> , viii, 86
Crichton of Nauchtane, David 'the bairn'	Paed as son of the Captain of Edinburgh Castle	1526	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 308; <i>TA</i> , vi, 37
Crichton of Cranston-Riddell, James	Master of the Pantry	1522/23	1526/27	<i>TA</i> , v, 197; <i>TA</i> , v, 310
Crichton of Cranston-Riddell, James	Captain & Keeper of Edinburgh Castle	May 1523	1540	<i>ADCP</i> , 169; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 277
Crichton, James	Yeoman of Pantry	1529	1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Crichton of Invernyte?, John	Master of Wine Cellar	1520	1520	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3124
Crichton, John	Usher of the hall door	1529	Jul 1538	<i>ER</i> , xv, 548; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429

Crichton, John	Yeoman of Pantry	1538	Dec 1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 165; <i>TA</i> , vii, 125
Crichton, Martin	Squire in king's house	2 Aug 1526	2 Aug 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3463
Crichton, of Cranston-Riddle, Sir Patrick	Captain and keeper of Edinburgh Castle	1514	1522 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 17; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 458
Crichton, Patrick	Master of the Spice-House	1526/27	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>TA</i> , v, 382
Crichton, of Nauchtane, Sir Peter	Captain of Edinburgh Castle	Aug 1540	Aug 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 339
Crichton, of Nauchtane, Sir Peter	Master of the Wardrobe	1514/16	1535	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 220; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 393
Crichton, Robert	King's Familiar	Mar 1534	Mar 1534	<i>Letters</i> , 260
Cristall, King	Servant	1531	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 441
Crook, John	Minstrel	1529/30	Feb 1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 373; <i>TA</i> , vi, 207
Cunningham, Alexander	Macer, Messenger & Pursuivant	Jul 1542	Nov 1542+	<i>TA</i> , viii, 98; <i>TA</i> , viii, 136
Cunningham, Duncan	Lutenist	Jun 1539	Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 159; <i>TA</i> , viii, 46
Cunningham, Hans	Gunner	1515	1537	<i>TA</i> , v, 32; <i>TA</i> , vi, 315
Cunningham of Caprington, John	Squire in king's house	14 Jul 1526	14 Jul 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3437
Cunningham, John	Gunner	1518	21 Oct 1541	<i>TA</i> , v, 162; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4264
Cunningham, Lawrence	Upholding the Park Dykes at Stirling	Jul 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 104; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Cunningham, Martin	Gunner	4 Sep 1540	Aug 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3640; <i>TA</i> , vii, 471
Cunningham, Robert	Macer	7 Jul 1542	7 Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4764
Cunningham, Walter	Keeper of the Park of Stirling	1529	Apr 1537	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 303
Cunningham, William, Master of Glencairn	Treasurer	25 Jun 1526	16 Aug 1526	<i>TA</i> , v, 270; <i>TA</i> , v, 280
Cunningham, William	Porter of Stirling Castle	1536	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 4801
Cunningham, William	Macer	31 Oct 1536	31 Oct 1536	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2186
Curror	Messenger	1529	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 378
Cuthbert of the Trone, Patrick	Usher of the Exchequer House Door	1517	1529/30	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 290; <i>TA</i> , v, 390
Dalgleish, William	Gunner	Oct 1539	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 258; <i>TA</i> , vii, 471
Daniel, John	Tailor	Aug 1539	Aug 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 195
Danis, Robert	Mason	1538	1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 438
Danquetin, Jacques	Queen Mary's butler of the pantry	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13r,
Darroch of Stirling, Duncan	Baker	1531	1532	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 93; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 195
Davidson, Master John	Master of Works at Raecleugh	1536	1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 302
Davidson, John	Master Cordiner	1516	1526/27	<i>TA</i> , v, 82; <i>TA</i> , v, 329
Davidson, Thomas	Printer to the King	1535	6 Mar 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 398; <i>RAIS</i> , iii, 2612
Dawson, Duncan	Coalman	r. James III	6 Mar 1540	<i>ADCP</i> , 419; <i>PA</i> , 34
Delyon, John	Gunner	Jul 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 466; <i>TA</i> , vii, 501
Dempster, Andrew	Groom of Stable	1525	1526	<i>TA</i> , v, 261; <i>TA</i> , v, 310

Dempster, Andrew	Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 287; <i>ER</i> , xv, 545
Dempster, George	Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	1515	1526	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120; <i>ER</i> , xv, 287
Dempster, Henry	Steward/Purveyor	1515	1522 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 469
Dempster, Henry	Keeper of the pewter/tin vessels	1536	Jan 1543	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F; <i>TA</i> , viii, 165
Dempster, James	Keeper of the pewter/tin vessels	1518	Aug 1540	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 356; <i>TA</i> , vii, 333
Denniston, John, Rector of Dysart	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	8 Jan 1530	31 May 1531	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 499; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 926
Denniston, John, Rector of Dysart	Auditor/Clerk	Mar 1531	Aug 1542+	<i>Letters</i> , 190; <i>TA</i> , viii, 135+
Denniston, John, Rector of Dysart	Of the bedchamber/cubicular	Jul 1539	Nov 1542	<i>Letters</i> , 374; <i>Letters</i> , 445
Denniston, Robert	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	23 Jun 1535	26 Dec 1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1704; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1891
Denniston, William	Keeper of Linlithgow Palace	19 Nov 1540	Aug 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3691; <i>TA</i> , viii, 111
Denogent, Maurice, Frenchman	Captain of Dunbar	1518	1522	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 351; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 460
Denogent, Robert	Gunner/wright	Dec 1541	Apr 1543	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46; <i>TA</i> , viii, 182
Denuringbirg, Hans, Dutch/German	Gunner	Jul 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 466; <i>TA</i> , vii, 471
Desongliers, Jacques	Queen Mary's esquire of the kitchen	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12r.
Dickson, John	Ross Herald	1524	1540	<i>ER</i> , xv, 96; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 325
Dill/Duly/Durham, William	Groom/Crossbowman of chamber	1506	6 Sep 1529	<i>TA</i> , iii, 352; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 324
Dingwall, sir John, Provost of Holy Trinity	Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	1524	1531	<i>ER</i> , xv, 84; <i>TA</i> , v, 450
Dishington, Andrew	Messenger	1518	1534	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 309; <i>TA</i> , vi, 222
Doig the younger, James	Yeoman of the Wardrobe	17 Sep 1524	1526/27	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3294; <i>TA</i> , v, 314
Doig, James	Keeper of the Pikes	Feb 1542	Mar 1542+	<i>TA</i> , viii, 59; <i>TA</i> , viii, 122+
Donaldson, Master John	Clerk of Exchequer	1514	1529	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 10; <i>ER</i> , xv, 536
Donaldson, sir John	Chaplain	Jul 1540	Jul 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 322
Donaldson, John	Yeoman of Avery	1526	1533 †	<i>ER</i> , xv, 289; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 296
Donaldson, Michael	Sevant of Queen Margaret	1514	1521	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 9; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 489
Donaldson, Michael	Chief keeper of the vessels	1525	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 203; <i>ER</i> , xv, 463
Donaldson, Michael	Yeoman of Stable	1529	1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 301
Donaldson, Patrick	Yeoman of the Wardrobe/Master Avery	1516	1526 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 220; <i>ER</i> , xv, 286
Donaldson, William	Under keeper of the vessels	1514	1531	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 19; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 135
Dorch, Andrew the	Dwarf	1526	1526	<i>TA</i> , v, 312
Dorch, John the	Dwarf	1529	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 204
Doret, Jacques	Queen Mary's assistant groom of the stable	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14r.
Douglas, Archibald, Earl of Angus	Chancellor	24 Apr 1527	20 May 1528	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 448; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 589
Douglas of Kilspindie, Archibald	Auditor	1515	1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 43; <i>ER</i> , xv, 373
Douglas of Kilspindie, Archibald	Treasurer	15 Oct 1526	29 Aug 1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 281; <i>TA</i> , v, 332

Douglas, Elizabeth	The King's Mistress/Governess	1517	1529	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 287; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Douglas, George	Master carver	1525	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 203; <i>ER</i> , xv, 459
Douglas of Drumlanrig, James	Master of Wine Cellar	1514	1528	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 34-5; <i>ER</i> , xv, 463
Douglas of Parkhead, James	Master Lardner	1527	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 381; <i>ER</i> , xv, 460
Douglas, James	Groom of Wine Cellar	1529	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 536; <i>ER</i> , xv, 548
Douglas, Janet	Seamstress	1522	Jun 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 196; <i>TA</i> , vii, 315
Douglas, John	Groom/Yeoman in Wine Cellar	1514	20 Feb 1531	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 9; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 835
Douglas, Marion	King's nurse	1518	1540	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 350; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 289
Douglas, Marion	Upholding the Park Dykes at Stirling	1539	1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 159
Douglas, Patrick	Cupbearer in the Hall	1516	1527	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 221; <i>TA</i> , v, 312
Douglas, Robert	King's Butcher	1527	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 384; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Douglas, Thomas	King's Butcher	14 Aug 1515	14 Aug 1515	<i>RSS</i> , i, 2597
Douglas, Walter	Cupbearer in Hall	1527	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 383; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Douglas, Walter	Cupbearer in Chamber	1531	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 136; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Douglas, William	Servitour	1516	Sep 1541 (as Mr)	<i>TA</i> , v, 94; <i>TA</i> , viii, 24
Dronan, David	Falconer	1514	1531	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 7; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 120
Dronan, David	Messenger	1533	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 122; <i>TA</i> , vi, 364
Drummond, Andrew	Groom/Valet of Chamber	1532	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Drummond, Anthony, Italian	Trumpeter	1515	1517	<i>TA</i> , v, 53-4; <i>TA</i> , v, 156
Drummond, Henry	Yeoman/Groom of Chamber	1532	Dec 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 36; <i>TA</i> , vii, 55
Drummond, James	Trumpeter of war	9 Dec 1526	2 Jul 1538	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3382; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2608
Drummond of Mylnab, John	Principal Carpenter & Founder of Artillery	6 Dec 1507	Dec 1542+	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3382; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150+
Drummond, John	Trumpeter of war	2 Jul 1538	2 Jul 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2609
Drummond, Julian the elder, Italian	Trumpeter	31 Dec 1505	1535	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1189; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 443
Drummond, Julian the younger, Italian	Trumpeter	31 Dec 1505	1535	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1189; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 443
Drummond, Michael	Trumpeter	1533	1535	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 240; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 443
Drummond, Morris	Dichter of Queen Mary's Chamber	Feb 1540	Feb 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 297
Drummond, Morris	Bearer of the king's Flagons	Jan 1541	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 421; <i>TA</i> , viii, 112
Drummond, Sebastian, Italian	Trumpeter	26 Jan 1509	1535	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1808; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 443
Drummond alias Spicthouse, William	Yeoman of Chamber	1516	1528	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 126; <i>ER</i> , xv, 463
Drummond, sir William	Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr quarto)	26 Dec 1535	Aug 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1891; <i>TA</i> , vii, 477
Drummond	Page	Nov 1538	Nov 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 101
Drupis, Bessie	Laundress	Dec 1538	Feb 1543	<i>TA</i> , vii, 121; <i>TA</i> , viii, 170
Dubois, Pierre	Queen Mary's groom of the stable	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14r.

Duchale, John	In the Cuphouse	May 1540	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 308; <i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Duchale, John	In the Prince's Household	Aug 1540	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 333; <i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Duchale, John	Bottleman/Butler	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Duchale, William	Butler in Wine Cellar	1538	Aug 1541	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 166; <i>TA</i> , vii, 476
Duchale, William	Master in Wine Cellar	Jul 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Duchesne, Tassin,	Queen Mary's Master Cook	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12r.
Duddingston, Stephen	Master of the silver vessels	Aug 1541	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 475; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Duddingston of Kilduncan, Thomas	Master of the silver vessels	20 Jan 1531	Dec 1542	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 986; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Duddingston of Kilduncan, Thomas	Master of the Prince's Household	Oct 1540	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 397; <i>TA</i> , vii, 477
Dunbar, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow	Preceptor/Tutor to James V	Feb 1517	Jan 1525	<i>TA</i> , v, 111; <i>Letters</i> , 113
Dunbar, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow	Chancellor	26 Jun 1528	13 Sep 1543	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 601; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2957
Dunbar, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow	A Lord Regent in King's absence	29 Aug 1536	14 May 1537	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1618; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1665
Dunbar, Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen	Clerk Register	2 Oct 1513	6 Jan 1532	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1104
Duncan, James	Groom in Hall Kitchen	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Duncan, Thomas	Messenger	Sep 1531	Oct 1531	<i>TA</i> , vi, 52; <i>TA</i> , vi, 53
Duncan, William	Messenger/Pursuivant	1526	1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 265; <i>TA</i> , vi, 445
Duncan	the crabbed cook, Groom in Hall Kitchen	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Dupont, Guillemine	Queen Mary's maid of honour	1538/39	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 9v.
Durham, Alexander	Servant Queen Mary's Spice House	1538/9	Jan 1539	<i>DMR</i> , 13v.; <i>TA</i> , vii, 131
Durham, Master Michael	King's Doctor in Medicine	28 Mar 1542	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4554; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Durie, Andrew, Bishop of Galloway	Dean of Chapel Royal	1541	1541	<i>Letters</i> , 425
Durie, Thomas	Lord James Stewart's Cook	May 1539	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 168; <i>TA</i> , viii, 63
Dury, Master Andrew	Treasurer of Chapel Royal	1 Jun 1520	1 Jun 1520	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3067
Dysart, sir Michael	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	31 May 1531	1 Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 926; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Echt, James	Messenger	1517	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 97; <i>TA</i> , vi, 237
Edbe, William	Tapiser	1536	1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 458; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 282
Edgar, Andrew	Master Tailor	1515	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 9; <i>TA</i> , v, 439
Edmonston, James	Henchman/Yeoman of the stable	1525	1532	<i>TA</i> , v, 261; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Edmonston, Thomas	Daily & Familiar Servant	27 Apr 1540	1 Dec 1542	<i>PA</i> , 46; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Ellis, John	Slater	Sep 1529	Jul 1532	<i>MW</i> , i, 7; <i>MW</i> , i, 97
Erskine, James	Esquire of Stable	1525	1534	<i>ER</i> , xv, 206; <i>TA</i> , vi, 203
Erskine, John, Lord	Captain & Keeper of Stirling Castle	1529	1540	<i>ER</i> , xv, 538; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 277
Erskine, John, Lord	Guardian of the king	1 Sep 1518	1524	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 458; <i>ER</i> , xv, 90
Erskine of Dun, John	Ambassador/Familiar	1535	1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1733

Erskine of Haltoun, Master Thomas	Gentleman and Squire in king's house	22 Sep 1526	22 Sep 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3514
Erskine of Brechin Master/Sir Thomas	Ambassador to France & Rome	21 Mar 1530	31 Dec 1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 601; <i>TA</i> , vi, 263
Erskine of Brechin Master/Sir Thomas	Secretary	15 Jun 1526	26 Oct 1542	<i>RAMS</i> , iii, 358; <i>RAMS</i> , iii, 2828
Erskine of Brechin & Halton, Sir, Thomas	Repaired Tantallon Castle	1538	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 120
Erskine, William	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	18 Mar 1531	31 May 1531	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 852; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 926
Essartz, Mahaut des, Mlle. de Curel	Queen Mary's Lady in Waiting	1538/9	1541	<i>DAMR</i> , 9r.; <i>BP</i> , 69-73
Falkland, a woman of	Laundress	21 Apr 1540	21 Apr 1540	<i>PA</i> , 44
Fallan, sir Evan	Clerk of the Closet	2 Jan 1527	2 Jan 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3614
Felare, Francis, Frenchman	Tailor to the king	20 Jun 1538	20 Jun 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2596
Ferat, Frenchwoman	Queen Mary's Jester	Nov 1538	May 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 102; <i>TA</i> , viii, 76
Ferguson, Janet	lord James's Laundress	Aug 1539	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 192; <i>TA</i> , viii, 63
Fernie, Andrew	Forester of Falkland	26 Apr 1515	19 Dec 1540	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 570; <i>RAMS</i> , iii, 2245
Fernie, John	Keeper of the New Park of Falkland	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 511; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 515
Ferry, David	King's Furrier	1531	Aug 1541 †	<i>TA</i> , vi, 18; <i>TA</i> , vii, 479
Fethy, sir John	Musician	1529	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , viii, 54
Fin, Katherine	Nurse to the King's late Brother	16 Jan 1516	1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 2684; <i>ER</i> , xv, 379
Fleming, Andrew	Groom of Stable	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 295; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547-8
Fleming, James	Page of Honour	1530	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 431; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Fleming, Malcolm, Lord	Great Chamberlain of Scotland	26 Jun 1528	11 Aug 1546	<i>RAMS</i> , iii, 601; <i>RAMS</i> , iii, 3297
Fleming, Peter, Dutchman	Mason	1538/9	1540/1	<i>MW</i> , i, 256; <i>MW</i> , i, 278
Fleming, Thomas	Usher of the hall door	1526	1529 †	<i>ER</i> , xv, 291; <i>ER</i> , xv, 548
Fogo, Robert	Captain of ships/guns	1529	May 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 385; <i>TA</i> , viii, 77
Fon/Fou/Feu, M. François du	Queen Mary's Secretary and Comptroller	1538/9	May 1541	<i>DAMR</i> , 2r.; <i>BP</i> , 61-3
Fonain, Robert	Queen Mary's baker	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 15v.
Forest, George	Trumpeter	4 Oct 1507	1535	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1558; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 443
Forest, Pierre	Queen Mary's groom of the hall kitchen	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 12v.
Forest, William	Lorimer/bucklemaker	Nov 1538	Apr 1543	<i>TA</i> , vii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 181
Forman, Adam	Macer/Messenger	1536	Jul 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 307; <i>TA</i> , viii, 108+
Forman, Master Robert	Pursuivant	Mar 1540	Mar 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 296
Forman, Master Robert	Ross Herald	Sep 1540	Mar 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 405; <i>TA</i> , vii, 438
Forman, Master Robert, Dean of Glasgow	Auditor of Exchequer	1516	1527	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 214; <i>ER</i> , xv, 373
Forrester of Garden, David	Keeper of the king's Marts	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 599
Forrester, John	In the Pantry	1529	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 535; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Forrester, John	Bower/Arrowmaker to King	1538	Aug 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 438; <i>TA</i> , viii, 115+

Forret, John	In King's Service in the lordship of Glamis	1538	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 143; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 169
Forsyth, John	Macer	14 Apr 1535	Dec 1538	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1465; <i>TA</i> , vii, 124
Forsyth, William	Groom/Valet of Chamber	1514	1527	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 23; <i>ER</i> , xv, 361
Forsyth, William	Macer	1528	1531 †	<i>ER</i> , xv, 460; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 134
Forsyth, William	Messenger	Apr 1542	Apr 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 73
Fotheringham, Thomas	Master mason of the Bridge of Tay	1514	1529 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 60; <i>ER</i> , xv, 524
Foulis of Colinton, Master James	King's Advocate Depute	10 Aug 1530	19 Aug 1530	<i>ADCP</i> , 335; <i>ADCP</i> , 338
Foulis of Colinton, Master James	Clerk Register	12 Mar 1532	11 Aug 1546	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1189; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 3297
Foulis, William	Usher of the Exchequer House Door	Aug 1540	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 339; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Fournier, Maître Jean	Queen Mary's Master Almoner	1538/9	Sep 1541	<i>DMR</i> , 10v.; <i>BP</i> , 66-7
Fraser, Colin	Falconer	24 Mar 1540	2 May 1540	<i>PA</i> , 36; <i>PA</i> , 47
Fraser, Simon	Falconer	1516	1532	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 130; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 552
French, Thomas	Master Mason of the Bridge of Tay, Perth	1533	1533	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 234
French, Thomas	King's Master Mason	Mar 1534	1539	<i>MW</i> , i, 121; <i>MW</i> , i, 256
Frog, George	Servant?	1537	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 462-63
Galbraith, John	Yeoman of Chamber	1535	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 395; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Galbraith, Paul	Yeoman of Chamber	1514	1535 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 23; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 395
Galbraith, Peter	Writer in Exchequer	1533	1534	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 298; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 351
Galbraith, Master Robert	Treasurer of Chapel Royal	5 Jul 1528	6 Jan 1532	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 605; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1104
Galbraith, Master Robert	A Lord of Council	30 Jan 1541	30 Jan 1541	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2262
Galbraith, Robert	Painter	Aug 1539	Aug 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 189
Galbraith, William	Yeoman/Groom/Singer in Chamber	1525	1533	<i>ER</i> , xv, 208; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 296
Galbraith, William	Yeoman of Stable	1525	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 204; <i>ER</i> , xv, 547
Galbraith, William	Usher of the High Chamber Door	1529/30	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 382
Galbraith, William	Usher of the Kitchen Door	1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Gallotre, Bertrand, Frenchman	Principal Gardner	14 Aug 1536	1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2120; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 61
Gardner, Michael	Gunner in Dunbar	Jun 1538	Aug 1541+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 122; <i>TA</i> , vii, 471+
Gardner, Walter	Master cook	1532	1533	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 174; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 294
Gardyne, Master John	Messenger	1534	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 221
Gatherer, Master Thomas	Tax Collector	1533	1540/41	<i>TA</i> , vi, 148; <i>MW</i> , i, 267
Geddes, James	Messenger	1532	Nov 1543	<i>TA</i> , vi, 107; <i>TA</i> , viii, 328
George, Cuthbert	Pursuivant, Messenger & Macer	1530	Nov 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 442; <i>TA</i> , viii, 137+
George, Cuthbert	Tax Collector	1535	1540/41	<i>TA</i> , vi, 245; <i>MW</i> , i, 291
Gibb, John	Groom in the Stable	1529	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 535; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480H

Gibb of Carriber, Robert	Stirrupman	6 Sep 1524	1536	RSS, i, 3269; ER, xvi, 480G
Gibb of Carriber, Robert	Principal Yeoman of Stable	1531	1538	TA, vi, 18; TA, vi, 446
Gibb of Carriber, Robert	Esquire of Stable	Sep 1538	Dec 1542	TA, vii, 9; TA, viii, 141
Gibb, William	In Queen Mary's Stable	Sep 1538	Sep 1538	TA, vii, 89
Gibson of Goldenstone, George	Master Baker	12 Jul 1535	Jul 1542	RSS, ii, 1718; TA, viii, 100
Gibson, Master William, Dean of Restalrig	Auditor of Exchequer	1527	30 Jan 1541	TA, v, 281; RMS, iii, 2262
Gifford, Gavin	Keeper of Craignethan Castle	Nov 1541	after Nov 1541	TA, vii, 37
Gifford, Master John	Clerk of the Closet	16 Jul 1527	16 Jul 1527	RSS, i, 3848
Gifford, Thomas	Messenger	1530	1530	ER, xv, 524
Gilchrist, John	Groom in Pantry	Feb 1539	Dec 1541	TA, vii, 139; TA, viii, 46
Gillan	Falconer	1534	1537	ER, xvi, 585; ER, xvii, 40
Gillespie, John	Gardener in Stirling	7 May 1531	after 7 May 1531	RSS, ii, 899
Gillespie, William	Gardener in Stirling	1514	7 May 1531	ER, xiv, 37; RSS, ii, 899
Gillian	Queen Madeleine's Furrier	1537	1537	TA, vi, 334
Gillies, Malcolm	Keeper of the dogs	Dec 1541	Jul 1542	TA, viii, 46; TA, viii, 102
Githane, Robert	Baker of Stirling	1531	1532	ER, xvi, 93; ER, xvi, 195
Gladstone, Master John	Advocate for the Poor	2 Mar 1535	2 Mar 1535	ADCP, 435
Gogar, John	Carter	1532	Jun 1540	TA, vi, 103; TA, vii, 354
Good, George	Writer of the Rolls	1515	Jul 1542	TA, v, 55; TA, viii, 107
Good, George	Clerk Register Depute	Nov 1526	13 Mar 1540	ADCP, 219; ADCP, 486
Good	Turnbroch	Mar 1542	Mar 1542	TA, viii, 65
Gordon, George, 4th Earl of Huntly	A Lord Regent in King's absence	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537	RMS, iii, 1618; RMS, iii, 1640
Gordon of Lochinver, James	Captain of Douglas Castle	1538	1538	ER, xvii, 124; TA, vii, 78
Gordon, James	Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Crieff primo)	9 Apr 1532	9 Apr 1532	RSS, ii, 1206
Gordon, John	Captain of Douglas Castle	1538	1542	ER, xvii, 124; ER, xvii, 560
Gourlay, John	Messenger & Sergeant	1522	19 Sep 1541	TA, v, 202; RMS, iii, 2409
Gourlay, Malcolm	Tailor	1522	Jul 1542	ER, xiv, 469; TA, viii, 101
Gourlay, Robert	Gets Clothes	Oct 1538	Jul 1541	TA, vii, 96; TA, vii, 464
Gourlay of Kincaig, William	Servitour to King	11 Oct 1531	28 Jul 1542	RSS, ii, 1029; RSS, ii, 4795
Gragus	Page	Apr 1540	Jun 1540	TA, vii, 301; TA, vii, 312
Graham, James	Taburner	1516	1522	TA, v, 82-3; ER, xiv, 469
Graham, William, Earl of Montrose	A Lord Regent in King's absence	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537	RMS, iii, 1618; RMS, iii, 1640
Grand Morsen, Christopher, Frenchman	Gunner	Apr 1537	Sep 1541	TA, vi, 464; Letters, 432
Grange, Jacob de la	Queen Mary's tailor	1538/9	1538/9	DMR, 11r.

Grange, Jacques de la	Queen Mary's valet of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 11r.
Grange, Jacques de la, the younger	Queen Mary's yeoman of the wardrobe	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 11v.
Grant of Freuchy, James	Servitor	22 May 1529	19 Feb 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 103; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3382
Gray, Master Robert	King's Doctor in Medicine	8 Jan 1532	8 Jan 1532	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1115
Gray, sir Walter	Chaplain/Prebendary of Leith/Restalrig	3 May 1506	1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1253; <i>ER</i> , xv, 544
Gresmor Joanna, Frenchwoman	Queen Mary's Lady	May 1539	Aug 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 166; <i>TA</i> , vii, 328
Grimanet, Jean	Queen Mary's keeper of the vessels	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 12v.
Groat, Master Walter	Keeper of the Coining Irons	6 Apr 1538	6 Apr 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2529
Guestandt, François	Queen Mary's apothecary	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 15r.
Guillet, messire Jean	Queen Mary's chaplain	1538/39	1538/39	<i>DMR</i> , 11r.
Guthrie, Alexander	Falkland Pursuivant	12 Dec 1528	1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4012; <i>TA</i> , vi, 369
Guthrie, Master Hugh	Sacristan of Thane	4 Oct 1541	5 Oct 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4258; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4260
Guthrie, John	Yeoman of Chamber	1529	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 382; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Habet, Jacques, Frenchman	Tapiser	Aug 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 193; <i>TA</i> , viii, 90
Haldane of Gleneagles, James	Sub Captain of Dunbar Castle	1538	1539	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 119; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 259
Hamilon, Gavin	Payments to	1522	Jun 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 196; <i>TA</i> , vii, 25
Hamilton, Master Andrew	Chaplain of St Michael, Rothesay Castle	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 472
Hamilton, Andrew	Messenger	1529	1533	<i>TA</i> , v, 376; <i>TA</i> , vi, 141
Hamilton, Archibald	Squire in the king's house	15 Sep 1524	1531	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3292; <i>TA</i> , v, 436
Hamilton, Master David	Clerk of the Closet	1 Jun 1527	5 Mar 1540	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3801; <i>ADCP</i> , 484
Hamilton, Gavin	Gun maker	Mar 1537	Jun 1537	<i>TA</i> , vii, 20; <i>TA</i> , vii, 25
Hamilton, George	Henchman	1529	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Hamilton of Kincavill, James	Chief Janitor/Porter	1527	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 372; <i>ER</i> , xv, 532
Hamilton of Finnart, Sir James	Captain and Keeper of Linlithgow Palace	14 Oct 1526	14 Oct 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3523
Hamilton of Finnart, Sir James	Captain and Keeper of Dumbarton Castle	22 May 1527	28 Apr 1531	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3778; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 890
Hamilton of Finnart, Sir James	Principal/Master Sewer	1526	22 Sep 1539	<i>TA</i> , v, 307; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2021
Hamilton of Finnart, Sir James	Master of Stable	1527	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 380; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Hamilton of Finnart, Sir James	Principal Master of Works	9 Sep 1539	1 Apr 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3144; <i>TA</i> , vii, 302
Hamilton of Colmskeith, John	Extraordinary household servant	Nov 1530	Aug 1544	<i>TA</i> , v, 407; <i>TA</i> , viii, 270
Hamilton of Milburn, Master John	Clerk of the Closet	22 Jun 1529	22 Jun 1529	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 187
Hamilton of Milburn, Master John	Tax Collector	Aug 1531	Aug 1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 446; <i>TA</i> , v, 456
Hamilton, Margaret	Dwells with Queen Margaret	2 Mar 1540	2 Mar 1540	<i>PA</i> , 30
Hamilton of Milburn, Matthew	Gentleman & Squire in the King's house	31 Aug 1529	1534	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 297; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Hamilton, Peter	Principal Cook in Hall Kitchen	1536	Jun 1544	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F; <i>TA</i> , viii, 298

Hamilton, Master Robert	Steward of the King	1528	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 461; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Hamilton, Master Robert	Depute Clerk of the King's Expenses	12 Mar 1529	12 Mar 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4116
Hamilton, Master Robert	Sub Dean of Chapel Royal & Household Cleric	29 Nov 1531	23 Jun 1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1066; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1703
Hamilton, Thomas	Yeoman of the Spice-House	10 Oct 1524	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3301; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Hamilton, Thomas	Macer	1529	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 533; <i>TA</i> , viii, 144
Hamilton of Macnairston, William	Pursemaster	2 Sep 1524	2 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3273
Hamilton of Sanquhar & Macnairston, William	Master of the Household Depute	1526	1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 280; <i>MW</i> , i, 195
Hamilton of Sanquhar & Macnairston, William	Auditor	1530	Sep 1541	<i>MW</i> , i, 55; <i>TA</i> , vii, 502
Hamilton, William	Servant of lord James Stewart	Mar 1542	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 63
Hamilton, William	Falconer	Apr 1542	Apr 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 72
Hamilton of Newton, John	Steward	Sep 1526	Sep 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3512
Hannay, Thomas	Tailor, servant to Tom Arthur	1535	Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 246; <i>TA</i> , vi, 458
Hardy, Andrew/Archibald	Messenger	1535	Feb 1539	<i>TA</i> , vi, 265; <i>TA</i> , vii, 141
Hardy, David	Messenger	1536	Oct 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 309; <i>TA</i> , viii, 30
Hardy, William	Messenger	1537	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 346; <i>TA</i> , viii, 143+
Hare	Lutenist	3 Mar 1540	3 Mar 1540	<i>PA</i> , 33
Harquier/Harp, Robert	Gunner	Jun 1540	15 Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 354; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4166
Hart, John	Robert Gib's Servant	Aug 1540	Aug 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 326
Hart, Robert	Messenger	1515	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 47; <i>TA</i> , viii, 143+
Hart, Robert	Bute Pursuivant	7 Apr 1529	1 Mar 1535	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 772; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 436n
Hart, Robert	Rothesay Herald	1 Mar 1535	5 Nov 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 436n; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2830
Harver, Robert	Servitor to the King	1537	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 331
Haswell, sir James	Personal Chaplain to James V from birth	1512	24 Jan 1529	<i>Letters</i> , 155; <i>RSS</i> , i, 4045
Haswell, sir James	Master Almoner	1526/27	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 306; <i>TA</i> , v, 390
Haswell, sir James	Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	before 24 Jan 1529	24 Jan 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 4045
Haw, John	king's shepherd	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Hay, David	Sumpterman	Mar 1539	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 146; <i>TA</i> , viii, 141
Hay, James, Bishop of Ross	Ambassador to France	1532	1532	<i>TA</i> , vi, 44; <i>TA</i> , vi, 46
Hay, John	Valet of Chamber	1532	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 36; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Hay, John	Master of the Pantry	Dec 1538	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , vii, 475
Hay, Master Thomas	Chaplain & Keeper of Holyrood Palace	20 May 1538	1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2569; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 464
Hay, Master Thomas, Rector of Ruthven	Clerk to king/Albany	1516	1524	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 175; <i>ER</i> , xv, 84
Hay, William, 6th Earl of Errol	Great Constable of Scotland	10 Dec 1540	11 Sep 1541 †	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2232; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4204
Hay, Master William	Writer of the Rolls	1523	1535	<i>TA</i> , v, 232; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 396

Hay, George, 7th Earl of Errol	Great Constable of Scotland	9 Mar 1542	9 Mar 1542	<i>RAMS</i> , iii, 2616
Haye, Charles de la, M. de Curel	Queen Mary's Master of Household	1538/39	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 3v.; <i>DMR</i> , 8r.
Haymont, Guillaume, Frenchman	Armourer	Sep 1532	Sep 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 75; <i>TA</i> , vi, 94
Hector, Robert	Gun maker	Jun 1537	Feb 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 466; <i>TA</i> , vii, 428
Henderson, George	King's Shepherd in the burgh	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Henderson, James	Buys munitions in Flanders	Feb 1542	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 59; <i>TA</i> , viii, 124
Henderson, Patrick	In the Ale Cellar	Dec 1538	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 120; <i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Henderson, Patrick	In the Prince's Household	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Henderson, Patrick	In Queen Mary's Household	Mar 1542	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 65
Henderson, Richard	King's Shepherd at Westcotrig	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Henderson, Robert, Burgess of Edinburgh	Master Butcher	12 Apr 1531	1 Dec 1543	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 871; <i>TA</i> , viii, 240
Henderson, William	King's Shepherd at Northouse	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Henderson	Falconer	1532	1532	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 551
Heriot, Archibald	Messenger	1537	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 330; <i>TA</i> , viii, 143+
Heriot, David	Falconer	6 Mar 1540	Sep 1541	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>TA</i> , viii, 24
Herpon, Jacques	Queen Mary's embroiderer	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 11v.
Hill alias the Duke of Milan, John	Payments to	1518	1529/30	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 353; <i>TA</i> , v, 376
Hill, Richard	Tailor	1538	Sep 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 26; <i>TA</i> , vii, 64
Hill, William	Smith & Gunner	8 Apr 1530	Dec 1542+	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 375-6; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147+
Hogg, Archibald	Messenger & Pursuivant	30 Jul 1517	27 Jul 1545	<i>RAMS</i> , iii, 176; <i>RAMS</i> , iii, 3140
Hollay, Frenchman	Gunner	Nov 1536	Jan 1537	<i>TA</i> , vii, 16
Hope, John	King's Shepherd in Braidlie & Filop	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Hotman, Frenchman	Goldsmith	1538	1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 19; <i>TA</i> , vii, 54
Howieson, Walter	Master Timmerman of Ships	1 Oct 1539	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3166; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Hubert, John	Apothecary	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 281
Hume, Patrick	Master of the Breadhouse	15 Sep 1524	15 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3290
Hume, Patrick	Squire and gentleman in the king's house	23 Jul 1526	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3450; <i>ADCP</i> , 521-22
Hume, Richard, Englishman	Makes viols	Nov 1535	Jan 1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 261; <i>TA</i> , vi, 262
Hummour, John	Sub-Principal Cook	1524	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 94; <i>ER</i> , xv, 545
Hunter, sir Henry	Clerk	1532/33	1532/33	<i>TA</i> , vi, 89
Hunter, Master William	Keeper of the Tapestries	Sep 1540	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 390; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Huon, Georges	Queen Mary's groom of the pantry	15383/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13r.
Hutchinson, William	Cupbearer	1526	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 289; <i>ER</i> , xv, 461
Hutton, Alexander	Messenger	1536	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 266; <i>TA</i> , viii, 140+

Inglis, sir Alexander	Vicar of the Church in Stirling Castle	1541	1541	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 713
Inglis, sir David	Chaplain of James III at Cambuskenneth	1534	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 213
Inglis, George	King's Porter/Janitor	1524	1539 †	<i>ER</i> , xv, 95; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 686
Inglis, sir James	Chaplain of James III at Cambuskenneth	1515	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 199; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Inglis, sir James	Chancellor of Chapel Royal	5 Jun 1515	20 Mar 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 2573; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 455
Inglis, sir James	Master of Works at Holyrood & Falkland	1527	1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 325; <i>TA</i> , v, 327/8
Inglis of Flashill, John	King's Marshal	21 Aug 1507	21 Aug 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1526; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 822
Inglis, Ninian	In the Petty Larder	1527	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 381; <i>ER</i> , xv, 545
Inverugie	Under groom in Kitchen	Aug 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 193; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Jardin of Applegarth, Sir Alexander	Master of Artillery	3 Jul 1526	1530 †	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3417; <i>TA</i> , v, 389
Jedburgh, John, Abbot of	Clerk of Expenses	31 Oct 1526	1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3540; <i>ER</i> , xv, 544
Johnson, Hugh	Master cook	1525	1532 †	<i>ER</i> , xv, 202; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 174
Johnson, James	Macer	1527	Jan 1543	<i>ER</i> , xv, 365; <i>TA</i> , viii, 144
Johnson, Peter	Carpenter at Linlithgow	5 Jan 1538	1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2433; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 284
Johnson, sir Thomas	Chaplain & Keeper of Linlithgow Palace	Feb 1535	Aug 1541	<i>MW</i> , i, 130; <i>TA</i> , vii, 480
Johnston, Margaret	Brewer in Buttery	1530	1531	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 16; <i>ER</i> , xv, 94
Johnston, Robert	Under cook	7 Jun 1529	1532	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 146; <i>TA</i> , vi, 36
Jordan, sir John	Almoner's priest/chaplain	1529	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Kay, Thomas	Servant to the Comptroller	1539	1539	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 216-17
Kells, Thomas	Paid for Misc Services	1532	3 May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 37; <i>TA</i> , vii, 301
Kells, Thomas	Keeper of the King's Parrots & Cachpules	Jul 1538	15 Mar 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 429; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3394
Kells, Thomas	Keeper of the pewter vessels/household plate	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 119; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Kemp, Alexander	Groom/Valet of Chamber	1526	1 Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Kemp of Thomaston, Henry	King's Cupbearer	1538	Aug 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 164; <i>TA</i> , viii, 113
Kemp of Thomaston, Henry	Yeoman of Chamber/keeper of coffers	1522	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 197; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Kemp, John	In the Petty Larder	1529	1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Kemp, John	Trumpeter/Trumpeter of War	1534	Jul 1539	<i>TA</i> , vi, 204; <i>TA</i> , vii, 182
Kene, Master Thomas	Writer to Signet/Casualty	1534	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 213; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Kennedy of Girvan Mains, Hugh	Gentleman in king's house	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3285; <i>RSS</i> , i, 3289
Kennedy, James	Henchman	1532	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 91; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Kennedy of Gyletree, John	Gentleman in king's house	12 Apr 1527	12 Apr 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3730
Kennedy, John	Yeoman in Hall Kitchen	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Kenneth, John	Queen Madeleine's Principal Master Butcher	May 1537	May 1537	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2260
Kenneth, Patrick	Minstrel	9 Jul 1538	9 Jul 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2623

Ker, George	Gentleman in king's house	30 Oct 1524	30 Oct 1524	RSS, i, 3310
Ker, Katherine	In the Prince's Service	Feb 1541	Feb 1541	TA, vii, 429
Ker of Cessford, Walter	Master Cupbearer	1526	1536	TA, v, 308; ER, xvi, 480E
Kilgour, sir John	Painter & Chaplain	1527	Feb 1541	TA, v, 324; TA, vii, 430
Kilgour, sir Thomas	Chaplain of St Thomas, Falkland Palace	2 Jan 1529	1542	RSS, i, 4018; ER, xvii, 511
Kincaid, David	Constable of Edinburgh Castle	20 Jun 1541	Apr 1543	RSS, ii, 4073; TA, viii, 184
Kincaid, James	Henchman	1532	Dec 1539	TA, vi, 37; TA, vii, 274
Kincaid of Leith, Patrick	Principal Brewer in Buttery	1532	Jul 1542+	ER, xvi, 179; TA, viii, 109+
Kincraigie, sir James, Dean of Aberdeen	Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	1514	Sep 1539	ER, xiv, 40; TA, vii, 231
Kincraigie, sir James, Dean of Aberdeen	Administered the Priory of St Andrews	before 30 Jul 1540	30 Jul 1540	ADCP, 492
Kininmont, Margaret	The King's Nurse	1541	1542	ER, xvii, 710; ER, xvii, 599
Kinloch, Master David	Familiar Servant	Jul 1529	Jul 1529	Letters, 157
Kinloch, James	Porter of the outer gate	1516	1524	ER, xiv, 136; ER, xv, 93
Kinloch, John	Porter	1514	1524	ER, xiv, 51; ER, xv, 93
Kinloch, Paul	Court Steward	9 May 1527	1535	RSS, i, 3757; ER, xvi, 393
Kirkcaldy, David	Groom in Kitchen	Jul 1538	Jul 1542	TA, vi, 429; TA, viii, 101
Kirkcaldy, Sir James, of Grange	Treasurer	11 Sep 1536	Aug 1543	TA, vi, 449; TA, viii, 195
Kirkcaldy, Sir James, of Grange	Steward/Sewer of the King	1538	Dec 1542	ER, xvii, 164; TA, viii, 150
Kirkcaldy, John	Servant to King	May 1534	Dec 1543	TA, vi, 208; TA, viii, 242
Kirkcaldy, Patrick	Yeoman of Chamber	1535	Dec 1542	ER, xvi, 395; TA, viii, 150
Kirkwood, Stephen	Footman	1528	1529	ER, xv, 462; ER, xv, 547
Knox, William	Valet Marshal	1525	1528	ER, xv, 203; ER, xv, 460
Kyd, Master Alexander	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	2 Jan 1531	2 Jan 1531	RSS, ii, 786-87
Lainth, Philippe de	Queen Mary's Esquire of the Stable	1538/39	1538/39	DMR, 8r.
Laing, sir William	Chaplain	Feb 1540	1 Jul 1542	TA, vii, 288; TA, viii, 102
Laing, sir William	The Prince's Master Almoner	Jul 1541	Aug 1541	TA, vii, 463; TA, vii, 477
Laird, the auld	The Prince's Master Usher	Aug 1541	1 Aug 1541	TA, vii, 477
Laird, the auld/the young	Payments & Liveries to	Dec 1538	1 Aug 1541	TA, vi, 127; TA, vii, 477
Lambert, sir John	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	before 2 Jan 1531	28 Feb 1539	RSS, ii, 786; RSS, ii, 2899
Lamont, Master Allan	The Prince's Steward	Feb 1541	Aug 1541	TA, vii, 429; TA, vii, 477
Lang, John	Potter & Gunner	1533	1542	TA, vi, 160; ER, xvii, 464
Langland, John	Messenger	1515	1540/41	TA, v, 27; <i>MHW</i> , i, 291
Langmuir, Master George	Clerk of the Closet	27 Apr 1527	27 Apr 1527	RSS, i, 3743
Langueur le Coq	Queen Mary's esquire of the hall kitchen	1538/9	1538/9	DMR, 12v.

Lauder of St Germain's, Master Henry	King's Advocate	13 Sep 1538	Jul 1542+	RSS, ii, 2714; <i>TA</i> , viii, 106+
Lauder of St Germain's, Master Henry	Auditor & Lord of Council	Dec 1539	Sep 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 47; <i>TA</i> , vii, 364
Lauder of St Germain's, Master Henry	Advocate Depute	1533	1533	<i>ADCP</i> , 410
Lauder, Master John	Ambassador to the court of Rome	1531	Jul 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 48; <i>TA</i> , vii, 464
Law, James	Gunner	Apr 1538	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 389; <i>TA</i> , viii, 111
Lawson of Bowanshaw, John	Usher of the hall door	1525	Aug 1541	<i>ER</i> , xv, 207; <i>TA</i> , vii, 475
Lawson of Bowanshaw, John	Coalman	10 Feb 1531	Jan 1544	RSS, ii, 819; <i>TA</i> , viii, 247
Lay, Pierre	Queen Mary's charioteer	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14r.
Learmonth of Dairsie, James	Master of the Household	29 Aug 1537	Dec 1542	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1710; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Learmonth, sir John	Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	2 Mar 1530	24 Apr 1530	RSS, ii, 559; RSS, ii, 656
Learmonth, sir John	Chaplain/Prebendary of Leith/Restalrig	before 6 Feb 1532	6 Feb 1532	RSS ii, 1143
Learmonth, Margaret	The King's Foster Mother	1532	1532	<i>TA</i> , vi, 93
Learmonth alias Sellar, William	King's Servitor	12 Apr 1542	12 Apr 1542	RSS, ii, 4580
Leboeuf, Alain	Queen Mary's Quartermaster	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14v.
Leighton, Andrew	Saddler	28 Jun 1526	1534	RSS, i, 3405; <i>TA</i> , vi, 198
Leighton, John	Saddler	1517/18	1517/18	<i>TA</i> , v, 147
Leighton/Lyon, Malcolm	Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	1532	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 39; <i>TA</i> , vi, 204
Leith, George	King's Surgeon	1523	1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 13; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 484
Lennox, Andrew	Boy	1533	1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 96
Lennox, Stephen	Yeoman in Hall Kitchen	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Lennox, Stephen	Yeoman of Kitchen	1531	1532 †	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 135; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 175
Leschender, Jacques	Armourer & Gunner	Mar 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 382; <i>TA</i> , viii, 105
Leslie of Cleish, John the younger	Yeoman of Kitchen	1532	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 175; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Leslie of Cleish, John the younger	Steward/Sewer of the King	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Leslie of Cleish, John the younger	Yeoman of Chamber	Jul 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Leslie, Norman, Master of Rothies	Yeoman of Chamber	Dec 1538	3 Sep 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; RSS, ii, 4869
Leslie, William	Yeoman of Kitchen	1534	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 351; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480H
Letham, Rennald	Page	Jun 1540	Jun 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 315
Leys, Adam	Goldsmith	Sep 1532	1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 73; <i>MW</i> , i, 224
Liddel, Robert	King's Chief Herdsman	1538	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 172; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Liddel, Thomas	Gunner	Oct 1539	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 256; <i>TA</i> , vii, 471
Lindsay, Alexander	Usher of Queen Mary's Outer Chamber	Jul 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 182; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Lindsay of the Mount, Sir David	Master Usher	1514	1523	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 8; <i>ER</i> , xv, 44
Lindsay of the Mount, Sir David	Herald	1530	Jun 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 432; <i>TA</i> , vii, 315

Lindsay of the Mount, Sir David	Snowdon Herald	25 May 1531	1536	<i>Letters</i> , 191; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 465
Lindsay of the Mount, Sir David	Lyon King of Arms	3 Oct 1542	3 Oct 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4910
Lindsay, Gilbert	Islay Herald	30 Oct 1538	15 Jun 1541 †	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1850; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4063
Lindsay, James	Master Falconer	1529	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 382; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Lindsay, James	Macer	Jul 1538	Jan 1543+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 428; <i>TA</i> , viii, 144+
Lindsay, Patrick	Goldsmith	1531	Apr 1543	<i>TA</i> , v, 423; <i>TA</i> , viii, 184
Lindsay, Thomas	Wright	Nov 1538	Mar 1543	<i>TA</i> , vii, 209; <i>TA</i> , viii, 176
Lindsay, William	Henchman & page	Sep 1532	May 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 91; <i>TA</i> , vi, 96
Littlejohn, Arthur	Master Cordiner	15 Aug 1536	Aug 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2124; <i>TA</i> , vii, 339
Littlejohn, sir Henry (M. Henri Petit-jchan)	Queen Mary's almoner	1538/39	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 11r.
Littlejohn, James, Burgess of Edinburgh	King's Cordiner	1529	Aug 1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 367; <i>TA</i> , vi, 287
Livingston, Alexander	Servant of Queen Margaret	1526	1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 309
Livingston, George	Lackey	Jan 1537	1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 462; <i>TA</i> , vii, 40
Logan, Adam	Payments to	Oct 1541	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 30; <i>TA</i> , viii, 65
Logan, Robert	Squire	1527	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 328; <i>TA</i> , v, 384
Lorimer, Andrew	Saddler	Jul 1532	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 31; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Lorimer, Henry	Saddler	1502	Sep 1537	<i>TA</i> , ii, 352; <i>TA</i> , vi, 342
Lorrain, Patrick	Chaplain of St Michael, Rothesay Castle	1537	1537	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 53
Loudon, John	Keeper of the Park of Linlithgow	1538	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 172
Loudon, Walter	Keeper of the Park of Linlithgow	Jun 1539	Mar 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 175; <i>TA</i> , vii, 298
Lowes, John	Fool	Dec 1539	Apr 1543	<i>TA</i> , vii, 272; <i>TA</i> , viii, 182
Lowrie, David	Messenger	1515	Dec 1537	<i>TA</i> , v, 27; <i>TA</i> , vi, 364
Lowrie, William	Wright	Nov 1538	Dec 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 209; <i>TA</i> , vii, 344
Lumley, David	Gunner	Dec 1539	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 275; <i>TA</i> , vii, 471
Lundie, Bessie	Servitrix to Henry Kemp	1538	19 May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 417; <i>PA</i> , 50
Lundie, Captain James	King's familiar	21 Dec 1516	8 May 1540	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 121; <i>PA</i> , 48
Lyon, Thomas	Baker	1527	1538	<i>ER</i> , xv, 389; <i>TA</i> , vi, 390
Lyon, Thomas	Patissier to Queen Mary & her Ladies	Oct 1538	Jan 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 96; <i>TA</i> , vii, 420
Macall, Elizabeth	Lady Jane Stewart's Nurse	1534	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 205; <i>TA</i> , viii, 116
Macall, Elizabeth	Upholding the Park Dykes at Stirling	1540	1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 336; <i>TA</i> , vii, 480
Macall, Finlay	Purveyor/Caterer in Hall Kitchen	1525	1530	<i>ER</i> , xv, 204; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 18
Macall, sir John, Dean of Lismore	Caterer/Purveyor	1532	Jan 1544	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 174; <i>TA</i> , viii, 248
Macall, John	Yeoman of Pantry	1526	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 290; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480H
Macall, John	Poultryman	Sep 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 477; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100

Maccaffie, John	Messenger	Mar 1541	Mar 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 440
Macclellan	Falconer	26 Mar 1540	1 May 1540	<i>PA</i> , 37; <i>PA</i> , 47
Maccombie, Margaret	The Prince's Laundress	10 Jun 1540	10 Jun 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3557
Maccorran, Katherine	Court laundress	Jun 1539	Jun 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 175
Maccrery, John	Fool	1525	Dec 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 260; <i>TA</i> , vii, 414
Macculloch of Myreton, Sir Alexander	Master Falconer	1523	30 Aug 1530 †	<i>ER</i> , xv, 7; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 727
Macespin	Lackey	Feb 1541	Feb 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 424
Macgee, Janet	The Prince's Milkwife	Mar 1541	Mar 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 438
Mackenzie, Murdo, in Falkland	Paid to buy Gunpowder	21 Apr 1540	30 Apr 1540	<i>PA</i> , 44; <i>PA</i> , 46
Mackenzie, Murdo	Henchman	1532	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92; <i>TA</i> , vi, 205
Mackenzie, Murdo	Groom/Valet of Chamber	Dec 1538	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Mackenzie, Rorie	Gentleman & Squire in the King's House	1529	1532	<i>TA</i> , v, 382; <i>TA</i> , vi, 92
Mackesson, James	In the Prince's Pantry	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Mackesson, James	Lackey	Dec 1541	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46; <i>TA</i> , viii, 110
Mackesson	Of the Wardrobe	1531	1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 436; <i>TA</i> , viii, 110
Mackesson	Lackey/Footman	Mar 1538	11 May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 21; <i>PA</i> , 49
Maclean, James	Master Cook in Hall Kitchen	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Macmorquhar, Nigel	Doctor	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 549
Macneil, Alexander	Clerk	Jul 1541	Jul 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 462
Macorish, Robert	Groom of Wine Cellar	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 281
Macpherson, David	Gun founder	Jun 1537	Jun 1537	<i>TA</i> , vii, 25
Maben, Thomas	Writer of the Casualty/Exchequer	1537	Aug 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 357; <i>TA</i> , vii, 337
Mair, Henry	Clerk of Exchequer	1514	1523	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 54; <i>ER</i> , xv, 54
Mair, Master John	Treasurer of Chapel Royal	31 Dec 1509	31 Dec 1509	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1977
Malcolm, John	Crossbowman	1529	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 366
Mann, William	Falconer	8 Nov 1539	8 Nov 1539	<i>PA</i> , 29
Manson, Andrew, Frenchman	Wright, Carver & Gunner	Aug 1539	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 189; <i>TA</i> , viii, 143+
Marjoribanks, Master Thomas	Advocate for the Poor	2 Mar 1535	2 Mar 1535	<i>ADCP</i> , 435
Marjoribanks, Master Thomas	Clerk of Treasury	1537	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 327
Marr, sir John	Chaplain	1529	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , viii, 116
Marshall, David	Paid for going to France	Feb 1534	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 207; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Marshall, sir George	Treasurer's Clerk/Depute	30 Jul 1535	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 239; <i>TA</i> , vi, 316
Marshall, Patrick	Patissier in the Prince's Household	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Marshall, Patrick	Baker	Aug 1542	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 116

Marshall, Thomas	Groom in Kitchen	1526	1526	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288
Marshall, Thomas	Yeoman of Kitchen	1527	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 382; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Marshall, Thomas	Under cook	1532	1532	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 174
Marshall, Thomas	Master cook	1533	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 294; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Marshall, William	Wright	Nov 1538	Dec 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 209; <i>TA</i> , vii, 344
Martin, Mogin the younger., Frenchman	Master Mason	1538	1540/41	<i>MW</i> , i, 206; <i>MW</i> , i, 278
Martin, Mogin/Moses the elder, Frenchman	King's Master Mason	1 Dec 1536	after 1 Dec 1536	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2199
Martin, Mogin/Moses the elder, Frenchman	Master Mason of Dunbar Castle	before 1 Dec 1536	1 Dec 1536	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2199
Mason, sir David	Chaplain of St. Michael's, Rothesay Castle	1514	1525	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 62; <i>ER</i> , xv, 191
Mason, Patrick	Master Mason of the Bridge of Tay	1530	1534	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 54; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 369
Mauchline, sir Patrick	Keeper of the king's lodging at Haddington	25 Jun 1531	25 June 1531	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 947
Maw, John, Burgess of Edinburgh	King's/Queen's Surgeon	3 Sep 1527	3 Sep 1527	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 485
Maxton, Marion	Lady Margaret Douglas Servant	1526/27	1526/27	<i>TA</i> , v, 314
Maxton of Drumgrene, Oliver	Macer & Pursuivant	17 Nov 1524	10 Dec 1540	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3319; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2232
Maxton, Patrick	Macer	1515	1524	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120; <i>ER</i> , xv, 93
Maxwell, Edward	Gentleman of king's house	15 Sep 1524	15 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3287
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	Captain of Lochmaben & Threave Castles	28 Oct 1516	22 Jun 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 2821; <i>RSS</i> , i, 3396
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	Captain of the king's Guard	11 Sep 1524	11 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3283
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	Justice General of the West March	17 Aug 1526	17 Aug 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3476
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	Principal Carver	1528	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 459; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	Great Admiral	8 May 1538	8 May 1538	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2556
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	A Lord Regent in King's absence	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1618; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1640
Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord	First gentleman of the inner chamber	6 Jun 1540	6 Jun 1540	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2164
Maxwell, Master Walter	Clerk of the King's Oratory	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 272; <i>ER</i> , xv, 543
Meau, Jean	Queen Mary's butler of the wine cellar	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13r.
Meine, Henri le	Queen Mary's Embroiderer	1538/39	1538/39	<i>DMR</i> , 11v.
Meldrum of Fyvie, George	Householdman to the King	6 Apr 1530	12 Mar 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 631; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3908
Meldrum, James	Writer to Signet	1531	1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 48; <i>TA</i> , vi, 102
Meldrum, John	Marchmont Herald	4 Feb 1516	Feb 1536	<i>RSS</i> , 2699; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1916
Meldrum, Master William	Clerk of the Closet	20 Apr 1537	Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2236; <i>TA</i> , viii, 106
Melville, Alexander	Messenger	8 Mar 1533	24 Apr 1540	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1270; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2133
Melville, Andrew	Valet Marshal/Marshall Principal	10 Sep 1524	1536	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3281; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Melville of Raith, Sir John	Master of Artillery	9 Oct 1526	9 Oct 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3521
Melville of Raith, Sir John	Payments to	Aug 1527	May 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 329; <i>TA</i> , vi, 402

Melville of Raith, Sir John	Captain of Dunbar Castle	Jun 1528	Feb 1543	<i>TA</i> , viii, 157; <i>TA</i> , viii, 169
Melville, Thomas	Gardener of Falkland	1535	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 428; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 325
Melville, Walter	Valet Marshal	1527	Feb 1538	<i>ER</i> , xv, 381; <i>TA</i> , vii, 17
Menteith, John	Cupbearer	1536	Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Mercer, Andrew	Messenger	1514	Jan 1540	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 23; <i>TA</i> , vii, 282
Merchioun, Jehan, French?	Armourer	May 1538	May 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 403
Merliene, John	Mason	1535	Jul 1542	<i>MW</i> , i, 136; <i>TA</i> , viii, 93
Merrilees, Thomas, Burgess of Edinburgh	Master Cordiner	6 Mar 1540	Jul 1542+	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3441; <i>TA</i> , viii, 103+
Methven, William	Keeper of Silver Vessels/Collier to the Prince	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 478
Michelson, Andrew	Yeoman/groom of Stable	1525	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 204; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Michelson, Andrew	Painter	Feb 1540	Feb 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 348
Miller, Thomas	Carter	Jun 1530	Apr 1541	<i>MW</i> , i, 41; <i>TA</i> , vii, 443
Miller, William	Carter	Mar 1539	May 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 149; <i>TA</i> , vii, 495
Mirbeau, Jean	Queen Mary's groom of the quartermaster	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 14v.
Mobray, Master William	Writer in Exchequer	Mar 1534	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 207; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Moncel, Nicolas de	Valet of the Queen's maids of honour	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 14r.
Moncrieff, Gilbert	Keeper of the king's lodging at Perth	20 Feb 1540	20 Feb 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3387
Moncrieff, Gilbert	Usher /Groom in Queen Mary's Chamber	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 119; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Moncrieff, John	Usher /Groom in Queen Mary's Outer Chamber	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 119; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Moncur, James	Messenger	8 Nov 1539	8 Nov 1539	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2039
Moncur, Robert	Caterer	1515	1522	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 121; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 465
Moncur, Walter, in Forgund	Queen Mary's Master Avery	May 1538	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 24; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Moncur, Walter, in Forgund	Yeoman of Pantry	Dec 1538	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , vii, 475
Moncur, Walter, in Forgund	Master of the Pantry	Jul 1542	Jan 1544	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 246
Montgomery, Hugh, Earl of Eglinton	A Lord Regent in King's absence	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1618; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1640
Monypenny, Robert	Smith	1515	1540/41	<i>TA</i> , v, 32; <i>MW</i> , i, 289
Morris, John, English/Welshman	Bow & Arrow Maker to the King	1530	Jan 1539 †	<i>TA</i> , v, 407; <i>TA</i> , vii, 132
Morrison, Rankin/Rankel	Gardener at Linlithgow	31 May 1538	1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2578; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 283
Morsus, Armorican/Breton	Gunner in Dunbar Castle	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 278
Morton, Robert	Falconer	1515	1529	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 72; <i>ER</i> , xv, 550
Morton, sir William	Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr tertio)	before 6 Mar 1542	6 Mar 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4519
Mosman, John	Goldsmith	Feb 1534	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3131; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Mosman, John	Keeper of the King's Coin	24 Aug 1539	24 Aug 1539	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3131
Mount, sir James	Prebendary of Chapel Royal	before 12 Jun 1540	after 6 Mar 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3564; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4519

Mount, John	Yeoman/Groom of Kitchen	1531	Aug 1541	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 135; <i>TA</i> , vii, 476
Mount, John	The Prince's Master Cook	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 477
Mount, John	Master cook	Feb 1542	Jul 1542+	<i>TA</i> , viii, 59; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102+
Moutray, David	Usher of the Kitchen Door	1525	1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480H
Moutray, David	Usher of the Hall Kitchen Door	1536	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Mowat, Alexander	Yeoman of Kitchen	1534	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 204
Mowat, John	Master of Queen Mary's Stable	1541	Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 712; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Mowat, Robert	In Avery, Servant of John Purves	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 560; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 583
Mure, William	Messenger & Macer	1529	6 Feb 1541	<i>TA</i> , v, 374; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3828
Murray, Andrew	Yeoman of Ale Cellar/Buttery	1522	Jul 1538	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 469; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Murray, Andrew	Messenger	28 Jul 1529	Sep 1539	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 812; <i>TA</i> , vii, 252
Murray, Charles	Master of the king's mares	Mar 1539	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 150; <i>TA</i> , vii, 481
Murray, Charles	In Charge of a Footband	Dec 1541	1 Nov 1543	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46; <i>TA</i> , viii, 234
Murray, James	Messenger	1532	Jan 1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 118; <i>TA</i> , vi, 266
Murray, James	Principal Yeoman/Groom of Ale Cellar	May 1532	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 383; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Murray, James	Master of Ale Cellar	17 Jan 1539	8 Apr 1539	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2858; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2987
Murray, John	Barber and Yeoman of the Chamber	1522	8 Nov 1538 †	<i>TA</i> , v, 197; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2763
Murray, John	Groom/Server/Dichter in Hall	1526	Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 295; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Murray, John	Yeoman of Chamber	Dec 1538	Mar 1541 †	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , vii, 438
Murray, Robert	Plumber & Gunner	1532	Dec 1542	<i>MW</i> , i, 71; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Murray, Robert	In the Petty Larder	Jul 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Murray, Thomas	Groom in Ale Cellar	1538	Aug 1541	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 166; <i>TA</i> , vii, 476
Murray, Thomas	In Queen Mary's Avery	1542	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 515
Murray, sir William	Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr primo)	26 Jan 1516	26 Jan 1516	<i>RSS</i> , i, 2688
Murray	John Lowes' Man	Dec 1539	Dec 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 272; <i>TA</i> , vii, 412
Mushet, Thomas	Groom of Wine Cellar	1532	Aug 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92; <i>TA</i> , vii, 333
Muter, Edward	Valet Marshal	1531	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 135; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Mylne, Alexander, Abbot of Cambuskenneth	Auditor	Aug 1532	Sep 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 1; <i>MW</i> , i, 234
Mylne, Alexander, Abbot of Cambuskenneth	Administrator of Abbey of Holyrood & Prioxy of St Andrew's for King's sons	5 Jun 1540	6 Mar 1542	<i>Letters</i> , 399; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2611
Mylne, Andrew	Doctor/Servant of lord James Stewart	1534	1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 205; <i>TA</i> , vi, 289
Neilson, James	Keeper of the king's dogs	1527	1527	<i>TA</i> , v, 318; <i>TA</i> , v, 325
Neilson, James	Carter/Quarrier	Aug 1529	Sep 1536	<i>MW</i> , i, 2; <i>MW</i> , i, 141
Nepuon, Jean	Queen Mary's groom of the wine cellar	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAIR</i> , 13v.

Nesbit, Robert	Page	1531	1532	<i>TA</i> , v, 432; <i>TA</i> , vi, 36
Nevin, Thomas	Messenger	13 May 1529	16 Mar 1536	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 786; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1562
Nichol, Duncan	Prebendary of Chapel Royal	12 Jun 1540	12 Jun 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3564
Nichol, George	King's Shepherd at Balloden	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 290
Nichol, William	Groom in Hall Kitchen	1538	Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 166; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Nicholson, sir James	Master of Works in Stirling Castle	3 Jan 1530	Aug 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 487; <i>TA</i> , vii, 479
Nicholson, sir James	Vicar of the Church in Stirling Castle	19 May 1539	1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3028; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 713
Niddry, Thomas	King's Orator	Feb 1532	Feb 1532	<i>Letters</i> , 208
Norry, David	Messenger	1538	1541	<i>MW</i> , i, 199; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 404
Ogill, William	Writer in Chancery	1531	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 59; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 292
Ogilvy, George	Comptroller's Clerk	Dec 1538	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Ogilvy, Patrick (Pate)	Pursuivant	15 Mar 1540	15 Mar 1540	<i>PA</i> , 35
Oliphant, Robert	Ormond Pursuivant	1522	1537	<i>TA</i> , v, 203; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 737
Oliphant, William	Valet Marshal	7 Sep 1527	1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3879; <i>ER</i> , xv, 545
Oliphant, William	Messenger	Nov 1542	Nov 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 137
Omay, Master/sir Duncan	King's Principal Surgeon	3 Jul 1526	31 Dec 1541	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3416; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4367
Ormiston, George	Engineer & Gunner	Jan 1532	Jul 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 39; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101+
Ormiston, Robert (Hob)	Henchman	1526	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 278; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Orrok of Sillebawbie, Alexander	Master of the Mint	May 1538	2 Jun 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 85; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4683
Orrok, David	Keeper of Craignethan Castle	Sep 1540	Nov 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 393; <i>TA</i> , viii, 37
Orrok, Robert	Master of Works of Burntisland	Aug 1540	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 331; <i>TA</i> , viii, 114
Osay	In Queen Mary's Stable	Apr 1539	Apr 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 157
Otterburn, Master/Sir Adam	King's Advocate	4 Dec 1524	13 Sep 1538	<i>ADCP</i> , 177; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2714
Otterburn, Master/Sir Adam	Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	1537	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 1; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 172
Otterburn, Master/Sir Adam	Ambassador to England	Nov 1533	Sep 1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 211
Pace, Vincent, Italian	Trumpeter	31 Dec 1505	1532	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1189; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 215
Panter, Master David	King's Procurator	28 Jan 1535	18 Mar 1536	<i>ADCP</i> , 433; <i>ADCP</i> , 451
Panter, Master Peter	Servant of Queen Mary	Jun 1541	Jun 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 455
Pardovan, John	Macer	29 Oct 1524	Dec 1542+	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3309; <i>TA</i> , viii, 144
Pardovan, John	Labours in the Exchequer	1538	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 447; <i>TA</i> , viii, 144
Park, James	Falconer	1532	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 94; <i>TA</i> , vi, 304
Park, John	Falconer	1537	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 13; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 354
Pasquiere, Jeanne	Queen Mary's laundress	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 10v.
Paterson, sir Alexander	Singer/organist of Chapel Royal	28 Oct 1524	28 Oct 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3308

Paterson, sir Alexander	Sacristan of Chapel Royal	Dec 1533	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 214; <i>TA</i> , viii, 53
Paterson, sir John	Prebendary of Chapel Royal	1529	9 Apr 1532	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4120; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1206
Paterson, John	Pursuivant & Messenger	Nov 1536	May 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 309; <i>TA</i> , viii, 79+
Paterson, John	Stirling Pursuivant	Jun 1537	1539	<i>TA</i> , vi, 327; <i>MW</i> , i, 240
Paterson, John	Carrick Pursuivant	Mar 1538	May 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 382; <i>TA</i> , vi, 407
Paterson, John	Case-maker	Jan 1539	Jul 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 128; <i>TA</i> , viii, 89+
Paul, Rowe (Ronald)	Under keeper of silver plate/vessel gatherer	1531	1533	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 135; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 295
Peebles, Thomas	Glasswright	1514	Nov 1542	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 39; <i>TA</i> , viii, 132
Pettigrew, sir John	Kintyre Pursuivant	1536	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 455; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 487
Pettigrew, Thomas	Lyon King of Arms	before 6 Dec 1542	6 Dec 1542	<i>RMS</i> iii, 2852
Pieddeser, Jeanne	Queen Mary's maid of honour	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 9v.
Pignon, Marguerite	Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 10r.
Plane, Andrew	Groom in Kitchen	1532	1535	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 174; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 394
Podir, Anthoine de	Queen Mary's muleteer of the litter	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13v.
Poiteville, Jacqueline	Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 10r.
Polwarth, sir John	Chaplain at Linlithgow	1538	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 168; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 287
Pringle, George	Paid with Livery	1529	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , v, 438
Pringle, George	Yeoman of Pantry	1532	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 174; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Pringle, George	Shearing & branding the king's sheep	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 296
Pringle, William	In the Pantry	1534	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 204
Purves, Andrew	Macer	1522	29 Jul 1546	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 466; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 3275
Purves, David	Macer	1515	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120; <i>TA</i> , viii, 138
Purves, James	Groom of Stable	Sep 1536	May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 296; <i>TA</i> , vii, 307
Purves, John	Yeoman of Stable	1525	1533	<i>ER</i> , xv, 204; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 296
Purves, John	Yeoman of Avery	1532	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 36; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Purves, Robert	Yeoman/groom of Stable	1516	1 Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 96; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Purves, William	Clockmaker, Cutler & Smith	18 Jan 1540	Dec 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3295; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Quarrier, George	Quarrier	Aug 1529	Oct 1536	<i>MW</i> , i, 2; <i>MW</i> , i, 149
Quesnel, Pierre	Queen Mary's usher of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 11v.
Rainville, Jeanne de la	Queen Mary's maid of honour	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 9v.
Rainville, Pierre de la	Queen Mary's gentleman	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 8v.
Ramsay, David, his wife (unnamed)	In the Prince's Service	Mar 1541	Mar 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 438
Ramsay, Thomas	Falconer	6 Mar 1540	Jul 1542	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>TA</i> , viii, 92
Ray, Christian	Servant of king and queen	Jan 1514	Jan 1532	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 6; <i>TA</i> , vi, 37

Ray, William, Burgess of Edinburgh	Cutler to the King	Jan 1507	Jul 1542+	<i>TA</i> , iii, 363; <i>TA</i> , viii, 109+
Reflatt, Monsieur	Queen Mary's Pantryman	Nov 1538	Nov 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 104
Reid, James	Groom in Hall Kitchen	1526	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 288; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Reid, John	Keeper of the forest of Bute	1514	1528	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 20; <i>ER</i> , xv, 424
Reid, Robert, Abbot of Kinloss	Auditor	1530	Sep 1541	<i>MW</i> , i, 55; <i>TA</i> , vii, 502
Rhind, Thomas	Goldsmith	Feb 1532	Feb 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 22; <i>TA</i> , viii, 58
Rialland, Louis	Queen Mary's gardener	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14v.
Rich, Duncan	Messenger/Pursuivant	1515	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 28; <i>TA</i> , vi, 200
Richard, Julian, Italian	Trumpeter	31 Dec 1505	10 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 1189; <i>RSS</i> , i, 3282
Richardson, sir George	Keeper of the Rolls	1526	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 269; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Richardson, James	Keeper of the Napery	1527	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 385; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Richardson, James	In the Ewery	1529/30	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Richardson, James	Yeoman in the Petty Larder	Dec 1538	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , vii, 475
Richardson, John	Cupbearer/Server	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 127; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Richardson, sir Thomas	The Prince's Tailor	Dec 1540	Apr 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 410; <i>TA</i> , vii, 442
Richardson, Thomas	Keeper of the Dutch horses	Oct 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 299; <i>TA</i> , viii, 106
Robertson, George	Lackey	Nov 1538	Jan 1543	<i>TA</i> , viii, 100; <i>TA</i> , viii, 166
Robertson, James	Servant of Queen Mary	1541	1541	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 712
Robertson, Robert	Carver & wright	1531/32	Jun 1542	<i>MW</i> , i, 59; <i>TA</i> , viii, 84
Robertson, Thomas	Servant of Queen Margaret	1541	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 712; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 598
Robertson, William	Falconer	1532	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 40; <i>TA</i> , vi, 208
Robinet	Broudstar/Embroiderer	Dec 1536	Dec 1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 457
Roger, William	Yeoman/Groom of Kitchen	1531	Dec 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 435; <i>TA</i> , vii, 126
Roger, William	Under cook	1532	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 174; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Rogie, James	Under groom in Kitchen	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 476
Ross, Helene	Seamstress/embroiderer	1529	Jun 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 368; <i>TA</i> , viii, 85+
Ross of Craigy, John	Principal Usher/Guard of the Inner Door	14 Sep 1537	13 Sep 1541	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1714; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2448
Ross, Thomas	Servitor to King	Sep 1538	Sep 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 80
Roussine, Marguerite	Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 10r.
Rowan, David	Principal Maker & Melter of the King's Guns	27 Oct 1542	27 Oct 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4964
Rowan, Piers, Frenchman	Principal Maker & Meltar of Artillery	30 Apr 1532	30 Apr 1532	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1213
Rowan, Piers/Peris, Frenchman	Gunner	1515	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 19; <i>TA</i> , viii, 132+
Rowe, John	Groom	1529	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 383
Roy, Nicholas, Frenchman	King's Master Mason	22 Apr 1539	Jul 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3002; <i>MW</i> , i, 278

Rudman, Henry	Trumpeter	10 Sep 1524	1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3282; <i>ER</i> , xv, 494
Rule, Archibald	Painter	Aug 1539	Feb 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 189; <i>TA</i> , vii, 348
Rutherford, Nichol	Squire in the king's house	18 Nov 1526	Dec 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3548; <i>TA</i> , v, 309
Rutherford, William	Writer	1534	Apr 1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 208; <i>TA</i> , vi, 221
Sawle	Keeper of the king's hare dogs	7 Mar 1540	11 May 1540	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>PA</i> , 49
Schennek, Urre/Hare, foreigner?	Lutenist	1526	3 Mar 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 312; <i>PA</i> , 33
Scott, sir Alexander, Provost of Costorphine	Auditor & Clerk of Exchequer	1515	Sep 1541	<i>TA</i> , v, 55; <i>TA</i> , vii, 502
Scott, Alexander	Baker	1534	Aug 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 205; <i>TA</i> , vii, 328
Scott, Alexander	Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	28 Feb 1539	28 Feb 1539	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2899
Scott, Master Finlay	Chaplain of St. Michael's, Rothesay Castle	30 May 1527	30 May 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3790
Scott, sir George	Groom	1522	1525/26	<i>TA</i> , v, 197; <i>TA</i> , v, 261
Scott, sir George	Abbreviator of the Household Books	1525	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 166; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Scott, Master James	Writer/keeper of the Rolls	1526	Jul 1542+	<i>ER</i> , xv, 291; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107+
Scott, James	In Stable/Avry	1514	1538	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 16; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 169
Scott, sir John	Chaplain	1531	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 432
Scott, Margaret	In the Prince's Service	Apr 1541	Apr 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 445
Scott, Robert	Smith	1514	1528	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 39; <i>ER</i> , xv, 436
Scott, Thomas	Esquire & Familiar of the King	1529	1532	<i>TA</i> , v, 382; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 197
Scott of Pitgormo, Master Thomas	Auditor	4 Feb 1529	1 Dec 1539	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4073; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2133
Scott of Pitgormo, Master Thomas	Justice Clerk	13 Apr 1536	24 Apr 1540 †	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2004; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2133
Scott, Walter	Baker	1522	1535	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 406; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 430
Scott, William, Burgess of Montrose	Keeper of the king's lodging in Montrose	25 Jan 1530	25 Jan 1530	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 519
Scott, of Balwery, Sir William	Familiar servitor	5 Mar 1529	5 Mar 1529	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 760
Scrymgeour, Master James	Porter of the Castle of Cupar, Fife	5 Nov 1517	14 Mar 1528	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 601; <i>ER</i> , xv, 660
Scrymgeour, Master James	Master Almoner	Feb 1530	Oct 1533 †	<i>Letters</i> , 168; <i>Letters</i> , 249
Scrymgeour, Master James	Ambassador to Flanders	Oct 1532	Oct 1533 †	<i>TA</i> , vi, 151; <i>Letters</i> , 249
Scrymgeour of Dudop, James	Royal Standard Bearer	31 Aug 1531	30 Apr 1540	<i>ADCP</i> , 362; <i>PA</i> , 43
Scrymgeour, James	Furrier	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 127; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Scrymgeour of Myres, John the elder	Hereditary Macer	1514	15 Feb 1531	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 6; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 992
Scrymgeour of Myres, Master John the younger	Precentor of Chapel Royal	18 Oct 1529	18 Oct 1529	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 371
Scrymgeour of Myres, Master John the younger	Master of Works	Aug 1529	May 1559+	<i>AWP</i> , i, 1; <i>AWP</i> , i, 298
Scrymgeour of Myres, Master John the younger	Hereditary Macer	15 Feb 1531	1542+	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 992; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 511
Scrymgeour, Walter	Master Usher/Groom of Queen Mary's Chamber	Dec 1538	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 119; <i>TA</i> , viii, 114
Sebec, David	Queen Mary's groom of the quartermaster	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAIR</i> , 14v.

Semple, George	Master Mason at Tantallon Castle	Apr 1539	Apr 1539	<i>MW</i> , i, 241
Semple, Peter	Butcher	1517	1531	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 289; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 138
Seton, sir John	Gentleman in king's house	15 Dec 1526	15 Dec 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3522
Shanks	The Bard Wife	28 Mar 1540	28 Mar 1540	<i>PA</i> , 38
Sharp, sir John	Chaplain & Keeper of Holyrood Palace	1514	May 1538 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 54; <i>TA</i> , vi, 403
Sharp, John	In the King's Kitchen	1536	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480F
Shaw of Blookside, Adam	Gardener to king	11 Mar 1527	11 Mar 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 6381
Shaw of Sauchie, Alexander	Master of Wine Cellar	20 Sep 1529	1536	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 336; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Shaw of Sauchie, Alexander	Squire and gentleman in king's house	2 Aug 1526	2 Aug 1526	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3464
Shaw, David	Master Dogger/huntsman	May 1534	Sep 1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 202; <i>TA</i> , vi, 302
Shaw, Marion/Elizabeth	Mother of a King's Son	Nov 1533	Nov 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 180
Shaw, Thomas	Master cook	1514	1518	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 2; <i>TA</i> , v, 148
Sheves, John	In the Chamber	1523	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 218; <i>TA</i> , v, 375
Sheves, John	Macer	1529/30	1529/30	<i>TA</i> , v, 383
Sheves, William	Macer	1515	Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 120; <i>TA</i> , viii, 99
Short, Thomas	Armourer	Apr 1539	12 May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 159; <i>PA</i> , 49
Sibbald, David	Carter	Oct 1538	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 94; <i>TA</i> , viii, 53
Sinclair, Arthur	Yeoman of Stable	Apr 1538	Mar 1540	<i>Letters</i> , 345; <i>TA</i> , vii, 297
Sinclair, Elizabeth	A Servitor of the King in his youth	1517	1536	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 287; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480K
Sinclair, Elizabeth	Servant of the queen	1541	1541	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 712
Sinclair, Henry, Treasurer of Brechin	Auditor, Councillor & Familiar	1532	Sep 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92; <i>TA</i> , vii, 364
Sinclair of Pitcairn, Oliver	Familiar	Aug 1536	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 289; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Sinclair of Pitcairn, Oliver	King's Cupbearer	Dec 1538	Aug 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , viii, 115
Sinclair of Pitcairn, Oliver	Captain of Tantallon Castle	Sep 1539	Aug 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 38; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 601
Sinclair, Patrick	Master of Hunting	1 Mar 1527	1 Mar 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3669
Sinclair, Patrick	Messenger	1526	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 276; <i>TA</i> , v, 393
Sinclair, Thomas	Scribe of Privy Seal	Aug 1536	20 Dec 1539	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 771; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3235
Sinclair, Thomas	Writer in Exchequer	Sep 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 208; <i>TA</i> , viii, 107
Slater, Patrick	Master Saddler	Jun 1534	Apr 1543	<i>TA</i> , vi, 199; <i>TA</i> , viii, 181
Smibert, William	Master Armourer	1515	Mar 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 43; <i>TA</i> , viii, 123
Snowdon, George	Keeper of the ryches/dogs	7 Mar 1540	Dec 1542	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Snowdon, John	Keeper of dogs	Jul 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Snowdon	Lackey	Mar 1539	May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 147; <i>TA</i> , vii, 306
Softlaw, Thomas	Sword-slipper	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 113; <i>TA</i> , viii, 110

Somerville, William	Squire	1526/27	1526/27	<i>TA</i> , v, 328
Souter, Hector	Falconer	Dec 1541	Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46
Souter, John	Falconer	Dec 1541	Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46
Sowdan, Guillaume, Frenchman	Trumpeter	May 1533	4 Jun 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 91; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1552
Sowsy, Madame	Queen Mary's Lady	1539	1542	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 251; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 481
Spens, David	Falconer	1525	16 Nov 1539	<i>ER</i> , xv, 152; <i>PA</i> , 30
Spens, John	Of the Cupboard	1529	1529	<i>TA</i> , v, 383
Spens, John	Valet Marshal	1534	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 348; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Spittal, Patrick	Master cook	1522/24	1522/24	<i>TA</i> , v, 197
Spittal, Patrick	Groom/ in the Pantry	1515	1526	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 122; <i>ER</i> , xv, 295
Spittal, Robert	Queen Margaret's Tailor/Servant	1509	10 Mar 1529	<i>ER</i> , xiii, 259; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4115
Spittal, Robert	Paid for Services	1533	1 Dec 1535	<i>TA</i> , vi, 89; <i>TA</i> , vi, 255
Spittal, Robert	Lady Jane Stewart's Tailor	Apr 1542	Jan 1543	<i>TA</i> , viii, 69; <i>TA</i> , viii, 164
Spottiswood, sir Ninian	Archdeacon of Chapel Royal	1526/27	1526/27	<i>TA</i> , v, 328
Sprotty, John	Blacksmith (Farrier)	1525	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , v, 261; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Sprotty, Thomas	Smith (Farrier)	Sep 1538	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 113; <i>TA</i> , vii, 485
Steel of Houston, George	Familiar Servitour	1527	20 Mar 1542 †	<i>TA</i> , v, 328; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 4548
Stevenson, Dean Andrew	King's Orator & Chaplain	1 Sep 1529	1 Sep 1529	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 303
Stewart, Adam	Messenger/Pursuivant	1529	Jan 1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 383; <i>TA</i> , vi, 218
Stewart, Alan, Captain of Milan	Captain of king's Guard	1516	1525 †	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 214; <i>ER</i> , xv, 159
Stewart, Alan, Captain of Milan	Keeper of Dumbarton Castle	1518	22 Jan 1519	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 349; <i>RSS</i> , i, 3041
Stewart, Andrew, Lord Avandale	Master Usher	26 Aug 1524	26 Aug 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3267
Stewart, Andrew, Lord Avandale	Keeper of Dumbarton Castle	22 May 1527	22 May 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3780
Stewart, David	Falconer	1531	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 432
Stewart, Edward	Falconer	1529	Jul 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 382; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Stewart, Henry	Master Carver	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3280
Stewart, Henry, Lord Methven	Auditor	1534	1534	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 302; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 356
Stewart, Henry, Lord Methven	Master of Artillery	Aug 1539	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 200; <i>TA</i> , viii, 147
Stewart, James	Gentleman in king's house	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3275
Stewart, James	Lieutenant of King's guard	11 Sep 1524	11 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3283; <i>RSS</i> , i, 3287
Stewart, James	Cupbearer	1533	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 296; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480G
Stewart, John	Paid with Livery	1526	Jan 1541	<i>TA</i> , v, 309; <i>TA</i> , vii, 420
Stewart, John	Groom/ Valet/Crossbowman in chamber	6 Sep 1529	Oct 1535	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 324; <i>TA</i> , vi, 251
Stewart, John	Cupbearer	1532	1532	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 175

Stewart, John, 'little'	Paid with Livery	1530/31	Aug 1535	<i>TA</i> , v, 431; <i>TA</i> , vi, 260
Stewart, Richard	Wright in Falkland	Jan 1539	Feb 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 130; <i>TA</i> , vii, 430
Stewart of Minto, Robert	Valet Marshal	1525	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 203; <i>ER</i> , xv, 460
Stewart of Minto, Robert	Principal Marshal	1529	1536	<i>ER</i> , xv, 533; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Stewart, Robert	Carter	Dec 1538	Oct 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 117; <i>TA</i> , vii, 487
Stewart of Gawston, Master Thomas	Gentleman in the King's House	23 Feb 1530	Apr 1530	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 551; <i>Letters</i> , 176
Stewart of Gawston, Master Thomas	Accompanies the Ambassadors to France	Apr 1530	1532	<i>Letters</i> , 176; <i>TA</i> , vi, 46
Stewart, sir Walter, Precentor of Ross	Treasurer of Chapel Royal	16 Jun 1531	10 Feb 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 940; <i>RAIS</i> , iii, 2278
Stewart, Walter	King's Butcher	1528	1528	<i>ER</i> , xv, 462
Stewart, Walter	Keeps the mules	Jan 1541	Jan 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 419
Stewart, Master William, Bishop of Aberdeen	Treasurer	22 Apr 1529	Jun 1537	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 53; <i>TA</i> , vi, 290
Stewart, Master William, Bishop of Aberdeen	Household Chaplain	May 1529	May 1529	<i>Letters</i> , 153
Stewart, Master William, Bishop of Aberdeen	Ambassador to France & England	16 Feb 1534	27 Jul 1535	<i>RAIS</i> , iii, 1356; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1745
Stewart, William	Gentleman in king's house	15 Sep 1524	15 Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3288
Stewart, William,	Captain of the Footband	1534	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 203
Stewart	Fisher	7 Mar 1540	26 Mar 1540	<i>PA</i> , 34; <i>PA</i> , 36
Stirling of Keir, Sir John	Master of Wine Cellar	1528	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 463; <i>ER</i> , xv, 548
Stirling, Murdoch	Patisser/Baker	1537	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 465; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Stirling, Patrick	Groom/Valet of Chamber/feeds the king's dogs	1525	Feb 1540	<i>TA</i> , v, 261; <i>TA</i> , vii, 289
Stirling of Glorat, William	Constable of Dumbarton Castle	19 Mar 1516	23 Mar 1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 2730; <i>RSS</i> , i, 4122
Stirling, William	Messenger at Arms	1537	1537	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 57
Strachan, Andrew	Gardener of Falkland	20 Oct 1542	20 Oct 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4929
Strachan, Euphemia	In the Prince's Service	Jan 1541	Jan 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 420
Strachan, Master James	Clerk	Feb 1538	Feb 1538	<i>Letters</i> , 342
Strachan, John	Gardener of Falkland	24 Apr 1500	1536	<i>RSS</i> , i, 517; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 472
Strageth, John	Groom/Servitor	1514	1525	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 24; <i>ER</i> , xv, 140
Strang, Alexander	Macer	20 Mar 1541	20 Mar 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3937
Strathaven, sir George	Comptroller's Clerk	1538	1538	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 166
Strathearn, William	Messenger/Pursuivant	1529	Dec 1542+	<i>TA</i> , v, 380; <i>TA</i> , viii, 143+
Swan, Robert	In Ale Cellar	Jun 1542	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 84; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Sym, William	Queen Mary's Cautioner	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 285
Taburner, Anthony, Frenchman	Tabourer	1525	1546	<i>TA</i> , v, 260; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 90
Taburner, Anthony, Frenchman	Master of the King's Minstrels	Dec 1541	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 46; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Tasker, William	Cupbearer	1533	1534	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 296; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 349

Telfer, Master Laurence	Tax Collector	1531	1531	<i>TA</i> , v, 454; <i>TA</i> , v, 458
Telfer, Master Laurence	Familiar Servant of James IV & V	Aug 1533	Aug 1533	<i>Letters</i> , 248
Templeton	Sumpterman	1532	Mar 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 37; <i>TA</i> , viii, 63+
Tennent of Listonshiels, John	Valet in Chamber	1528	1534	<i>ER</i> , xv, 460; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 348
Tennent of Listonshiels, John	Groom/Yeoman of the Crossbow	1529	15 Apr 1531	<i>ER</i> , xv, 548; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1008
Tennent of Listonshiels, John	King's Pursemaster	1532	1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 35; <i>PA</i> , 48
Tennent of Listonshiels, John	Yeoman of the Wardrobe	1534	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 348; <i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Tennent of Listonshiels, John	Keeper of Holyrood Palace & Park	1 Nov 1540	1 Nov 1540	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 2216
Tennent, Patrick	Servant of the King	1537	Aug 1539	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 741n; <i>TA</i> , vii, 61
Testard, John, French?	Crossbowmaker	Dec 1538	Aug 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 122; <i>TA</i> , viii, 115+
Thomson, John	Whistler	1532	9 Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 35; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2621
Thomson, Maurice	Groom in Kitchen	1525	1529	<i>ER</i> , xv, 202; <i>ER</i> , xv, 546
Thomson, Peter	Islay Herald	2 May 1531	2 May 1531	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1015
Thomson, Peter	Pursuivant & Messenger	Oct 1536	Aug 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vi, 307; <i>TA</i> , viii, 114+
Thomson, Peter	Bute Pursuivant	Mar 1538	May 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 382; <i>TA</i> , vii, 407
Thomson, Thomas	Groom in Kitchen	1528	1532	<i>ER</i> , xv, 461; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 174
Thomson, Thomas	Messenger & Pursuivant	Sep 1531	Oct 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 52; <i>TA</i> , vi, 216
Thomson, William	Whistler	1532	9 Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 92; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2622
Thornton, John	King's Procurator at Rome	Jun 1531	Jun 1531	<i>Letters</i> , 193
Thriepland, Alexander	Messenger	2 May 1535	2 May 1535	<i>RMS</i> , iii, 1468
Tod, George	Porter in Craignethan Castle	Aug 1541	Jan 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 481; <i>TA</i> , viii, 55
Tod, William, Burgess of Edinburgh	Master Waxmaker to the king	8 Jan 1527	8 Jan 1527	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3621
Todds, the 2, old & young	Tabourers	1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 158; <i>TA</i> , viii, 103
Touch, Thomas	In the Cuphouse	Nov 1538	Mar 1542+	<i>TA</i> , vii, 104; <i>TA</i> , viii, 65+
Touche, Françoise de la	Queen Mary's maid of honour	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 9v.
Touche, M. Urban de la	Queen Mary's Esquire of the household	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DAMR</i> , 8v.
Towns, Thomas	Quarrier	Aug 1529	Oct 1539	<i>MW</i> , i, 2; <i>MW</i> , i, 247
Trotter, Anthony	Gunner	before 4 Sep 1540	4 Sep 1540	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 3640
Troup, Thomas	Lady Jane Stewart's Chamberlain/Servant	Mar 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 150; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Tulloch, Margaret/Madge	Laundress	1538	Dec 1541	<i>TA</i> , vi, 417; <i>TA</i> , viii, 46
Tulloch, Thomas	Groom in the Wardrobe	Sep 1536	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 454; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Turnbull, John	Henchman/Yeoman of Stable	1526/27	1536	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>TA</i> , vi, 289
Turner, John	Carter	1530	1538	<i>MW</i> , i, 24; <i>MW</i> , i, 223
Turner, sir William	Chaplain/Prebendary of Leith/Restalrig	6 Feb 1532	May 1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1143; <i>MW</i> , i, 290

Turnet, John	Sangster	1536	1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 289
Ugston, sir Patrick	Comptroller's Clerk	Dec 1542	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , viii, 151
Vale, Claude, Frenchman	Trumpeter	1533	4 Jun 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 91; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1552
Valle, Jean	Queen Mary's groom of the mules	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14r.
Van Dyck, William, Dutchman	Gun maker	1541	1541	<i>TA</i> , viii, 118; <i>TA</i> , viii, 134
Vial, Maître Michel	Queen Mary's doctor	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 14v.
Villars, Anthoine	Queen Mary's muleteer	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 13v.
Villeneuve, Gaspard de	Queen Mary's gentleman	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 8v.
Villeneuve, Marie	Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	1538/9	1538/9	<i>DMR</i> , 10r.
Violet, Vincent, Frenchman	Trumpeter	1533	4 Jun 1533	<i>TA</i> , vi, 91; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1552
Wallace, Hugh	Valet Marshal	1536	1536	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 480E
Wallace, James	Messenger/Carrick Pursuivant	1515	4 Jun 1533	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 119; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 1551
Wallace, John	Writer of the Rolls/Clerk of Accounts	1528	Jul 1542+	<i>ER</i> , xv, 464; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Wandonay	Frenchboy, Page	Jul 1539	Jul 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 61
Wann, Gavin	Under keeper of the silver vessels	1532	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 91; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Wardlaw, Alexander	king's lutar	1516	1522	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 191; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 467
Wardlaw, Richard	Coiner	1531	May 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 37; <i>TA</i> , vii, 390
Watson, Andrew	Painter	Aug 1539	Jun 1543	<i>TA</i> , vii, 189; <i>TA</i> , viii, 192
Watson, James	Barber-Surgeon/Yeoman of the Chamber	11 Aug 1538	Jul 1542	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2677; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Weddell	Footman & Lackey	1534	Jan 1543	<i>TA</i> , vi, 204; <i>TA</i> , viii, 166
Weir, Quintin	Servant in Craignethan Castle	Aug 1541	Aug 1541	<i>TA</i> , vii, 481
Wemyss, Henry, Bishop of Galloway	Dean of Chapel Royal	24 Jul 1526	1540	<i>RAIS</i> , iii, 329; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 313
Wemyss of Pittencrieff, Patrick	Captain of Inchgarvy Castle	Sep 1526	1528	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3508; <i>ER</i> , xv, 458
Wemyss of Pittencrieff, Patrick	Master of the Household	Sep 1537	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vi, 354; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
White, sir John	Writer in Chancery/Exchequer	1515	1534	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 111; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 584
White, Walter	Lady Janes Stewart's Tailor	May 1538	Mar 1539	<i>TA</i> , vi, 405; <i>TA</i> , vii, 148
White, William	Messenger	1530	Oct 1531	<i>ER</i> , xv, 524; <i>TA</i> , vi, 53
Whiteford, Cuthbert	Messenger	Oct 1536	1540/41	<i>TA</i> , vi, 307; <i>MW</i> , i, 291
Whitelaw, Alexander	Groom/Valet of Chamber	Dec 1538	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Whitelaw, Master Andrew	Payments to	Jan 1539	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 129; <i>TA</i> , viii, 148
Wilkinson, William	Baker	1522	1526	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 406; <i>ER</i> , xv, 231
Wille, Christian	King's nurse	1517	1522	<i>ER</i> , xiv, 250; <i>ER</i> , xiv, 413
Williamson, Master John	Tax Collector	1533	1540/41	<i>TA</i> , vi, 147; <i>MW</i> , i, 266
Williamson, Master John	Chaplain	1538	1538	<i>TA</i> , vi, 373

Williamson, Master John	Advocate for the Poor	Sep 1538	7 Jan 1540	<i>TA</i> , vi, 447; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 3261
Williamson, Master Thomas	Procurator for the Poor	1537	1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 357
Winchester, James	Keeper of the furs	1517/18	1517/18	<i>TA</i> , v, 131
Wishart of Pettaro, Master James	King's Advocate	1516	1522/24	<i>TA</i> , v, 71; <i>TA</i> , v, 199
Wolf, John, Danish	Master Gunner of Dunbar Castle	Mar 1532	Sep 1541	<i>TA</i> , v, 40; <i>Letters</i> , 432
Wood, Master Alexander	Chancellor of Chapel Royal	20 Mar 1529	2 Dec 1531	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 4119; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 1093
Wood of Largo, Andrew	Carver Depute	1526	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 328; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Wood of Largo, Andrew	Esquire in the King's house	20 Dec 1524	1529	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3332; <i>ER</i> , xv, 474
Wood of Largo, Andrew	Carver to the King	Dec 1538	Dec 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Wood, David	Squire and gentleman in king's house	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3278
Wood, David	Constable of Scotland during minority of Earl of Errol	Sep 1524	Sep 1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3272
Wood, James	In the Inner Chamber	1526	1530/31	<i>TA</i> , v, 310; <i>TA</i> , v, 432
Wood, James	Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	1531	Dec 1542	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 134; <i>TA</i> , viii, 150
Wood, Robert	Master Brewer in Buttery	1525	Sep 1541	<i>ER</i> , xv, 123; <i>TA</i> , viii, 24
Wood, Robert	Admiral Depute	28 May 1533	28 May 1533	<i>ADCP</i> , 404
Wood, Walter	Squire and gentleman of king's house	1524	1524	<i>RSS</i> , i, 3295
Wood	Servant of Lord James Stewart	1535	1535	<i>TA</i> , vi, 260
Wood of Craig, David	Master Lardner	1528	Apr 1537	<i>ER</i> , xv, 460; <i>TA</i> , vi, 464
Wood of Craig, David	Carver to the King	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 125; <i>TA</i> , viii, 100
Wood of Craig, David	Comptroller	17 Jan 1539	8 Feb 1543	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2857; <i>RMS</i> , iii, 2865
Wood, Master John	Household Chaplain	Jun 1531	Jun 1531	<i>Letters</i> , 194
Wood, Simon	King's Butcher	1524	1531	<i>ER</i> , xv, 96; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 136
Wood of Bonnington, William	Usher of the Inner Chamber Door	1525	Jul 1542	<i>ER</i> , xv, 201; <i>TA</i> , viii, 102
Young, sir David	Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	28 Nov 1529	1541	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 441; <i>ER</i> , xvii, 394
Young, James	Coiner	1532	1532	<i>ADCP</i> , 360-61
Young, John	Falconer	1531	1531	<i>ER</i> , xvi, 120
Young, John	Broudstar/Embroiderer	24 Jun 1535	1 Mar 1543	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 1705; <i>TA</i> , viii, 173
Young, John	Writer to Signet/Exchequer	1540	1540	<i>ER</i> , xvii, 285
Young, Richard	In coining house	Sep 1540	Sep 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 390
Younger, sir William	Chaplain	Feb 1534	15 Aug 1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 199; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2348
Younger, sir William	Joint Keeper of the Coining Irons (with Cowper)	12 Jul 1536	15 Aug 1537	<i>RSS</i> , ii, 2082; <i>RSS</i> , ii, 2348
Anthony, Frenchman	Cook	11 Jun 1537	11 Jun 1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 466
Anthony, Frenchman	Queen Madeleine's Barber	Sep 1537	Sep 1537	<i>TA</i> , vi, 354

Anthony	Falconer	Nov 1532	1536	<i>TA</i> , vi, 94; <i>TA</i> , vi, 289
George	Footman	8 Nov 1539	1 May 1540	<i>PA</i> , 29; <i>PA</i> , 46
Gilbert	Groom of Wine Cellar	Aug 1540	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 333; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101
Guillaume, Frenchman	Tapiser	Jun 1538	Dec 1538	<i>TA</i> , vii, 44; <i>TA</i> , vii, 55
Guillaume	Cleans & makes fires in Chamber	May 1539	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 168; <i>TA</i> , viii, 96
Hallont	Page	Sep 1538	Apr 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 90; <i>TA</i> , viii, 72
Jacques, Frenchman?	Tabourer	Jul 1539	Feb 1540	<i>TA</i> , vii, 182; <i>TA</i> , vii, 290
Jane, Frenchwoman	Dwarf	Mar 1539	Mar 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 151
Jerome	Trumpeter	1534	1534	<i>TA</i> , vi, 204; <i>TA</i> , vi, 212
Nicholas, Frenchboy	Page	Oct 1539	Oct 1539	<i>TA</i> , vii, 255; <i>TA</i> , vii, 256
Simon	Falconer	1531	1534	<i>TA</i> , v, 435; <i>ER</i> , xvi, 585
Troilus	Henchman	1526	Jul 1538	<i>TA</i> , v, 278; <i>TA</i> , vi, 429
Troilus	Groom/Server in Hall	Dec 1538	Jul 1542	<i>TA</i> , vii, 126; <i>TA</i> , viii, 101

APPENDIX A: Part Two

Master of the Household	Colin Campbell, 3rd Earl of Argyll	3 Dec 1513	5 Nov 1529
Master of the Household	Archibald Campbell, 4th Earl of Argyll	29 Oct 1529	27 Apr 1541
Constable of Scotland during minority of Earl of Errol	David Wood	Sep 1524	Sep 1524
Great Constable of Scotland	William Hay, 6th Earl of Errol	10 Dec 1540	11 Sep 1541 †
Great Constable of Scotland	George Hay, 7th Earl of Errol	9 Mar 1542	9 Mar 1542
Great Chamberlain of Scotland	Malcolm, Lord Fleming	26 Jun 1528	11 Aug 1546
Guardian of king James V	William, Lord Borthwick	May 1517	1525
Guardian of the king	John, Lord Erskine	1 Sep 1518	1524
Captain of the king's Guard	Alan Stewart, Captain of Milan	1516	1525 †
Captain of the king's Guard	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell	11 Sep 1524	11 Sep 1524
Lieutenant of the king's Guard	James Stewart	11 Sep 1524	11 Sep 1524
Preceptor/Tutor to James V	Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow	Feb 1517	Jan 1525
Master of the Household	Patrick Wemyss of Pittencrieff	Sep 1537	Jul 1542
Master of the Household	James Learmonth of Dairsie	29 Aug 1537	Dec 1542
Master of the Household Depute	William Hamilton of Sanquhar & Macnairston	1526	1536
First gentleman of the inner chamber	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell, Warden of W March	6 Jun 1540	6 Jun 1540
Of the bedchamber/cubicular	John Denniston, Rector of Dysart	Jul 1539	Nov 1542
Principal/Master Sewer	Sir James Hamilton of Finnart	1526	22 Sep 1539
Steward of the King	Robert Hamilton Master	1528	1536
Steward/Sewer of the King	Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange	1538	Dec 1542
Steward/Sewer of the King	John Leslie of Cleish, the younger	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Master Carver	Henry Stewart, Lord Methven	1524	1524
Master carver	George Douglas	1525	1528
Principal Carver	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell	1528	1536
Carver to the King	David Wood of Craig	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Carver to the King	Andrew Wood of Largo	Dec 1538	Dec 1542
Carver Depute	Andrew Wood of Largo	1526	Jul 1538
Master Cupbearer	Walter Ker of Cessford	1526	1536
Cupbearer in Chamber	Walter Douglas	1531	1536
King's Cupbearer	Henry Kemp of Thomaston	1538	Aug 1542
King's Cupbearer	Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn	Dec 1538	Aug 1542
Pursemaster	William Hamilton of Macnairston	2 Sep 1524	2 Sep 1524

King's Pursemaster	John Tennent of Listonshiels	1532	1540
Writes the King's Letters	John Chapman Master	1528	1529
Clerk of the Closet	sir Evan Fallan	2 Jan 1527	2 Jan 1527
Clerk of the closet	Master Adam Cockburn	1 Mar 1527	1 Mar 1527
Clerk of the Closet	Master George Langmuir, vicar of Kirkpatrick	27 Apr 1527	27 Apr 1527
Clerk of the Closet	Master John Gifford	16 Jul 1527	16 Jul 1527
Clerk of the Closet	Master David Hamilton	1 Jun 1527	5 Mar 1540
Clerk of the Closet	Master James Carmuir	27 Feb 1529	27 Feb 1529
Clerk of the Closet	Master John Hamilton of Milburn, Rector of Torrens	22 Jun 1529	22 Jun 1529
Clerk of the Closet	Master William Meldrum, Vicar of Strabrook	20 Apr 1537	Jul 1542
Clerk of the King's Oratory	Master Walter Maxwell	1526	1529
King's Orator & Chaplain	Dean Andrew Stevenson	1 Sep 1529	1 Sep 1529
King's Orator	Thomas Niddry	Feb 1532	Feb 1532
Chaplain of the oratory	sir George Atkinson	11 Dec 1540	11 Dec 1540
Master Usher	Sir David Lindsay of the Mount	1514	1523
Master Usher	Andrew Stewart, Lord Avandale	26 Aug 1524	26 Aug 1524
Master Usher to the king	Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr	1 Nov 1526	1 Nov 1526
Usher of the Inner Chamber Door	William Wood of Bonnington	1525	Jul 1542
Usher of the High Chamber Door	William Galbraith	1529/30	1529/30
Principal Usher/Guard of the Inner Door	John Ross of Craigy	14 Sep 1537	13 Sep 1541
Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	James Boswall	1525	1529
Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	William Bard	1525	Dec 1542
Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	George Dempster	1515	1526
Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	Andrew Dempster	1526	1529
Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	James Wood	1531	Dec 1542
Usher of the Outer Chamber Door	Malcolm Leighton/Lyon	1532	1534
Barber and Yeoman of the Chamber	John Murray	1522	8 Nov 1538 †
Barber-Surgeon/Yeoman of the Chamber	James Watson	11 Aug 1538	Jul 1542
Yeoman of Chamber	William Drummond alias Spicehouse	1516	1528
Yeoman of Chamber/keeper of coffers	Henry Kemp of Thomaston,	1522	Jul 1538
Yeoman of Chamber	Paul Galbraith	1514	1535 †
Yeoman/Groom/Singer in Chamber	William Galbraith	1525	1533
Yeoman of Chamber	John Guthrie	1529	Dec 1542
Yeoman/Groom of Chamber	Henry Drummond	1532	Dec 1538

Yeoman of Chamber	John Galbraith	1535	1536
Yeoman of Chamber	Patrick Kirkcaldy	1535	Dec 1542
Yeoman of Chamber	Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes	Dec 1538	3 Sep 1542
Yeoman of Chamber	John Murray	Dec 1538	Mar 1541 †
Yeoman of Chamber	John Leslie of Cleish, the younger	Jul 1542	Dec 1542
Groom/Crossbowman of chamber	William Dill/Duly/Durham	1506	6 Sep 1529
Groom/ Valet/Crossbowman in chamber	John Stewart	6 Sep 1529	Oct 1535
Groom/Yeoman of the Crossbow	John Tennent of Listonshiels	1529	15 Apr 1531
Groom/Valet of Chamber	William Forsyth	1514	1527
Groom/Valet of Chamber/feeds the king's dogs.	Patrick Stirling	1525	Feb 1540
Groom/Valet of Chamber	Alexander Kemp	1526	1 Dec 1542
Groom/Valet of Chamber	Andrew Drummond	1532	Dec 1542
Groom/Valet of Chamber	Murdo Mackenzie	Dec 1538	Dec 1542
Groom/Valet of Chamber	Alexander Whitelaw	Dec 1538	Dec 1542
Valet in Chamber	John Tennent of Listonshiels	1528	1534
Valet of Chamber	John Hay	1532	Jul 1538
Servant in Chamber	David Crawford	1514	Dec 1538
In the Chamber	John Sheves	1523	1529/30
In the Inner Chamber	James Wood	1526	1530/31
Cleans & makes fires in Chamber	Guillaume	May 1539	Jul 1542
Keeper of the King's Parrots & Cachpules	Thomas Kells	Jul 1538	15 Mar 1540
Master of the King's Minstrels	Anthony Taburner, Frenchman	Dec 1541	Dec 1542
Minstrel	Bontemps, Frenchman	29 Sep 1502	1518
Minstrel	John Crook	1529/30	Feb 1534
Minstrel	Patrick Kenneth	9 Jul 1538	9 Jul 1538
Musician	sir John Fethy	1529	Jan 1542
Trumpeter	Julian Richard, Italian	31 Dec 1505	10 Sep 1524
Trumpeter	Vincent Pace, Italian	31 Dec 1505	1532
Trumpeter	Julian Drummond the elder, Italian	31 Dec 1505	1535
Trumpeter	Julian Drummond the younger, Italian	31 Dec 1505	1535
Trumpeter	Sebastian Drummond, Italian	26 Jan 1509	1535
Trumpeter	George Forest, Scotsman with the Italian minstrels	4 Oct 1507	1535
Trumpeter	Anthony Drummond, Italian	1515	1517

Trumpeter	Henry Rudman	10 Sep 1524	1529
Trumpeter	Ninian Brown, Italian?	1529/30	Dec 1542
Trumpeter	Alexander Castlelaw	23 Apr 1498	5 May 1533
Trumpeter	Guillaume Sowdan, Frenchman	May 1533	4 Jun 1533
Trumpeter	Claude Vale, Frenchman	1533	4 Jun 1533
Trumpeter	Vincent Violet, Frenchman	1533	4 Jun 1533
Trumpeter	Michael Drummond	1533	1535
Trumpeter	Jerome	1534	1534
Trumpeter/Trumpeter of War	John Kemp	1534	Jul 1539
Trumpeter of war	William Carslaw	2 Jul 1538	2 Jul 1538
Trumpeter of war	James Drummond	9 Dec 1526	2 Jul 1538
Trumpeter of war	John Drummond	2 Jul 1538	2 Jul 1538
Tabourer	James Graham	1516	1522
Tabourer	Anthony Taburner, Frenchman	1525	1546
Tabourers	the 2 Todds, old & young	1538	Jul 1542
Tabourer	Jacques, Frenchman?	Jul 1539	Feb 1540
Makes viols	Richard Hume, Englishman	Nov 1535	Jan 1536
Viols player	Jakis Columbell & his 3 fellows	9 Jul 1538	1 Jul 1542
Fiddler	John/Thomas Cabroch	1530/31	Dec 1540
king's lutar	Alexander Wardlaw	1516	1522
Lutenist	Urre/Hare Schennek, foreigner?	1526	3 Mar 1540
Lutenist	Duncan Cunningham	Jun 1539	Dec 1541
Lutenist	Hare	3 Mar 1540	3 Mar 1540
Sangster (boy)	George/James Coutts	1531	1534
Sangster	Richard Carmichael	1534	Jul 1538
Sangster	John Turnet	1536	1536
Sangster	Archibald Borthwick	5 Aug 1541	5 Aug 1541
Whistler	John Thomson	1532	9 Jul 1538
Whistler	William Thomson	1532	9 Jul 1538
Supplier of Organs	William Calderwood	1537	Jan 1542
Bard	Cacopety	1538	1538
The Bard Wife	Shanks	28 Mar 1540	28 Mar 1540
Dwarf	Andrew the Dorch	1526	1526
Dwarf	John the Dorch	1529	1534

Dwarf	Jane Frenchwoman	Mar 1539	Mar 1539
Fool	John Maccrery	1525	Dec 1540
Fool	John Lowes	Dec 1539	Apr 1543
Juggler	James Atkinson	Mar 1539	Mar 1539
Master of Stable	Sir James Hamilton of Finnart	1527	1536
Esquire of Stable	James Erskine	1525	1534
Esquire of Stable	Robert Gibb of Carriber	Sep 1538	Dec 1542
Keeper of the king's great horse	John Charteris of Cuthilgurdy	Jun 1538	1 Dec 1542
Horse Marshal	Nicholas Arth	Dec 1538	1 Jul 1542
Master of the king's mares	Charles Murray	Mar 1539	Aug 1541
Keeper of the Dutch horses	Thomas Richardson	Oct 1539	Jul 1542
Keeps the mules	Walter Stewart	Jan 1541	Jan 1541
Stirrupman	Robert Gibb of Carriber	6 Sep 1524	1536
Principal Yeoman of Stable	Robert Gibb of Carriber	1531	1538
Yeoman/groom of Stable	Robert Purves	1516	1 Dec 1542
Yeoman of Stable	William Galbraith	1525	1529
Yeoman of Stable	John Purves	1525	1533
Yeoman/groom of Stable	Andrew Michelson	1525	Dec 1542
Yeoman of Stable	John Bog of Burnhouse	1525	Dec 1542
Yeoman of Stable	Michael Donaldson	1529	1536
Yeoman of Stable	Arthur Sinclair	Apr 1538	Mar 1540
Henchman/Yeoman of Stable	John Turnbull	1526/27	1536
Henchman/Yeoman of the stable	James Edmonston	1525	1532
Henchman	Patrick Bruce, the Elder	1526	1529
Henchman	Troilus	1526	Jul 1538
Henchman	Robert (Hob) Ormiston	1526	Jul 1542
Henchman	George Hamilton	1529	1534
Henchman	Patrick Bruce, the younger	1529/30	1534
Henchman & page	William Lindsay	Sep 1532	May 1533
Henchboy	George/James Coutts	1532	1534
Henchman	Murdo Mackenzie	1532	1534
Henchman	James Kennedy	1532	1534
Henchman	James Kincaid	1532	Dec 1539

Groom/henchman	William Crawford	1522	1534
Groom of Stable	Andrew Dempster	1525	1526
Groom of Stable	Andrew Fleming	1526	1529
Groom of Stable	John Gibb	1529	1536
Groom of Stable	James Purves	Sep 1536	May 1540
Groom of Stable	David Bailey	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
Sumpterman	John Bayne	1526	Dec 1538
Sumpterman	Templeton	1532	Mar 1542+
Sumpterman	David Hay	Mar 1539	Dec 1542
Master of Avery	David Crichton	1516	1528
Master of Avery	James Aikenhead	1528	1536
Yeoman of Avery	John Donaldson	1526	1533 †
Yeoman of Avery	John Purves	1532	Jul 1542
In Stable/Avery	James Scott	1514	1538
In Avery, Servant of John Purves	Robert Mowat	1542	1542
Master Saddler	Patrick Slater	Jun 1534	Apr 1543
Saddler	John Leighton	1517/18	1517/18
Saddler	Andrew Leighton	28 Jun 1526	1534
Saddler	Andrew Lorimer	Jul 1532	Dec 1542
Saddler	Henry Lorimer	1502	Sep 1537
Lorimer/bucklemaker	William Forest	Nov 1538	Apr 1543
Blacksmith (Farrier)	John Sprotty	1525	Dec 1542
Smith (Farrier)	Thomas Sprotty	Sep 1538	Aug 1541
Master Falconer	Sir Alexander Macculloch of Myreton	1523	30 Aug 1530 †
Master Falconer	James Lindsay	1529	Dec 1542
Falconer	Simon Fraser	1516	1532
Falconer	David Spens	1525	16 Nov 1539
Falconer	Robert Morton	1515	1529
Falconer	Edward Stewart	1529	Jul 1542+
Falconer	John Young	1531	1531
Falconer	David Stewart	1531	1531
Falconer	David Dronan	1514	1531
Falconer	Simon	1531	1534
Falconer	Henderson	1532	1532

Falconer	William Robertson	1532	1534
Falconer	Anthony	Nov 1532	1536
Falconer	James Park	1532	1537
Falconer	John Caldwell	1532	May 1543
Falconer	Gillan	1534	1537
Falconer	John Park	1537	1540
Falconer	Chesman	Jul 1538	Jul 1542
Falconer	William Mann	8 Nov 1539	8 Nov 1539
Falconer	Baron	6 Mar 1540	6 Mar 1540
Falconer	Maclellan	26 Mar 1540	1 May 1540
Falconer	Colin Fraser	24 Mar 1540	2 May 1540
Falconer	David Heriot	6 Mar 1540	Sep 1541
Falconer	Thomas Ramsay	6 Mar 1540	Jul 1542
Falconer	Hector Souter	Dec 1541	Dec 1541
Falconer	John Souter	Dec 1541	Dec 1541
Falconer	William Hamilton	Apr 1542	Apr 1542
Master of Hunting	Patrick Sinclair	1 Mar 1527	1 Mar 1527
Master Dogger/huntsman	David Shaw	May 1534	Sep 1536
Keeper of the king's dogs	James Neilson	1527	1527
Keeper of the king's hare dogs	Sawle	7 Mar 1540	11 May 1540
Keeper of the rypes/dogs	George Snowdon	7 Mar 1540	Dec 1542
Keeper of the King's dogs	John Corbet	Jul 1541	Apr 1543
Keeper of the dogs	Malcolm Gillies	Dec 1541	Jul 1542
Keeper of dogs	James Ayton	Dec 1541	Feb 1543
Keeper of dogs	John Snowdon	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
Finds the hares	Badman	7 Mar 1540	14 May 1540
King's Chief Herdsman	Robert Liddel	1538	1540
Keeper of the king's Marts	David Forrester of Garden	1542	1542
Keeper of the king's Flock	Kentigern Armstrong	1540	1540
king's shepherd	John Haw	1540	1540
King's Shepherd in the burgh	George Henderson	1540	1540
King's Shepherd at Westcotrig	Richard Henderson	1540	1540
King's Shepherd at Balloden	George Nichol	1540	1540
King's Shepherd at Commonside	James Cessford	1540	1540

King's Shepherd at Northouse	William Henderson	1540	1540
King's Shepherd in Braidlie & Filop	John Hope	1540	1540
Shearing & branding the king's sheep	George Pringle	1540	1540
Master of the Wardrobe	Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton	1514/16	1535
Master of the Wardrobe	David Crichton	1536	1536
Master Tailor	Andrew Edgar	1515	1531
Master Tailor	Thomas Arthur, Burgess of Edinburgh	1529	1 Dec 1542
Tailor	Malcolm Gourlay	1522	Jul 1542
Tailor	Andrew Bauchop	1532	1532
Tailor, servant to Tom Arthur	Thomas Hannay	1535	Dec 1541
Tailor to the king	Francis Felare, Frenchman	20 Jun 1538	20 Jun 1538
Tailor	Richard Hill	1538	Sep 1538
Tailor	John Daniel	Aug 1539	Aug 1539
Yeoman of the Wardrobe/Master Avery	Patrick Donaldson	1516	1526 †
Yeoman of the Wardrobe	James Doig, the younger	17 Sep 1524	1526/27
Yeoman of the Wardrobe	David Crichton	1525	Jun 1536
Yeoman of the Wardrobe	John Tennent of Listonshiels	1534	Dec 1542
Groom of the Wardrobe	David Bonar	1525	Jul 1542
Groom of the Wardrobe	John Barbour	Jul 1537	Jul 1542
Groom in the Wardrobe	Thomas Tulloch	Sep 1536	Jul 1542
Master Cordiner	John Davidson	1516	1526/27
King's Cordiner	James Littlejohn, Burgess of Edinburgh	1529	Aug 1536
Master Cordiner	Arthur Littlejohn	15 Aug 1536	Aug 1540
Master Cordiner	Thomas Merrilees, Burgess of Edinburgh	6 Mar 1540	Jul 1542+
Keeper of the furs	James Winchester	1517/18	1517/18
Master Furrier	Thomas Anderson	1522/24	1529/30
King's Furrier	David Ferry	1531	Aug 1541 †
Furrier	James Scrymgeour	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
King's Furrier	Patrick Bell	Oct 1540	Dec 1542
Broudstar/Embroiderer	John Young	24 Jun 1535	1 Mar 1543
Broudstar/Embroiderer	Robinet	Dec 1536	Dec 1536
Goldsmith	Patrick Lindsay	1531	Apr 1543
Goldsmith	Thomas Rhind	Feb 1532	Feb 1542

Goldsmith	Adam Leys	Sep 1532	1538
Goldsmith	John Mosman	Feb 1534	Dec 1542
Goldsmith	Hotman, Frenchman	1538	1539
Case-maker	John Paterson	Jan 1539	Jul 1542+
Sword-slipper	Thomas Softlaw	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Seamstress	Janet Douglas	1522	Jun 1540
Seamstress/embroiderer	Helene Ross	1529	Jun 1542+
King's Laundress	Mavis Acheson	1517	1 Jul 1542
Laundress	Margaret/Madge Tulloch	1538	Dec 1541
Laundress	Bessie Drupis	Dec 1538	Feb 1543
Court laundress	Katherine Maccorran	Jun 1539	Jun 1539
Laundress	a woman of Falkland	21 Apr 1540	21 Apr 1540
Tapiser	William Edbe	1536	1540
Tapiser	Guillaume, Frenchman	Jun 1538	Dec 1538
Tapiser	Jacques Habet, Frenchman	Aug 1539	Jul 1542
Keeper of the Tapestries	Master William Hunter	Sep 1540	Dec 1542
Carter	John Gogar	1532	Jun 1540
Carter	John Balglavy	Aug 1538	Jan 1541
Carter	Thomas Braidwood	Dec 1538	Aug 1541
Carter	Thomas Miller	Jun 1530	Apr 1541
Carter	William Miller	Mar 1539	May 1541
Carter	Robert Stewart	Dec 1538	Oct 1540
Carter	David Sibbald	Oct 1538	Jan 1542
Of the Wardrobe	Katherine Bellenden	Feb 1537	Jul 1542
Of the Wardrobe	Mackesson	1531	1542
Of the Wardrobe	Alexander Cochran	Dec 1539	Dec 1541
Steward	John Hamilton of Newton	Sep 1526	Sep 1526
Court Steward	Paul Kinloch	9 May 1527	1535
Steward of the Household	sir David Christison	1535	Dec 1542
King's Marshal	John Inglis of Flashill	21 Aug 1507	21 Aug 1529
Principal Marshal	Robert Stewart of Minto	1529	1536
Valet Marshal	William Knox	1525	1528
Valet Marshal	Robert Stewart of Minto	1525	1528

Valet Marshal/Marshall Principal	Andrew Melville	10 Sep 1524	1536
Valet Marshal	William Oliphant	7 Sep 1527	1529
Valet Marshal	Walter Melville	1527	Feb 1538
Valet Marshal	John Spens	1534	1536
Valet Marshal	Edward Muter	1531	1536
Valet Marshal	Hugh Wallace	1536	1536
Chief keeper of the vessels	Michael Donaldson	1525	1528
Master of the silver vessels	Thomas Duddingston of Kilduncan	20 Jan 1531	Dec 1542
Master of the silver vessels	Stephen Duddingston	Aug 1541	Jul 1542
Under keeper of the vessels	William Donaldson	1514	1531
Under keeper of silver plate/vessel gatherer	Rowe (Ronald) Paul	1531	1533
Under keeper of the silver vessels	Gavin Wann	1532	Jul 1542
Carter of the silver vessels	sir John Affleck	1539	1 Mar 1542
Keeper of the pewter/tin vessels	James Dempster	1518	Aug 1540
Keeper of the pewter/tin vessels	Henry Dempster	1536	Jan 1543
Keeper of the pewter vessels/household plate	Thomas Kells	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Keeper of the Cups	James Aikenhead	1526	1 Sep 1532
Of the Cupboard	John Spens	1529	1529
In the Cuphouse	Thomas Touch	Nov 1538	Mar 1542+
In the Cuphouse	John Duchale	May 1540	Aug 1541
Cupbearer in Hall/Servitor of queen	John Crawford	1514	1527
Cupbearer in the Hall	Patrick Douglas	1516	1527
Cupbearer	William Hutchinson	1526	1528
Cupbearer in Hall	Walter Douglas	1527	1529
Cupbearer	John Brady	1528	1529
Cupbearer	John Callum	1529	1529
Cupbearer	John Stewart	1532	1532
Cupbearer	William Tasker	1533	1534
Cupbearer	James Stewart	1533	1536
Cupbearer	David Beveridge	1534	1536
Cupbearer	John Menteith	1536	Jul 1542
Cupbearer/Server	John Richardson	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Cupbearer	James Anderson	Aug 1542	Aug 1542
Keeper of the Napery	James Richardson	1527	1536

In the Ewery	James Richardson	1529/30	Jul 1538
Groom/Server/Dichter in Hall	John Murray	1526	Jul 1542
Server in Hall	Thomas Copland	1529	1529
Groom in Hall	Andrew Beghorne	1536	1536
Groom/Server in Hall	Troilus	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Groom/Server in Hall	Patrick Clerk	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Usher of the hall door	John Lawson of Bowanshaw	1525	Aug 1541
Usher of the hall door	Thomas Fleming	1526	1529 †
Usher of the hall door	John Crichton	1529	Jul 1538
Porter of the outer gate	James Kinloch	1516	1524
King's Porter/Janitor	George Inglis	1524	1539 †
Chief Janitor/Porter	James Hamilton of Kincavill	1527	1529
Master of Entry & Principal Porter	John Crammy	5 Feb 1536	Aug 1540
Porter	John Kinloch	1514	1524
Porter	John Balfour	1524	1536
Porter	David Balfour	1516	Feb 1534
Porter	Patrick Crammy	5 Feb 1536	Jul 1542
Porter	William Crammy	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Porter	James Bog	May 1539	12 Sep 1542
Coalman	Duncan Dawson	r. James III	6 Mar 1540
Coalman	John Lawson of Bowanshaw	10 Feb 1531	Jan 1544
Dichter of the king's palaces	Andrew Angus	1538	1 Jul 1542
Caterer	Robert Moncur	1515	1522
Steward/Purveyor	Henry Dempster	1515	1522 †
Caterer/Purveyor	sir John Macall, Dean of Lismore	1532	Jan 1544
Poultryman	Rob Button	1514	1521/22
Poultryman	John Macall	Sep 1538	Jul 1542
Fisher	Stewart	7 Mar 1540	26 Mar 1540
Master Waxmaker to the king	William Tod, Burgess of Edinburgh	8 Jan 1527	8 Jan 1527
Master cook	Thomas Shaw	1514	1518
Master cook	Patrick Spittal	1522/24	1522/24
Master cook	Hugh Johnson	1525	1532 †
Master cook	Walter Gardner	1532	1533

Master cook	Thomas Marshall	1533	Dec 1542
Master cook	John Mount	Feb 1542	Jul 1542+
Cook	John Bisset	1515	1518
Sub-Principal Cook	John Hummour	1524	1529
Under cook	Robert Johnston	7 Jun 1529	1532
Under cook	Thomas Marshall	1532	1532
Under cook	William Roger	1532	1536
Cook	Anthony, Frenchman	11 Jun 1537	11 Jun 1537
Yeoman of Kitchen	Thomas Marshall	1527	1529
Yeoman of Kitchen	Stephen Lennox	1531	1532 †
Yeoman/Groom of Kitchen	William Roger	1531	Dec 1538
Yeoman of Kitchen	John Leslie of Cleish, the younger	1532	1536
Yeoman of Kitchen	Alexander Mowat	1534	1534
Yeoman of Kitchen	William Leslie	1534	1536
Yeoman of Kitchen	John Angus	Aug 1537	1538
Groom in Kitchen	Maurice Thomson	1525	1529
Groom in Kitchen	Thomas Marshall	1526	1526
Groom in Kitchen	Thomas Thomson	1528	1532
Groom in Kitchen	Andrew Plane	1532	1535
Groom in Kitchen	David Kirkcaldy	Jul 1538	Jul 1542
Groom in Kitchen	John Angus	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Under groom in Kitchen	Inverugie	Aug 1539	Jul 1542
Under groom in Kitchen	Andrew Angus	Aug 1541	1 Aug 1541
Under groom in Kitchen	James Rogie	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
Usher of the Kitchen Door	David Moutray	1525	1536
Usher of the Kitchen Door	William Galbraith	1538	Jul 1542
Turnbroch	Good	Mar 1542	Mar 1542
In the King's Kitchen	John Sharp	1536	1536
Purveyor/Caterer in Hall Kitchen	Finlay Macall	1525	1530
Principal Cook in Hall Kitchen	James Cadder	1526	1536
Principal Cook in Hall Kitchen	Peter Hamilton	1536	Jun 1544
Yeoman/Groom of Hall Kitchen	John Mount	1531	Aug 1541
Master Cook in Hall Kitchen	James Maclean	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
Foreman in Hall Kitchen	Master George Cook	1526	1529

Cook in Hall Kitchen	John Arth	1531	1533
Cook in Hall Kitchen	John Anderson	1533	1536
Yeoman in Hall Kitchen	John Arth	1525	1529
Yeoman in Hall Kitchen	John Kennedy	1526	1529
Yeoman in Hall Kitchen	Stephen Lennox	1526	1529
Groom in Hall Kitchen	Duncan the crabbed cook	1526	1529
Groom in Hall Kitchen	James Reid	1526	1529
Groom in Hall Kitchen	William Nichol	1538	Jul 1542
Groom in Hall Kitchen	James Duncan	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Usher of the Hall Kitchen Door	David Moutray	1536	1536
Master of Wine Cellar	James Douglas of Drumlanrig	1514	1528
Master of Wine Cellar	John Crichton of Invernyte?	1520	1520
Master of Wine Cellar	Sir John Stirling of Keir	1528	1529
Master of Wine Cellar	Alexander Shaw of Sauchie	20 Sep 1529	1536
Master of Wine Cellar	Archibald Campbell of Clauchan	Jan 1542	Dec 1542
Master in Wine Cellar	William Duchale	Jul 1542	Dec 1542
Groom/Yeoman in Wine Cellar	John Douglas	1514	20 Feb 1531
Yeoman in Wine Cellar	James Aikenhead	1531	1 Aug 1541
Yeoman in Wine Cellar	Archibald Campbell of Clauchan	24 Mar 1538	Aug 1541
Butler in Wine Cellar	William Duchale	1538	Aug 1541
Groom of Wine Cellar	James Douglas	1529	1529
Groom of Wine Cellar	Thomas Mushet	1532	Aug 1540
Groom of Wine Cellar	Robert Macorish	1540	1540
Groom of Wine Cellar	Gilbert	Aug 1540	Jul 1542
In the Wine Cellar	Patrick Campbell	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
Master of Ale Cellar	James Murray	17 Jan 1539	8 Apr 1539
Yeoman of Ale Cellar/Buttery	Andrew Murray	1522	Jul 1538
Principal Yeoman/Groom of Ale Cellar	James Murray	May 1532	Dec 1542
In the King's Buttery/Ale Cellar	David Balfour of Burleigh	1526	1529
In the King's Buttery/Ale Cellar	Michael Balfour	1514	1531
Groom in Ale Cellar	Thomas Murray	1538	Aug 1541
In the Ale Cellar	Patrick Henderson	Dec 1538	Aug 1541
In Ale Cellar	Robert Swan	Jun 1542	Jul 1542
Bearer of the king's Flagons	Morris Drummond	Jan 1541	Aug 1542

Bottleman/Butler	John Duchale	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
Brewer in Buttery	Margaret Johnston	1530	1531
Master Brewer in Buttery	Robert Wood	1525	Sep 1541
Principal Brewer in Buttery	Patrick Kincaid of Leith	1532	Jul 1542+
Master Baker	George Gibson of Goldenstone	12 Jul 1535	Jul 1542
Patisser/Baker	Murdoch Stirling	1537	Jul 1542
Baker	William Wilkinson	1522	1526
Baker	Walter Scott	1522	1535
Baker	Thomas Lyon	1527	1538
Baker of Stirling	Robert Githane	1531	1532
Baker	Alexander Scott	1534	Aug 1540
Baker	Patrick Marshall	Aug 1542	Aug 1542
Master of the Pantry	James Crichton of Cranston-Riddell	1522/23	1526/27
Master of the Breadhouse	Patrick Hume	15 Sep 1524	15 Sep 1524
Master/Keeper of the Household Pantry	Patrick Clerk	1525	Jul 1538
Master of the Pantry	John Hay	Dec 1538	Aug 1541
Master of the Pantry	Walter Moncur in Forgund	Jul 1542	Jan 1544
Yeoman of Pantry	John Macall	1526	1536
Yeoman of Pantry	James Crichton	1529	1536
Yeoman of Pantry	George Pringle	1532	1536
Yeoman of Pantry	John Crichton	1538	Dec 1538
Yeoman of Pantry	Walter Moncur in Forgund	Dec 1538	Aug 1541
Groom in Pantry	Patrick Anderson	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Groom in Pantry	John Gilchrist	Feb 1539	Dec 1541
In the Pantry	William Boyd	1528	1528
In the Pantry	Robert Colville of Ochiltree	1528	1529
In the Pantry	John Forrester	1529	1536
In the Pantry	William Pringle	1534	1534
In the Pantry	Robert Carmichael	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
In the Pantry	Richard Carmichael	Jul 1542	Dec 1542
King's Butcher	Thomas Douglas	14 Aug 1515	14 Aug 1515
King's Butcher	Simon Wood	1524	1531
Butcher	Peter Semple	1517	1531
King's Butcher	Robert Douglas	1527	1529

King's Butcher	Walter Stewart	1528	1528
Master Butcher	Robert Henderson, Burgess of Edinburgh	12 Apr 1531	1 Dec 1543
Master Lardner	James Douglas of Parkhead	1527	1528
Master Lardner	David Wood of Craig	1528	Apr 1537
Yeoman of Great Larder	David Blantyre	1529	Dec 1542
Groom of Larder, dichts the vessels	William Bell	Jul 1538	Jul 1542
In the Larder	Duncan Balfour	1524	1529
In the Petty Larder	Ninian Inglis	1527	1529
In the Petty Larder	John Kemp	1529	1536
Yeoman in the Petty Larder	James Richardson	Dec 1538	Aug 1541
In the Petty Larder	Robert Murray	Jul 1542	Dec 1542
Master of the Spice-House	Patrick Crichton	1526/27	1529/30
Yeoman of the Spice-House	Thomas Hamilton	10 Oct 1524	Dec 1542
Groom in the Spice-House	John Clydesdale	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
King's Mediciner	Doctor Arbuthnot	16 Dec 1508	Jun 1541
King's Doctor in Medicine	Master Robert Gray	8 Jan 1532	8 Jan 1532
King's Doctor in Medicine	Master Michael Durham	28 Mar 1542	Dec 1542
Doctor	Nigel Macmorquhar	1542	1542
King's Surgeon	George Leith	1523	1542
King's/Queen's Surgeon	John Maw, Burgess of Edinburgh	3 Sep 1527	3 Sep 1527
King's Principal Surgeon	Master/sir Duncan Omay	3 Jul 1526	31 Dec 1541
Apothecary	Francis Aikman, Burgess of Edinburgh	13 Feb 1532	1543+
Apothecary	John Hubert	1540	1540
Master Almoner	sir James Haswell	1526/27	1529/30
Master Almoner	Master James Scrymgeour, Dean of Glasgow	Feb 1530	Oct 1533 †
Master Almoner	sir George Clapperton	23 Jun 1535	Dec 1542
Almoner's priest/chaplain	sir John Jordan	1529	Jul 1542
Dean of Chapel Royal	Henry Wemyss, Bishop of Galloway	24 Jul 1526	1540
Dean of Chapel Royal	Andrew Durie, Bishop of Galloway	1541	1541
Archdeacon of Chapel Royal	sir Ninian Spottiswood	1526/27	1526/27
Sub Dean of Chapel Royal	Master David Abercrombie	2 Feb 1508	29 Nov 1531
Sub Dean of Chapel Royal & Household Cleric	Master Robert Hamilton	29 Nov 1531	23 Jun 1535

Sub Dean of Chapel Royal	sir George Clapperton	23 Jun 1535	23 Jun 1535
Chancellor of Chapel Royal	sir James Inglis	5 Jun 1515	20 Mar 1529
Chancellor of Chapel Royal	Master Alexander Wood	20 Mar 1529	2 Dec 1531
Treasurer of Chapel Royal	Master John Mair	31 Dec 1509	31 Dec 1509
Treasurer of Chapel Royal	Master Andrew Dury	1 Jun 1520	1 Jun 1520
Treasurer of Chapel Royal	Master Robert Galbraith	5 Jul 1528	6 Jan 1532
Treasurer of Chapel Royal	sir Walter Stewart, Precentor of Ross	16 Jun 1531	10 Feb 1541
Precentor of Chapel Royal	Master John Cantley	before 18 Oct 1529	18 Oct 1529
Precentor of Chapel Royal	Master John Scrymgeour of Myres, the younger	18 Oct 1529	18 Oct 1529
Sacristan of Chapel Royal	sir Alexander Paterson	Dec 1533	Jan 1542
Prebendary of Chapel Royal	sir John Paterson	1529	9 Apr 1532
Clerk/Canon of Chapel Royal	sir Alexander Buchan	11 Nov 1500	7 Jan 1530
Canon/Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr tertio)	sir William Ayton	15 Feb 1507	8 Oct 1515
Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr primo)	sir William Murray	26 Jan 1516	26 Jan 1516
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	Master Thomas Coutts	before 8 Jan 1530	8 Jan 1530 †
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	John Denniston, Rector of Dysart	8 Jan 1530	31 May 1531
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	Master Alexander Kyd, Rector of Auchindore	2 Jan 1531	2 Jan 1531
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	William Erskine	18 Mar 1531	31 May 1531
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	sir Michael Dysart	31 May 1531	1 Dec 1542
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	sir John Lambert	before 2 Jan 1531	28 Feb 1539
Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Crieff primo)	James Gordon	9 Apr 1532	9 Apr 1532
Prebendary of Chapel Royal	sir George Clapperton	before 23 Jun 1535	23 Jun 1535
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	Robert Denniston	23 Jun 1535	26 Dec 1535
Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr quarto)	sir William Drummond	26 Dec 1535	Aug 1541
Prebendary & Canon of Chapel Royal	Alexander Scott	28 Feb 1539	28 Feb 1539
Prebendary of Chapel Royal	Duncan Nichol	12 Jun 1540	12 Jun 1540
Prebendary of Chapel Royal	sir James Mount	before 12 Jun 1540	after 6 Mar 1542
Prebendary of Chapel Royal (Ayr tertio)	sir William Morton	before 6 Mar 1542	6 Mar 1542
Singer/organist of Chapel Royal	sir Alexander Paterson	28 Oct 1524	28 Oct 1524
Singer in Chapel Royal	James Campbell	1 May 1527	1 May 1527
Chaplain of St. Michael in Stirling Castle	sir Robert Christison	4 Jun 1518	4 Jun 1518
Vicar of the Church in Stirling Castle	David Arnot	before 19 May 1539	19 May 1539
Vicar of the Church in Stirling Castle	sir James Nicholson	19 May 1539	1541
Vicar of the Church in Stirling Castle	sir Alexander Inglis	1541	1541

Chaplain of the Barres	sir James Alan (Ellem)	6 Jun 1508	1542
Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	sir James Haswell	before 24 Jan 1529	24 Jan 1529
Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	sir John Crammy	24 Jan 1529	2 Mar 1530
Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	sir David Young	28 Nov 1529	1541
Chaplain of St Margaret's, Edinburgh Castle	sir John Learmonth	2 Mar 1530	24 Apr 1530
Chaplain/Prebendary of Leith/Restalrig	sir Walter Gray	3 May 1506	1529
Chaplain/Prebendary of Leith/Restalrig	sir John Learmonth	before 6 Feb 1532	6 Feb 1532
Chaplain/Prebendary of Leith/Restalrig	sir William Turner	6 Feb 1532	May 1541
Chaplain & Keeper of Holyrood Palace	sir John Sharp	1514	May 1538 †
Chaplain & Keeper of Holyrood Palace	Master Thomas Hay	20 May 1538	1542
Chaplain of James III at Cambuskenneth	sir James Inglis	1515	Jul 1542
Chaplain of James III at Cambuskenneth	sir David Inglis	1534	1534
Chaplain at Falkland	sir Thomas Balfour	1514	1529
Chaplain of St Thomas, Falkland Palace	sir Thomas Kilgour	2 Jan 1529	1542
Chaplain & Keeper of Linlithgow Palace	sir Thomas Johnson	Feb 1535	Aug 1541
Chaplain at Linlithgow	sir John Polwarth	1538	1540
Chaplain of St. Michael's, Rothesay Castle	sir David Mason	1514	1525
Chaplain of St. Michael's, Rothesay Castle	Master Finlay Scott	30 May 1527	30 May 1527
Chaplain of St Michael, Rothesay Castle	Patrick Lorrain	1537	1537
Chaplain of St Michael, Rothesay Castle	Master Andrew Hamilton	1542	1542
Sacristan of Thane	Master Hugh Guthrie	4 Oct 1541	5 Oct 1541
Personal Chaplain to James V from birth	sir James Haswell	1512	24 Jan 1529
Chaplain	sir Thomas Crawford	1526	1529
Household Chaplain	Master William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen	May 1529	May 1529
Chaplain	sir John Marr	1529	Aug 1542
Chaplain	sir John Scott	1531	1531
Household Chaplain	Master John Wood	Jun 1531	Jun 1531
Chaplain	sir William Younger	Feb 1534	15 Aug 1537
Chaplain	sir Henry Balfour	Sep 1536	May 1540
Chaplain	Master John Williamson	1538	1538
Chaplain	sir William Laing	Feb 1540	1 Jul 1542
Chaplain	sir John Donaldson	Jul 1540	Jul 1540
A Lord Regent in King's absence	William Graham, Earl of Montrose	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537

A Lord Regent in King's absence	Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537
A Lord Regent in King's absence	George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537
A Lord Regent in King's absence	James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537
A Lord Regent in King's absence	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell, Warden of W March	29 Aug 1536	6 Jan 1537
A Lord Regent in King's absence	Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow	29 Aug 1536	14 May 1537
Secretary	Master/Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin/Haltoun	15 Jun 1526	26 Oct 1542
Chancellor	James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews	Nov 1513	15 Jun 1526
Chancellor	Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus	24 Apr 1527	20 May 1528
Chancellor	Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow	26 Jun 1528	13 Sep 1543
Director of Chancery	Sir James Colville of Ochiltree/E Wemyss	2 May 1523	25 Jul 1538
Director of Chancery	Master Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoul	10 Sep 1538	12 Dec 1543
Clerk Register	Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen	2 Oct 1513	6 Jan 1532
Clerk Register	Master James Foulis of Colinton	12 Mar 1532	11 Aug 1546
Clerk Register Depute	George Good	Nov 1526	13 Mar 1540
Writer in Chancery/Exchequer	sir John White	1515	1534
Writer in Chancery	William Ogill	1531	1540
Justice General	Colin Campbell, 3rd Earl of Argyll	12 Jul 1514	5 Nov 1529
Justice General	Archibald Campbell, 4th Earl of Argyll	29 Oct 1529	27 Apr 1541
Justice General of the West March	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell	17 Aug 1526	17 Aug 1526
Justice Depute	Sir John Campbell of Lundy	1530	13 May 1542
Justice Clerk	Nichol Crawford of Oxgangs	8 Feb 1525	5 Feb 1536
Justice Clerk	Master Thomas Scott of Pitgormo	13 Apr 1536	24 Apr 1540 †
Justice Clerk	Master Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoul	27 Dec 1539	11 Aug 1546
Keeper of the Assize Door	John Bell	before 13 Dec 1540	13 Dec 1540
Keeper of the Assize door	Patrick Burn	13 Dec 1540	13 Dec 1540
Keeper of the Privy Seal	Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrew's	3 Jan 1529	11 Aug 1542
Scribe of Privy Seal	Thomas Sinclair	Aug 1536	20 Dec 1539
Scribe of Privy Seal	Master George Cook	20 Apr 1539	Jan 1543
Writer of Signet (in criminal causes)	John Bellenden	1524	Jul 1542
Writer to Signet	Thomas Bellenden	1529/30	1529/30
Writer to Signet	James Meldrum	1531	1533
Writer to Signet/Exchequer	Master John Chapman	1531	1534
Writer to Signet/Casualty	Master Thomas Kene	1534	Jul 1542
Writer of Signet, Exchequer & Treasury	James Bellenden	24 Jun 1538	Jul 1542

Writer to Signet/Exchequer	John Young	1540	1540
King's Advocate	Master James Wishart of Pettaro	1516	1522/24
King's Advocate	Master/Sir Adam Otterburn of Oldham & Redhall	4 Dec 1524	13 Sep 1538
King's Advocate Depute	Master James Foulis of Colinton	10 Aug 1530	19 Aug 1530
Advocate Depute	Master Henry Lauder of St. Germaines	1533	1533
King's Advocate	Master Henry Lauder of St Germaines	13 Sep 1538	Jul 1542+
King's Procurator at Rome	John Thornton	Jun 1531	Jun 1531
King's Procurator	Master David Panter	28 Jan 1535	18 Mar 1536
Advocate for the Poor	Master John Gladstone	2 Mar 1535	2 Mar 1535
Advocate for the Poor	Master Thomas Marjoribanks	2 Mar 1535	2 Mar 1535
Procurator for the Poor	Master Thomas Williamson	1537	1537
Advocate for the Poor	Master John Williamson	Sep 1538	7 Jan 1540
Advocate for the Poor	Master Andrew Blackstock	7 Jan 1540	Jul 1542
Treasurer	Sir John Campbell of Thornton/Lundy	17 Jan 1517	24 Jun 1526
Treasurer	William Cunningham, Master of Glencairn	25 Jun 1526	16 Aug 1526
Treasurer	Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie	15 Oct 1526	29 Aug 1527
Treasurer	Robert Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood	19 Jul 1528	8 Feb 1529
Treasurer	Robert Barton of Overbarnton	6 Mar 1529	10 Sep 1530
Treasurer	Master William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen	22 Apr 1529	Jun 1537
Treasurer	Robert Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood	29 May 1537	11 Feb 1538
Treasurer	Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange	11 Sep 1536	Aug 1543
Treasurer's Clerk/Depute	sir George Marshall	30 Jul 1535	1537
Clerk of Treasury/Exchequer	Master John Chisholm	1523	1539
Clerk of Treasury	Henry Balnaves of Halhill	Sep 1538	1542
Clerk of Treasury	Master Thomas Marjoribanks	1537	1537
Writer of the Casualty/Exchequer	Thomas Maben	1537	Aug 1540
Writer of the Casualties	Master James Carmuir	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
Comptroller	Robert Barton of Overbarnton	12 Oct 1516	7 Aug 1525
Comptroller	Sir James Colville of Ochiltree/E Wemyss	10 Sep 1525	7 Mar 1529
Comptroller	Robert Barton of Overbarnton	6 Mar 1529	7 Apr 1530
Comptroller	Sir James Colville of Ochiltree/E Wemyss	23 Oct 1530	Sep 1538
Comptroller	David Wood of Craig	17 Jan 1539	8 Feb 1543
Keeper of the Rolls	sir George Richardson	1526	Jul 1542
Clerk of Exchequer	Master John Donaldson	1514	1529

Comptroller's Clerk	sir David Christison	1527	1536
Comptroller's Clerk	sir George Strathaven	1538	1538
Comptroller's Clerk	George Ogilvy	Dec 1538	Dec 1542
Comptroller's Clerk	sir Patrick Ugston	Dec 1542	Dec 1542
Auditor	Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie	1515	1527
Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	sir James Kincaigie, Dean of Aberdeen	1514	Sep 1539
Auditor & Clerk of Exchequer	sir Alexander Scott, Provost of Costorphine	1515	Sep 1541
Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	Nichol Crawford of Oxfangs	1515	1535
Auditor of Exchequer	Master Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow	1516	1527
Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	sir John Dingwall, Provost of Holy Trinity	1524	1531
Auditor & Dictator of the Rolls	Master/Sir Adam Otterburn of Oldham & Redhall	1537	1538
Auditor of Exchequer	Master William Gibson, Dean of Restalrig	1527	30 Jan 1541
Auditor	Master Thomas Scott of Pitgormo	4 Feb 1529	1 Dec 1539
Auditor	William Hamilton of Sanquhar & Macnairston	1530	Sep 1541
Auditor	Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss	1530	Sep 1541
Auditor/Clerk	John Denniston, Rector of Dysart	Mar 1531	Aug 1542+
Auditor	Alexander Mylne, Abbot of Cambuskenneth	Aug 1532	Sep 1541
Auditor, Councillor & Familiar	Henry Sinclair, Treasurer of Brechin	1532	Sep 1541
Auditor	Henry Stewart, Lord Methven	1534	1534
Auditor & Lord of Council	Master Henry Lauder of St Germaines	Dec 1539	Sep 1541
Writer of the Rolls	George Good	1515	Jul 1542
Writer of the Rolls	Master William Hay	1523	1535
Writer/keeper of the Rolls	Master James Scott	1526	Jul 1542+
Writer of the Rolls/Clerk of Accounts	John Wallace	1528	Jul 1542+
Writer of the Rolls	Master George Cook	1532	1538
Clerk of Exchequer	Henry Mair	1514	1523
Writer in Exchequer	Peter Galbraith	1533	1534
Writer in Exchequer	Master William Mobray	Mar 1534	Jul 1542
Writer in Exchequer	Thomas Sinclair	Sep 1539	Jul 1542
Labours in the Exchequer	John Pardovan	1538	Dec 1542+
Usher of the Exchequer House Door	Patrick Cuthbert of the Trone	1517	1529/30
Usher of the Exchequer House Door	William Foulis	Aug 1540	Jul 1542
Abbreviator of the Household Books	sir George Scott	1525	Dec 1542
Clerk of expenses	Master John Chisholm	1514	1522

Clerk of Expenses	Master John Cantley	1524	1524
Clerk of Expenses	John, Abbot of Jedburgh	31 Oct 1526	1529
Depute Clerk of the King's Expenses	Master Robert Hamilton	12 Mar 1529	12 Mar 1529
Depute Clerk of Expenses	Dean Robert Coutts	24 Jul 1529	24 Jul 1529
Clerk of the King's Household Expenses	Robert Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood	1529	1536
Clerk of Expenses	Master John Colden	Sep 1538	Jul 1542
Clerk of Expenses	Master John Bellenden	Aug 1514	1524
Clerk to king/Albany	Master Thomas Hay, Rector of Ruthven	1516	1524
Clerk	sir Henry Hunter	1532/33	1532/33
Writer	William Rutherford	1534	Apr 1534
Clerk	Master James Strachan, Canon of Aberdeen	Feb 1538	Feb 1538
Clerk	Alexander Macneil	Jul 1541	Jul 1541
Clipper for the false Placks	David Blyth	1518	1518
Master of the Coin and Great Customar	Robert Barton of Overbarnton	6 Mar 1529	6 Mar 1529
Master coiner/Master of the mint	James Atkinson	1529/30	Aug 1543
Master of the Mint	Alexander Orrok of Sillebawbic	May 1538	2 Jun 1542
Keeper of the coining irons	Adam Boyd	27 Jul 1527	27 Jul 1527
Keeper of the Coining Irons	sir Laurence Cowper	12 Jul 1536	12 Jul 1536
Joint Keeper of the Coining Irons (with Cowper)	sir William Younger	12 Jul 1536	15 Aug 1537
Keeper of the Coining Irons	Master Walter Groat	6 Apr 1538	6 Apr 1538
Keeper of the King's Coin	John Mosman	24 Aug 1539	24 Aug 1539
Coiner	Richard Wardlaw	1531	May 1540
Coiner	James Young	1532	1532
In coining house	Richard Young	Sep 1540	Sep 1540
Ambassador to Flanders	Sir John Campbell of Lundy	28 Apr 1529	5 Oct 1540
Ambassador to France & Rome	Master/Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin/Halton	21 Mar 1530	31 Dec 1535
Ambassador to the court of Rome	Master John Lauder	1531	Jul 1541
Ambassador to France	James Hay Bishop of Ross	1532	1532
Ambassador to Flanders	Master James Scrymgeour, Dean of Glasgow	Oct 1532	Oct 1533 †
Ambassador to England	Master/Sir Adam Otterburn of Oldham & Redhall	Nov 1533	Sep 1534
Ambassador to France	Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop	Feb 1533	10 Feb 1539
Ambassador to France & England	Master William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen	16 Feb 1534	27 Jul 1535
Ambassador/Familiar	John Erskine of Dun	1535	1535
Accompanies the Ambassadors to France	Master Thomas Stewart of Gawston	Apr 1530	1532

Paid for going to France	David Marshall	Feb 1534	Jul 1538
Sent abroad to buy wines, supplies & as envoy	John Barton	Jul 1537	Jul 1542
A Lord of Council	Master Robert Galbraith	30 Jan 1541	30 Jan 1541
Tax Collector	Master Laurence Telfer, Canon of Aberdeen	1531	1531
Tax Collector	Master John Hamilton of Milburn, Rector of Torrens	Aug 1531	Aug 1531
Tax Collector	Master John Williamson	1533	1540/41
Tax Collector	Master Thomas Gatherer	1533	1540/41
Tax Collector	Cuthbert George	1535	1540/41
Translator of the Chronicle & Livy	Master John Bellenden	1530/31	1533/4
Printer to the King	Thomas Davidson	1535	6 Mar 1542
Administrator of Abbey of Holyrood & Priory of St Andrew's for King's sons	Alexander Mylne Abbot of Cambuskenneth	5 Jun 1540	6 Mar 1542
Squire in the king's house	James Aikenhead	14 Oct 1524	14 Oct 1524
Squire & Gentleman in the king's household	Bartilman Balfour	1524	1524
Gentleman in king's house	Hugh Kennedy of Girvan Mains	1524	1524
Gentleman in king's house	George Ker	30 Oct 1524	30 Oct 1524
Gentleman of king's house	Edward Maxwell	15 Sep 1524	15 Sep 1524
Gentleman in king's house	James Stewart	1524	1524
Gentleman in king's house	William Stewart	15 Sep 1524	15 Sep 1524
Squire and gentleman in king's house	David Wood	1524	1524
Squire and gentleman of king's house	Walter Wood	1524	1524
Esquire in the King's house	Andrew Wood of Largo	20 Dec 1524	1529
Squire in the king's house	Archibald Hamilton	15 Sep 1524	1531
Squire in king's house	John Cunningham of Caprington	14 Jul 1526	14 Jul 1526
Squire in king's house	Martin Crichton	2 Aug 1526	2 Aug 1526
Gentleman and Squire in king's house	Master Thomas Erskine of Haltoun	22 Sep 1526	22 Sep 1526
Squire in the king's house	Nichol Rutherford	18 Nov 1526	Dec 1526
Gentleman in king's house	Sir John Seton	15 Dec 1526	15 Dec 1526
Squire and gentleman in king's house	Alexander Shaw of Sauchie	2 Aug 1526	2 Aug 1526
Squire	William Somerville	1526/27	1526/27
Squire and gentleman in the king's house	Patrick Hume	23 Jul 1526	Dec 1542
Gentleman in king's house	John Kennedy of Gyletree	12 Apr 1527	12 Apr 1527
Squire	Robert Logan	1527	1529/30

Gentleman & Squire in the King's House	Rorie Mackenzie	1529	1532
Esquire & Familiar of the King	Thomas Scott	1529	1532
Gentleman & Squire in the King's house	Matthew Hamilton of Milburn	31 Aug 1529	1534
Gentleman in king's household	Thomas Corry	1524	1524
Gentleman in king's household	Adam Boyd	27 Mar 1527	27 Mar 1527
Gentleman in the King's House	Master Thomas Stewart of Gawston	23 Feb 1530	Apr 1530
Householdman to the King	George Meldrum of Fyvie	6 Apr 1530	12 Mar 1541
Extraordinary household servant	John Hamilton of Colmskeith	Nov 1530	Aug 1544
King's familiar	Captain James Lundie	21 Dec 1516	8 May 1540
Familiar servitor	Sir William Scott of Balwery	5 Mar 1529	5 Mar 1529
Familiar Servitour	George Steel of Houston	1527	20 Mar 1542 †
Familiar Servant	Master David Kinloch	Jul 1529	Jul 1529
King's Familiar	Master John Colden	Jan 1530	Jan 1530
Familiar & Stipendary Servant	Thomas de Averencia of Brescia	20 Mar 1530	20 Mar 1530
Familiar Servant of James IV & V	Master Laurence Telfer, Canon of Aberdeen	Aug 1533	Aug 1533
Familiar Servant	Master Andrew Balfour	11 Apr 1533	15 Apr 1538
King's Familiar	Robert Crichton	Mar 1534	Mar 1534
King's Familiar	Sir John Borthwick	27 Jul 1535	Feb 1540
Familiar	Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn	Aug 1536	Jul 1538
Daily & Familiar Servant	Thomas Edmonston	27 Apr 1540	1 Dec 1542
Familiar Servant	Patrick Bruce	9 Feb 1542	24 Oct 1542
Footman	James Anderson	1525	1529
Gunner/Footman	James (John) Annan	1526/7	Sep 1532
Footman/Postman	John Anderson	1526/7	1530/1
Footman	Stephen Kirkwood	1528	1529
Footman & Lackey	Weddell	1534	Jan 1543
Footman	George	8 Nov 1539	1 May 1540
Groom/Servitour in pantry/chamber	David Crichton	1516	1525
Groom/Servitor	John Strageth	1514	1525
Servitour/Varlet/Groom of the chamber	John Craig	1515	1526
Groom/ in the Pantry	Patrick Spittal	1515	1526
Groom	sir George Scott	1522	1525/26
Groom/Varlet/Marshall	Sanders (Alexander) Alexander	1522 (1524)	1527
Groom/Varlet/Marshall	James Crawford	1522	1527

Groom	John Rowe	1529	1529
Lackey	George Livingston	Jan 1537	1538
Lackey/Footman	Mackesson	Mar 1538	11 May 1540
Lackey	George Robertson	Nov 1538	Jan 1543
Lackey	Snowdon	Mar 1539	May 1540
Lackey	Macespin	Feb 1541	Feb 1541
Lackey	James Mackesson	Dec 1541	Aug 1542
Page/Squire	William Bannatyne	1526	1 May 1527
Page of Honour	James Fleming	1530	1534
Page	Robert Nesbit	1531	1532
Page	Drummond	Nov 1538	Nov 1538
Page	Hallont	Sep 1538	Apr 1542
Page	Wandonay, Frenchboy	Jul 1539	Jul 1539
Page	Nicholas, Frenchboy	Oct 1539	Oct 1539
Page	Gragus	Apr 1540	Jun 1540
Page	Rennald Letham	Jun 1540	Jun 1540
Boy	Andrew Lennox	1533	1533
Servitour	William Douglas	1516	Sep 1541 (as Mr)
Servitor	James Grant of Freuchy	22 May 1529	19 Feb 1540
Servant	King Cristall	1531	1531
Servitour to King	William Gourlay of Kinncraig	11 Oct 1531	28 Jul 1542
Servant?	George Frog	1537	1537
Servitor to the King	Robert Harver	1537	1537
Servant of the King	Patrick Tennent	1537	Aug 1539
Servitor to King	Thomas Ross	Sep 1538	Sep 1538
Servant to King	John Kirkcaldy	May 1534	Dec 1543
King's Servitor	William Learmonth alias Sellar	12 Apr 1542	12 Apr 1542
Captain & Keeper of Stirling Castle	John, Lord Erskine	1529	1540
Master of Works in Stirling Castle	sir James Nicholson	3 Jan 1530	Aug 1541
Carver & wright at Stirling	Robert Robertson	1531/32	Jun 1542
Gardener to king	Adam Shaw of Blookside	11 Mar 1527	11 Mar 1527
Principal Gardnr	Bertrand Gallotre Frenchman	14 Aug 1536	1538
Master Gardener in Stirling	sir James Clement	Aug 1533	Aug 1533

Gardener in Stirling	William Gillespie	1514	7 May 1531
Gardener in Stirling	John Gillespie	7 May 1531	after 7 May 1531
Gardener in Stirling	sir Walter Clement	1534	1535
Keeper of the Park of Stirling	Walter Cunningham	1529	Apr 1537
Upholding the Park Dykes at Stirling	Marion Douglas	1539	1539
Upholding the Park Dykes at Stirling	Elizabeth Macall	1540	1541
Upholding the Park Dykes at Stirling	Lawrence Cunningham	Jul 1542	Dec 1542
Porter of Stirling Castle	William Cunningham	1536	1536
Paid for balls in a Cachpule & a Coffe	William Bell in Stirling	15 Mar 1540	21 Apr 1540
Baker of Stirling	Duncan Darroch	1531	1532
Captain and keeper of Edinburgh Castle	Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranston-Riddle	1514	1522 †
Captain & Keeper of Edinburgh Castle	James Crichton of Cranston-Riddell	May 1523	1540
Captain of Edinburgh Castle	Sir Peter Crichton of Nauchtane	Aug 1540	Aug 1540
Captain of Edinburgh Castle	David Crichton of Nauchtane	16 Mar 1542	Jun 1542
Constable of Edinburgh Castle	David Kincaid	20 Jun 1541	Apr 1543
Glasswright/painter in Edinburgh Castle	Robert Binning	17 March 1504	Mar 1540
Keeper of Holyrood Palace	George Balglavy	Nov 1531	Dec 1542
Keeper of Holyrood Palace & Park	John Tennent of Listonshiels	1 Nov 1540	1 Nov 1540
Master of Works at Holyrood & Falkland	sir James Inglis	1527	1527
Master Mason in Holyrood	Andrew Bickerton	1535	1536
Mason at Holyrood/Falkland	James Black	1536	1539
Gardener at Holyrood	John Auchter, citizen of Glasgow	31 Aug 1539	Jul 1542
Captain of Falkland	William Barclay of Rhynd	4 Mar 1528	4 Mar 1528
Captain of Falkland	Thomas Barclay	1528	1536
Master Mason of Falkland	Martin Mogin the younger, Frenchman	1538	1540/41
Wright in Falkland	Richard Stewart	Jan 1539	Feb 1541
Gardener of Falkland	John Strachan	24 Apr 1500	1536
Gardener of Falkland	Thomas Melville	1535	1540
Gardener of Falkland	Andrew Strachan	20 Oct 1542	20 Oct 1542
Forester of Falkland	Andrew Fernie	26 Apr 1515	19 Dec 1540
Keeper of the New Park of Falkland	John Fernie	1542	1542
Captain and Keeper of Linlithgow Palace	Sir James Hamilton of Finnart	14 Oct 1526	14 Oct 1526
Keeper of Linlithgow Palace	William Denniston	19 Nov 1540	Aug 1542
Carpenter at Linlithgow	Peter Johnson	5 Jan 1538	1540

Gardener at Linlithgow	Rankin/Rankel Morrison	31 May 1538	1540
Gardener at Linlithgow	sir Robert Aikenhead	19 Jun 1541	19 Jun 1541
Keeper of the Park of Linlithgow	John Loudon	1538	1538
Keeper of the Park of Linlithgow	Walter Loudon	Jun 1539	Mar 1540
Keeper of Blackness Castle	John Bog	1540	1540
Keeper of Craignethan Castle	David Orrok	Sep 1540	Nov 1541
Keeper of Craignethan Castle	Gavin Gifford	Nov 1541	after Nov 1541
Porter in Craignethan Castle	George Tod	Aug 1541	Jan 1542
Servant in Craignethan Castle	Quintin Weir	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
Captain of Crawford	John Carmichael	20 Dec 1528	20 Dec 1528
Mason at Crawfordjohn	Thomas Cadder	1538	Aug 1541
Porter of the Castle of Cupar, Fifc	Master James Scrymgeour	5 Nov 1517	14 Mar 1528
Captain of Dunbar	Maurice Denogent, Frenchman	1518	1522
Captain of Dunbar Castle	Sir John Melville of Raith	Jun 1528	Feb 1543
Sub Captain of Dunbar Castle	James Haldane of Glencagles	1538	1539
Master Mason of Dunbar Castle	Mogin/Moses Martin, Frenchman	before 1 Dec 1536	1 Dec 1536
Constable of Dumbarton Castle	William Stirling of Glorat	19 Mar 1516	23 Mar 1529
Keeper of Dumbarton Castle	Captain Alan Stewart of Milan	1518	22 Jan 1519
Keeper of Dumbarton Castle	Andrew Stewart, Lord Avandale	22 May 1527	22 May 1527
Captain and Keeper of Dumbarton Castle	Sir James Hamilton of Finnart	22 May 1527	28 Apr 1531
Captain of Douglas Castle	James Gordon of Lochinver	1538	1538
Captain of Douglas Castle	John Gordon	1538	1542
Keeper of Glamis & Baky	Master Alexander Brand	18 Aug 1537	18 Aug 1537
In King's Service in the lordship of Glamis	John Forret	1538	1538
Captain of Inchgarvy Castle	Patrick Wemyss of Pittencrieff	Sep 1526	1528
Captain & keeper of Lochmaben & Threave Castles	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell	28 Oct 1516	22 Jun 1526
Repaired Tantallon Castle	Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin & Halton	1538	1538
Captain of Tantallon Castle	Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn	Sep 1539	Aug 1542
Master Mason at Tantallon Castle	George Semple	Apr 1539	Apr 1539
Keeper of the king's lodging at Haddington	sir Patrick Mauchline	25 Jun 1531	25 June 1531
Keeper of the king's lodging in Montrose	William Scott, Burgess of Montrose	25 Jan 1530	25 Jan 1530
Keeper of the king's lodging at Perth	Gilbert Moncrieff	20 Feb 1540	20 Feb 1540
Keeper of the forest of Bute	John Reid	1514	1528

Principal Master of Works	Sir James Hamilton of Finnart	9 Sep 1539	1 Apr 1540
Master of Works	Master John Scrymgeour of Myres, the younger	Aug 1529	May 1559+
Master of Works at Raccleugh	Master John Davidson	1536	1536
Master of Works of Burntisland	Robert Orrok	Aug 1540	Aug 1542
Master mason of the Bridge of Tay	Thomas Fotheringham	1514	1529 †
Master Mason	John Ayton	1526/7	16 Jan 1532 †
Master Mason of the Bridge of Tay	Patrick Mason	1530	1534
Master Mason	John Brownhill	16 Jan 1532	Dec 1542
Master Mason of the Bridge of Tay, Perth	Thomas French	1533	1533
King's Master Mason	Thomas French	Mar 1534	1539
King's Master Mason	Mogin/Moses Martin, Frenchman	1 Dec 1536	after 1 Dec 1536
King's Master Mason	Nicholas, Roy Frenchman	22 Apr 1539	Jul 1541
Mason	Robert Danis	1538	1538
Mason	William Cadislie	Aug 1529	Dec 1539
Mason	John Merliene	1535	Jul 1542
Mason	Peter Fleming, Dutchman	1538/9	1540/1
Quarrier	George Quarrier	Aug 1529	Oct 1536
Carter/Quarrier	James Neilson	Aug 1529	Sep 1536
Quarrier	Thomas Towns	Aug 1529	Oct 1539
Quarrier	Constantine Clerk	Aug 1529	Feb 1540
Carter	John Turner	1530	1538
Causeway Maker	Michael Bay, Frenchman	Aug 1540	Dec 1540
Clockmaker, Cutler & Smith	William Purves	18 Jan 1540	Dec 1542
Cutler to the King	William Ray, Burgess of Edinburgh	Jan 1507	Jul 1542+
Smith	Robert Scott	1514	1528
Glasswright	Thomas Peebles	1514	Nov 1542
Painter & Chaplain	sir John Kilgour	1527	Feb 1541
Painter	Alexander Chalmer	Feb/Mar 1532	May 1532
Painter	Thomas Angus	May 1532	1538
Painter	Robert Galbraith	Aug 1539	Aug 1539
Painter	Archibald Rule	Aug 1539	Feb 1540
Painter	Andrew Watson	Aug 1539	Jun 1543
Painter	Walter Binning	Feb 1540	Feb 1540
Painter	Andrew Michelson	Feb 1540	Feb 1540

Plasterer	Hector Beato, Frenchman	Jan 1538	Aug 1538
Slater	John Ellis	Sep 1529	Jul 1532
Wright	William Lowrie	Nov 1538	Dec 1539
Wright	William Marshall	Nov 1538	Dec 1539
Wright	Thomas Lindsay	Nov 1538	Mar 1543
Lyon King of Arms	Thomas Pettigrew	before 6 Dec 1542	6 Dec 1542
Lyon King of Arms	Sir David Lindsay of the Mount	3 Oct 1542	3 Oct 1542
Albany Herald	William Brown	8 Nov 1516	18 Nov 1540 †
Albany Herald	John Balfour	1542	1542
Islay Herald	Peter Thomson	2 May 1531	2 May 1531
Islay Herald	Gilbert Lindsay	30 Oct 1538	15 Jun 1541 †
Marchmont Herald	John Meldrum	4 Feb 1516	Feb 1536
Ross Herald	John Dickson	1524	1540
Ross Herald	Master Robert Forman	Sep 1540	Mar 1541
Rothesay Herald	Robert Hart	1 Mar 1535	5 Nov 1542
Snowdon Herald	Sir David Lindsay of the Mount	25 May 1531	1536
Herald	Sir David Lindsay of the Mount	1530	Jun 1540
Bute Pursuivant	Robert Hart	7 Apr 1529	1 Mar 1535
Bute Pursuivant	Peter Thomson	Mar 1538	May 1538
Carrick Pursuivant	James Anderson of Sterheuch	2 Apr 1526	6 Apr 1529
Messenger/Carrick Pursuivant	James Wallace	1515	4 Jun 1533
Carrick Pursuivant	John Paterson	Mar 1538	May 1538
Falkland Pursuivant	Alexander Guthrie	12 Dec 1528	1538
Kintyre Pursuivant	Sir John Pettigrew	1536	1542
Ormond Pursuivant	Robert Oliphant	1522	1537
Stirling Pursuivant	John Paterson	Jun 1537	1539
Messenger/Unicorn Pursuivant	John Balfour	1515	28 Jul 1535
Dingwall Pursuivant	David Blyth	1526	1 Dec 1541
Pursuivant, Messenger & Macer	Cuthbert George	1530	Nov 1542+
Pursuivant/Messenger	David Blair of Ayr	1531	Feb 1533
Pursuivant & Messenger	Peter Thomson	Oct 1536	Aug 1542+
Pursuivant & Messenger	John Paterson	Nov 1536	May 1542+
Pursuivant	Master Robert Forman	Mar 1540	Mar 1540

Pursuivant	Patrick (Pate) Ogilvy	15 Mar 1540	15 Mar 1540
Hereditary Macer	John Scrymgeour of Myres, the elder	1514	15 Feb 1531
Macer	Charles Campbell	1514	1533
Macer	Patrick Maxton	1515	1524
Macer	William Sheves	1515	Jul 1542
Macer	Andrew Purves	1522	29 Jul 1546
Macer & Pursuivant	Oliver Maxton of Drumgrene	17 Nov 1524	10 Dec 1540
Macer	John Pardovan	29 Oct 1524	Dec 1542+
Macer	James Johnson	1527	Jan 1543
Macer	William Forsyth	1528	1531 †
Macer	John Sheves	1529/30	1529/30
Macer	Thomas Hamilton	1529	Dec 1542
Hereditary Macer	Master John Scrymgeour of Myres, the younger	15 Feb 1531	1542+
Macer	David Purves	1515	Dec 1542
Macer	John Forsyth	14 Apr 1535	Dec 1538
Macer	William Cunningham	31 Oct 1536	31 Oct 1536
Macer/Messenger	Adam Forman	1536	Jul 1542+
Macer	James Lindsay	Jul 1538	Jan 1543+
Macer	Robert Black, Burgess of Edinburgh	7 Mar 1539	Dec 1542+
Macer	Alexander Strang	20 Mar 1541	20 Mar 1541
Macer	Robert Cunningham	7 Jul 1542	7 Jul 1542
Macer, Messenger & Pursuivant	Alexander Cunningham	Jul 1542	Nov 1542+
Messenger	David Cameron	1515	1524
Messenger	John Adamson	1515	20 Feb 1533
Messenger/Pursuivant	Duncan Rich	1515	1534
Messenger	David Lowrie	1515	Dec 1537
Messenger	John Langland	1515	1540/41
Messenger	Robert Hart	1515	Dec 1542+
Messenger	James Echt	1517	1534
Messenger & Pursuivant	Archibald Hogg	30 Jul 1517	27 Jul 1545
Messenger	William Christison	1522	Aug 1534
Messenger & Sergeant	John Gourlay	1522	19 Sep 1541
Messenger	Andrew Bonar	1522	1539
Messenger	William Castlelaw	1523	Mar 1537

Messenger	Robert Champnay	1525	10 Dec 1540
Messenger	Patrick Sinclair	1526	1531
Messenger/Pursuivant	William Duncan	1526	1538
Messenger	Master William Chiene	1529	1529
Messenger	Curror	1529	1529
Messenger	Laurence Bickerton	1529	1530
Messenger	Andrew Hamilton	1529	1533
Messenger/Pursuivant	Adam Stewart	1529	Jan 1534
Messenger	Thomas Nevin	13 May 1529	16 Mar 1536
Messenger	Andrew Murray	28 Jul 1529	Sep 1539
Messenger	James Bisset	1515	10 Dec 1540
Messenger	Andrew Mercer	1514	Jan 1540
Messenger & Macer	William Mure	1529	6 Feb 1541
Messenger/Pursuivant	William Strathearn	1529	Dec 1542+
Messenger	Thomas Gifford	1530	1530
Messenger	William White	1530	Oct 1531
Messenger	Alexander Carmaig alias Hecht	1517	Dec 1542+
Messenger	Jock Christison	1531	1531
Messenger	Thomas Duncan	Sep 1531	Oct 1531
Messenger & Pursuivant	Thomas Thomson	Sep 1531	Oct 1533
Messenger & Macer	John Cobb	1531	Dec 1542+
Messenger	William Bisset	Oct 1532	Oct 1532
Messenger	Andrew Dishington	1518	1534
Messenger	James Murray	1532	Jan 1536
Messenger	James Geddes	1532	Nov 1543
Messenger	David Dronan	1533	1537
Messenger	Master John Gardyne	1534	1534
Messenger	Alexander Thriepand	2 May 1535	2 May 1535
Messenger	Andrew/Archibald Hardy	1535	Feb 1539
Messenger	Alexander Arth	Sep 1536	Nov 1536
Messenger	James Colville	31 Oct 1536	31 Oct 1536
Messenger	Cuthbert Whiteford	Oct 1536	1540/41
Messenger	David Hardy	1536	Oct 1541
Messenger	Alexander Hutton	1536	Dec 1542+

Messenger at Arms	William Stirling	1537	1537
Messenger	William Hardy	1537	Dec 1542+
Messenger	Archibald Heriot	1537	Dec 1542+
Messenger	Cuthbert Carraig	Oct 1538	Oct 1538
Messenger	James Moncur	8 Nov 1539	8 Nov 1539
Messenger	Alexander Melville	8 Mar 1533	24 Apr 1540
Messenger	John Cochrane	29 Apr 1540	29 Apr 1540
Messenger	William Champnay	Sep 1540	Nov 1542+
Messenger	David Norry	1538	1541
Messenger	John Maccaffie	Mar 1541	Mar 1541
Messenger	Peter Buntine	Jan 1541	Dec 1542+
Messenger	William Forsyth	Apr 1542	Apr 1542
Messenger	William Oliphant	Nov 1542	Nov 1542
Royal Standard Bearer	James Scrymgeour of Dudop, Constable of Dundee	31 Aug 1531	30 Apr 1540
Captain of ships/guns	Robert Fogo	1529	May 1542
Captain of the Footband	William, Stewart	1534	1534
In Charge of a Footband	Charles Murray	Dec 1541	1 Nov 1543
Keeper of the Pikes	James Doig	Feb 1542	Mar 1542+
Buys munitions in Denmark	James Anderson	1538	1542
Paid to buy Gunpowder	Murdo Mackenzie	21 Apr 1540	30 Apr 1540
Buys munitions	Master David Balfour	Aug 1539	Aug 1539
Buys munitions in Flanders	James Henderson	Feb 1542	Mar 1542
Master of Artillery	Francois Brosses, Frenchman	1521	1521
Master of Artillery	Sir Alexander Jardin of Applergarth	3 Jul 1526	1530 †
Master of Artillery	Sir John Melville of Raith	9 Oct 1526	9 Oct 1526
Master of Artillery	Henry Stewart, Lord Methven	Aug 1539	Dec 1542
Principal Gunner	Captain Robert Borthwick	Dec 1511	30 Apr 1532 (dead)
Principal Maker & Meltar of Artillery	Piers Rowan, Frenchman	30 Apr 1532	30 Apr 1532
Master Gunner	Master John/Hans Cochrane	Aug 1539	Aug 1541
Master Gunner of Dunbar Castle	John Wolf, Danish	Mar 1532	Sep 1541
Gunner in Dunbar	Michael Gardner	Jun 1538	Aug 1541+
Gunner/Hagbutter in Dunbar Castle	John Bungo	1540	1540
Gunner in Dunbar Castle	Morsus, Armorican/Breton	1540	1540

Gunner/wright	Robert Denogent	Dec 1541	Apr 1543
Gunner	John Byres	Apr 1538	Aug 1542
Gunner	James Law	Apr 1538	Aug 1542
Gunner in Dunaverty Castle	James Bonar	Nov 1540	Apr 1541
Gunner in Dunaverty Castle	Patrick Cant	Nov 1540	Apr 1541
Gunner	Hans Cunningham	1515	1537
Gunner	John Cunningham	1518	21 Oct 1541
Gunner	Piers/Peris Rowan, Frenchman	1515	Dec 1542+
Gunner/Culveriner	James Ahannay	1529/30	1530/31
Gunner	Adamson	10 Nov 1533	1534
Gunner	Hollay, Frenchman	Nov 1536	Jan 1537
Gunner	William Agradane	Jul 1537	1 Sep 1539
Gunner	Christopher Grand Morsen, Frenchman	Apr 1537	Sep 1541
Gunner	Nicholas Burdit	Jan 1537	Jan 1537
Gunner	Cornelius Braidhow, 'The Feir of Campveere'	Oct 1539	May 1541
Gunner	William Dalgleish	Oct 1539	Aug 1541
Gunner	Thomas Liddel	Oct 1539	Aug 1541
Gunner	David Lumley	Dec 1539	Aug 1541
Gunner	Anthony Trotter	before 4 Sep 1540	4 Sep 1540
Gunner	Robert Harquier/Harp	Jun 1540	15 Aug 1541
Gunner	Martin Cunningham	4 Sep 1540	Aug 1541
Gunner	John Delyon	Jul 1541	Aug 1541
Gunner	Hans Denuringbirg, Dutch/German	Jul 1541	Aug 1541
Gunner	Gilbert Balnaves	25 Sep 1542	25 Sep 1542
Master Armourer	William Smibert	1515	Mar 1542
Principal Carpenter & Founder of Artillery	John Drummond of Mylnab	6 Dec 1507	Dec 1542+
Principal Maker & Melter of the King's Guns	David Rowan	27 Oct 1542	27 Oct 1542
Smith	Robert Monypenny	1515	1540/41
Gun maker	William Van Dyck, Dutchman	1541	1541
Armourer	Allan Cochran	1505	1522
Smith & Gunner	William Hill	8 Apr 1530	Dec 1542+
Armourer	Guillaume Haymont, Frenchman	Sep 1532	Sep 1533
Engineer & Gunner	George Ormiston	Jan 1532	Jul 1542+
Armourer	John Counseill, Frenchman	1533	1533

Gun maker	Gavin Hamilton	Mar 1537	Jun 1537
Gun founder	David Macpherson	Jun 1537	Jun 1537
Gun maker	Robert Hector	Jun 1537	Feb 1541
Armourer	Jacques Alexander	May 1538	1 May 1538
Armourer	Jehan Merchioun, French?	May 1538	May 1538
Armourer & Gunner	Jacques Leschender	Mar 1538	Jul 1542
Wright & Gunner	John Crawford	Jul 1535	16 Jun 1542+
Armourer	Thomas Short	Apr 1539	12 May 1540
Wright, Carver & Gunner	Andrew Manson, Frenchman	Aug 1539	Dec 1542+
Smith and Culverin maker	John Bickerton	Jul 1541	Aug 1541
Plumber & Gunner	Robert Murray	1532	Dec 1542
Potter & Gunner	John Lang	1533	1542
Principal Jak Maker & Gunner	John Clerk	Apr 1539	Aug 1542+
Crossbowman	John Malcolm	1529	1529
Bowmaker	John Bower, Englishman	1530	1538 †
Bow & Arrow Maker to the King	John Morris, English/Welshman	1530	Jan 1539 †
Maker & Grather of the King's Crossbows	Adrian Abel	3 Jun 1537	3 Jun 1537
Bower/Arrowmaker to King	John Forrester	1538	Aug 1542+
Crossbowmaker	John Testard, French?	Dec 1538	Aug 1542+
Great Admiral	Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell	8 May 1538	8 May 1538
Admiral Depute	Robert Wood	28 May 1533	28 May 1533
Master Timmerman of Ships	Walter Howieson	1 Oct 1539	Dec 1542
Clerk of munitions of Ships	Florence Cornton in Leith	Dec 1539	Jul 1542
The King's Mistress/Governess	Elizabeth Douglas	1517	1529
A Servitor of the King in his youth	Elizabeth Sinclair	1517	1536
King's nurse	Marion Douglas	1518	1540
Nurse to the King's late Brother	Katherine Fin	16 Jan 1516	1527
King's nurse	Christian Wille	1517	1522
The King's Nurse	Margaret Kininmont	1541	1542
One of the king's rockers	Christian Cockburn	1515	1515
The King's Foster Mother	Margaret Learmonth	1532	1532
Queen Margaret's Tailor/Servant	Robert Spittal	1509	10 Mar 1529

Servant of Queen Margaret & king	Marion Bunkle	1512	1542
Servant of Queen Margaret	Michael Donaldson	1514	1521
Servant of king and queen	Christian Ray	Jan 1514	Jan 1532
Servant of Queen Margaret	Alexander Livingston	1526	1527
Servant of Queen Margaret	Peter Allershaw	1531	1542
Dwells with Queen Margaret	Margaret Hamilton	2 Mar 1540	2 Mar 1540
Servant of Queen Margaret	Thomas Robertson	1541	1542
Queen Margaret's Master Cook	Rolland Clerk	29 Mar 1542	29 Mar 1542 †
Queen Madeleine's Furrier	Gillian	1537	1537
Queen Madeleine's Principal Master Butcher	John Kenneth	May 1537	May 1537
Queen Madeleine's Barber	Anthony, Frenchman	Sep 1537	Sep 1537
Queen Madeleine's Chief Lady	Anne de Boissy, Dame de Montreuil	Apr 1537	Jul 1538
Queen Madeleine's Page	John Crammy	1537	1537
Queen Mary's Secretary and Comptroller	François du Fon/Fou/Feu	1538/9	1541
Queen Mary's Master of Household	Charles de la Haye, M. de Curel	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Esquire of the Household	Urban de la Touche	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Gentleman of the household	Gaspard de Villeneuve	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Gentleman of the household	Pierre de la Rainville	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Master Almoner	Jean Fournier	1538/9	Sep 1541
Queen Mary's Almoner	sir Henry Littlejohn (Messire Henri Petit-Jehan)	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Chaplain	messire Jean Guillet	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Cautioner	William Sym	1540	1540
Queen Mary's Doctor	Maitre Michel Vial	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Apothecary	François Guestandt	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Surgeon	Anthony Basset	Aug 1542	Aug 1542
Queen Mary's Lady in waiting	Mahaut des Essartz, Mlle. de Curel	1538/9	Nov 1541
Queen Mary's Lady	Renée d'Antigny, Mlle de la Touche	1538/9	Apr 1540
Queen Mary's Lady	Joanna Gresmor	May 1539	Aug 1540
Queen Mary's Lady	Madame Sowsy	1539	1542
Queen Mary's Maid of honour	Jeanne de la Rainville	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Maid of honour	Jeanne Pieddeser	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Maid of honour	Guillemine Dupont	1538/9	1538/9

Queen Mary's Maid of honour	Françoise de la Touche	1538/9	1538/9
Valet to Queen Mary's maids of honour	Nicolas du Moncel	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Page	John Crammy	Jul 1538	Jul 1538
Queen Mary's Jester	Ferat	Nov 1538	May 1542
Queen Mary's valet of the chamber	Jean Alloutet	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's valet of the chamber	Jacques de la Grange	1538/9	1538/9
Master Usher/Groom of Queen Mary's Chamber	Walter Scrymgeour	Dec 1538	Aug 1542
Usher /Groom in Queen Mary's Chamber	Gilbert Moncrieff	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Queen Mary's usher of the chamber	Pierre Quesnel	1538/9	1538/9
Usher /Groom in Queen Mary's Outer Chamber	John Moncrieff	Dec 1538	Jul 1542
Usher of Queen Mary's Outer Chamber	Alexander Lindsay	Jul 1539	Jul 1542
Dichter of Queen Mary's Chamber	Morris Drummond	Feb 1540	Feb 1540
Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	Marguerite Pignon	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	Jacquette Poiteville	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	Marie Villeneuve	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's gentlewoman of the chamber	Marguerite Roussine	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's laundress	Jeanne Pasquiere	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's usher of the hall	François de Chastillon	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's esquire of the kitchen	Jacques Desongliers	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Master Cook	Tassin Duchesne	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's groom of the kitchen	François Canin	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's esquire of the hall kitchen	Lanveur le Coq	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's master cook of the hall kitchen	Jean Bordais	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's groom of the hall kitchen	Pierre Forest	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's groom of the hall kitchen	Georges Angoux	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's keeper of the vessels	Jean Grimamet	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Master of the Wine Cellar	Claude Autier	1538/9	1538/9
Butler of Queen Mary's wine cellar	Jean de Bimont	1538/9	1538/9
Butler of Queen Mary's wine cellar	Jean Meau	1538/9	1538/9
Groom of Queen Mary's wine cellar	Jean Nepuon	1538/9	1538/9
Groom of Queen Mary's wine cellar	Pierre Chastaignier	1538/9	1538/9
Patissier to Queen Mary & her Ladies	Thomas Lyon	Oct 1538	Jan 1541
Queen Mary's Patissier	Ambroise Bontel	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's baker	Robert Fonain	1538/9	1538/9

Queen Mary's Master of the Pantry	Claude Autigny	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Pantryman	Monsieur Refflat	Nov 1538	Nov 1538
Butler in Queen Mary's pantry	Jacques Danquetin	1538/9	1538/9
Butler in Queen Mary's pantry	Jean de Beausse	1538/9	1538/9
Groom in Queen Mary's pantry	Georges Huon	1538/9	1538/9
Doorman in Queen's Pantry	George Carpenter	Mar 1539	Mar 1539
Servant in Queen Mary's Spice House	Alexander Durham	1538/9	Jan 1539
Master of Queen Mary's Stable	John Mowat	1541	Jul 1542
Queen Mary's Esquire of the Stable	Philippe de Laincth	1538/9	1538/9
In Queen Mary's Stable	William Gibb	Sep 1538	Sep 1538
In Queen Mary's Stable	Osay	Apr 1539	Apr 1539
Queen Mary's muleteer of the litter	Anthoine de Podir	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's muleteer	Anthoine Villars	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's groom of the mules	Jean Valle	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's groom of the stable	Pierre Dubois	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's assistant groom	Jacques Doret	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's chariotceer	Pierre Lay	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's Master Avery	Walter Moncur in Forgund	May 1538	Dec 1542
In Queen Mary's Avery	Thomas Murray	1542	1542
Queen Mary's tailor	Jacob de la Grange	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's yeoman of the wardrobe	Jacques de la Grange the younger	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's embroiderer	Henri le Meine	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's embroiderer	Jacques Herpon	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's gardener	Louis Rialland	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's quartermaster	Alain Leboeuf	1538/9	1538/9
Groom of Queen Mary's quartermaster	David Sebec	1538/9	1538/9
Groom of Queen Mary's quartermaster	Jean Mirbeau	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's carter	Simon Alexander	1538/9	1538/9
Queen Mary's carter	Jean de Choury	1538/9	1538/9
Servant of Queen Mary	Monsieur Acquys	Oct 1538	1 Aug 1539
Servant of Queen Mary	James Robertson	1541	1541
Servant of the queen	Elizabeth Sinclair	1541	1541
Servant of Queen Mary	Master Peter Panter	Jun 1541	Jun 1541
In Queen Mary's Household	Patrick Henderson	Mar 1542	Mar 1542

Master of the Prince's Household	Thomas Duddingston of Kilduncan	Oct 1540	Aug 1541
The Prince's Master Almoner	sir William Laing	Jul 1541	Aug 1541
The Prince's Master Usher	the auld Laird	Aug 1541	1 Aug 1541
The Prince's Steward	Master Allan Lamont	Feb 1541	Aug 1541
Keeper of the Silver Vessels & Collier to the Prince	William Methven	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
The Prince's Master Cook	John Mount	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
Patissier in the Prince's Household	Patrick Marshall	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
In the Prince's Pantry	James Mackesson	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
The Prince's Tailor	sir Thomas Richardson	Dec 1540	Apr 1541
The Prince's Laundress	Margaret Maccombie	10 Jun 1540	10 Jun 1540
In the Prince's Service	Euphemia Strachan	Jan 1541	Jan 1541
In the Prince's Service	Katherine Ker	Feb 1541	Feb 1541
The Prince's Milkwife	Janet Macgee	Mar 1541	Mar 1541
In the Prince's Service	the wife of David Ramsay (unnamed)	Mar 1541	Mar 1541
In the Prince's Service	Margaret Scott	Apr 1541	Apr 1541
In the Prince's Household	William Crammy	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
In the Prince's Household	John Duchale	Aug 1540	Aug 1541
In the Prince's Household	Patrick Henderson	Aug 1541	Aug 1541
Administered the Priory of St Andrews for lord James Stewart			
	sir James Kincaigie, Dean of Aberdeen	before 30 Jul 1540	30 Jul 1540
Doctor/Servant of lord James Stewart	Andrew Mylne	1534	1536
Lord James Stewart's Cook	Thomas Durie	May 1539	Mar 1542
lord James's Laundress	Janet Ferguson	Aug 1539	Mar 1542
Mother of a king's Son	Mistress Christina Barclay	1532	Aug 1534
Mother of a King's Son	Marion/Elizabeth Shaw	Nov 1533	Nov 1533
Servant of Lord James Stewart	Wood	1535	1535
Tutor of lord James	Master George Buchanan	1536	1538
Page/Servant of the Abbot of Kelso	Walter Bell	Oct 1538	Aug 1539
Servant of lord James	Angus Canochson	Nov 1538	Mar 1542
Servant of lord James Stewart	Donald Begg	Aug 1539	Aug 1539
Servant to the King's 2 sons	John Cairns	Dec 1539	Dec 1539
Servant of lord James	William Brown	Jun 1539	Mar 1541

Servant of lord James Stewart	Gavin Barbour	Aug 1540	1 Mar 1542
Servant of lord James Stewart	William Hamilton	Mar 1542	Mar 1542
Servant of lord Robert	Thomas Carmichael	Jul 1542	Jul 1542
Lady Margaret Douglas Servant	Marion Maxton	1526/27	1526/27
Lady Jane Stewart's Nurse	Elizabeth Macall	1534	Aug 1542
Lady Jane Stewart's Nurse	Christina Baxter	Oct 1538	Jan 1542
Lady Janes Stewart's Tailor	Walter White	May 1538	Mar 1539
Lady Jane Stewart's Chamberlain/Servant	Thomas Troup	Mar 1539	Jul 1542
Lady Jane Stewart's Tailor	Robert Spittal	Apr 1542	Jan 1543
Payments to	John Hill alias the Duke of Milan	1518	1529/30
Payments to	Gavin Hamilon	1522	Jun 1538
Paid as son of the Captain of Edinburgh Castle	David 'the bairn' Crichton of Nauchtanc	1526	1531
Paid with Livery	John Stewart	1526	Jan 1541
Payments to	Sir John Melville of Raith	Aug 1527	May 1538
Paid with Livery	George Pringle	1529	1531
Paid with Livery	'little' John Stewart	1530/31	Aug 1535
Paid for Misc Services	Thomas Kells	1532	3 May 1540
Paid for Services	Robert Spittal	1533	1 Dec 1535
Gets Clothes	Robert Gourlay	Oct 1538	Jul 1541
Payments & Liveries to	the auld/the young Laird	Dec 1538	1 Aug 1541
Payments to	George Carmichael	Oct 1539	Jul 1541
Payments to	Master Andrew Whitelaw	Jan 1539	Dec 1542
Payments/Expenses	Master David Balfour	Aug 1539	Dec 1542
Payments to	Adam Logan	Oct 1541	Mar 1542
Servant to Thom Arthur	Thomas Craig	1537	1537
Servant to Thom Arthur	Robert Craig	Dec 1538	Jan 1542
Servitrix to Henry Kemp	Bessie Lundie	1538	19 May 1540
John Tennent's Falconer	Baxter	Jan 1539	25 Apr 1540
Servant to the Comptroller	Thomas Kay	1539	1539
John Lowes' Man	Murray	Dec 1539	Dec 1540
Robert Gib's Servant	John Hart	Aug 1540	Aug 1540

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SELECTED HOUSEHOLD PAPERS

A Bill of Household, 1507/08 SRO MS, E.34/1

The haill place and Residens of þe Kingis quharever It be to be clengit of all maner of Rafcall and boyis weill & onhoneft perfonis quhatfumever ['quheddir þa be on þe bill or nocht' struck out].

Item Ilk lord extra ordinar out of þe bill of houfhald to enter wítht ij personis wítht hym & to be nemmyt quhat he was at þe nixt compt be name be þe mercheall.

Item ilk knycht j perfoun fic lyk & onny honeft gentilman of reputacioun providing alway þa be nemmyt.

Item þat Na maner perfon haf ma entering na thar ordinar in þe kingis bill of houfhald & þe extra ordinar be admittit as is befor faid.

Item þat na officiar kep ma in his offis houfis than Is conteint & allowit in þe bill of houfhald.

The bill of houfhald maid the fifte day of Ianuare the yeir of god jm. vc. and sevin yeiris.

The erle of argile, maifter houfhald.....	vij
My lord of abirdene prive fele	vj
My lord thefaurare	vij
The clerk of þe Registre maifter gawane dunbar	iiij
The fecretare maifter patrik panter	iiij
The directoure of þe chancellary Robert coluile	ij

Bisshopis and prelatis

The archibifchope of fanctandros.....	vij
The archibifchope of glafsgw.....	vij
The bifchope of dunkell.....	iiij
The bischope of murray.....	iiij
The bischope of Rofs	iiij
The bischope of argile	iiij
The prior of fanctandros.....	iiij
The abbot of halirudehoufs.....	iiij
The abbot of cambufkynneth	iiij
The dene of glafsgw.....	ij
The dene of abirdene.....	ij
The perfoun of Kilmertyne	j

The lordis temporall

The erle of arrale conftabill.....	iiij
The erle merfchell	iiij
The erle of boithuile amerall	iiij
The chawmbirlane	iiij
The erle of huntlie	iiij
The erle of arane	iiij
The erle of montrofs.....	iiij
The erle of glencarne.....	iiij
The erle of eglintoun	iiij
The lord gray Iuftice	iiij
The lord fimpill	iiij
The lord crechtoun of fanchare.....	iiij
The lord of Rofs.....	iiij
fchir Iohnne Ramfay.....	ij
fchir george of dundas.....	ij
fchir Iohnne of friveling maifter houfhald deput	iiij

The kingis chawmbir

The lord avindale maifter vfcheare	iiij
Andro Woud.....	j
Iames ftewart	j
george barde.....	j
The maifter feware fir adam hepburne	iiij
The maifter gray carvour.....	iiij
The lord hume coppare ['Non' in margin]	
The maifter pantre fchir patrik crechoun.....	ij
James laing 3eman	

The Wyne cellare

The lard of faftell maifter of þe wynecellare	ij
Robin of dowglas.....	j
Iohnne of dowglas	

Wardrop

The maifter wardrop fchir patrik crechoun.....	ij
Iames dog	
Iohne forman	
lioun Robifoun mendare and hingar of þe arres	
Robin cutlare armorare	
James Jaklin barbour	
dowik lavindare	
Allane armorar alane cochrane [sic]	

The chaplanis of clofet

The proveft of linclowdane maifter elimofinare.....	ij
Maifter Iames merchintoun	j

Maifter dauid dowglas..... j
 Maifter Iohnne fchewes..... j
 Maifter andro haliburnetoun..... j
 Maifter James ftewart..... ij
 Maifter cuthbert bail3e..... ij
 Maifter Iohnne brufe
 Maifter Androu makbrek..... j

Medicinaris

doctor bail3e..... ij
 Maifter michell ker..... j

Pottingaris

William Fowlare
 Iohnne mofsmann

Henfmen

fchir criftall
 fchir Iohnne friveling..... j
 hannis
 Walter friveling
 Andro hume..... j
 Iames hammiltoun
 barroun
 Martyne

Pagis

grahme
 halyday
 Tail3oure

Grumis of the chawmbir

Iohnne of Woud
 Iame Jaklin
 Iohnne campbell
 Adam

Menftralis

Alexander Wardlaw
 The Italianis..... j
 five franche menftralis

The Kingis chapell Riall

Maifter dauid abircrummy fubdene..... j
 Maifter alexander fchaw chantoure..... j

The thefaurare.....	j
Maifter dauid trail facriftane.....	j
fchir thomas galbraith	
fchir niniane fpothfwoud	
Nicholas abirnethy	
Thomas clerk	
fchir Iohnne tod	
Iohnne goldfmytht	
fchir Robert Wemis	
fchir Thomas daurimpill	
fchir William fterrate	
fchir iohnne of murray	
fchir patrik newlandis	
fchir alane merfchell	
fchir alexander buchane	
fchir william fymifoun	
fchir william aitoun	
fchir william frefall	
fchir Iohnne Mowo	
fchir Iohnne Jaklin	
fchir Iohnne charpe	
fchir James gortoun	

Item fax childer

The gunnaris

Item for þe kingis cofferis.....	j
Item for þe fovme	j
Item for þe kingis copburd naperie fpece caryng	j
The franche finycht [?]	j

Officiaris of houfhald

The comptrollare Iames Redheuch	vij
The comptrollaris clerk	
The clerk of þe pannis abbot of Jedworth	ij
Maifter Iohnne chefolme clerk writare of þe bukis	j
The ftewart perfoun of lochquho [?].....	ij
Iames edmonftoun maifter of þe filuer wefchell	j
Iohnne of balfour 3eman of þe filuer wefchell	
William dowglas maiftir of þe breidhoufs.....	j
Maifter william denniftoun	
William forfith in þe curte pantre	
Michell balfoure maifter of þe ail cellar	j
Dauid balfoure	
Iohnne of kirkwoud maifter lardnar	j
Iohnne flemyng 3eman	

Allane kirkwoud
The maifter flefchuris feruand

Merfchellis

Ifchearis of þe hall

Iohnne of knox
dauid balfoure
Iohnne of 3efter ewerman

Copparis

Robin coppar
X Alexander coppare
X Alexander dowglas

Catouris

Robin moncur
Robin button
george friveling in þe petty lardnar

The kingis ftabill

Robin galway avenar j
Andro doule fteropman j
Iames dowglas fumpturman j
Iames fcot
gawane bail3e
alexander gordoun

The kingis kechin

Thomas fchaw maifter cuke ij
Flemyng 3eman in þe fpicehoufs
Item ij 3emen in þe kechin
Item ij grumis in þe fammyn
Item ij turnbrochis in þe fammyn
hambir deneman ['de mandato' in margin]
gilbert watfoun

The courte kechin

William arth j
vfcheare of þe kechin dure
gourlaw forman
Item ij 3eman
Item ij grumis
Item ij turnebrochis

The brouftaris

Richart brouftar
Andro brofatre

Baxftaris

Thomas craw
Martin huntare

Trumpatis

Thomas hoppingill
Caftillaw
Petty Iohnne
Thomas trumpate
3ing hoppingill

duncane daufon col3ar

Bofane grume in þe hall
The candilman

herraldis

Lioun king of armisij
Marchemonth.....j
snawdoun.....j

Purfevantis

Vnicorne
Bute
ormond
Carrik

Mafaris

Adam neifbit
William campbell
fcringeoure
Ramfay

Currouis

Duncane Riche
And þe laif þat beris þe armis

Falconaris

fchir alexander makcullochij
hannay
Robert falconare
Alexandr law

dauid falconare
& þe falconaris þat beris hakis

Knychtis of attendance

The maifter of athole..... }
fchir Iohnne fomervale..... }
fchir duncane campbell..... }
fchir dauid hume..... }
fchir william cokburne..... }
fchir alexander fetoun..... }
fchir william fcot..... }
fchir patrik hammiltoun..... }
fchir william of murray..... }
fchir James of fchaw..... }
fchir hary fchaw..... }
fchir alexander cunnynghame..... }
fchir william edmonftoun..... }
fchir andro murray..... }
fchir dauid grahme..... }
the lard of lundy..... }

Ilkane ij

Archibald bikkertoun..... j
Adam cokburne..... j
William bofswell..... j
Iohnne of balfour..... j
Matho campbell..... j
donald de Infulis
Morif buchquhannane..... j
þe lard of Dunlop..... j
Iames fteward..... j

fquiaris of attendance

Maifter alexander ogilvy..... j
Maifter William ogilvy..... ij
Alexander elphinfoun..... ij
Thomas bofswell..... ij
patrik finclare..... ij
Robert muncreif..... j
hew dowglas..... j
Colin campbell..... j
Iohnne lindiffay..... j
Iohnne afflect..... j
Iohnne of murray..... j
Iohnne of bikkertoun..... j
george campbell..... j
Iames finclar..... j
Iames meldrum..... j

Iohnne Rowok j
quintyne folkert j
Walter trumbull j
george fchaw j
Alexander makculloch j
Iames edmonftoun j
['fchir andro murray ij' deleted]
['fchir dauid grahme ij' deleted]
Andro aitoun ij
Fflory auchinouty j

fourrouris

fchir fymon preftoun knyght ij

fchir Iohnne forman maifter entres ij
fchir Iohnne of Killoch j
William balfour j
þe lard of Leftalrig ij
Maifter Alexander fteward dene of dunbar ij

* * * * *

Instructions for the Master of Household, 1528 x 1542
SRO MS E.34/6

Rex

Maifter houfhald It is our will and we charge 3ou That 3e gar call all our officiariis before 3ou And þat 3e charge þame and enny ane of þame to fulfill and keip þir ordinances and ftatutis eftir followand vndir þe pane of tinfale of þair offices

In þe firft þat nane of þe faidis officiariis cum to Inquiet or moleft ws with ony coimplayntis, bot þat þai cum to 3ow our maifter houfhald To quham we gif þe cuyre of punyffing of all complayntis Within our houfs And to put furth ony of þe faidis seruandis þat fail3eis And charge all our faidis officiariis to obey to 3ow in our name And þat 3e do in þair behalfis As 3e will anfwer to ws þairupoun.

Alfua þat 3e command and charge all oure faidis officiariis that nane of þame departe fra our seruice but lauchful caufs and licence of ws, quhilk licence falbe firft focht & fchewin to 3ou, That 3e may cum & aduertis ws þairof Exceptand 3e officiariis þat man pafs for our furniffing at ony tymes, quhilkis fmall thingis we refer to 3our felf, and to oure comptrollar.

Item þat all oure faidis officiariis be commandit to haue honeft houfs and abil3eament efferand to þair eftate And þat 3e owrfe þair houfs and abil3ementis thre tymes in þe þeir And quhair 3e fynd ony falt that 3e caufs our thefaurar or comptrollar deliuer samekill of þair dewiteis as will mend þe thingis þat 3e fynd falt.

Item þat 3e command and charge enny ane of 3e faidis officiariis baith gentilmen and vperis that nane of þame bring ony laddis or vyle boyis within our place or hald þame within þair office houffis vnder 3e pane of tinfaile of þair seruice And þat 3e command inlikewiff our portaris to hald all fic perfonis away without ony exceptioun.

Item þat gif ony complayntis be maid to 3ow be ony of our faid officiariis owthir vpoun thefaurare or comptrollar for default of payment of þair dewiteis conteint in our roll of houfhald that 3e incontinent vpoun þair complaynt caufs oure faid thesaurare or comptrollar tobe callit how fone 3e may gudely And to caufs reformatioun tobe maid þairupoun in 3e fcharpeft & haiftieft fort.

James R

* * * * *

**The particullar pointes of the office of Stewart of the kingis hwshald to be
corried as salbe thocht expedient, c.1582**

SRO MS E.34/7

The pointes of the office of Stewart of the kyngis majesties hous or appeirandlie neir þairby vsit be vthres in kyng James the V his dayis quhair of gif neid beis ar and may be witneffis the Laird of Darfye Allane Couttis eldre the chamberlane of hallyruidhouss with vthres diverssis Remitting alwayes to the guid judgement of my lordis of chekker to eik or diminifche as thair wifdomes fall think expedient.

1. Item in the first to know of all provifioun & fourneiffing quhatfumeure falbe entrit within the kyngis majesteis hous the price quantittie & qualiteis þairof as alfua of fourneiffing of fische & flefche coft daylie & all vthir vncoftis Quhairthrow he may alsua fe the diftributioun & reftis þairof vpoun the dyat buikis for witneffing of the fame at the comptis.

2. Item he fould know the reffait quantittie qualitie & number of all the panes [loaves of bread] entterit in his majesteis hous to fe the diftributioun & compt þairof quhairby the reftis may be devidit fra the daylie expenfis.

3. Item gif thair wer reddy filuer he sould reffave the famin of the clerk of the expenfis and pafs to þe merkettis to fe the price & bying of flefche fische & wyld maittis & gif thair be flefchoris cattoris & fischers appoynteid to ferue for lak of reddy mony, quilk is ane grit hurt to his majesteis proffiet, the faid steward fould enschewe affife the merkettis & the perfonis fourneiffers to fe thair prices allowit at comptis to be reffouneble & nocht our far abone mefour.

4. Item he sould se the braid & candle weyit anis in the oulk or xv dayis & to fe the fame fufficient of fluff & wecht for the contentment of the perfonis feruit þairwith within the hous.

5. Item he fould fe the beifs mowtounis & waill ftrukkin directed to þe kichingis and to know the famin to be feruit trewlie agane to the tables of the houfs.

6. Item he fould conuoy the kingis majesteis mait efter the maister houfhald at dinner & foupper & fe the maifter of houfhaldis table feruit and fic to site thairat as falbe allowit in the ordinary of the houfs appoynted be the bill of houfhald.

7. Item he fould know of the laying of mairtis of the bying of butter dry fische heringis and all sic vthre provifiouns as ar coft in grit of thair prices nombre & quantitties quhairby he may fe & witnefs the diftributioun þairof within the houfs & witnefs of the reftis at the comptis.

8. Item he fould know of the Inlaying of Wyne of the tranfporting thairof from place to place & how meikle & of the reftis left in places quhairfra his majesties houfhald dynes quhairby the diftributioun & reftis may be knawin at comptis.

9. Item eftre ane generall & parfite Inventor be maid of all napprye wefchell & kiching graith pottis pannis sprittis rakkis Tables formes & benkis in the hallis & office houfsis that fic neccffaris be provydit to þe officers in every houfs as may dewlie suffice to þe honorable & commodioufs fervice of the houfs And that sic new fourneiffing as falbe maid from tyme to tyme The fteward to be participant of the quantittie & nombre þairby compt may be keipit as affeiris.

10. And finnallye to be as it wer ane fpeciall fupport & helpar within the houfs of my lord Comptrollar & redy to anfser vnto the maifter of houfhald in all poyntes concerning the fourneiffing & provifioun brocht within the houfs And to se the parfite ordoring & diftributioun thairof to the contentment of thame to quhom it apertenis. And to sit at the comptis daylie with the reft of the auditouris þairof & giff his oppinioun and mak anfser in fic thingis as fall happit to be difputable at the saidis comptis.

All thir headdis I beleve falbe thocht ane grit & onerit charge to þe ftewart & to all guid officeres in the houfs na officer in thare offices, Bot the fpeciall help & wiell of his majesteis fervice alway as far in the beginning, I remitt to the difcretioun & wifdvme of my lordis of chekkre to reforme & put order to thir notes as falbe thocht maift expedient be thame, And the fteward fall god willing obey thair form & directiounis in all that they fall pleafe to appoynt.

* * * * *

APPENDIX C

The King's Itinerary

This appendix lists the movements of the king and his household between 1525 and 1542 as listed in the household books of the period: SRO, Libri Domicilii, E.31/1-E.31/8 and SRO, Libri Emptorum, E.32/2-E.32/8. The individual folio references are not supplied since the records are written in chronological order anyway. There are gaps in the record between 1 August 1526 and 18 August 1528, between 23 August 1530 and 31 August 1531, and between 14 September 1539 and 13 August 1542. These gaps have been partially filled by references taken from *RSS*, *RMS*, *TA*, *ADCP*, *James V Letters (Letters)*, *Hamilton Papers (HP)* and SRO, Despençe de la Maison Royale, E.33/1-E.33/2 (*DMR*). Between 1 September 1536 and 18 May 1537 the king was in France and the household books list Stirling as the only location of the kitchen, pantry, buttery etc. The French itinerary has therefore been taken largely from Bapst, *Mariages (Bapst)*. The calendar year is taken from 1st January.

The prefatory table indicates the pattern of the king's movements during the years of the adult reign by showing the percentage of nights in each year he spent in the given locations.

	H'ood	St'ing	L'gow	F'land	SE	SW	Fife, Perth	NE	Other
1528	67	17	3	9	0	4	0	0	0
1529	30	38	10	3	10	8	1	0	0
1530	17	41	5	9	6	6	15	1	0
1531	29	36	4	2	2	1	22	4	0
1532	27	41	5	8	4	4	11	0	0
1533	11	33	2	11	6	16	21	0	0
1534	8	27	1	2	11	4	46	1	0
1535	8	44	1	8	12	10	10	7	0
1536	1	29	1	13	4	8	8	0	36
1537	17	1	3	10	7	5	9	11	37
1538	15	17	12	14	3	10	28	0	1
1539	10	15	19	27	3	1	25	0	0
1540	30	8	15	15	3	1	26	1	1
1541	28	28	1	24	1	1	16	1	0
1542	40	10	4	19	9	1	17	0	0
Total	22	26	6	12	5	5	17	2	5

1525

Thu 17 Aug	Peebles
Fri 18 Aug	Selkirk
Sat 19 - Sun 20 Aug	Peebles
Mon 21 Aug	Peebles to Edinburgh
Tue 22 - Thu 24 Aug	Edinburgh
Fri 25 Aug	Edinburgh to Haddington
Sat 26 - Sun 27 Aug	Haddington to Edinburgh
Tue 29 Aug - Sun 10 Sep	Edinburgh
Mon 11 Sep	Edinburgh to Dalkeith
Tue 12 Sep	Dalkeith
Wed 13 Sep	Dalkeith (lunch at Newbattle Abbey)
Thu 14 - Sun 17 Sep	Dalkeith
Mon 18 Sep	Dalkeith to Edinburgh
Tue 19 Sep - Wed 11 Oct	Edinburgh
Thu 12 Oct	Edinburgh to Stirling (burgh not castle)
Fri 13 Oct	Stirling
Sat 14 Oct	Stirling to Glasgow
Sun 15 Oct	Glasgow (at Archbishop's expense)
Mon 16 Oct	Glasgow to Palace of Enchinyean (Inchinnan?)
Tue 17 Oct	Palace of Inchinnan (at earl of Lennox's expense)
Wed 18 Oct	Inchinnan to Dumbarton
Thu 19 Oct	Dumbarton
Fri 20 Oct	Dumbarton to Stirling
Sat 21 Oct - Wed 1 Nov	Stirling
Thu 2 Nov	Stirling to Edinburgh
Fri 3 - Tue 28 Nov	Edinburgh
Wed 29 Nov	king Edinburgh to Dalkeith, household in Edinburgh
Thu 30 Nov - Sat 23 Dec	king in Dalkeith, household in Edinburgh
Sun 24 - Sun 31 Dec	Edinburgh

1526

Mon 1 - Tue 16 Jan	Edinburgh
Wed 17 Jan	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Thu 18 Jan	Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Fri 19 Jan - Fri 30 Mar	Edinburgh
Sat 31 Mar (Easter Eve)	burgh of Stirling
Sun 1 - 8 Apr	burgh of Stirling
Mon 9 Apr	Stirling to Edinburgh
Tue 10 - Sat 14 Apr	Edinburgh
Sun 15 - Mon 23 Apr	Dalkeith
Tue 24 Apr - Thu 31 May	Edinburgh
Fri 1 Jun	Edinburgh to Stirling
Sat 2 - Tue 5 Jun	Stirling
Wed 6 Jun	Stirling to Edinburgh

1526 continued

Thu 7 Jun - Sun 1 Jul	Edinburgh
Mon 2 Jul	Edinburgh, but Calder for lunch and Costorphine for dinner at the expense of their lairds
Tue 3 - Mon 16 Jul	Edinburgh
Tue 17 Jul	Edinburgh to Peebles
Wed 18 Jul	Peebles
Thu 19 Jul	Peebles to Melrose (dinner at the abbot's expense)
Fri 20 Jul	Melrose to Jedburgh
Sat 21 - Fri 27 Jul	Jedburgh
Sat 28 Jul	Jedburgh to Edinburgh
Sun 29 - Tue 31 Jul	Edinburgh

Gap in household record

Wed 1 - Tue 2 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 6 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Wed 8 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Sat 11 - Mon 13 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Wed 15 - Wed 22 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sat 25 - Sun 26 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 28 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Fri 31 Aug - Sat 1 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Tue 4 Sep	Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling	"
Fri 7 Sep	St. Andrews	"
Sat 8 Sep	Dunfermline, Edinburgh	"
Sun 9 - Tue 11 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Fri 14 - Sat 15 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Tue 18 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Sat 22 - Sun 23 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Tue 25 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Wed 3 - Thu 4 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sat 6 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 8 - Wed 10 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sat 13 - Sun 14 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Tue 16 - Sat 20 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 22 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Thu 25 - Fri 26 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sun 28 - Mon 29 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 31 Oct - Thu 1 Nov	Edinburgh	"
Wed 7 Nov	Edinburgh	"
Fri 9 - Sat 10 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Tue 13 - Wed 14 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Fri 16 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sun 18 - Fri 23 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 26 - Tue 27 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>

1526 continued

Thu 29 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 1 Dec	Edinburgh	"
	Dundee	<i>RMS</i>
Mon 3 - Tue 4 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Fri 7 - Sat 15 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 17 - Tue 18 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Thu 20 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Sat 22 - Sun 23 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Tue 25 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 27 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Sun 30 Dec	Edinburgh	"

1527

Tue 1 - Thu 3 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>Letters, RSS</i>
Sat 5 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 7 - Fri 11 Jan	Edinburgh	"
Sat 19 - Sun 20 Jan	St. Andrews	"
Wed 23 Jan	Cupar	"
Thu 24 Jan	Balmerino	"
Sat 26 Jan	Lindores	"
Mon 28 Jan	Perth	"
Wed 30 Jan - Fri 1 Feb	Perth	"
Mon 4 - Thu 7 Feb	Perth	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sat 9 Feb	Dundee	<i>RMS</i>
Fri 15 Feb	Dundee	"
Sun 16 - Mon 17 Feb	Dundee	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Wed 20 Feb	Dundee	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 21 Feb	Dundee	"
	St. Andrews	<i>RMS</i>
Sun 24 Feb	St. Andrews	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 26 Feb	St. Andrews	<i>RMS</i>
	Dundee	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 28 Feb - Mon 4 Mar	Edinburgh	"
Wed 6 - Sat 16 Mar	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 18 - Wed 20 Mar	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 25 - Fri 29 Mar	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sun 31 Mar - Mon 1 Apr	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 3 - Sat 13 Apr	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 15 Apr	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 17 - Thu 18 Apr	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 20 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Tue 23 - Wed 24 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Fri 26 Apr - Thu 2 May	Edinburgh	"
Sat 4 May	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>

1527 continued

Tue 7 - Mon 13 May	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Tue 14 May	Edinburgh, Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 16 - Fri 17 May	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 18 May	Edinburgh, Dalkeith	"
Mon 20 May	Edinburgh, Stirling	"
Tue 21 - Sat 25 May	Edinburgh	"
Mon 27 May - Mon 3 Jun	Edinburgh	"
Tue 4 Jun	Edinburgh	"
	Leith	<i>RMS</i>
Sun 9 - Mon 10 Jun	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 13 - Sat 15 Jun	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 17 - Tue 18 Jun	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 22 Jun	Edinburgh, Peebles	"
Wed 26 - Thu 27 Jun	Edinburgh	"
Mon 1 - Tue 2 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Thu 4 - Tue 16 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS, Letters</i>
Thu 18 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Sat 20 - Tue 30 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sat 3 - Tue 6 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 8 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Mon 12 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Wed 14 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Sat 17 - Mon 19 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sat 24 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Tue 27 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Sat 31 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 2 - Wed 3 Sep	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Sat 7 Sep	St. Andrews	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 10 Sep	St. Andrews, Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
	Cullerny (?)	<i>RMS</i>
Thu 19 Sep	Edinburgh	"
Mon 23 Sep	Edinburgh (Angus)	<i>Letters</i>
Wed 25 Sep	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Sun 29 Sep	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 4 - Sat 5 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Wed 9 - Fri 11 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Mon 21 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Fri 25 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Mon 28 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Wed 30 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Sun 10 Nov	Ayr	"
Wed 27 - Fri 29 Nov	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Sun 1 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 4 - Fri 6 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 9 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>

1527 continued

Tur 12 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 17 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Fri 20 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Tue 24 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 27 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 31 Dec	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>

1528

Thu 2 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Sun 5 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Tue 7 - Fri 10 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS, Letters</i>
Sun 12 - Mon 13 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 20 Jan	Dundee	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 22 Jan	Brechin	"
Sat 25 Jan	Brechin	"
Mon 27 Jan	Aberdeen	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 30 Jan	Aberdeen	<i>RSS</i>
	Brechin	<i>RMS</i>
Fri 31 Jan - Sat 1 Feb	Aberdeen	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 3 - Wed 5 Feb	Aberdeen	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 7 Feb	Aberdeen	"
Mon 10 - Sat 15 Jan	Aberdeen	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Wed 19 Feb	Elgin	<i>RMS</i>
Sat 22 Feb	Elgin	<i>RMS</i>
Mon 24 Feb	Elgin	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 3 - Wed 4 Mar	Elgin	<i>RMS</i>
Mon 9 Mar	Aberdeen	"
Tue 10 Mar	Perth	"
Thu 19 Mar	Edinburgh	"
Sat 21 Mar	Edinburgh	"
Mon 23 Mar	Edinburgh	"
Wed 25 - Thu 26 Mar	Edinburgh	"
Tue 7 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Thu 9 - Sat 11 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Mon 13 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Sun 19 - Tue 21 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Fri 1 - Sun 3 May	Edinburgh	"
Thu 7 May	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 9 - Sun 10 May	Stirling	<i>RMS</i>
Tue 12 May	Stirling	"
Mon 18 May	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 20 - Fri 22 May	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 25 - Tue 26 May	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Thu 28 May	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>

1528 continued

Sat 30 May	Stirling	<i>RMS</i>
Sun 31 May	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 1 Jun	Stirling	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 3 Jun	Stirling	"
Tue 23 Jun	Stirling	"
Fri 26 Jun	Stirling	"
Sat 27 Jun	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 1 Jul	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 3 - Sun 5 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Tue 7 - Wed 8 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Thu 9 Jul	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 11 - Sun 12 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Tue 14 Jul	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Thu 16 - Mon 20 Jul	Stirling	<i>RMS, ADCP</i>
Fri 24 Jul	Stirling	<i>RMS</i>
Sat 25 Jul	Glasgow	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 29 Jul	Stirling	"
Wed 5 Aug	Stirling	"
Fri 7 - Sat 8 Aug	Stirling	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Mon 10 - Wed 12 Aug	Stirling	<i>RMS, ADCP</i>
Fri 14 Aug	Stirling	<i>RMS</i>

(Household record resumes)

Wed 19 - Fri 21 Aug	Stirling
Sat 22 - Thu 27 Aug	Falkland
Fri 28 Aug	Linlithgow
Sat 29 Aug - Thu 10 Sep	Edinburgh
Fri 11 - Wed 16 Sep	Lanark
Thu 17 Sep	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Fri 18 - Wed 23 Sep	Stirling
Thu 24 - Mon 28 Sep	Falkland
Tue 29 Sep	Falkland to Stirling
Wed 30 Sep	Stirling to Edinburgh
Thu 1 - Fri 16 Oct	household in Edinburgh (probably co-ordinating supplies for the attack on the Douglases), king at Edinburgh, Haddington and Stirling
Sat 17 Oct	Stirling to Linlithgow
Sun 18 Oct	Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Mon 19 Oct - Fri 4 Dec	household in Edinburgh, king at North Berwick, Arran at Tynningham, Argyll and Moray at Dunbar for siege of Tantallon (20 Oct - 5 Nov: <i>Diurnal</i>)
Sat 5 Dec	Edinburgh to Stirling
Sun 6 - Fri 18 Dec	Stirling
Sat 19 Dec	Linlithgow

1529 continued

Mon 24 May	Stirling to Edinburgh Haddington (king? <i>Letters</i>)
Tue 25 - Fri 28 May	Edinburgh (supplies to Haddington)
Sat 29 May - Mon 7 Jun	Haddington
Tue 1 Jun	Jedburgh (king? <i>Letters</i>)
Tue 8 Jun	Haddington to Melrose
Wed 9 Jun	Melrose (at abbot's expense)
Thu 10 Jun	Melrose to Jedburgh
Fri 11 - Mon 21 Jun	Jedburgh
Tue 22 Jun	Peebles
Wed 23 - Sun 27 Jun	household at Peebles king also at Peebles but in Edinburgh 24th & 25th
Mon 28 - Wed 30 Jun	hunt at Cramalt and Meggetland
Thu 1 Jul	Peebles to Edinburgh
Fri 2 Jul	Edinburgh
Sat 3 Jul	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Sun 4 - Fri 9 Jul	Stirling
Sat 10 Jul	Stirling to Falkland
Sun 11 Jul	Falkland
Sun 11 - Thu 15 Jul	household in Falkland king also in Falkland but in Arbroath 12th & 14th
Fri 16 Jul	Falkland to Stirling
Sat 17 - Sun 18 Jul	Stirling
Mon 19 Jul	Stirling to Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Tue 20 - Sun 25 Jul	Edinburgh
Mon 26 Jul	Linlithgow
Tue 27 Jul - Fri 6 Aug	Stirling
Sat 7 Aug	Stirling to Falkland
Sun 8 - Fri 13 Aug	Falkland
Sat 14 Aug	Falkland to St. Andrews
Sun 15 Aug	St. Andrews (at prior's expense)
Mon 16 Aug	St. Andrews to Falkland
Tue 17 Aug	Falkland
Wed 18 - Fri 27 Aug	Stirling
Sat 28 Aug	Stirling to Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Sun 29 Aug - Sun 5 Sep	Edinburgh
Mon 6 Sep	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Tue 7 - Sun 12 Sep	Stirling
Mon 13 Sep	Stirling to Newbattle
Tue 14 Sep	Peebles to Cramalt
Wed 15 Sep	hunt in Cramalt
Thu 16 Sep	Peebles
Fri 17 Sep	Peebles to Edinburgh
Sat 18 - Sun 19 Sep	Edinburgh
Mon 20 Sep	Edinburgh to Linlithgow to Stirling

Wed 16 Mar	Whitekirk (at expense of abbot of Holyrood)
Thu 17 - Mon 21 Mar	Edinburgh (purchases at Linlithgow on 21st)
Tue 22 Mar - Mon 4 Apr	Stirling
Tue 5 Apr	Stirling to Edinburgh (purchases at Linlithgow)
Wed 6 - Mon 11 Apr	Edinburgh
Tue 12 Apr - Sun 8 May	Stirling
Mon 9 May	Stirling to Linlithgow
Tue 10 - Fri 13 May	Linlithgow
Sat 14 May	Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Sun 12 - Mon 23 May	Edinburgh
Tue 24 May	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Wed 25 May	Linlithgow to Dunfermline
Thu 26 May	Dunfermline (at abbot's expense)
Fri 27 May - Thu 2 Jun	Stirling
Fri 3 - Mon 6 Jun	Falkland
Tue 7 Jun	Monimail (at expense of ?)
Wed 8 - Thu 9 Jun	Lindores (at abbot's expense)
Fri 10 - Sat 11 Jun	Falkland
Sun 12 - Mon 13 Jun	Scone (at abbot's expense)
Tue 14 Jun	Perth?
Wed 15 Jun	Perth to Falkland
Thu 16 - Mon 20 Jun	Falkland
Tue 21 - Mon 27 Jun	Stirling
Tue 28 - Wed 29 Jun	Glenartney
Thu 30 Jun	Stirling
Fri 1 Jul	Linlithgow
Sat 2 Jul	Linlithgow to Peebles
Sun 3 Jul	Peebles
Mon 4 Jul	Peebles to Douglas Water
Tue 5 - Wed 6 Jul	Caerlanrig <i>to name of the Glendale</i>
Thu 7 - Sat 9 Jul	Allan Water
Sun 10 - Mon 11 Jul	Hensdale (?)
Tue 12 Jul	Staplegordon
Wed 13 - Thu 14 Jul	Peebles
Fri 15 - Sun 17 Jul	Cramalt
Mon 18 - Tue 19 Jul	Peebles
Wed 20 Jul	Peebles to Linlithgow
Thu 21 Jul	Linlithgow
Fri 22 - Tue 26 Jul	Stirling
Wed 27 - Fri 29 Jul	hunt at Glenfinglas
Sat 30 Jul - Mon 8 Aug	Stirling
Tue 9 Aug	Stirling to Falkland
Wed 10 - Mon 15 Aug	Falkland
Tue 16 - Wed 17 Aug	Perth
Thu 18 - Sun 21 Aug	Dunkeld (at expense of bishop)

1530 continued

Mon 22 AugDundee

(Gap in household record)

Tue 23 Aug	Dundee/Linlithgow	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 24 Aug	Linlithgow	"
Thu 25 Aug	Dundee	"
Fri 26 Aug	Dundee/Arbroath	"
Sun 28 - Mon 29 Aug	Dundee	"
Tue 30 - Wed 31 Aug	Perth/Linlithgow	"
Thu 1 Sep	Falkland	"
Fri 2 Sep	Dunfermline	"
Sat 3 Sep	Falkland	<i>RMS</i>
Sun 4 Sep	Linlithgow	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 7 Sep	Linlithgow	"
Sun 11 Sep	Peebles	<i>ADCP</i>
Fri 16 Sep	Peebles	"
Sun 18 Sep	Linlithgow	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 22 Sep	Falkland	"
Mon 26 Sep	Falkland	"
Wed 28 Sep	Falkland	"
Fri 30 Sep	Falkland	"
Sat 1 Oct	Dundee	<i>TA</i>
Mon 3 Oct	Dundee/Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 5 Oct	Dundee	"
Fri 7 Oct	Dundee/Edinburgh	"
Sat 8 - Tue 11 Oct	Dundee	"
Fri 21 Oct	Dundee	"
Sun 23 Oct	Perth	"
Wed 26 Oct	Stirling	"
Sun 30 Oct	Stirling	"
Mon 31 Oct	Stirling	<i>TA</i>
Wed 2 Nov	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
	Perth	<i>Letters</i>
Thu 3 Nov	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 9 Nov	Perth	"
Sat 19 Nov	Perth	"
Sun 20 Nov	Chanry of Ross (Tain)	"
Tue 22 Nov	Elgin	"
Wed 30 Nov	Perth	<i>Letters</i>
Thu 1 - Fri 2 Dec	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 3 Dec	Falkland	"
Mon 5 Dec	Falkland	"
Tue 6 Dec	Perth	<i>ADCP</i>
Wed 7 - Thu 8 Dec	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>

1530 continued

Fri 9 Dec	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 12 Dec	Stirling	"
Tue 13 Dec	Perth	"
Thu 15 Dec	Stirling	"
Sun 18 Dec	Stirling	<i>Letters</i>
Mon 19 Dec	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 22 - Fri 23 Dec	Stirling	"
Sun 25 Dec	Stirling	<i>Letters</i>
Tue 27 Dec	Stirling	"

1531

Sun 1 Jan	Stirling	<i>TA</i>
Mon 2 - Thu 5 Jan	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 6 Jan	Stirling	<i>Letters</i>
Sun 8 Jan	Edinburgh	<i>ADCP</i>
Mon 9 Jan	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
	Edinburgh	<i>ADCP</i>
Thu 12 - Fri 13 Jan	Edinburgh/Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 14 - Sun 15 Jan	Edinburgh	"
Fri 20 - Sat 21 Jan	Stirling/Edinburgh	"
Thu 26 Jan	Stirling/Edinburgh	"
Fri 27 Jan	Arbroath	"
Tue 31 Jan - Wed 1 Feb	Stirling	"
Fri 10 - Wed 15 Feb	Stirling	"
Mon 20 Feb	Stirling/Dundee	"
Thu 2 Mar	Stirling	"
Fri 3 - Mon 6 Mar	Dundee	"
Wed 8 Mar	Dundee	"
Sat 11 Mar	Cupar	"
Mon 13 Mar	Edinburgh	"
Tue 14 - Wed 15 Mar	Edinburgh/Cupar	"
Sat 18 Mar	Cupar	"
Sat 25 Mar	Holyrood	<i>Letters</i>
Sun 26 Mar	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 27 Mar	Holyrood	<i>Letters</i>
Tue 28 - Fri 31 Mar	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 7 Apr	Stirling	"
Mon 10 Apr	Stirling/Edinburgh	"
Tue 11 - Wed 12 Apr	Stirling	"
Thu 13 Apr	Stirling/Edinburgh	"
Sat 15 Apr	Stirling	"
Wed 19 Apr	Stirling	"
Fri 21 Apr	Stirling	"
Sat 22 Apr	Edinburgh	"

1531 continued

Mon 24 Apr	Edinburgh (parliament)	RSS
Wed 26 - Fri 28 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Mon 1 - Tue 2 May	Edinburgh	"
Wed 3 May	Edinburgh (parliament)	ADCP
Thu 4 May	Edinburgh	RSS
Sat 6 - Mon 8 May	Stirling	"
Wed 10 May	Stirling	"
Fri 12 - Sat 13 May	Stirling	"
Mon 15 May	Stirling/Edinburgh	"
Tue 16 May	Stirling	"
Wed 17 - Sat 20 May	Edinburgh	"
Sun 21 May	Stirling	"
Mon 22 May	Edinburgh/Stirling	RSS
Tue 23 May	Edinburgh	"
Thu 25 May	Stirling	Letters
Sat 27 May	Edinburgh	RSS
Wed 31 May	Stirling	"
Thu 1 Jun	Peebles	"
Sat 3 - Wed 7 Jun	Stirling	"
Thu 8 Jun	Edinburgh	"
Thu 15 Jun	Aberdeen (justice ayre)	"
Fri 16 Jun	Douglas	"
Tue 20 Jun	Stirling	"
Wed 21 - Sat 24 Jun	Edinburgh	"
Sun 25 Jun	Haddington	"
Mon 26 Jun	Haddington/Aberdeen	"
Fri 30 Jun	Stirling	Letters
Sat 1 Jul	Edinburgh	RSS
Sun 2 Jul	Holyrood	ADCP
Tue 4 - Thu 6 Jul	Edinburgh	RSS
Fri 7 Jul	Edinburgh/Stirling	"
Sat 8 Jul	Aberdeen	"
Tue 11 Jul	Stirling	"
Thu 13 - Fri 14 Jul	Stirling	"
Sun 16 Jul	Perth	"
Mon 17 Jul	Stirling	"
Tue 18 Jul	Perth	"
Wed 19 Jul	Perth	TA
Thu 20 Jul	Edinburgh	RSS
Sat 22 Jul	Perth	"
Mon 24 Jul	Edinburgh	"
Tue 25 Jul	Perth	"
Thu 27 Jul	Falkland	"
Fri 28 Jul	Falkland/Perth	"

1531 continued

Tue 1 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
	Perth	<i>Letters</i>
Wed 2 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Thu 3 Aug	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 4 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Sun 6 Aug	Dundee	"
Tue 8 Aug	Dundee	"
Thu 10 Aug	Perth	"
Sat 12 - Mon 14 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Thu 17 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Fri 18 Aug	Perth/Cramalt/Peebles	"
Sat 19 Aug	Edinburgh	"
Sun 20 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>Letters</i>
Wed 23 Aug	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 24 Aug	Perth	"
	Edinburgh	<i>Letters</i>
Fri 25 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sun 27 Aug	Perth	"
Mon 28 - Tue 29 Aug	Perth	<i>TA</i>
Thu 31 Aug	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>

(Household record resumes)

Fri 1 - Mon 4 Sep	Perth
Tue 5 Sep	Perth to Stirling
Wed 6 - Wed 20 Sep	Stirling
Thu 21 - Fri 22 Sep	hunt in Glenfinglas
Sat 23 - Wed 27 Sep	Stirling
Thu 28 Sep	Falkland
Fri 29 Sep	St. Andrews (at the expense of the prior), for the Michaelmas pardon.
Sat 30 Sep	St. Andrews to Falkland
Sun 1 - Tue 3 Oct	Falkland
Wed 4 Oct	Kirkcaldy
Thu 5 Oct	Edinburgh
Fri 6 - Mon 9 Oct	Stirling
Tue 10 - Thu 12 Oct	Edinburgh
Fri 13 Oct	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Sat 14 Oct	Linlithgow to Stirling
Sun 15 - Wed 18 Oct	Stirling
Thu 19 - Fri 20 Oct	Perth
Sat 21 - Wed 25 Oct	Dundee
Thu 26 Oct	Montrose (lunch with William Bonnington)
Fri 27 - Sun 29 Oct	Montrose
Mon 30 Oct - Sun 5 Nov	Brechin

1532 continued

Mon 1 Jul	Edinburgh
Tue 2 Jul	Edinburgh to Biggar
Wed 3 - Sun 14 Jul	Biggar, Castle Crawford, Dumfries, Dundrennan Abbey, Whithorn Priory, Glenluce Abbey, Arstinchquhar (?), Blairquhan, Ayr, Irvine, Glasgow
Mon 15 Jul	Glasgow to Linlithgow
Tue 16 Jul	Linlithgow
Wed 17 Jul	Edinburgh
Thu 18 - Sat 20 Jul	Stirling
Sun 21 Jul	Stirling to Borders raid
Mon 22 Jul	blank entry
Tue 23 Jul	Peebles/Edinburgh (<i>RSS</i>)
Wed 24 Jul	Peebles/Stirling (<i>RSS</i>)
Thu 25 - Fri 26 Jul	Perth
Sat 27 Jul	Perth to Stirling
Sun 28 Jul - Thu 1 Aug	Stirling
Fri 2 Aug	Stirling to Linlithgow
Sat 3 Aug	Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Sun 4 - Wed 7 Aug	Edinburgh
Thu 8 Aug	Edinburgh to Stirling
Fri 9 - Mon 12 Aug	Stirling
Tue 13 - Wed 14 Aug	Falkland
Thu 15 Aug	Monimail to Falkland
Fri 16 - Mon 19 Aug	Perth
Tue 20 Aug	Perth to Dundee
Wed 21 - Fri 23 Aug	Dundee
Sat 24 - Mon 26 Aug	Falkland
Tue 27 Aug	Falkland to Stirling
Wed 28 Aug - Mon 2 Sep	Stirling
Tue 3 - Wed 4 Sep	Edinburgh
Thu 5 - Fri 6 Sep	Linlithgow
Sat 7 - Sun 8 Sep	Stirling
Mon 9 - Thu 12 Sep	household in Dunkeld, king and legate at hunt in Atholl
Fri 13 Sep	Perth
Sat 14 Sep	Perth to Stirling
Sun 15 Sep	Stirling
Mon 16 Sep	Stirling to Edinburgh
Tue 17 - Sun 22 Sep	Edinburgh
Mon 23 - Tue 24 Sep	Stirling
Wed 25 - Fri 27 Sep	Collybrathane (? Culbane?)
Sat 28 - Sun 29 Sep	Perth
Mon 30 Sep	Stirling
Tue 1 - Sun 6 Oct	Falkland
Mon 7 - Tue 8 Oct	Stirling
Wed 9 - Fri 11 Oct	Edinburgh

1532 continued

Sat 12 Oct	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Sun 13 - Mon 14 Oct	Linlithgow
Tue 15 - Thu 17 Oct	Stirling
Fri 18 Oct	Perth
Sat 19 Oct	Perth to Dundee
Sun 20 - Fri 25 Oct	Dundee
Sat 26 - Wed 30 Oct	Falkland
Thu 31 Oct	Perth
Fri 1 - Tue 5 Nov	Stirling
Wed 6 Nov	Stirling to Linlithgow
Thu 7 - Tue 12 Nov	Edinburgh
Wed 13 Nov	Haddington
Thu 14 - Mon 18 Nov	Edinburgh
Tue 19 Nov	Linlithgow
Wed 20 - Wed 27 Nov	Stirling
Thu 28 Nov - Tue 3 Dec	Falkland
Wed 4 - Thu 5 Dec	Cupar
Fri 6 Dec	Falkland
Sat 7 Dec	Perth
Sun 8 - Mon 9 Dec	Stirling
Tue 10 Dec	Stirling to Edinburgh
Wed 11 Dec	Edinburgh
Thu 12 - Fri 13 Dec	Haddington
Sat 14 - Sun 15 Dec	Edinburgh
Mon 16 Dec	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Tue 17 Dec	Linlithgow
Wed 18 - Sun 22 Dec	Stirling
Mon 23 Dec	Stirling to Linlithgow
Tue 24 - Sun 29 Dec	Edinburgh
Mon 30 Dec	Haddington
Tue 31 Dec	Edinburgh

1533

Wed 1 Jan	Edinburgh
Thu 2 - Sat 4 Jan	household at Edinburgh, king at Linlithgow
Sun 5 - Wed 8 Jan	Edinburgh
Thu 9 - Mon 13 Jan	Stirling
Tue 14 - Thu 16 Jan	Falkland
Fri 17 - Sat 25 Jan	household at Falkland, king at Dundee
Sun 26 - Tue 28 Jan	Falkland
Wed 29 Jan	Falkland to Perth
Thu 30 Jan - Sun 2 Feb	Perth
Mon 3 Feb	Perth to Stirling
Tue 4 - Wed 5 Feb	Stirling

Thu 6 - Mon 10 Feb	Edinburgh
Tue 11 Feb	Haddington
Wed 12 Feb	Lauder
Thu 13 Feb	Selkirk
Fri 14 - Sun 16 Feb	Peebles
Mon 17 - Tue 18 Feb	Edinburgh
Wed 19 Feb - Tue 4 Mar	Stirling
Wed 5 Mar	Linlithgow
Thu 6 - Sun 9 Mar	Edinburgh
Mon 10 Mar	Haddington
Tue 11 - Wed 12 Mar	Lauder
Thu 13 - Tue 18 Mar	Melrose
Wed 19 Mar	Peebles
Thu 20 Mar	Edinburgh
Fri 21 Mar	Linlithgow
Sat 22 - Sun 30 Mar	household at Stirling, king absent (location unknown)
Mon 31 Mar - Thu 3 Apr	household at Stirling, king at Perth
Fri 4 - Thu 17 Apr	Stirling
Fri 18 - Fri 25 Apr	Edinburgh
Sat 26 - Wed 30 Apr	Melrose
Thu 1 May	Edinburgh
Fri 2 - Fri 16 May	Stirling (king absent on 2nd)
Sat 17 - Fri 23 May	household at Stirling, king at Perth, Dundee, Montrose
Sat 24 May - Tue 10 Jun	Stirling
Wed 11 - Wed 18 Jun	household at Stirling, king at Glasgow, Ayr, Wigtown, Whithorn (pilgrimage to St. Ninian's), Dumfries
Thu 19 Jun - Thu 10 Jul	Stirling (king absent on 2nd)
Fri 11 Jul	Stirling to Falkland
Sat 12 - Fri 18 Jul	Falkland
Sat 19 - Thu 31 Jul	Perth
Fri 1 - Thu 7 Aug	Stirling
Fri 8 - Thu 14 Aug	household at Stirling, king at Falkland
Fri 15 Aug	household at Edinburgh, king at Falkland
Sat 16 Aug	king rejoins household at Edinburgh
Sun 17 - Wed 20 Aug	Edinburgh
Thu 21 - Mon 25 Aug	household at Edinburgh, king at Falkland
Tue 26 - Wed 27 Aug	household at Stirling, king at Falkland
Thu 28 - Fri 29 Aug	household and king at Stirling
Sat 30 Aug	household at Stirling, king to Dumbarton for hunt in Argyll
Sun 31 Aug - Sun 19 Oct	household in Stirling, king absent in Argyll
3, 7-8, 13 Oct	king in Inveraray (<i>RSS, TA, Letters</i>)
Mon 20 Oct	king returns to Stirling
Tue 21 - Thu 30 Oct	Stirling
Fri 31 Oct - Mon 3 Nov	household at Stirling, king at Falkland

1534 continued

Sun 19 - Sun 26 Jul	household at Stirling, king absent (hunt?)
Mon 27 Jul - Mon 3 Aug	Falkland, king and queen
Tue 4 Aug	Falkland to Stirling
Wed 5 Aug	Stirling
Thu 6 - Fri 13 Aug	household at Stirling, king hunting in Argyll
Fri 14 - Sun 16 Aug	king and household at Stirling
Mon 17 - Fri 21 Aug	household at Stirling, king at Cupar
Sat 22 - Fri 28 Aug	king and household at Edinburgh (king present at heresy inquisition at Holyrood on 27th)
Sat 29 Aug - Thu 3 Sep	household at Edinburgh, king absent (Cupar?)
Fri 4 - Sun 13 Sep	household at Stirling, king absent (Cupar?)
Mon 14 Sep	king and household at Stirling
Tue 15 Sep	Stirling to Linlithgow
Wed 16 Sep	Linlithgow
Thu 17 - Fri 18 Sep	Peebles (hunt in Meggetland)
Sat 19 - Sun 27 Sep	Cramalt and Peebles (hunt in Meggetland)
Mon 28 Sep	Peebles to Edinburgh
Tue 29 - Wed 30 Sep	Edinburgh
Thu 1 Oct	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Fri 2 Oct	Stirling
Sat 3 - Mon 5 Oct	household at Stirling, king at Cupar
Tue 6 - Wed 14 Oct	king and household at Stirling
Thu 15 - Tue 27 Oct	household at Stirling, king at Cupar
Wed 28 Oct	king rejoins household at Stirling
Thu 29 Oct - Sun 1 Nov	Stirling
Mon 2 Nov	king Stirling to Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Tue 3 Nov	household at Stirling, king absent to Borders
Wed 4 Nov	household at Stirling, king at Lauder
Thu 5 - Sat 7 Nov	household at Stirling, king at Melrose
Sun 8 - Tue 10 Nov	household at Stirling, king at Kelso Abbey
Wed 11 - Fri 13 Nov	household at Stirling, king at Jedburgh Abbey
Sat 14 - Sat 21 Nov	household at Stirling, king absent (Peebles?)
Sun 22 - Mon 23 Nov	household at Stirling, king absent (Selkirk?)
Tue 24 - Wed 25 Nov	king and household at Stirling
Thu 26 Nov - Sat 12 Dec	household at Stirling, king at Cupar
Sun 13 - Wed 16 Dec	Stirling, king present
Thu 17 - Mon 21 Dec	blank entries
Tue 22 Dec	Stirling (<i>Letters</i>)
Wed 23 - Thu 31 Dec	Edinburgh

1535

Fri 1 - Wed 6 Jan	Edinburgh
Thu 7 Jan	Edinburgh to Stirling
Fri 8 - Mon 11 Jan	Stirling, king absent

Tue 12 - Wed 13 Jan	Stirling, king present
Thu 14 - Mon 18 Jan	Stirling, king absent
Tue 19 Jan	king to Borders to deal with outlaws
Wed 20 - Thu 21 Jan	blank entries
Fri 22 - Sat 23 Jan	Edinburgh
Sun 24 Jan - Thu 4 Feb	household at Edinburgh, king at Cupar
Fri 5 Feb	household at Edinburgh, king Cupar to Stirling
Sat 6 - Fri 12 Feb	household at Edinburgh, king at Stirling
Sat 13 Feb	king to Edinburgh
Sun 14 - Sun 21 Feb	Edinburgh (king receives Order of Garter at Holyrood on 21st, banquet for English ambassadors: <i>Diurnal</i>)
Mon 22 Feb	household at Edinburgh, king to Stirling
Tue 23 - Wed 24 Feb	household at Edinburgh, king at Peebles
Thu 25 - Fri 26 Feb	household at Edinburgh, king at Stirling
Sat 27 - Sun 28 Feb	king rejoins household in Edinburgh
Mon 1 Mar	Edinburgh to Stirling
Tue 2 - Mon 8 Mar	Stirling
Tue 9 Mar	household at Stirling, king to Edinburgh
Wed 10 - Sun 14 Mar	household at Stirling, king at Lanark and Crawford
Mon 15 Mar	king Edinburgh to Stirling
Tue 16 Mar - Wed 7 Apr	Stirling (28th - Easter)
Thu 8 Apr	household at Stirling, king to Glasgow
Fri 9 - Thu 16 Apr	household at Stirling, king absent
Fri 17 Apr	king Crawford to Stirling
Sat 17 - Tue 20 Apr	Stirling (queen present on 18th)
Wed 21 Apr	Stirling to Linlithgow
Thu 22 Apr	Linlithgow to Edinburgh
Fri 23 Apr	Edinburgh (supplies sent to Peebles)
Sat 24 Apr	Edinburgh to Newbattle
Sun 25 - Mon 26 Apr	Newbattle (at abbot's expense)
Tue 27 Apr	Melrose (at abbot's expense)
Wed 28 Apr	Melrose to Kelso
Thu 29 Apr - Mon 3 May	Kelso
Tue 4 May	Kelso to Jedburgh
Wed 5 - Thu 6 May	Jedburgh (justice ayre)
Fri 7 May	Kelso (king lunches at Hermitage Castle)
Sat 8 - Mon 10 May	Kelso
Tue 11 May	Kelso to Melrose
Wed 12 May	Melrose to Peebles
Thu 13 - Mon 17 May	Peebles/Cramalt
Tue 18 May	king remains at Peebles, household to Edinburgh
Wed 19 - Thu 20 May	king in Borders, household at Edinburgh
Fri 21 - Sun 23 May	king in Borders, household at Stirling
Mon 24 May - Wed 2 Jun	king, queen and household at Stirling

Thu 3 - Sun 6 Jun	queen and household at Stirling, king hunting in Glenartney
Mon 7 Jun	king returns to Stirling
Tue 8 Jun	king to Edinburgh, queen stays at Stirling
Wed 9 - Thu 10 Jun	Edinburgh (parliament)
Fri 11 Jun	Edinburgh to Stirling
Sat 12 Jun - Thu 29 Jul	Stirling
Fri 30 Jul - Fri 6 Aug	household at Stirling, king absent (Perth, Craig? <i>RSS</i>)
Sat 7 Aug	king returns to Stirling for supper
Sun 8 Aug	household at Stirling, king absent (Perth?)
Mon 9 Aug	household at Stirling, king Perth to Stirling (for lunch) to Crawford Castle
Tue 10 - Wed 11 Aug	household at Stirling, king at Crawford
Thu 12 - Fri 13 Aug	household at Stirling, king at Dumbarton
Sat 14 - Sun 22 Aug	household at Stirling, king in Argyll
Mon 23 Aug	king returns to Stirling from Dumbarton
Tue 24 - Sat 28 Aug	Stirling
Sun 29 Aug	Edinburgh
Mon 30 - Tue 31 Aug	Peebles
Wed 1 - Wed 8 Sep	Cramalt
Thu 9 - Sun 12 Sep	Peebles
Mon 13 - Sat 18 Sep	Stirling
Sun 19 Sep	Stirling to Cullybragane (?) (Cultybragan?)
Mon 20 - Tue 21 Sep	Cullybragane
Wed 22 Sep	return to Stirling
Thu 23 Sep	Stirling to Falkland
Fri 24 Sep - Tue 5 Oct	Falkland
Wed 6 Oct	king to Arbroath, household to Stirling
Thu 7 - Mon 18 Oct	household at Stirling, king absent at Dundee & Falkland
Tue 19 Oct	king returns to Stirling
Wed 20 - Tue 26 Oct	Stirling
Wed 27 - Sun 31 Oct	household at Stirling, king absent (Glasgow?)
Mon 1 Nov	king returns to Stirling
Tue 2 Nov to Sat 4 Dec	household at Stirling, king on pilgrimage to St. Duthac's at Tain, taking in Fendraught, Dundee, Montrose and Falkland
Sun 5 - Mon 6 Dec	household at Stirling, king at Linlithgow
Tue 7 Dec	king returns to Stirling
Wed 8 - Thu 9 Dec	Stirling
Fri 10 Dec	Stirling to Falkland, lord James in Stirling
Sat 11 - Wed 22 Dec	Falkland (king absent on 19th), lord James at Stirling
Thu 23 - Fri 31 Dec	Stirling, king and queen present for Christmas

Sat 1 - Fri 7 Jan	Stirling, king and queen present
Sat 8 Jan	Stirling to Falkland
Sun 9 - Fri 14 Jan	Falkland, lord James at Stirling
Sat 15 - Tue 25 Jan	household at Falkland, king at St. Andrews, lord James at Stirling
Wed 26 - Sun 30 Jan	king and household at Falkland, lord James at Stirling
Mon 31 Jan	Falkland to Edinburgh
Tue 1 - Wed 2 Feb	Edinburgh (eat at Holyrood abbey at abbot's expense)
Thu 3 Feb	Edinburgh to Stirling
Fri 4 - Mon 14 Feb	Stirling
Tue 15 Feb	household at Stirling, king to Alloa to Falkland
Wed 16 - Fri 25 Feb	household at Stirling, king at Falkland
Sat 26 Feb - Wed 1 Mar	household at Stirling, king at St. Andrews
Thu 2 - Wed 8 Mar	household at Stirling, king at Falkland
Thu 9 - Sun 12 Mar	king and household at Stirling
Mon 13 Mar	household at Stirling, king to Linlithgow to Crawfordjohn
Tue 14 - Tue 28 Mar	household at Stirling, king at Crawfordjohn
Wed 29 Mar - Wed 5 Apr	king and household at Stirling (king absent on 3rd)
Thu 6 Apr	king and household to Falkland, leaving lord James at Stirling
Fri 7 - Wed 12 Apr	Falkland, lord James at Stirling
Thu 13 - Fri 21 Apr	Stirling (Easter 16th), queen present 15th - 18th
Sat 22 - Sun 23 Apr	household at Stirling, king at Falkland
Mon 24 - Fri 28 Apr	king and household at Falkland, lord James at Stirling
Sat 29 Apr - Wed 3 May	Stirling (queen arrives on 3rd)
Thu 4 - Sun 7 May	household at Stirling, king absent
Mon 8 - Fri 12 May	king and household at Stirling
Sat 13 - Sun 21 May	household at Stirling, king absent (Alloa, Campbell, Linlithgow? <i>RSS, Letters</i>)
Mon 22 - Sun 28 May	Stirling, king present
Mon 29 - Wed 31 May	Stirling, king absent
Thu 1 Jun	king Stirling to Linlithgow to Newbattle (lord James and household left in Stirling)
Fri 2 Jun	king at Newbattle
Sat 3 Jun	king Newbattle to Kelso
Sun 4 - Mon 12 Jun	king at Kelso
Tue 13 Jun	king Kelso to Melrose
Wed 14 Jun	king Melrose to Peebles
Thu 15 Jun	king Peebles
Fri 16 Jun	king Peebles to Crawfordjohn
Sat 17 - Wed 21 Jun	king at Crawfordjohn, household still at Stirling
Thu 22 Jun	king returns to Stirling
Fri 23 Jun - Sun 2 Jul	Stirling

Mon 3 - Sun 9 Jul	household at Stirling, king absent (Linlithgow, Tantallon? <i>RSS, ADCP</i>)
Mon 10 Jul	household at Stirling, king to Alloa
Tue 11 Jul	household at Stirling, king Alloa to Falkland
Wed 12 - Sat 22 Jul	household at Stirling, king absent (Falkland, Alloa, Largo, Pittenweem - <i>RSS, ADCP, Letters</i>)
Sun 23 Jul	king embarks at Pittenweem for voyage to Northern Isles
Mon 24 Jul - Thu 3 Aug	household at Stirling, king on Isles voyage
Fri 4 Aug	king lands at Whithorn and travels straight to Stirling
Sat 5 - Tue 8 Aug	Stirling
Wed 9 Aug	household left at Stirling, king walks on pilgrimage to the shrine of Loretto
Thu 10 Aug	household Stirling, king Loretto to Edinburgh
Fri 11 Aug	king returns to Stirling
Sat 12 - Wed 16 Aug	Stirling
Thu 17 Aug	household at Stirling, king to Dumbarton
Fri 18 - Mon 21 Aug	household at Stirling, king to Argyll
Tue 22 Aug	king returns from Dunoon to Stirling
Wed 23 - Thu 31 Aug	Stirling
Fri 1 Sep	king sails to France from Kirkcaldy

During the king's visit to France the rump of the household
was based in Stirling Castle

Sun 10 Sep	king lands at Dieppe	<i>Bapst</i>
Mon 11 - Mon 18 Sep	St. Quentin	"
Sun 1 Oct	Rouen	"
Sat 7 Oct	Paris	"
Fri 13 Oct	Chapelle, en route to Lyons	"
Mon 23 Oct	Moulins	"
Wed 1 - Fri 3 Nov	Châtelherault	"
Sat 18 - Sun 19 Nov	Amboise	<i>Letters</i>
Mon 20 - Wed 22 Nov	Châtelherault	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 23 - Fri 24 Nov	Blois	<i>Letters</i>
Sun 26 Nov	Blois	<i>Letters</i>
Mon 27 Nov	Fontainebleau	<i>Bapst</i>
Sat 2 Dec	Orléans	<i>RSS</i>
Dec	king at Hôtel de Cluny, Paris (former residence of Cardinal d'Amboise), jousts at the Palace of the Tournelles	<i>Bapst</i>
Mon 25 Dec	Christmas kept at Stirling by lord James	<i>Liber Domicili</i>
Sun 31 Dec	Royal entry into Paris	<i>Bapst</i>

Mon 1 Jan.....	Marriage of James and Madeleine at Nôtre Dame	<i>Bapst</i>
Fri 5 Jan.....	Paris	
Sun 7 Jan.....	Paris	<i>Letters</i>
Sat 27 - Sun 28 Jan.....	Paris	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 29 Jan.....	St. Germain	"
Fri 9 Feb.....	Chantilly	<i>Letters</i>
Sun 11 Feb.....	Compiègne	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 24 Feb.....	Compiègne	<i>Letters</i>
Sun 26 Feb.....	Compiègne (king presented with papal hat and sword)	<i>TA</i>
Sat 3 Mar.....	Rouen	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 10 Mar.....	Rouen	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 21 Mar.....	Rouen	<i>TA</i>
Mon 26 Mar.....	Rouen	<i>TA</i>
Thu 29 Mar.....	Rouen	<i>Letters</i>
Fri 20 Apr.....	Monville	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 28 Apr.....	Monville	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 11 May.....	king and queen depart from Le Havre	<i>Bapst</i>
Fri 18 May.....	their ships are off Dunbar	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 19 May.....	king and queen land at Leith	
Sun 20 May.....	Leith (lord James still at Stirling)	
Mon 21 May.....	Leith to Holyrood	
Tue 22 May - Mon 25 Jun.....	king and queen at Holyrood	
Tue 26 Jun.....	king visits Tantallon but returns to Holyrood for supper	
Wed 27 Jun - Fri 6 Jul.....	Holyrood	
Sat 7 Jul, 7am.....	Queen Madeleine died at Holyrood	
Sun 8 - Sat 21 Jul.....	Edinburgh (lord James still in Stirling)	
Sun 22 Jul - Sun 19 Aug.....	household at Edinburgh, lord James at Stirling, king absent (Falkland, St. Andrews, Dunbar, Tantallon: <i>RSS</i>)	
Mon 20 Aug - Thu 8 Nov.....	household at Edinburgh, lord James at Stirling, king to Falkland, Pitlithie, Perth, Dunkeld, Atholl, Badenoch (hunting), Ruthven in Badenoch, Tain, Inverness, Glamis, Elgin, Aberdeen, Dunnottar, Brechin, Dundee, Montrose, Stirling, Linlithgow: <i>RSS, Letters</i>)	
Fri 9 Nov.....	king returns from Linlithgow to Edinburgh	
Sat 10 - Mon 12 Nov.....	Edinburgh (lord James still at Stirling)	
Tue 13 - Fri 30 Nov.....	household in Edinburgh and to Stirling on 23rd, lord James at Stirling, king hunting in Argyll via Dumbarton	
Sat 1 Dec.....	king and household at Stirling	
Sun 2 Dec.....	Stirling to Falkland, lord James remains at Stirling	
Mon 3 - Thu 6 Dec.....	Falkland	
Fri 7 Dec.....	Stirling	
Sat 8 - Mon 10 Dec.....	Falkland	
Tue 11 - Thu 13 Dec.....	Stirling	
Fri 14 - Sun 16 Dec.....	Falkland (lord James still at Stirling)	

Mon 17 Dec.....	Glamis
Tue 18 Dec.....	Dunnottar
Wed 19 - Thu 20 Dec.....	Glamis
Fri 21 Dec.....	Dundee
Sat 22 Dec.....	Cupar
Sun 23 Dec.....	Dunfermline
Mon 24 - Thu 27 Dec.....	Linlithgow
Fri 28 Dec.....	Crawfordjohn
Sat 29 - Mon 31 Dec.....	Linlithgow

1538

Tue 1 - Sat 12 Jan.....	Linlithgow (lord James at Stirling)
Sun 13 Jan.....	Linlithgow to Glasgow
Mon 14 - Tue 15 Jan.....	Glasgow (at archbishop's expense)
Wed 16 Jan.....	Paisley (at abbot's expense)
Thu 17 - Fri 18 Jan.....	Irvine (at earl of Eglinton's expense)
Sat 19 - Thu 31 Jan.....	Ayr
Fri 1 Feb.....	Dumbarton to Glasgow
Sat 2 - Mon 4 Feb.....	Glasgow (at archbishop's expense), lord James still at Stirling
Tue 5 - Wed 20 Feb.....	Stirling
Thu 21 Feb.....	Stirling to Falkland
Fri 22 Feb.....	Falkland
Sat 23 Feb.....	household at Falkland, king to Cupar
Sun 24 - Thu 28 Feb.....	household at Falkland, king absent (Cupar?)
Fri 1 Mar.....	household to Cupar, king to St. Andrews (at prior's expense)
Sat 2 - Tue 5 Mar.....	king and household at St. Andrews, lord James still at Stirling
Wed 6 Mar.....	king at St. Andrews, household to Dundee
Thu 7 Mar.....	household at Dundee, king absent
Fri 8 Mar.....	king from Cupar to join household at Dundee
Sat 9 - Sat 16 Mar.....	Dundee, king absent between 11th and 15th (Falkland, Glamis, Perth - <i>RSS, Letters</i>), lord James still at Stirling
Sun 17 Mar.....	Dundee to Perth
Mon 18 Mar.....	Perth to Stirling
Tue 19 - Fri 22 Mar.....	Stirling
Sat 23 Mar.....	Stirling to Edinburgh
Sun 24 Mar - Thu 11 Apr.....	Edinburgh (king absent on 11th)
Fri 12 Apr.....	household at Stirling, king at Perth/Cupar
Sat 13 - Tue 16 Apr.....	household at Stirling, king at Perth
Wed 17 Apr.....	household and lord James at Stirling, king at Edinburgh
Thu 18 Apr.....	king returns to Stirling
Sat 20 - Sun 28 Apr.....	Stirling (Easter - 21st)

Mon 29 Apr - Wed 1 May	Edinburgh
Thu 2 - Sun 5 May	household at Edinburgh, king at Leith
Mon 6 - Wed 8 May	household at Edinburgh, king on board ship (the <i>Salamander</i>) in the Forth
Thu 9 May	household at Edinburgh, king sails to Isle of May and Dunbar
Fri 10 May	household at Edinburgh, king lands at Pittenweem and heads for Perth for dinner
Sat 11 - Mon 13 May	Perth
Tue 14 May	Perth to Falkland
Wed 15 - Thu 16 May	Falkland
Fri 17 May	Falkland to Stirling
Sat 18 - Thu 23 May	Stirling
Fri 24 May	Stirling to Falkland
Sat 25 May	Falkland to Perth
Sun 26 - Fri 31 May	Perth
Sat 1 Jun	Perth to Cupar
Sun 2 - Fri 7 Jun	Cupar
Sat 8 - Mon 10 Jun	Perth
Tue 11 - Sat 15 Jun	Pitlethie
Sun 16 Jun (Trinity Sun)	Mary of Guise arrives at St. Andrews
Mon 17 Jun - Thu 9 Jul	king and queen at St. Andrews
Wed 10 Jul	St. Andrews to Cupar
Thu 11 Jul	Cupar to Falkland
Fri 12 - Mon 15 Jul	Falkland
Tue 16 Jul	Falkland to Dysart
Wed 17 - Thu 18 Jul	Dysart
Fri 19 Jul	Dunfermline (at abbot's expense)
Sat 20 Jul	Dunfermline to Edinburgh (queen's royal entry)
Sun 21 - Wed 31 Jul	Edinburgh
Thu 1 Aug	Edinburgh to Linlithgow
Fri 2 - Thu 8 Aug	Linlithgow
Fri 9 - Sun 11 Aug	queen at Linlithgow, king to Stirling
Mon 12 - Sat 17 Aug	king rejoins queen at Linlithgow
Sun 18 Aug	king and queen to Stirling
Mon 19 Aug	Stirling to Glenfinglas (hunt)
Tue 20 Aug	queen returns to Stirling, king remains on hunt
Wed 21 - Sat 24 Aug	queen at Stirling, king hunting in Glenfinglas
Sun 25 - Thu 29 Aug	king and queen at Stirling
Fri 30 Aug	Stirling to Linlithgow
Sat 31 Aug - Thu 5 Sep	queen at Linlithgow, king hunting in Argyll
Fri 6 Sep	king returns to Linlithgow
Sat 7 - Sun 14 Sep	Linlithgow
Sun 15 Sep	queen stays at Linlithgow, king to Peebles and Cramalt for hunting

Tue 24 Jun - Sun 6 Jul	Falkland
Mon 7 Jul	Falkland to St. Andrews
Tue 8 - Thu 10 Jul	St. Andrews
Fri 11 - Sat 12 Jul	St. Andrews/Falkland/ Pitlethie
Sun 13 Jul	Pitlethie
Mon 14 Jul	Pitlethie to St. Andrews
Tue 15 Jul	St. Andrews
Wed 16 Jul	St. Andrews to Falkland
Thu 17 Jul	queen at Falkland, king to Edinburgh
Fri 18 Jul	queen at Falkland, king to Tantallon by ship
Sat 19 Jul	queen at Falkland, king absent
Sun 20 Jul	king returns to Falkland
Mon 21 - Fri 25 Jul	Falkland
Sat 26 Jul	Falkland to St. Andrews
Sun 27 Jul - Wed 6 Aug	St. Andrews (lunch at Crail on 1st)
Thu 7 - Thu 14 Aug	Pitlethie
Fri 15 - Sun 17 Aug	St. Andrews
Mon 18 - Fri 22 Aug	Falkland
Sat 23 Aug	Falkland to Pittenweem
Sun 24 - Tue 26 Aug	king and queen sail to Isle of May on pilgrimage, households left at St. Andrews
Wed 27 Aug	return to Pitlethie for dinner
Thu 28 Aug	queen's entry to Dundee
Fri 29 Aug - Tue 2 Sep	Dundee (marriage of earl of Errol on 31st)
Wed 3 - Fri 5 Sep	Falkland
Sat 6 Sep	Falkland to Stirling via Tullibody
Sun 7 - Tue 9 Sep	Stirling
Wed 10 Sep	Stirling to Glenfinglas for hunt
Thu 11 Sep	hunt in Bothquhedir (?)
Fri 12 Sep	return to Stirling for dinner
Sat 13 Sep	Stirling

(Gap in household record)

Sun 14 - Mon 15 Sep	Stirling	RSS
Sat 20 - Sun 21 Sep	Falkland	"
Mon 23 Sep	Stirling/Glamis	RSS/TA
Thu 25 - Fri 26 Sep	Falkland	RSS
Sat 27 Sep	Falkland/St. Andrews	"
Sun 28 Sep	Linlithgow	"
Mon 29 Sep - Fri 24 Oct	Falkland	RSS
Sat 25 Oct	Edinburgh	RSS
Sun 26 Oct	Falkland	"
Mon 27 Oct	Dumbarton (justice ayre)	"
Thu 30 Oct	Kelso Abbey	"

Sun 2 Nov.....	Edinburgh/St. Andrews	RSS
Mon 3 Nov.....	Dumbarton	"
Tue 4 - Fri 7 Nov.....	Falkland	"
Sat 8 Nov.....	St. Andrews	Letters
Mon 10 Nov.....	Kinghorn to Queensferry	PA
Wed 12 Nov.....	Newbattle	RSS
Thu 13 Nov.....	Melrose	PA
Fri 14 - Mon 17 Nov.....	Kelso	PA
Sun 23 Nov.....	Peebles	RSS
Tue 25 Nov.....	Lochmaben	"
Thu 27 Nov.....	Edinburgh	"
Sat 29 Nov.....	Kelso	"
Mon 1 - Fri 5 Dec.....	queen at Falkland (and king?)	DMR
Sat 6 - Tue 9 Dec.....	queen at Cupar, household at Falkland	"
Wed 10 Dec.....	queen Cupar to Falkland	"
Thu 11 - Sun 14 Dec.....	queen at Falkland (& king on 11th)	DMR, Letters
Mon 15 Dec.....	queen to Stirling	DMR
Tue 16 - Sun 21 Dec.....	queen at Stirling (& king on 16th & 21st)	DMR, RSS
Mon 22 Dec.....	queen Stirling to Linlithgow	DMR
Tue 23 - Wed 31 Dec.....	queen at Linlithgow & king	DMR, RSS

1540

Thu 1 - Sat 31 Jan.....	queen at Linlithgow	DMR
Sun 1 - Sun 29 Feb.....	Edinburgh, queen's coronation at Holyrood on 22nd	Letters, TA, RSS
Mon 1 - Fri 5 Mar.....	Edinburgh	ADCP, RSS
Sat 6 Mar.....	Edinburgh to Linlithgow	PA
Sun 7 Mar.....	Linlithgow	"
Mon 8 - Fri 12 Mar.....	Linlithgow	ADCP, RSS
Sat 13 - Tue 16 Mar.....	Stirling	PA
Wed 17 Mar.....	Falkland	"
Thu 18 Mar.....	St. Andrews	"
Fri 19 Mar.....	Stirling	TA
Sat 20 Mar.....	Burntisland	PA
Sun 21 Mar.....	Stirling	"
Tue 23 - Wed 24 Mar.....	Stirling	RSS
Fri 26 Mar.....	Stirling	"
Sun 28 - Mon 29 Mar.....	Stirling	RSS
Wed 31 Mar.....	Stirling	TA
Thu 1 Apr.....	Linlithgow	RSS
Fri 2 Apr.....	Falkland	PA
Sat 3 - Mon 5 Apr.....	St. Andrews	PA
Tue 6 Apr.....	Stirling	"
Thu 8 Apr.....	Wester Kinghorn	"

Fri 9 Apr.....	Ravensraig	
Sat 10 Apr.....	Falkland	PA
Tue 13 Apr.....	Leith	"
Thu 15 Apr.....	Stirling	"
Fri 16 - Wed 21 Apr.....	Falkland	RSS
Thu 22 Apr.....	Pitlethie	PA
Fri 23 Apr.....	St. Andrews	"
Sat 24 Apr.....	Edinburgh	RSS
Mon 26 Apr.....	Falkland	"
Tue 27 Apr.....	queen at St. Andrews	Letters
Thu 29 Apr.....	Falkland/Edinburgh	TA
Fri 30 Apr.....	Dundee	RSS
Sat 1 May.....	king at Pitlethie, queen Pitlethie to St. Andrews	PA, DMR
Sun 2 May.....	king at Edinburgh, queen at St. Andrews	PA, DMR
Mon 3 - Tue 4 May.....	queen at St. Andrews	DMR
Wed 5 - Thu 20 May.....	queen at St. Andrews, king at St. Andrews	DMR, PA
Fri 21 May.....	queen at St. Andrews, king at Edinburgh	DMR, PA
Sat 22 May.....	8 am. prince James born at St. Andrews	
.....	king in St. Andrews	DMR, PA
Sun 23 May - Wed 2 Jun.....	queen at St. Andrews (prince baptised on 26th),	
.....	king also at St. Andrews	DMR, RSS
Thu 3 Jun.....	queen at St. Andrew, king at Edinburgh	DMR, RSS
Fri 4 - Sat 5 Jun.....	queen at St. Andrews, king at Falkland	DMR, RSS
Sun 6 Jun.....	queen at St. Andrews, king at Edinburgh and Leith	DMR, RSS
Mon 7 - Fri 11 Jun.....	king and queen at St. Andrews	DMR, RSS
Sat 12 Jun.....	queen at St. Andrews, king sets sail for Isles	DMR, TA
Sun 13 - Wed 30 Jun.....	queen at St. Andrews, king at sea	DMR
Tue 6 Jul.....	king in Isles	TA
.....	king in Edinburgh	Letters
Thu 8 Jul.....	Edinburgh	RSS
Sun 11 Jul.....	St. Andrews	ADCP
Mon 12 - Thu 15 Jul.....	St. Andrews	RSS
Fri 16 Jul.....	St. Andrews	ADCP
Sun 18 - Tue 20 Jul.....	Pitlethie	RSS, ADCP
Tue 27 Jul.....	Falkland	TA
Wed 28 Jul - Sun 1 Aug.....	Edinburgh	RSS
Wed 4 Aug.....	Falkland	Letters
Thu 5 - Sun 8 Aug.....	Falkland	RSS
Wed 11 Aug.....	Falkland	"
Thu 12 - Mon 16 Aug.....	Edinburgh	"
Wed 18 Aug.....	Falkland	"
Fri 20 Aug.....	Falkland	Letters
Sat 21 Aug.....	Falkland	RSS
Tue 24 Aug.....	Falkland	"
Fri 27 Aug.....	Falkland/St. Andrews	"

Sun 29 Aug.....	St. Andrews/Pittenweem	
Mon 30 Aug	St. Andrews	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 31 Aug - Sat 4 Sep.....	Falkland	"
Fri 10 Sep	Dundee	"
Sun 12 Sep	Dundee	"
Wed 15 Sep	Glamis	"
Sun 19 Sep	Glamis	<i>TA</i>
Fri 24 Sep	Glamis	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 25 Sep	St. Andrews	<i>TA</i>
Sun 26 Sep	Falkland/Dundee	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 27 Sep	Cupar	<i>TA</i>
Tue 28 Sep - Tue 5 Oct.....	St. Andrews (Michaelmas Pardon)	<i>RSS, ADCP</i>
Wed 6 Oct	Brechin	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 9 - Sun 10 Oct	Falkland	"
Tue 12 Oct.....	Falkland	<i>Letters</i>
Wed 13 Oct	Glamis	<i>TA</i>
Thu 14 Oct	Glamis	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 15 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>ADCP</i>
Sun 17 Oct.....	Brechin	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 19 Oct.....	Stirling	<i>TA</i>
Wed 20 Oct	Cupar (Angus)	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 21 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Sun 24 Oct.....	Falkland	"
Mon 25 Oct	Falkland	<i>RMS</i>
Wed 27 Oct	St. Andrews	<i>Letters</i>
Sat 30 Oct.....	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 1 Nov	St. Andrews	"
Tue 2 Nov	St. Andrews/Edinburgh	"
Sun 7 Nov.....	Edinburgh	"
Tue 16 - Sat 20 Nov	Edinburgh	"
Mon 22 Nov	Edinburgh	"
Tue 23 Nov.....	Holyrood	<i>RSS</i>
Wed 24 Nov	Edinburgh/St. Andrews	"
Fri 26 - Sat 27Nov	Kelso Abbey	"
Wed 1 Dec	queen at Falkland	<i>TA</i>
Thu 2 Dec.....	St. Andrews	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 3 Dec.....	Falkland	"
Sat 4 - Tue 14 Dec.....	Edinburgh	"
Wed 15 - Tue 21 Dec.....	Falkland	"
Wed 22 Dec.....	Edinburgh/Stirling	"
Thu 23 Dec.....	Falkland/Stirling	"
Fri 24 - Fri 31 Dec	Stirling	"

Sat 1 - Thu 6 Jan.....	king and queen at Stirling	
Fri 7 Jan.....	queen Stirling to Alloa	<i>RSS, DMR</i>
Sat 8 Jan.....	queen Alloa to Burleigh	<i>DMR</i>
Sun 9 Jan.....	queen Burleigh to Falkland	"
Mon 10 - Fri 14 Jan.....	king and queen at Falkland	"
Sat 15 Jan.....	queen Falkland to St. Andrews	<i>RSS, DMR</i>
Sun 16 Jan.....	king and queen at St. Andrews	<i>DMR</i>
Mon 17 Jan.....	queen St. Andrews to Falkland	<i>RSS, DMR</i>
Tue 18 Jan - Tue 1 Feb.....	king and queen at Falkland	<i>DMR</i>
Wed 2 - Mon 14 Feb.....	queen at Falkland, king at Edinburgh	<i>RSS, DMR, RSS,</i>
		<i>RMS, ADCP</i>
Tue 15 - Wed 16 Feb.....	king and queen at Falkland	<i>DMR, RSS</i>
Fri 18 Feb.....	king Falkland to St. Andrews	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 19 Feb.....	queen Falkland to St. Andrews	<i>DMR</i>
Sun 20 Feb - Thu 3 Mar.....	king and queen at St. Andrews	<i>DMR, RSS,</i>
Sat 5 Mar.....	king and queen to Glamis and Dundee	<i>TA</i>
Sun 6 Mar.....	St. Andrews	<i>HP</i>
Wed 9 - Sat 12 Mar.....	Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 14 Mar.....	Edinburgh	"
Tue 15 - Sun 20 Mar.....	Falkland	"
Tue 22 - Sat 26 Mar.....	Edinburgh	"
Sun 27 - Thu 31 Mar.....	Stirling	"
Fri 1 - Sat 30 Apr.....	king and queen at Stirling, Easter - Sun 17th (in last week birth, baptism and death of second prince, death of first prince at St. Andrews)	<i>DMR, RSS, RMS, Letters</i>
Wed 4 May.....	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 17 May.....	Stirling	"
Sun 8 - Sun 15 May.....	Stirling	"
Tue 17 May.....	Stirling	"
Thu 19 May.....	Pitlethie	"
Sat 21 May.....	Stirling	"
Tue 24 - Thu 26 May.....	Stirling	<i>RSS, TA</i>
Mon 30 May - Sun 19 Jun.....	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 20 Jun - Sun 3 Jul.....	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, Letters</i>
Mon 4 - Tue 5 Jul.....	Linlithgow/Crawfordjohn	<i>RSS, TA</i>
Wed 6 - Tue 26 Jul.....	king and queen at Crawfordjohn (also visit Craignethan & Peebles), households left at Edinburgh	<i>TA, RSS,</i>
		<i>ADCP, Letters</i>
Wed 27 Jul.....	Tantallon	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 28 Jul.....	Edinburgh	<i>Letters</i>
Mon 1 Aug.....	Edinburgh to Stirling	<i>TA</i>
Wed 3 Aug.....	Falkland	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 4 - Sun 7 Aug.....	Stirling	"
Mon 8 Aug.....	Stirling to Falkland	"
Tue 9 Aug.....	Falkland	"

1541 continued

Fri 12 Aug	Falkland/Edinburgh	
Sat 13 Aug	Stirling to Edinburgh	<i>RSS</i>
Sun 14 - Tue 16 Aug	Falkland	<i>TA</i>
Sat 20 Aug	Stirling	<i>RSS</i>
Sun 21 Aug	Falkland	"
Tue 23 Aug	Falkland	<i>HP</i>
Wed 24 Aug	Falkland/Kincardine	<i>RSS</i>
Sat 27 Aug - Thu 15 Sep	Falkland	"
Mon 19 Sep	Falkland/Edinburgh	"
Sun 25 Sep	Perth/Tantallon	"
Mon 26 Sep	Perth	"
Tue 27 Sep	St. Andrews	"
Wed 28 Sep	Perth, Dundee, Falkland	<i>RSS, TA</i>
Thu 29 Sep Perth	Perth/Edinburgh	<i>RMS</i>
Fri 30 Sep	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 3 Oct	Glamis	"
Tue 4 Oct	Falkland, Kincardine	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Wed 5 Oct	Kincardine	<i>RSS</i>
Mon 10 Oct	Aberdeen	<i>TA</i>
Sun 16 Oct	Aberdeen	<i>TA</i>
Tue 18 Oct	Queen Margaret died at Methven	<i>LPH8</i>
Fri 21 - Sun 23 Oct	Edinburgh	<i>RSS, RMS</i>
Wed 26 Oct	Glamis	<i>RSS</i>
Fri 28 Oct	Edinburgh	"
Sun 30 Oct	Queen Margaret's funeral at Perth	<i>ChP</i>
Mon 31 Oct	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Tue 1 Nov	Perth/Falkland	"
Fri 4 Nov	Edinburgh	"
Sat 5 - Fri 11 Nov	king and queen at Falkland	<i>RSS, TA</i>
Tue 15 Nov	Perth	<i>RSS</i>
Thu 17 Nov	Perth/Scone abbey	"
Fri 18 - Mon 21 Nov	Perth	"
Thu 1 - Fri 9 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Sat 10 Dec	Kelso Abbey/Glamis	"
Tue 13 Dec	Falkland	"
Wed 14 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Thu 15 Dec	Falkland	<i>RMS</i>
Fri 16 Dec	Cupar/Dundee	<i>RSS</i>
Sun 18 Dec	Glamis	"
Wed 21 Dec	Linlithgow	"
Thu 22 Dec	Edinburgh	"
Mon 26 - Sat 31 Dec	Edinburgh	"

Sun 1 - Tue 10 Jan	Edinburgh	
Wed 11 - Fri 13 Jan	Edinburgh to Stirling	RSS
Fri 20 - Sun 22 Jan	Edinburgh	TA
Mon 30 Jan - Thu 2 Feb	Stirling	RSS
Mon 6 Feb	Edinburgh	"
Wed 8 Feb	Falkland	RMS
Thu 9 - Sat 11 Feb	Glamis	RSS
Mon 13 - Wed 15 Feb	Falkland	"
Thu 16 Feb	Glamis	"
Tue 21 Feb	Falkland	"
Thu 23 Feb	Falkland	"
Fri 24 Feb	Falkland/Dundee	"
Sun 26 - Mon 27 Feb	Glamis	RSS, ADCP
Thu 2 - Sat 4 Mar	Falkland	RSS
Sun 5 - Sat 11 Mar	St. Andrews	RSS, TA
Sun 12 - Mon 13 Mar	Pitlethie	RSS
Thu 16 Mar	Pitlethie/ St. Andrews	"
Sat 18 Mar	St. Andrews	"
Mon 20 Mar	Pitlethie/Dundee	"
Wed 22 Mar	St. Andrews/Falkland	"
Fri 24 Mar	Falkland	"
Mon 27 Mar - Mon 3 Apr	Edinburgh	"
Tue 4 Apr	St. Andrews	RMS
Fri 7 Apr - Sun 16 Apr	Stirling	RSS
Tue 18 Apr	Edinburgh/Stirling	"
Fri 21 Apr	Falkland	"
Sun 23 Apr	Falkland	RMS
Fri 28 Apr	Falkland	RSS
Sun 30 Apr - Wed 3 May	St. Andrews	RSS, RMS, DMR
Thu 4 - Sun 14 May	queen at St. Andrews, king at Edinburgh	DMR, RSS
Mon 15 May - Fri 2 Jun	king and queen at St. Andrews	DMR, RSS
Sat 10 Jun	Perth/Edinburgh	RSS
Sun 11 Jun	Stirling	"
Mon 12 - Fri 16 Jun	Edinburgh	"
Sun 18 Jun	Edinburgh/Stirling	"
Mon 19 Jun	Stirling	"
Fri 23 - Sun 25 Jun	Stirling	"
Wed 28 Jun	Edinburgh, Stirling	RSS, RMS
Thu 29 Jun	Edinburgh	RSS
Fri 30 Jun	Edinburgh/ St. Andrews	"
Sat 1 - Sun 2 Jul	Stirling	"
Tue 4 - Sat 8 Jul	Edinburgh	"
Fri 7 - Sun 16 Jul	Peebles for hunting	TA
Sat 15 - Mon 17 Jul	Edinburgh	RSS
Wed 19 Jul	Edinburgh/Linlithgow	"

1542 continued

Thu 27 - Sat 29 Jul.....	Edinburgh	"
Wed 2 Aug	Linlithgow/Aberdeen	"
Thu 3 Aug	Linlithgow	"
Fri 4 Aug	Linlithgow/Edinburgh	"
Mon 7 - Sat 12 Aug	Edinburgh	"

(household record resumes)

Mon 14 - Wed 23 Aug	king at Edinburgh, queen at Stirling
Thu 24 Aug	king leaves Edinburgh
Fri 25 Aug	king to Dunfermline
Sat 26 Aug.....	king Dunfermline to Falkland
Sun 27 - Mon 28 Aug	king's household at Edinburgh, king at Falkland
Tue 29 Aug - Fri 1 Sep	king rejoins his household at Edinburgh
Sat 2 - Fri 8 Sep.....	king and queen at Falkland, household at Edinburgh
Sat 9 - Sun 10 Sep	king to Edinburgh, queen remains at Falkland
Mon 11 - Sun 17 Sep.....	king and queen at Falkland
Mon 18 - Tue 19 Sep.....	king at Cupar, queen at Pittenweem, her household at Falkland
Wed 20 - Fri 22 Sep.....	king and queen at St. Andrews
Sat 23 - Sun 24 Sep	king and lord James at Edinburgh, queen at Falkland
Mon 25 - Fri 29 Sep.....	king at Tantallon and Dunbar, lord James at Holyrood, queen at Falkland
Sat 30 Sep	king at Edinburgh, queen at Falkland
Sun 1 - Tue 3 Oct	Edinburgh
Wed 4 -Mon 9 Oct.....	Falkland (king and queen?), lord James at Holyrood
Tue 10 Oct.....	king Falkland to Edinburgh
Wed 11 - Sun 15 Oct	Edinburgh
Mon 16 - Wed 18 Oct	Tantallon
Thu 19 - Fri 20 Oct	Falkland
Sat 21 - Tue 24 Oct	Edinburgh
Wed 25 Oct	king and army from Edinburgh to Newbattle, Fala, Channelkirk, Lauder and Melrose to fight English
Thu 26 Oct - Wed 1 Nov	Lauder (queen at Linlithgow on 1st)
Thu 2 - Sun 5 Nov	household at Edinburgh, king absent, queen at Linlithgow
Mon 6 - Tue 7 Nov	king present at Edinburgh
Wed 8 - Thu 9 Nov.....	king and queen at Linlithgow
Fri 10 - Wed 15 Nov.....	king at Falkland, queen at Linlithgow, lord James at Holyrood
Thu 16 Nov	king to Edinburgh
Fri 17 Nov	king at Linlithgow (TA)
Sat 18 - Mon 20 Nov	household at Edinburgh, king absent (Linlithgow?), queen at Linlithgow, lord James at Holyrood
Tue 21 - Wed 22 Nov	king at Peebles, queen at Linlithgow

1542 continued

Thu 23 Nov king at Moffat, queen at Linlithgow
Fri 24 Nov king at Lochmaben, queen at Linlithgow (no mention of
Solway Moss)
Sat 25 - Sun 26 Nov king at Peebles, queen at Linlithgow
Mon 27 - Wed 29 Nov king at Edinburgh, queen at Linlithgow
Thu 30 Nov - Mon 4 Dec king and queen at Linlithgow, king's household in
Edinburgh
Tue 5 Dec king returns to Edinburgh leaving queen at Linlithgow
Wed 6 - Mon 11 Dec queen at Linlithgow (birth of Mary on 8th not
mentioned), king's household at Edinburgh but king
absent (location unknown - Linlithgow/Falkland?)
Tue 12 - Wed 13 Dec king and household at Falkland
Thu 14 Dec king dies at Falkland
Fri 15 Dec - Sat 6 Jan 1543... king's household remains at Falkland (in mourning),
queen at Linlithgow, lord James at Holyrood, Arran in
Edinburgh from 4th)
Sun 7 Jan king's body Falkland to Kinghorn to Edinburgh
Mon 8 Jan Arran in Edinburgh, king's funeral at Holyrood
(*Diurnal*)

* * * * *

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manuscripts

Scottish Record Office:

E.31/1-8	Libri Domicilii of James V	1525-26, 1528-29, 1529-30, 1532-33, 1533-34, 1534-35, 1537-38, 1538-39.
E.31/12	Liber Domicili of Prince James	1512
E.32/2-8	Libri Emptorum of James V	1531-32, 1533-34, 1534-35, 1535-36, 1536-37, 1537-38, 1542-43.
E.33/1-2	Despence de la Maison Royale of Mary of Guise (incomplete)	1538/9-41, 1541-43
E.34/1	Bill of Household of James IV	1507/08
E.34/2	Household fees and allowances of James IV and Margaret Tudor	1510
E.34/3	Bill of Robert Henderson, master butcher	May 1532
E.34/4	Fees of king's household	1537-38
E.34/5/1	Household liveries	1540-41
E.34/5/2	Household liveries	1541
E.34/6	Instructions for master of household	1528 x 1542
E.34/7	Job description of steward	c.1582
E.34/8/1-5	Household rolls of Mary of Guise (fragments)	1538/9-1541
E.35/1	Inventories of James V's Wardrobe	1539, 1542, 1543
RH.2/1/9	Transumpt of council sederunts	1518-53

National Library of Scotland:

MS 1746	Adam Abell's 'Roit or Quheill of Tyme'	1533-37
MS 7143	Statutes of the Order of the Garter	1535
Adv MS 29.2.5	Household papers of Mary of Guise (Balcarres Papers)	1530s and 1540s
Adv MS 31.4.2	Sir Robert Forman's armorial	c.1542
Adv MS 31.4.3	Sir David Lindsay's armorial	1542
Adv MS 31.5.2	John Scrymgeour's heraldic collection	early sixteenth century
Adv MS 31.6.5	John Meldrum's heraldic collection	early sixteenth century
Adv MS 31.7.22	Peter Thomson's heraldic collection	c.1547

2. Printed Record Collections

- 'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster, 1539-40', ed. A. L. Murray, in *SHS Misc.*, x (1965), 13-51
- Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, eds. Thomas Dickson and Sir James Balfour Paul (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1877-1916)
- Accounts of the Master of Works*, eds. Henry M. Paton et al. (Edinburgh, 1957-)
- Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1814-75)
- Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-54: Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii*, ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932)
- Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII*, eds. J. S. Brewer et al. (21 vols, London, 1864-1932)
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, eds. T. Brown et al., (London, 1864-)
- Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland, 1509-1603*, ed. M. J. Thorpe (2 vols, London, 1858)
- Ceremonial at the Marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the Dauphin of France*, ed. W. Bentham (London, Roxburghe Club, 1818)
- Charters and Documents relating to the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity, and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh* (SBRS, 1871)
- Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh, 1143-1540*, ed. J. D. Marwick (SBRS, 1871)
- Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow* (2 vols, SBRS, 1894-1906)
- Charters and other Documents relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1124-1705*, ed. R. Renwick (SBRS, 1884)
- Charters and other Writs illustrating the History of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen*, ed. P. J. Anderson (Aberdeen, 1890)
- Charter Chest of the Earldom of Wigton, 1214-1681*, ed. F. J. Grant (SRS, 1910)
- Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee*, ed. W. Hay (Dundee, 1880)
- Cochran-Patrick, R. W. (ed.), *Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878)
- A Collection of Inventories and other records of the royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse; and of the Artillery and Munitioun in some of the Royal Castles, 1488-1606*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1815)
- Dunlop, James (ed.), *Papers Relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France from Original Documents* (Maitland Club, 1835)
- Excerpta e Libris Domicilii Domini Jacobi Quinti Regis Scotorum* (Bannatyne Club, 1836)
- Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. G. Burnett et al., (23 vols, Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
- Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen* ed. John Stuart (2 vols, Spalding Club, 1844-48)
- Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* ed. Sir James D. Marwick (14 vols, SBRS, 1869-92)

- Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark*, ed. R. Renwick (SBRS, 1893)
- Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling*, ed. R. Renwick (2 vols, Glasgow, 1887-89)
- Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, 1542*, ed. W. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1822)
- Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland* (3 vols, London, 1867-71)
- Flodden Papers, 1507-17*, ed. M. Wood (SHS, 1933)
- Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the Originals in the Balcarres Papers*, ed. M. Wood (2 vols, SHS, 1923-25)
- Fraser, Sir William, *The Douglas Book* (4 vols, Edinburgh, 1885)
- Fraser, Sir William, *The Elphinstone Family Book* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1897)
- Fraser, Sir William, *The Lennox* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1874)
- Fraser, Sir William, *The Red Book of Menteith* (Edinburgh, 1880)
- The Hamilton Papers*, ed. J. Bain (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1890-92)
- Household Ordinances* (Society of Antiquaries, 1790)
- Hume Brown, P. (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891)
- Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse Douairière de France*, ed. J. Robertson (Bannatyne Club, 1863)
- 'The Inventory of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, 1505', ed. F. C. Eeles, *TSES*, iii (1909-10), 310-25
- The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, eds. I. B. Cowan, P. H. R. MacKay and A. MacQuarrie (SHS, 1983)
- Leland, John (ed.), *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (6 vols, London, 1770)
- 'Letters of Cardinal Beaton, 1537-41' ed. A. Lang, *SHR*, vi (1909), 150-8
- Letters of James IV, 1505-13*, eds. R. K. Hannay and R. L. Mackie (SHS, 1953)
- Letters of James V*, eds. D. Hay and R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1954)
- Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* (Bannatyne Club, 1860)
- Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum* (Abbotsford Club, 1841)
- Lindsay, Alexander, 'The Navigation of King James V Round Scotland, the Orkney Isles and the Hebrides or Western Isles', ed. Nicholas d'Arfeville, trans. Robert Chapman, in *Miscellanea Scotica: A Collection of Tracts Relating to the History, Antiquities, Topography and Literature of Scotland* (3 vols, Glasgow, 1820), iii, 100-22
- Lindsay, Alexander, *A Rutter of the Scottish Seas, c.1540*, eds. A. B. Taylor, I. H. Adams and G. Fortune (Maritime Monographs and Reports, no. 44, 1980)
- Miscellaneous Papers Principally Illustrative of Events in the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI*, ed. Andrew MacGeorge (Maitland Club, 1834)
- 'Muster-Roll of the French Garrison at Dunbar, 1553', ed. R. S. Rait, *SHS Misc.*, ii (1904), 103-114
- Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark, 1589*, ed. J. T. Gibson Craig (Bannatyne Club, 1828)
- Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland*, ed. W. Bell (Bannatyne Club, 1829)
- Pitcairn, R. (ed.), *Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624* (Edinburgh, 1833)
- 'Pitodrie Papers, 1524-1628', ed. J. Stuart, *Spalding Club Misc.*, ii (1842), 175-208

- Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York and Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, (London, 1830)
- Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnson, 1528-78*, eds. J. Beveridge and F. Russell (SRS, 1920)
- Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, eds. J. M. Thompson et al. (Edinburgh, 1882-)
- Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, eds. M. Livinstone et al. (Edinburgh, 1908-)
- Rentale Dunkeldense*, ed. R. K. Hannay (SHS, 1915)
- Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1870-)
- 'The Scottish King's Household', ed. M. Bateson, *SHS Misc.*, ii (1904), 3-43
- 'The Scottish Nation in the University of Orléans, 1336-1538', ed. J. Kirkpatrick, *SHS Misc.*, ii (1904), 45-102
- Selected Cases from Acta Minorum Concilii et Sessionis, 1532-33*, ed. I. H. Shearer (Stair Society, 1951)
- State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. A. Clifford (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1809)
- Teulet, A. (ed.), *Inventaire chronologique des documents relatifs à l'histoire d'Ecosse conservés aux archives du royaume à Paris* (Abbotsford Club, 1839)
- Teulet, A. (ed.), *Papiers d'état, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIème siècle* (3 vols, Bannatyne Club, 1852-60)
- Teulet, A. (ed.) *Rélations politique de la France et de L'Espagne avec L'Ecosse au XVIème siècle* (5 vols, Paris, 1862)
- Walker, Sir Patrick (ed.), *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, 1561-1650* (Edinburgh, 1822)
- Wood, M. A. E. (ed.), *Letters of the Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain* (3 vols, London, 1846)

3. Original Works

- The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie (2 vols, STS, 1923-25)
- Atkinson, Stephen, *The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland, 1619*, ed. Gilbert Laing Meason (Bannatyne Club, 1825)
- The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. W. Tod Ritchie (4 vols, STS, 1923-25)
- Bisset, Habakkuk, *Rolment of Courtis*, ed. Sir Philip J. Hamilton-Grierson (3 vols, STS, 1920-26)
- Boece, Hector, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. John Bellenden (1531), eds. R. W. Chambers and E. C. Batho (2 vols, STS, 1938-41)
- Boece, Hector, *The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland*, ed. G. Watson (STS, 1946)
- Boece, Hector, *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. and trans. James Moir (New Spalding Club, 1894)
- The Boke of the Ordre of Chyvalry translated and printed by William Caxton together wih Adam Loutfut's Scottish Transcript*, ed. A. T. P. Bayles (EETS, 1926)
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt (8 vols, Aberdeen, 1987-95)

- Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeilles, abbé et seigneur de, *Oeuvres Complètes* (13 vols, Paris, 1890)
- Brosse, Jacques de la, *Two Missions: An Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the year 1543 and the Journal of the Seige of Leith, 1560*, ed. G. Dickinson (SHS, 1942)
- Buchanan, George, *The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Regency of the Earl of Moray*, ed. and trans. J. Aikman (4 vols, Glasgow, 1827)
- Calderwood, David, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, eds. T. Thomson and D. Laing (8 vols, Woodrow Society, 1842-49)
- Castiglione, Baldesar, *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. and trans. G. Bull (Harmondsworth, 1983)
- Chalmers, David of Ormond, *A Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland* (Maitland Club, 1830)
- 'The Chronicle of Aberdeen', ed. J. Stuart, *Spalding Club Misc.*, ii (1842), 29-70
- The Chronicle of Perth: A Register of Remarkable Occurrences chiefly concerned with that city, 1210-1668* (Maitland Club, 1831)
- Cronique du Roy François Premier de ce nom publiée pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, ed. Georges Guiffrey (Paris, 1860)
- 'Discours particulier d'Escosse', ed. and trans. P. G. B. McNeill, *Stair Society Misc.*, ii, (1984), 86-131
- A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the Fourth till the year 1575* (Bannatyne Club, 1833)
- Douglas, Gavin, *The Poetical Works*, ed. J. Small (4 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1874)
- Drummond, William, *The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond, 1681* (Edinburgh, 1831)
- Dunbar, William, *The Poems*, ed. J. Small (3 vols, STS, 1893)
- Elliot, Kenneth (ed.) *Musica Scotica: Editions of Early Scottish Music*, (2 vols, Glasgow, 1996)
- Elliot, K. and Shire, H. M. (eds.), 'Music of Scotland, 1500-1700', *Musica Britannica*, xv (1975)
- d'Espence, Claude, *Oraison Funèbre es obseques de tres Haute, tres puissante & tres vertueuse Princesse, Marie par la grace de Dieu Royne douairiere d'Escoce. Prononcée à nostre Dame de Paris, le douzieme d'Aoust, mil cinq cens soixante* (Paris, 1561)
- Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*, ed. W. B. D. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842)
- Eyre-Todd, George (ed.), *Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1892)
- Ferrerius, Giovanni, *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Bannatyne Club, 1839)
- Foulis, Sir James, of Colinton, 'Strena ad Jacobum V. Scotorum Regem de Suscepto Regni Regimine', in *Bannatyne Club Misc.* ii (1836), 3-8
- Ireland, John, *The Meroure of Wyfsdome*, ed. C. Macpherson, F. Quinn and C. McDonald (3 vols, STS, 1926-1990)
- Hall, E. *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York* (London, 1809)

- Hay, Sir Gilbert, *The Prose Manuscript, 1456*, ed. J. H. Stevenson (2 vols, STS, 1901-14)
- Keith, Bishop Robert, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (3 vols, Spottiswoode Society, 1844)
- Knox, John, *The Works*, ed. D. Laing (6 vols, Woodrow Society, 1846-64)
- Leslie, Bishop John, *The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I in the year 1436 to the year 1561* (Bannatyne Club, 1830)
- Leslie, John, *The Historie of Scotland*, trans. J. Dalrymple (1596), eds. E. G. Cody and W. Murison (STS, 1888-95)
- Lindsay of the Mount, Sir David, *The Works, 1490-1555*, ed. D. Hamer (4 vols, STS, 1931-36)
- Livius, Titus, *History of Rome: the First Five Books*, trans. John Bellenden (1533), ed. W. A. Craigie, (2 vols, STS, 1901-03)
- MacQueen, John (ed.), *Ballattis of Luve* (Edinburgh, 1970)
- Mair, John, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland, 1521*, ed. and trans. A. Constable with a *Life of the Author* by Æ. J. G. Mackay (SHS, 1892)
- The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie (2 vols, STS, 1917-27)
- The Maitland Quarto Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie (STS, 1920)
- Maitland of Lethington, Sir Richard, *The Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surename of Seyton* (Maitland Club, 1829)
- Marjoribanks, George, *Annals of Scotland from the yeir 1514 to the yeir 1591* (Edinburgh, 1814)
- Marot, Clément, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. C. A. Mayer (6 vols, London, 1958-80)
- Mylne, Alexander, *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1823)
- Pitscottie, Robert Lindsay of, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. John Graham Dalyell (Edinburgh, 1814)
- Pitscottie, Robert Lindsay of, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Æ. J. G. MacKay (3 vols, STS, 1899-1911)
- Richardinus, Robert, *Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine*, ed. G. G. Coulton (SHS, 1935)
- Ronsard, Pierre, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. G. Cohen (20 vols, Paris, 1950)
- Rolland, John, *The Seuin Seages translait out of prois in Scottis meter*, ed. G. F. Black (STS, 1932)
- Seyssel, Claude de, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. J. H. Hexter and M. Sherman, ed. D. R. Kelley (New Haven and London, 1981)
- Skelton, John, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (Harmondsworth, 1983)
- Stewart, William, *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland or A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (3 vols, Rolls Series, 1858)
- La tryumphante Entree de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges, 1515: A Facsimile*, ed. Sydney Anglo (Amsterdam, no date)
- Wedderburn, Robert, *The Complaynt of Scotland c. 1550*, ed. A. M. Stewart (STS, 1979)

4. Reference

- Aldis, H. G., *A List of Books Published in Scotland before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1970)
- Apted, M. R., and Hannabus, S., *Painters in Scotland, 1301-1700: A Biographical Dictionary* (SRS, 1978)
- Baker, D. (ed.), *Bibliography of Reform* (Oxford, 1975)
- Balfour Paul, Sir James, *The Scots Peerage* (9 vols, Edinburgh, 1904-14)
- Black, G. F., *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Brunton, G., and Haig, F., *An Historical Account of the Senators of The College of Justice* (Edinburgh, 1836)
- Cameron, N. M de S., Wright, D. F., Lachman, D. C., and Meek, D. E., (eds.), *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Cowan, I. B. and Easson, D. E., *Medieval Religious Houses* (London, 1976)
- Cowan, S., *The Lord Chancellors of Scotland* (2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1911)
- Craigie, W. A., et al. (eds.), *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue: Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth* (London and Aberdeen, 1937-)
- Daiches, David (ed.), *The New Companion to Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Dickinson, W. C., Donaldson, G., and Milne, I. A., (eds.), *A Source Book of Scottish History* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1953)
- Dictionary of National Biography* (London and Oxford, 1885-)
- Dowden, J., *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912)
- Dunbar, A. H., *Scottish Kings: A Revised Chronology of Scottish History, 1005-1625*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh, 1906)
- Durkan, J. and Ross, A., *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961)
- Forbes, A. P., *Kalendars [sic] of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872)
- Forbes Leith, W., *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1915)
- Grant, Sir Francis James, *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943* (SRS, 1944)
- Grant, Sir Francis James, *Court of the Lord Lyon, 1318-1945* (SRS, 1946)
- Groome, F. H., *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (6 vols, Edinburgh, 1885-1901)
- Henderson, J. M., *Scottish reckonings of Time, Money, Wirghts and Measures* (Historical Association of Scotland, n.s. no. 4, 1926)
- Imrie, J. et al., (eds.), *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland, Scottish Record Office* (Stair Society/HMSO, 1996)
- Latham, R. E., *A Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965)
- Livingstone, M., *A Guide to the Public Records of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1905)
- McNeill, Peter G. B., and MacQueen, Hector L., *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996)
- McNeill, Peter G. B., and Nicholson, R., *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c.400-c.1600* (St, Andrews, 1975)
- McRoberts, David, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953)
- Omond, G. W. T., *The Lords Advocate of Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1883)
- Powicke, F. M., and Fryde, E. B., *Handbook of British Chronology* (London, 1961)

- Register of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet* (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1909-)
- Sadie, S., (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (20 vols, London, 1980)
- Simpson, Grant G., *Scottish Handwriting, 1150-1650: An Introduction to the Reading of Documents* (Aberdeen, 1986)
- Stevenson, David and Wendy B., *Scottish Texts and Calendars: an Analytical Guide to Serial Publications* (SHS, 1987)
- Stevenson, J. H. and M. Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals* (Glasgow, 1940)
- Thomson, J. M., *The Public Records of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1922)
- Watt, D. E. R., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* (SRS, 1969)
- Whitelaw, Charles E., *Scottish Arms Makers: A Biographical Dictionary of Makers of Firearms, edged weapons and armour working in Scotland from the fifteenth century to 1870* (London, 1977)

5. Secondary Works (monographs and articles)

- Adams, Simon, 'Faction, Clientage and Party: English Politics, 1550-1603', *History Today*, xxxii (Dec. 1982), 33-9
- Aldis, H. G., Carter, J. and Crutchley, B., *The Printed Book* (Cambridge, 1951)
- Anderson, J., *Ladies of the Reformation* (Glasgow, 1855)
- Anderson, P. D., *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533-1593* (Edinburgh, 1982)
- Anderson, W. J. 'Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625', *IR*, x (1959), 173-93
- Anderson, W. J. 'Three Sixteenth-Century Scottish Missals', *IR*, ix (1958), 204-9
- Angels, Nobles and Unicorns: Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland*, NMS exhibition handbook (Edinburgh, 1982)
- Anglo, Sydney, *Spectacle and Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969)
- Anglo, Sydney (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990)
- Anon., 'The Life and Death of King James the Fifth of Scotland', *Miscellanea Scotica*, iv (1820), 81-164
- Apted, M. R., *The Painted Ceilings of Scotland, 1550-1650* (Edinburgh, 1966)
- Asch, Ronald G. and Birke, Adolf M. (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991)
- Babelon, Jean-Pierre, *Châteaux de France au siècle de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1989)
- Baillie, Hugh Murray, 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia*, ci (1967), 169-99
- Baines, Anthony (ed.), *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (London, 1973)
- Baldwin, David, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990)
- Balfour Paul, Sir James, *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art* (Edinburgh, 1900)
- Banks, M. MacLeod, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* (3 vols., Folklore Society, 1937-41)
- Bapst, Edmond, *Les Mariages de Jaques V* (Paris, 1889)

- Barber, Richard and Barker, Juliet, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989)
- Barrow, G. W. S. (ed.), *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honor of Ronald Gordon Cant* (Edinburgh, 1974)
- Bawcutt, Priscilla, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992)
- Bawcutt, Priscilla, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh, 1976)
- Beard, Charles R., 'Early Stewart Portraits: A Discovery', *The Connoisseur*, lxxi (Jan.-Apr. 1925), 5-15
- Bentley-Cranch, Dana, 'An early Sixteenth-century French Architectural source for the Palace of Falkland', *ROSC*, ii (1986), 85-95
- Bentley-Cranch, Dana, 'Effigy and Portrait in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *ROSC*, iv (1988), 9-23
- Bergen-Pantens, Christiane Van den (ed.), *L'ordre de la Toison d'or de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?* (Brussels, 1996)
- Bertelli, S., Cardini, F. and Zorzi, E. G. (eds.), *Italian Renaissance Courts* (London, 1986)
- Bingham, Caroline, *James V, King of Scots, 1512-1542* (London, 1971)
- Black Verschuur, Mary, 'The Perth Charterhouse in the Sixteenth Century', *IR*, xxxix (1988), 1-11
- Blunt, A., *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700* (London, 1980)
- Boardman, Stephen I., *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996)
- Boulton, D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987)
- Brandi, Karl, *The Emperor Charles V*, trans. C. V. Wedgwood (London, 1965)
- Breeze, D. J. (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden* (Edinburgh, 1984)
- Bridgland, Nick, *Hermitage Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1996)
- Broadie, A., *The Circle of John Mair: Logic and Logicians in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Oxford, 1985)
- Broadie, A., *George Lokert: Late-Scholastic Logician* (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Broadie, A., *The Shadow of Scotus: Philosophy and Faith in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995)
- Brook, A. J. S., 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland', *PSAS*, xxiv (1889-90), 49-141
- Brown, Michael, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994)
- Brown, Jennifer M. (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977)
- Bryant, Lawrence M., *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva, 1986)
- Bryce, W. Moir, *The Scottish Greyfriars* (2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1909)
- Buchanan, Patricia H., *Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots* (London and Edinburgh, 1985)
- Bullock-Davies, Constance, *Minstrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff, 1978)

- Bumke, Joachim, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley, 1991)
- Burckhardt, Jacob, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (Oxford and London, 1945; originally Basel, 1860)
- Burke, Peter, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge, 1995)
- Burnett, Charles J. and Tabraham, C. J., *The Honours of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Burnett, Charles J., 'The Act of 1471 and its effect on the Royal Arms of Scotland', *PSAS*, cv (1972-74), 312-15
- Burnett, Charles J., 'Reflections on the Order of the Thistle', *The Double Tressure: Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, v (1983), 39-42
- Burnett, Charles J., 'The Development of the Royal Arms to 1603', *Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, i (1977-8), 7-19
- Burns, C., 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: The Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword', *IR*, xx (1969), 150-95
- Burns, J., 'John Ireland and *The Meroure of Wyssdome*', *IR*, vi (1955), 77-98
- Burns, J. H., 'The Scotland of John Major', *IR*, ii (1951), 65-76
- Burns, J. H., 'New Light on John Major', *IR*, v (1954), 83-100
- Burns, J. H., *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1996)
- Caldwell, D. H. (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981)
- Campbell, Ian, 'Linlithgow's "Princely Palace" and its Influence in Europe', *Architectural Heritage*, v (1995), 1-20
- Campbell, L., *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1985)
- Carmi Parsons, John (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994)
- Cavers, Keith, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer, 1671 to 1717* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Chambers, R., *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1874)
- Champion, Pierre, *Ronsard et son temps* (Paris, 1925)
- Chapman, Hester W., *The Sisters of Henry VIII* (Bath, 1974)
- Cheape, Hugh (ed.), *Tools and Traditions: Studies in European Ethnology Presented to Alexander Fenton* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Cherry, Alastair, *Princes, Poets and Patrons: The Stewarts and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1987)
- Chrimes, S. B., *Henry VII* (London, 1987)
- Clough, Cecil H., 'Francis I and the Courtiers of Castiglione's *Courtier*', in *European Studies Review*, xviii (1978), 23-50
- Clowes, W. L., *The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present* (7 vols, 1897-1903)
- Colvin, H. M. et al. (eds.), *The History of the King's Works* (7 vols, London, 1963-73)
- Constant, Jean-Marie, *Les Guises* (Paris, 1984)
- Coventry, Martin, *The Castles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995)

- Cowan, I. B. and Shaw, D. (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson* (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Cox, E. H. M., *A History of Gardening in Scotland* (London, 1935)
- Crawford, Henry J., *French Travellers in Scotland* (Stirling, 1939)
- Cruden, Stewart, *The Scottish Castle* (Edinburgh and London, 1960)
- Cust, Lady Elizabeth, *Some Account of the Stuarts of Aubigny in France, 1422-1672* (London, 1891)
- Davidson, John and Gray, Alexander, *The Scottish Staple at Veere: A Study in the Economic History of Scotland* (London, 1909)
- Davies, C. S. L., *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558* (London, 1990)
- Dickens, A. G. (ed.), *The Courts of Europe, 1400-1800* (New York, 1984)
- Dickinson, Gladys, 'Some Notes on the Scottish Army in the first half of the Sixteenth Century', *SHR*, xxviii (1949), 133-145
- Dilworth, Mark, 'Book of Hours of Mary of Guise', *IR*, xix (1968), 77-80
- Dolmetsch, Mabel, *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600* (London, 1949)
- Dolmetsch, Mabel, *Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600* (London, 1954)
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Donaldson, Gordon, 'Stewart Builders: The Descendants of James V', *The Stewarts*, xiv (1974), 116-22
- Donaldson, Gordon, 'The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn', *TDGAS*, 3rd Series, xxvii (1950), 147
- Doughty, D. W., 'The Library of James Stewart, Earl of Moray, 1531-70', *IR*, xxi (1970), 17-29
- Doughty, D. W., 'Renaissance books, bindings and owners in St. Andrews and elsewhere: the humanists', *The Bibliothek*, vii (1974-5), 117-33
- Dove, M., *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge, 1986)
- Dowden, John, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910)
- Drijvers, Jan Willem and MacDonald, A. A. (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995)
- Drummond, Humphrey, *Our Man in Scotland: Sir Ralph Sadleir [sic], 1507-1587* (London, 1969)
- Duchhardt, Heinz, Jackson, Richard A. and Sturdy, David (eds.), *European Monarchy, its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times* (Stuttgart, 1992)
- Dunbar, John G., *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* (London, 1966)
- Dunbar, John G., 'The Palace of Holyrood during the first half of the sixteenth century', *Arch. Journ.* cxx (1963), 242-254
- Dunbar, John G., 'Some Aspects of the Planning of Scottish Royal Palaces in the sixteenth century', *Architect. Hist.* xxvii (1984), 15-24
- Dunbar, John G., 'Some Sixteenth-century French Parallels for the Palace of Falkland', *ROSC*, vii (1991), 3-8
- Dunbar, John G., *The Stirling Heads* (HMSO, 1975)
- Dunbar, John G., 'Carved Heads to Adorn a Ceiling', *Country Life*, vol. cxxxii, no. 3418 (6 Sep. 1962), 528-9
- Duncan, A. A. M., *James I, King of Scots* (Glasgow, 1984)

- Duncan Gibb, Sir George, *The Life and Times of Robert Gib, Lord of Carriber, Familiar Servitor and Master of the Stables to King James V of Scotland* (2 vols, London, 1874)
- Durkan, John, 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *IR*, x (1959), 382-439
- Durkan, John, 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', *IR*, x (1959), 67-90
- Durkan, John, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', *IR*, xxxviii (1987), 71-104
- Durkan, John, 'The Observant Franciscan Province in Scotland', *IR*, xxxv (1984), 51-7
- Durkan, John, 'The Sanctuary and College of Tain', *IR*, xiii (1962), 147-56
- Durkan, John, 'John Major: After 400 Years', *IR*, i (1950), 131-39
- Durkan, John, 'The School of John Major: A Bibliography', *IR*, i (1950), 140-57
- Durkan, John, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR*, iv (1953), 5-24
- Durkan, John, 'Chaplains in Scotland in the Late Middle Ages', *RSCHS*, xx (1979), 91-103
- Durkan, John, "'Scottish Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *RSCHS*, xxi (1983), 127-56
- Durkan, John, 'Scottish Reformers: the Less than Golden Legend', *IR*, xlv (1994), 1-28
- Durkan, John, 'Adam Mure's "Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni,"' *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xviii (1979), 199-231
- Durkan, John, *Bibliography of George Buchanan* (Glasgow, 1994)
- Durkan, John, 'George Buchanan: New Light on the Poems', *The Bibliothek*, x (1990), 1-9
- Durkan, John, '*The Trompet of Honour* (Edinburgh? 1537)', *The Bibliothek*, xi (1982), 1-2
- Durkan, John, 'The Royal Lectureships under Mary of Lorraine', *SHR*, lxii (1983), 73-8
- Durkan, John, Rawles, S. and Thorpe, N., *George Buchanan (1506-1582) Renaissance Scholar* (Exhibition Catalogue, Glasgow University Library, 1982)
- Dutton, Ralph, *English Court Life* (London, 1963)
- Easson, D. E., *Gavin Dunbar, Chancellor of Scotland and Archbishop of Glasgow* (Edinburgh and London, 1947)
- Eaves, R. G., *Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy, 1513-1524: England's Relations with the Regency Government of James V* (New York, 1971)
- Eaves, R. G., *Henry VIII and James V's Regency, 1524-1528: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Diplomacy* (London, 1987)
- Edington, Carol, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (East Linton, 1995)
- Elias, Norbert, *The Process of Civilization* (2 vols., Oxford, 1978-82)
- Elias, Norbert, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983)
- Elliot, Kenneth, 'Another of Thomas Wood's Missing Parts', *IR*, xxxix (1988), 151-5
- Elliot, Kenneth, 'The Carver Choir Book', *Music & Letters*, xli (1960), 349-57
- Elliot, Kenneth and Rimmer, Frederick, *A History of Scottish Music* (London, 1973)
- Ellis, Henry, 'Observations upon a Household Book of King James the Fifth of Scotland', *Archaeologia*, xxii (1829), 1-12
- Eltis, David, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1995)

- Elton, G. R., 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact, III: The Court', *TRHS*, xxvi (1976), 211-28
- Emmerson, George S., *A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreation* (Montreal and London, 1972)
- Evans, G. H., *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France* (Edinburgh, 1985)
- Ewen, Elizabeth, 'Women's History in Scotland: Review Article', *IR*, xlvi (1995), 155-64
- Farmer, Henry George, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, 1947)
- Fawcett, Richard, *Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation, 1371-1560* (Edinburgh, 1994)
- Fawcett, Richard, *Stirling Castle* (London, 1995)
- Fenton, A. and Stell, G. (eds.), *Lochs and Roads in Scotland and Beyond* (Edinburgh, 1984)
- Fellowes, Edmund H., *The Knights of the Garter, 1348-1939* (London, 1939)
- Feltch, Susan M., 'The Rhetoric of Biblical Authority: John Knox and the Question of Women', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxvi (1995), 805-22
- Fenlon, Iain (ed.), *The Renaissance* (London, 1989)
- Ferguson, John, *Linlithgow Palace* (Edinburgh, 1910)
- Ferguson, John, *Ecclesia Antiqua or the History of an Ancient Church (St. Michael's, Linlithgow) with an account of its chapels, chantries and endowments* (Edinburgh, 1905)
- Ferguson, W., *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1994)
- Findlay, I., *Scottish Gold and Silver Work* (London, 1956)
- Firth Green, Richard, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980)
- Fittis, R. S., *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland Historically Illustrated* (Wakefield, 1975)
- Forrester, Duncan B. and Murray, Douglas M. (eds.), *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1984)
- Forte, Angelo, 'Kenning be Kenning and Course be Course': Maritime Jurimetrics in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Northern Europe with Particular Reference to Scottish Maritime Law' (paper delivered to the 39th Conference of the Colloquium for Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Pitlochry, 7th January, 1996)
- Fradenburg, L. O. (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992)
- Fradenburg, L. O., *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Wisconsin, 1991)
- Frame, R., *The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100-1400* (Oxford, 1990)
- Francisque-Michel, R., *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse* (2 vols, London, 1862)
- Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, *Regalia: les instruments de sacre des rois de France et les 'honneurs de Charlemagne'* (Paris, 1987)
- Gaier, Claude, 'The Origins of Mons Meg', *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*, v (1965-7), 425-52

- Gardner-Medwin, Alisoun and Hadley Williams, Janet (eds.), *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England and Poems previously unpublished in Honour of Helena Mennie Shire* (Aberdeen, 1990)
- Giesey, Ralph E., *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960)
- Gifford, J., *The Buildings of Scotland: Fife* (London, 1988)
- Gifford, J., et al., *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (London, 1984)
- Gilbert, John M., *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979)
- Girouard, M., 'Falkland Palace, Fife I', *Country Life*, vol. cxxvi, no 3260 (27 Aug. 1959), 118-21
- Girouard, M., 'Falkland Palace, Fife II', *Country Life*, vol cxxvi, no 3261 (3 Sep. 1959), 178-81
- Gittings, Clare, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London, 1984)
- Given Wilson, Chris, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986)
- Goodman, Anthony and MacKay, Angus (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London, 1990)
- Grant, Alexander, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984)
- Green, M. A. E., *Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest* (6 vols., London, 1849-55)
- Gunn, S. J., *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c.1484-1545* (Oxford, 1988)
- Guth, D. J. and McKenna, J. W. (eds.), *Tudor Rule & Revolution* (Cambridge, 1982)
- Guy, John, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1990)
- Hadley Williams, Janet (ed.), *Stewart Style, 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V* (East Linton, 1996)
- Hale, J. R., *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (Leicester, 1985)
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. (ed.), *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context* (Minneapolis, 1992)
- Hannay, R. K., *The College of Justice*, ed. Hector L. MacQueen (Stair Society, 1990)
- Hannay, R. K., 'The Office of Justice Clerk', *Juridical Review*, xlvii (1935), 311-19
- Harrison, John, *The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood and of the Palace of Holyrood House* (Edinburgh, 1919)
- Harvey, Anthony and Mortimer, Richard (eds.), *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994)
- Hay, G. 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh', *PSAS*, cvii (1975-76), 242-60
- Hay Fleming, David, *The Reformation in Scotland; Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London, 1910)
- Head, David M., 'Henry VIII's Scottish Policy: a Reassessment', *SHR*, lxi (1982), 1-24
- Higgit, John (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St. Andrews* (London, 1994)
- Hoak, D., 'The Secret History of the Tudor Court: The King's Coffers and the King's Purse, 1542-1553', in *Journal of British Studies*, xxvi (1987), 208-231

- Hogwood, Christopher, *Music at Court* (London, 1977)
- Hollstein, F. W. H., *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c. 1400-1700* (Amsterdam, 1954 -)
- Holmes, G., *The Order of the Garter: its Knights and Stall Plates 1348 to 1984* (Windsor, 1984)
- Horn, D. B., 'The Origins of the University of Edinburgh', *University of Edinburgh Journal*, xxii (1966), 213-312
- Hotle, C. Patrick, *Thorns and Thistles: Diplomacy between Henry VIII and James V, 1528-1542* (Lanham, 1996)
- Houston, R. A., *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985)
- Howard, Deborah (ed.), *The Architecture of the Scottish Renaissance*, RIAS exhibition handbook (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Howarth, David, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (London, 1997)
- Hughes, Joan and Ransom, W. S., *Poetry of the Stewart Court* (Canberra, 1982)
- Hume Brown, P., *History of Scotland* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1909-12)
- Hutton, Ronald, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994)
- Ijsewijn, J. and Thomson, D. F. S., 'The Latin Poems of Jacobus Follisius or James Foullis of Edinburgh', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xxiv (1975), 133-34
- Inglis, J. A., *Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall* (Glasgow, 1935)
- Inglis, Jim, *The Organ in Scotland before 1700* (Schagen, 1991)
- Ingram Hill, D., *Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1986)
- Innes of Learney, Sir Thomas, *Scots Heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1956)
- Innes of Learney, Sir Thomas, 'The Style and Title of "Lord Lyon King of Arms"', *Juridical Review*, 44 (1932), 197-220
- Irving, George Vere and Murray, Alexander, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated* (3 vols, Glasgow, 1864)
- Ives, Eric, *Anne Boleyn* (London, 1988)
- Jack, R. D. S. (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature Volume One: Origins to 1660* (Aberdeen, 1988)
- Jack, R. D. S., *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh, 1972)
- Jacquot, Jean et al. (eds.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (3 vols, Paris, 1956-65)
- Jaeger, C. Stephen, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985)
- Jenkins, E. H., *A History of the French Navy from its Beginnings to the Present Day* (London, 1973)
- Jordan, Constance, 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly*, xl (1987), 421-51
- Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957)
- Kaufman, Peter Iver, 'Piety and Proprietary Rights: James IV of Scotland, 1488-1513', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, xiii (1982), 83-99
- Kerr, Andrew, 'Notes of Ancient tile paving in Linlithgow Palace', *PSAS*, xv (1880-81), 194-98

- Kingsford, C. L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913)
- Kirk, J. (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400-1634. Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron* (Oxford, 1991)
- Knecht, R. J., *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Knecht, R. J., 'The Court of Francis I', *European Studies Review*, viii (1978), 1-18
- Knoop, Douglas and Jones, G. P., *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word* (Manchester, 1939)
- Kratzmann, Gregory, *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations, 1430-1550* (Cambridge, 1980)
- Laing, David, 'An Account of the Scottish Psalter of A.D. 1566', *PSAS*, vii (1866-7), 445-58
- Lang, Andrew, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', *SHR*, iii (1906), 410-22
- Lawson, H. A. B., 'The Armorial Register of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount', *The Scottish Genealogist*, iv (1957), 12-19
- Lecoq, Anne-Marie, *François Ier imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance Française* (Paris, 1987)
- Lee, M., *James Stewart, Earl of Moray* (New York, 1953)
- Lees, J. Cameron, *St. Giles, Edinburgh: Church, College and Cathedral from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh and London, 1889)
- Lees-Milne, James, *The Age of Inigo Jones* (London, 1953)
- Lenman, Leah (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988)
- Lewis, Ioan (ed.), *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-Cultural Studies in Symbolism* (London, 1977)
- Loades, David, *The Tudor Court* (Bangor, 1992)
- Loades, David, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot, 1992)
- Lorimer, Peter, *Patrick Hamilton* (Edinburgh, 1857)
- Loveday of Caversham, John, *Diary of a Tour in 1732* (Roxburghe Club, 1890)
- Lyall, R. J., 'The Court as a Cultural Centre', *History Today*, xxxiv (Sep. 1984), 28-33
- Lyall, R. J., 'The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth-Century Evidence', *IR*, xxviii (1977), 3-21
- Lyall, R. J., 'Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century', *IR*, xxxvi (1985), 55-73
- Lynch, Michael, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992)
- Lynch, Michael, 'The Origins of Edinburgh's "Toun College": a Revision Article', *IR*, xxxiii (1982), 3-14
- Lynch, Michael, 'A Royal Progress: Court Ceremony and Ritual during the Personal Reign of James VI' (forthcoming)
- Lynch, Michael, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *SHR*, lxi (1990), 1-21
- McClure, J. Derrick and Spiller, Michael R. G. (eds.), *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1986)

- McClure, J. Derrick (ed.), *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue: Studies in the Language and Literature of Lowland Scotland in honour of David D. Murison* (Aberdeen, 1983)
- MacDonald, A. A., 'Catholic Devotion into Protestant Lyric: The Case of *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris*', *IR*, xxxv (1984), 58-83
- MacDonald, A. A., 'Mary Stewart's Entry to Edinburgh: an Ambiguous Triumph', *IR*, xlii (1991), 101-10
- MacDonald, A. A., Lynch, M. and Cowan, I. B. (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1994)
- Macdougall, N., *Church, Politics and Society in Scotland, 1428-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Macdougall, N., *James III: a Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982)
- Macdougall, N., *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1988)
- Macdougall, N. (ed.), *Scotland and War, AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991)
- Macewen, A. R., *A History of the Church in Scotland* (2 vols, London, 1913)
- McFarlane, I. D., *Buchanan* (London, 1981)
- McFarlane, I. D., *A Literary History of France: The Renaissance, 1470-1589* (London, 1974)
- MacFarlane, L., 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *IR*, xi (1960), 3-21
- MacFarlane, L. J., 'Hector Boece and Early Scottish Humanism', *The Deeside Field*, 18 (1984), 65-9
- MacFarlane, L. J., *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1995)
- McGibbon, D. and Ross, T., *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1887-92)
- McGibbon, D. and Ross, T., *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1896-97)
- McGladdery, Christine, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- MacIvor, Iain, *Blackness Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1993)
- MacIvor, Iain, *Craignethan Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1993)
- MacIvor, Iain, *Edinburgh Castle* (London, 1993)
- MacIvor, Iain, *Dumbarton Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1993)
- MacIvor, Iain, 'The King's Chapel at Restalrig and St. Triduana's Aisle: A Hexagonal two-storied Chapel of the Fifteenth Century', *PSAS*, xcvi (1962-3), 247-263
- MacIvor, Iain, *Blackness Castle* (Historic Scotland, 1993)
- McKay, Denis, 'The four heid pilgrimages of Scotland', *IR*, xix (1968), 76-7
- McKean, Charles, 'Hamilton of Finnart', *History Today*, xliii (Jan. 1993), 42-47
- McKean, Charles, 'Craignethan: the Castle of the Bastard of Arran', *PSAS*, cxxv (1995), 1069-90
- McKean, Charles, 'Finnart's Platt', in *Scottish Architects Abroad: Architectural Heritage II: The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, ed. D. Howard (1991), 3-17
- MacKechnie, Aonghus, 'Stirling's Triumphal Arch', *Welcome: News for Friends of Historic Scotland* (Sept. 1991), unpaginated
- Mackenzie, William M., *The Medieval Castle in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1972)

- McKerlie, E. M. H., *Mary of Guise-Lorraine, Queen of Scotland* (London, 1931)
- Mackie, A., *Scottish Pageantry* (London, 1967)
- Makinson, A., 'Solway Moss and the Death of James V'. *History Today*, x (1960), 106-115
- Maclean, Ian, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman* (Cambridge, 1980)
- MacMillan, Duncan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- MacPhail, J. R. N., 'Hamilton of Kincavil and the General Assembly of 1563', *SHR*, x (1913), 156-61
- Macquarrie, Alan, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III', *IR*, xxxiii (1982), 15-22
- MacQueen, John (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- McRoberts, David (ed.), *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962)
- McRoberts, David (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews* (Glasgow, 1976)
- McRoberts, David, *The Heraldic Ceiling of St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1976)
- McRoberts, David, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', *IR*, x (1959), 126-72
- McRoberts, David, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', *IR*, x (1959), 91-6
- McRoberts, David, 'The Fetternear Banner', *IR*, vii (1956), 69-86
- McRoberts, David, 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy Illustrated by Surviving Documents', *TSES*, vol. xv, pt. 1 (1957), 24-40
- McRoberts, David, 'Scottish Sacrament Houses', *TSES*, xv (1965), 33-56
- McRoberts, David, 'The Rosary in Scotland', *IR*, xxiii (1972), 81-6
- McRoberts, David, 'Some Sixteenth-Century Scottish Breviaries and their place in the History of the Scottish Liturgy', *IR*, iii (1952), 33-48
- McRoberts, David, 'The Boy Bishop in Scotland', *IR*, xix (1968), 80-82
- McWilliam, C. (ed.), *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian except Edinburgh* (London, 1978)
- Mahoney, M., 'The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513-1625', *IR*, x (1959), 21-60
- Malloch, R. J., 'The Order of the Thistle', *Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, i (1977-8), 35-46
- Mapstone, Sally, *Scots and their Books in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue (Oxford, 1996)
- Marshall, Rosalind K., *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977)
- Marshall, Rosalind K., *Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1988)
- Marshall, Rosalind, K., *Virgins and Viragoes. A History of Women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* (London, 1983)
- Marshall, Rosalind K., 'The Jewellery of James V, King of Scots', *Jewellery Studies*, vii (1996), 79-86
- Marshall, Rosalind K., 'Jewellery in Scottish Portraits, 1500-1700', *The Connoisseur*, xcvi (1978), 283-91
- Marshall, Rosalind K., "'To be the Kingis Grace ane Dowblett": The Costume of James V, King of Scots', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, xxviii (1994), 14-21
- Marshall, Rosalind K., "'Hir Rob Ryall": the Costume of Mary of Guise', *Costume*, xii (1978), 1-12

- Marshall, Rosalind. K. and Dalgleish, G. R. (eds.), *The Art of Jewellery in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991)
- Marwick, Sir James D., *The History of the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, 1460-1661* (SBRS, 1911)
- Mason, Roger A. (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987)
- Mason, Roger A., 'Kingship, Nobility and Anglo-Scottish Union: John Mair's *History of Greater Britain* (1521)', *IR*, xli (1990), 182-222
- Mason, R. A. and Macdougall, N. (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T. C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992)
- Mathew, Gevase, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968)
- Mattingly, Garrett, *Katherine of Aragon* (London, 1950)
- Maxwell-Irving, Alastair M. T., 'Cramalt Tower: A Historical Survey and Excavations, 1977-9', *PSAS*, cxi (1981), 421-3
- Maxwell-Irving, Alastair M. T., 'Early Firearms and their Influence on the military and domestic architecture of the Borders', *PSAS*, ciii (1970-71), 192-224
- Medcalf, Stephen (ed.), *The Context of English Literature: The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1981)
- Meikle, Maureen, 'The World of Women: Review Article', *IR*, xlv (1994), 71-77
- Menzies, 'Robert Galbraith, 148- - 1543', *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*, vii (June 1929), 205-13
- Menzies, Gordon (ed.), *The Scottish Nation* (London, 1972)
- Mertes, Kate, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988)
- Mill, Anna Jean, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh and London, 1927)
- Millar, A. H., 'Scotland described for Queen Magdalene: A Curious Volume', *SHR*, i (1903-4), 27-38
- Millar, Sir Oliver, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (2 vols, London, 1963)
- Mitchell, W. S., *A History of Scottish Bookbinding, 1432-1650* (Aberdeen, 1955)
- Moncrieffe, Sir Iain, *The Royal Palace of Falkland* (NTS, 1989)
- Murray, A. L. 'The Comptroller, 1425-1488', *SHR*, lii (1973), 1-29
- Murray, A. L., 'Exchequer and Council in the reign of James V', *Juridical Review*, v (1960), 209-25
- Murray, A. L., 'The Lord Clerk Register', *SHR*, liii (1974), 124-56
- Murray, A. L., 'The Procedure of the Scottish Exchequer in the early Sixteenth Century', *SHR*, xl (1961), 89-117
- Murray, A. L., 'The Revenues of the Bishopric of Moray in 1538', *IR*, xix (1968), 40-56
- Murray, Peter and Linda, *The Art of the Renaissance* (London, 1986)
- Myers, A. R., *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959)
- Mylne, R. S., *The Master Masons of the Crown of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1893)
- Mylne, R. S., 'Notices of the King's Master Wrights of Scotland with Writs of their Appointments', *PSAS*, xxxiv (1899-1900), 288-96
- Oldham, Arthur, 'Scottish Polyphonic Music', *IR*, xiii (1962), 54-61
- Oppenheim, M., *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* (London, 1896)

- Orme, Nicholas, *From Childhood to Chivalry: the Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984)
- Parsons, John Carmi (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994)
- Paterson, J., *James the Fifth: or the "Gudeman of Ballangeich:" his Poetry and Adventures* (Edinburgh, 1861)
- Paton, G. C. H. (ed.), *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Stair Society, 1958)
- Pimodan, Gabriel de, *La Mère des Guises* (Paris, 1925)
- Porteous, J. Moir, *God's Treasure-House in Scotland* (London, 1876)
- Porter, Roy and Teich, Mikuláš (eds.), *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, 1992)
- Potter, D., *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy, 1470-1560* (Cambridge, 1993)
- Prevenier, Walter and Blockmans, Wim, *The Burgundian Netherlands*, trans. Peter King and Yvette Mead (Cambridge, 1986)
- Pringle, Denys, *Rothsay Castle and St. Mary's Church* (Edinburgh, 1995)
- Purser, John, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh, 1992)
- Rait, R. S., *The Parliaments of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1924)
- Rait, R. S., *The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns* (London, 1901)
- Reese, Gustave, *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1954)
- Reid, J. J., 'The Scottish Regalia, Anciently Styled the Honours of Scotland', *PSAS*, xxiv (1889-90), 18-48
- Reid, Thomas, *History of the Parish of Crawfordjohn, Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, 1153-1928* (Edinburgh, 1928)
- Reid, W. Stanford, *Skipper from Leith: The History of Robert Barton of Over Barnton* (Oxford, 1962)
- Reid, W. Stanford, 'Clerical Taxation: the Scottish Alternative to the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *Catholic Historical Review*, xxxiv (1948), 129-53
- Renaissance Decorative Arts in Scotland, 1480-1650*, NMAS and SNPG exhibition catalogue (Edinburgh, 1959)
- Renwick, Robert, *A Peebles Aisle and Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1893)
- Richardson, J. S., *The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1964)
- Richardson, J. S., 'Unrecorded Scottish Wood Carvings', *PSAS*, lx (1925-6), 384-408
- Robbins, K. (ed.), *Religion and Humanism, Studies in Church History*, 17 (Oxford, 1981)
- Rogers, C., *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Grampian Club, 1882)
- Rogers, C., *Social Life in Scotland from Early to Recent Times* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1884-6)
- Rose, Mary Beth (ed.), *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Syracuse, 1986)
- Ross, A., 'Some Scottish Catholic Historians', *IR*, i (1950), 5-21
- Ross, D. James, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Ross, T., 'St. Triduana's Well-House', *TSES*, iii (1910-11), 238-46
- Russell, J. C., *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (London, 1969)
- Russell, J. C., *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (London, 1986)
- Sanderson, M. H. B., *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c.1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986)

- Sanderson, J. M., 'Two Stewarts of the Sixteenth Century: Mr William Stewart, Poet, and William Stewart, Elder, Depute Clerk of Edinburgh', *The Stewarts*, xvii (1984), 25-46
- Sanger, Keith and Kinnaird, Alison, *Tree of Strings, Crann nan tend: A History of the Harp in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1992)
- Sedgwick, H. D., *The House of Guise* (London, 1938)
- Seton, George, *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1863)
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (London, 1990)
- Scattergood, V. J. and Sherborne, J. W. (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1986)
- Scott, Paul H. (ed.) *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Scott, Sir Walter, *Tales of a Grandfather* (Edinburgh, 1872)
- Seton, G., 'Notice of Four Stained Glass Shields of Arms and a Monumental Slab in St. Magdalene's Chapel, Cowgate', *PSAS*, xxi (1886-87), 266-74
- Seton, George, *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1863)
- Seward, D., *Prince of the Renaissance: The Life of Francis I* (London, 1973)
- Shire, H. M., *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under James VI* (Cambridge, 1969)
- Simonin, Michel, *Pierre de Ronsard* (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée, 1990)
- Simpson, G. G. (ed.), *Scotland and Scandinavia, 800-1800* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Simpson, W. Douglas, 'A Chronicle History of Dunvegan Castle', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xxxvii (1934-6), 370-98
- Sinclair, George, A., 'The Scots at Solway Moss', *SHR*, ii (1905), 372-77
- Sinclair, John, 'Notes on the Holyrood "Foir-yet" of James IV', *PSAS*, xxxiv (1904-5), 352-362
- Sinclair, John, 'Notes on James V's Towers, Holyrood Palace', *PSAS*, xxxiv (1899-1900), 224-41
- Slavin, A. S., *Politics and Profit: A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler* (Cambridge, 1966)
- Smailes, Helen and Thomson, Duncan, *The Queen's Image* (Edinburgh, 1987)
- Smith, Janet M., *The French Background to Middle Scots Literature* (Edinburgh, 1934)
- Smith, Pauline M. and MacFarlane, I. D. (eds.), *Literature and the Arts in the Reign of Francis I* (Lexington, 1985)
- Smout, T. C. (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986)
- Stafford, Pauline, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens [USA], 1983)
- Stair-Kerr, Eric, *Stirling Castle: Its Place in Scottish History* (Stirling, 1928)
- Starkey, David (ed.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987)
- Starkey, David (ed.), *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London, 1991)
- Starkey, David, 'Ightham Mote', *History Today*, xxx (Jan. 1980), 58-60
- Starkey, David, 'From Feud to Faction: English Politics c.1450-1550', *History Today*, xxxii (Nov 1982), 16-22
- Stevens, John, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961)
- Stevenson, David, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997)

- Stevenson, the Revd. Joseph, *Mary Stuart: A Narrative of the First Eighteen Years of her Life Principally from Original Documents* (Edinburgh, 1886)
- Stevenson, J. H., *Heraldry in Scotland* (2 vols, Glasgow, 1914)
- Stewart, I. H., *The Scottish Coinage* (London, 1955)
- Stoddart, Jane T., *The Girlhood of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1908)
- Strickland, Agnes, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses* (8 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1850-59)
- Stringer, K. J. (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985)
- Strong, Roy, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London, 1973)
- Strong, Roy, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984)
- Stuart, Marie W., *The Scot who was a Frenchman* (Edinburgh, 1940)
- Symms, P., 'Some Aspects of the Sheep-Farming Activities of James V', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, vii (1987), 66-68
- Tabraham, C., *Scottish Castles and Fortifications* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Thompson, C. and Campbell, L., *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (NGS, 1974)
- Thomson, D., *Renaissance Paris: Architecture and Growth, 1475-1600* (London, 1984)
- Thurley, Simon, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven, 1993)
- Thurley, Simon, 'Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court Palace. A Reconstruction of a Tudor Palace', *Architect. Hist.*, xxxi (1988), 1-57
- Vale, M. G. A., *War and Chivalry* (London, 1981)
- Vaughan, R., *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975)
- Verney, Peter, *The Gardens of Scotland* (London, no date)
- Walker, Greg, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1991)
- Walker, Greg, 'Henry VIII and the Invention of the Royal Court', *History Today*, xlvii (February 1997), 13-20
- Warrack, John, *Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688* (Edinburgh, 1920)
- Waters, D. W. (ed.), *The Rutters of the Sea* (New Haven and London, 1967)
- Welsford, Enid, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge, 1927)
- Wiesner, Merry, E., *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993)
- Williams, Neville, *Henry VIII and his Court* (London, 1971)
- Williams, Peter, *A New History of the Organ from the Greeks to the Present Day* (London, 1980)
- Winning, Revd. Thomas, 'Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *IR*, x (1959), 311-37
- Withington, Robert, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline* (2 vols, New York, 1963)
- Woodbridge, Kenneth, *Princely Gardens: The Origins and Development of the French Formal Style* (London, 1986)
- Woods, Isobel, 'Towards a Biography of Robert Carvor', *The Music Review*, vol. xlix, no. 2 (May 1989), 83-101

- Wormald, Jenny, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Edinburgh, 1992)
- Wormald, Jenny, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985)
- Wormald, Jenny, *Mary Queen of Scots: a Study in Failure* (London, 1991)
- Wormald, Jenny (ed.), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991)
- Wulstan, David, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985)
- Yates, Frances A., *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1985)
- Yates, Frances A., *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947)
- Yates, Frances A., *The Valois Tapestries* (London, 1975)
- Zeune, Joachim, *The Last Scottish Castles: Investigations with particular reference to domestic architecture from the 15th to 17th centuries*, trans. Silke Böger (Internationale Archäologie, Band 12, Erlbach, 1992)

6. Theses

- Cameron, James S., 'Crown-Magnate Relations in the Personal Rule of James V, 1528-1542' (University of St. Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1994)
- Edington, Carol, 'Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: Politics and Religious Culture in Renaissance Scotland' (University of St. Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1991)
- Emond, W. K., 'The Minority of James V, 1513-1528' (University of St. Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1988)
- Murray, A. L., 'Exchequer and Crown Revenue of Scotland, 1437-1542' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1961)
- Thurley, Simon, 'English Royal Palaces, 1450-1550' (University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1991-92)
- Watry, P. B., 'Sixteenth-Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland with an Introductory Survey of the Scottish Book Trade' (University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1993)