MAGNIFICENCE AND MATERIALITY:
THE COMMERCE AND CULTURE OF FLEMISH LUXURIES IN LATE MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND

Morvern French

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

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Morvern French

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the University of St Andrews

11 October 2016

Abstract

This thesis explores the prestige associated in late medieval Scotland with Flemish luxury products, using a material culture-based approach founded on the premise that objects can reveal the beliefs and attitudes of those who used them. Adding to existing scholarship which concentrates on the economic, political, and diplomatic connections between Scotland and Flanders, this research offers a new artefactual dimension to this relationship. It challenges the perception of Scotland as culturally and materially unsophisticated while simultaneously considering how objects were used in the expression of elite power and status.

What drives this work is that late medieval Scottish elites were fully immersed in the most highly regarded and fashionable material trends of western Europe and that their consumption patterns fit into a wider mentality which saw Flemish craftsmanship as an ideal. A new model is thus presented, moving away from the traditional concentration on fluctuating wool exports and taking into account the cultural agency of noble, ecclesiastic, and burghal elites. It entails the initial examination of Scottish consumer demand and its impact on the Flemish luxury market. Following this are chapters on gift exchange and the presentation of magnificence, centred around the perception of the Flemish aesthetic as representative of elite status. Finally, this approach is applied to the burghal and clerical spheres, arguing that Flemish church furniture played a role in the formation and maintenance of elite urban identities.

The comprehensive examination of artefactual sources, combined with the commercial, ritual, and ceremonial evidence found in written sources, enables the building up of a clearer impression of Scoto-Flemish material culture than has previously been realised. It is demonstrated that the material environment of late medieval Scottish elites was comparable to those of other European polities, constituting a common cultural sphere furnished by the luxury products of Flanders and the southern Low Countries.

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I, Morvern French, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 79,494 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2013 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2013; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2013 and 2016.

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Rossdhu Book of Hours, Auckland Libraries, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Med. MS G.146, p. 39 212

Perth Psalter, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS 652, f. 7r 213

Abbreviations and Conventions

Abdn Counc.	*Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1625*, vol. 1, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1844)
Abdn Reg.	*Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis: Ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis Regesta que Extant in Unum Collecta*, 2 vols, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1845)
BMA	Blairs Museum, Aberdeen
Burghs Convention Recs	*Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, 8 vols, ed. J. D. Marwick and T. Hunter (Edinburgh, 1866-80)
CAEB	*Cartulaire de l’Ancienne Estaple de Bruges: Recueil de documents concernant le commerce intérieur et maritime, les relations internationales et l’histoire économique de cette ville*, 4 vols, ed. L. Gilliodts-van Severen (Bruges, 1904-6)
CAGT	*Cartulaire de l’Ancien Grand Tonlieu de Bruges faisant suite au Cartulaire de l’Ancienne Estaple*, 2 vols, ed. L. Gilliodts-van Severen (Bruges, 1908-9)
CDS	*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, 5 vols, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1881-8, 1986)
Chron. Boece	*The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1531*, 2 vols, ed. Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands (Edinburgh, 1938-41)
Chron. Bower	Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, 9 vols, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1989-98)
Chron. d’Escouchy	*Chronique de Mathieu d’Escouchy*, 3 vols, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (Paris, 1863-4)
Dunk. Rent.	*Rentale Dunkeldense, being accounts of the bishopric (A.D. 1505-1517) with Myln’s ‘Lives of the Bishops’ (A.D. 1483-1517)*, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh, 1915)
ER	*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols, ed. John Stuart and G. Burnett (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
Halyburton’s Ledger	*Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scotch Nation in the*

	Netherlands, 1492-1503, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1867)
Hay, *Governaunce*	*Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript (A.D. 1456)*, vol. 2: *The Buke of Knychthede and The Buke of the Governaunce of Princis*, ed. J. H. Stevenson (Edinburgh and London, 1914)
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
Holyrood Ordinale	*The Holyrood Ordinale: A Scottish Version of a Directory of English Augustinian Canons, with Manual and other Liturgical Forms*, ed. Francis C. Eeles (Edinburgh, 1916)
IAVB	*Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges*, 9 vols, ed. L. Gilliodts-van Severen (Bruges, 1871-85)
IR	*Innes Review*
Ireland, *Meroure*	John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyfsdome, composed for the use of James IV, King of Scots*, vol. 3, ed. Craig McDonald (Aberdeen, 1990)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
King's College	*King's College Chapel, Aberdeen: Its Fittings, Ornaments and Ceremonial in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis C. Eeles (Edinburgh, 1956)
Mair, *History*	*A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland, Compiled from the Ancient Authorities by John Major, by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a Theologian, 1521*, ed. Archibald Constable (Edinburgh, 1892)
MUSA	Museum of the University of St Andrews
NAL	National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
NGS	National Galleries Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NMS	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [www.oxforddnb.com]
Perth Guild Bk	*The Perth Guildry Book, 1452-1601*, ed. Marion L. Stavert (Edinburgh, 1993)
Pitscottie, *Historie*	Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland: From the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane thousande fyve*

	hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir, vol. 1, ed. Æ. J. G. Mackay (1899)
PMAG	Perth Museum and Art Gallery
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RMS	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, 11 vols, ed. James Balfour Paul and John Maitland Thomson (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
RPS	*The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St Andrews, 2007-15), ed. K. M. Brown *et al.* [www.rps.ac.uk]
SAB	Stadsarchief Bruges
SAIR	*Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports* [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/sair/]
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
St Nich. Cart.	*Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, 2 vols, ed. Jacobus Cooper (Aberdeen, 1888-92)
St Salvator College	Ronald G. Cant, *The College of St. Salvator: Its Foundation and Development including a Selection of Documents, with a Critical Edition of the Register of Furnishings of the Collegiate Church* by Francis C. Eeles (Edinburgh, 1950)
TA	*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 13 vols, ed. T. Dickson *et al.* (Edinburgh, 1877-1978)
Wardrobe Inventories	*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. M.CCCC.LXXXVIII. - M.DC.VI.*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, 1815)
Young, *Fyancells*	John Young, Somerset Herald, 'The Fyancells of Margaret, eldeft Daughter of King Henry VIIth to James King of Scotland: Together with her Departure from England, Journey into Scotland, her Reception and Marriage there, and the great Feafts held on that Account', in *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, ed. John Leland and Thomas Hearne (London, 1774)

All money is in pounds Scots unless otherwise specified.

Chapter 1: *Introduction*

This thesis will explore the elite, luxury status of Flemish material culture in Scotland in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and what that tells historians about the participation of Scottish elites in wider European fashions. As Scotland's principal trading partner for much of the late medieval period, and as an artistically and industrially vibrant northern European centre of production, Flanders provided a great deal of Scotland's luxury imports. However, the apparent passivity of this trade relationship has yet to be properly challenged, as this work intends to do. The ritual and ceremony of the court, the church, and the mercantile elite will be examined alongside artefactual and written sources as evidence of the preferential position that Flemish objects held as status symbols. The survival of late medieval material culture, which is relatively poor compared to that of other European countries, will necessarily be taken into account. In written sources, too, there is very little contemporary Scottish evidence of the high status of Flemish manufactures. Therefore, alternative evidence will be examined in order to determine the symbolic and cultural significance of Flemish objects in Scotland. By looking at the evidence in an entirely original way it is intended that new light will be shed on the material environment of late medieval Scotland being entirely *au courant*, and this thesis will go some way towards closing the historiographical gap between Scotland and what are traditionally perceived as more culturally sophisticated polities such as Burgundy.

The county of Flanders was situated in the southern Low Countries, on the North Sea coast to the north-east of France, of which it was a royal fief. It was a relatively compact geographical area but was to have a deeply significant impact on the material culture of Scotland in the late medieval period. Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy inherited it, *jure uxoris*, in 1384, along with the counties of Artois, Burgundy, as distinct from the duchy, Nevers, Rethel, and the towns of Antwerp and Mechelen.[1]

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[1] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, 3rd ed. (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 16-7; Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975), pp. 16, 24; M. Jones, 'The Growth of the Burgundian State', in David Ditchburn, Simon MacLean and Angus MacKay (ed.), *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 204-5; Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 1, 24; Paul Arblaster, *A History of the Low*

Despite their vast land holdings, the jewel in the crown of the expansionist Burgundian dukes was Flanders. It was their wealthiest and most urbanised territory, with sophisticated industrial, artistic, and mercantile structures.[2] On the death of Mary the Rich in 1482 the Valois ducal line came to an end and the French fiefs of Burgundy, excepting Flanders, were re-absorbed by the French crown. The accession of Mary's son, Philip the Fair, whose father was heir to the Holy Roman Empire, meant that the imperial fiefs of Burgundy, as well as Flanders, were absorbed by the Habsburg dynasty. Under Philip's son Charles V, the imperial, Burgundian, and Spanish territories were united.[3]

A bi-directional dynamic existed between the splendour of the Burgundian dukes and the artistic and mercantile centre of Flanders. On one hand, the international trade links of the densely urbanised and populated Flemish cities made them a breeding ground for the production of a vast array of commodities including, but by no means limited to, textiles, tapestries, metalwork, woodwork, and manuscripts. These goods, the prestige of which was internationally recognised, were both exported across Europe and sold to resident consumers. Cultural and commercial success brought prosperity to the area:

> The overwhelming Gothic cathedrals and city halls of the Low Countries, the fascinating triptychs of the so-called Flemish Primitives, the splendid miniatures of the ducal library have popularised the romantic conviction that during the waning of the middle ages [*sic*], the Low Countries were outstanding in their artistic splendour and their general wealth.[4]

Countries, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 95; Bertrand Schnerb, 'The Dukes of Burgundy and the Burgundian Principalities (1361-1419)', in Stephen N. Fliegel and Sophie Jugie (ed.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364-1419* (Cleveland, 2004), p. 28.

The following territories were later added to the Burgundian state by inheritance, purchase, or conquest: Namur (1429), Brabant (1430), Limburg (1430), Hainaut (1433), Holland (1433), Zeeland (1433), Luxembourg (1443), and Guelders (1473).

[2] See Chapter 2; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 4, 6-7, 151-2; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 26; David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 305-7, 348-51, 368, 383-90; Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)* (Brussels, 2009), pp. 21, 172; Schnerb, 'The Dukes of Burgundy and the Burgundian Principalities', p. 28.

[3] Jones, 'The Growth of the Burgundian State', p. 206; Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, p. 107; William Allan, 'The Valois Dukes of Burgundy, 1363-1477', *The Connoisseur* 194:781 (March 1977), p. 153.

[4] R. van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth: Art and Economy in the Burgundian Netherlands', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10:2 (1992), p. 101.

The material environment of the ducal court was accordingly lavish, boasting the finest tapestries, manuscripts, and other luxuries from the workshops of Flanders and the southern Low Countries. Its magnificence made Burgundy an exemplar for princely courts around Europe and its dukes examples for other rulers to emulate, prompting international aristocratic demand for Flemish luxuries.[5]

Within Flanders, at the entrepôt of Bruges, Scottish merchants established their staple port from the mid-fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries.[6] This was the port to which merchants were required to bring their wares in exchange for certain privileges and rights. Much of the existing work on Scoto-Flemish trade has focussed on the export from Scotland to Flanders of wool and, to a lesser extent, woolfells, hides, and fish. Exports of Scottish wool, raised from vast monastic and aristocratic estates, reached a peak in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when demand from the Flemish textile industry was high.[7] Exports peaked in 1372 at 9,252 sacks or 1,486 tons.[8] From the 1370s, however, the economic climate of Europe 'turned first autumnal, and then wintry' due to plague, famine, depopulation, war, civil unrest, and monetary instability.[9] Flanders' woollen textile industry, which relied heavily on imported Scottish, English, and Irish wools, experienced decline.[10] This was reflected in falling wool exports from Scotland, which by the 1450s were down to 1,300 sacks per year, and which did not rise significantly again until the turn of the sixteenth century.[11]

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[5] William Rendall Hepburn, 'The Household of James IV, 1488-1513' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013), p. 15; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 162; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', p. 108.

[6] *CAEB*, vol. 1, pp. 207-9, 235-6, nos 272-4, 309; Matthijs P. Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands: An Account of the Trade Relations between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 till 1676, with a Calendar of Illustrative Documents* (The Hague, 1910), app. nos 10-1, 13-5, 20-1, pp. viii-xi, xiv-xviii, xxv-xxix; *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3, ed. Konstantin Höhlbaum (Halle, 1882), no. 579, pp. 352-3.

[7] Alexander William Kerr Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1982), pp. i, 2, 11, 18-21; Alexander Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension of the Auld Alliance', in Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton, 1996), p. 31; Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 62, 70, 79; Alexander Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (ed.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c.1050-c.1650* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 93-5; Alexander Stevenson, 'Trade with the South, 1070-1513', in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 183; Elizabeth Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 68, 71; Elizabeth Louise Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland: A Social History' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 195-6, 211-2; David Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages: The Other 'Auld Alliance'', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 105:2 (2001), pp. 36, 40-1; David Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (ed.), *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c.1100-1707*, vol. 1 (Dundee, 2006), p. 114; Katie Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda: Scotland 1306-1488* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 155, 175; Patrick Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France during the Thirteenth Century: A Luxury Trade?', *The Economic History Review*, new ser., 40:3 (August 1987), p. 373.

For the Scottish fishing industry, see David Ditchburn, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Later Middle Ages: The Other Side of the Coin', in Peter Crooks, David Green and W. Mark Ormrod (ed.), *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453: Proceedings of the 2014 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2016), pp. 318-9; David Ditchburn, 'Locating Aberdeen and Elgin in the Later Middle Ages: Regional, National and International Paradigms', in Jane Geddes (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the Dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 5-6.

[8] Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, pp. 62, 70, 79.

Meanwhile, many of the manufactured goods of the elites of Scotland were imported from Flanders, which had the necessary infrastructure and artisans skilled in the production of luxury items. Alexander Stevenson sums up the Scoto-Flemish trade relationship thus:

> Only in Flanders was there a well established demand for Scottish wool; only in a predominantly urbanised society was there likely to be heavy demand for imported hides and sheepskins; only in an industrialised country could Scottish demand for a wide variety of readily available manufactures be met.[12]

Much of the rhetoric surrounding this trade relationship has been negative, with the late medieval Scottish economy described as 'undeveloped', 'imbalanced', and 'impoverished' due to a perceived reliance on Flanders for manufactured goods.[13] By implication, historians have concluded that Scotland's economy was a backward one which struggled to achieve the same standard of living as in other European lands. Self-sufficiency, it has been argued, was only attained when decreasing purchasing power abroad due to falling wool sales necessitated greater domestic production from the late fifteenth century.[14] However, as this thesis will show, there has been too much significance placed on traditional economic sources by this position, particularly those written for governmental use, and on the impact that fluctuating wool exports had on Scotland's imports from Flanders.[15] The high demand among aristocratic, ecclesiastic, and urban elites for luxury Flemish products was not necessarily symptomatic of a backwards inability on the part of Scottish manufacturers to provide luxury products, but of the refinement of those elites and their strong material connections to the lavish courts of the continent, as well as the sophisticated industrial and commercial system of Flanders. Therefore, it will be shown that Scottish elites were *au courant* with the most highly regarded material fashions, challenging the dominant scholarly tradition and presenting an alternative to the historiographical *status quo*.[16]

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[9] Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 371. See also John. H. A. Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340-1478* (Brussels, 1973), p. 3; John H. Munro, *Textiles, Towns and Trade: Essays in the Economic History of Late-Medieval England and the Low Countries* (Ashgate, 1994), pp. 236-7; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, pp. 155-6; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 9-10; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 103-4.

[10] Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold*, pp. 2-3, 6; John Munro, 'Industrial Protectionism in Medieval Flanders: Urban or National?', in Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy and A. L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Medieval City* (New Haven and London, 1977), pp. 230-1; J. H. Munro, 'Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth: An Incident in the Shift of Commerce from Bruges to Antwerp in the Late Fifteenth Century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 44:4 (1966), pp. 1138-9; Walter Endrei, 'The Productivity of Weaving in Late Medieval Flanders', in N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting (ed.), *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe: Essays in Memory of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson* (London, 1983), pp. 108, 116-7; James M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280-1390* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 280-1; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 160-1; David Nicholas, *Town and Countryside: Social, Economic, and Political Tensions in Fourteenth-Century Flanders* (Bruges, 1971), pp. 78-9; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 277; J. A. van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries, 800-1800* (London, 1977), pp. 80-1; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 37-8; Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries)*, vol. 2: *Interpretation* (The Hague, 1963), p. 369; Herman van der Wee, *The Low Countries in the Early Modern World*, trans. Lizabeth Fackelman (Aldershot, 1993), p. 12; Walter Prevenier and Marc Boone, 'The 'City-State' Dream', in Johan Decavele (ed.), *Ghent, In Defence of a Rebellious City: History, Art, Culture* (Antwerp, 1989), pp. 88-9.

[11] Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 80 (see also pp. 70, 72, 79); Gemmill and Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland*, pp. 287, 371-3; Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 21-2, 25-7, 260; Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, pp. 71-3; Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 216; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South', pp. 200-1; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', p. 115; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, pp. 175-6; Ian Blanchard, 'Northern Wools and Netherlands Markets at the Close of the Middle Ages', in Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries*, pp. 80, 84-5; Isabel Guy, 'The Scottish Export Trade, 1460-1599', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, 1200-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 63.

[12] Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', p. 11.

The increasingly continental outlook of the Scottish crown in the fifteenth century, seen in several high-profile international marriage alliances for the offspring of James I, has also been the subject of considerable historiography.[17] Firstly, Margaret married the future Louis XI of France in 1436. This is thought to have brought Scotland into a wider, more international sphere of influence and made her family members more attractive as potential marital and political partners.[18] In 1444 Mary married Wolfaert van Borselen, son of Henric, lord of Veere, Sandenburg, Vlissingen, Westkapelle, Domburg, and Brouwershaven and admiral to Philip the Good. This is perceived by historians as having strengthened Scotland's mercantile position within the Low Countries.[19] Particular attention has been paid to James II's 1449 marriage to Mary, daughter of Duke Arnold of Guelders and great-niece of Philip the Good. At the outset of his majority rule James looked to France and Burgundy for an alliance that would secure his position as a European ruler of rank. Although there was no suitable French or Burgundian bride available, the Treaty of Brussels consolidated Scotland's alliance with those territories through marriage with Mary.[20] Her arrival is held to have injected a dose of international material sophistication into Scotland, most notably by means of her extensive weapons dowry containing state-of-the-art artillery pieces, followed in 1457 by the gift of the great bombard

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[13] Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 71; Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London, 1981), pp. 43, 45. See also Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. ii, 1-3, 6, 10-1, 261; S. G. E. Lythe and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow and London, 1975), pp. 22, 54.

[14] Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', p. 263; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 71.

[15] As pointed out in Siobhan Talbott, 'An Alliance Ended? Franco-Scottish Commercial Relations, 1560-1713' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2010), pp. 21-2, 203.

[16] The international view of the Scottish court as relatively unsophisticated originated as early as the fifteenth century: Graeme Small, 'The Scottish Court in the Fifteenth Century: A View from Burgundy', in Werner Parvicini, Torsten Hiltmann and Frank Viltart (ed.), *La Cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe: Le Rayonnement et les Limites d'un Modèle Culturel* (Ostfildern, 2013), pp. 458-9.

[17] For an extended period from the Wars of Independence, Scottish kings had for the most part looked within their own realm and to England for their queens.

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[18] Fiona Downie, *She is but a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424-1463* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 50; Fiona Downie, 'And they lived happily ever after? Medieval queenship and marriage in Scotland, 1424-1449', in Terry Brotherstone, Deborah Simonton, and Oonagh Walsh (ed.), *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach* (Glasgow, 1999), p. 131; Priscilla Bawcutt and Bridget Henisch, 'Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century: The Princesses Margaret, Isabella and Eleanor', in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (ed.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), pp. 45-6; Fiona Downie, "La voie quelle menace tenir': Annabella Stewart, Scotland, and the European Marriage Market, 1444-56', *SHR* 78:206, pt. 2 (October 1999), p. 174; Christine McGladdery, *James II*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 2015), p. 72; David Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy, c.1449-c.1542', in Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries*, p. 61; Christine McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (ed.), *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall* (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 200; Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 7; C. A. J. Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983), p. 254.

[19] Downie, *She is but a Woman*, p. 26; Downie, 'And they lived happily ever after?', p. 131; McGladdery, *James II*, p. 73; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 200; Lorna Barrow, 'Scottish princesses go abroad', in Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *Exile and Homecoming: Papers from the Fifth Australian Conference of Celtic Studies, University of Sydney, July 2004* (Sydney, 2005), pp. 185-6; Bawcutt and Henisch, 'Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century', p. 45; Downie, "La voie quelle menace tenir", p. 174; Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 75-6; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 44-5; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', p. 113; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, p. 19; Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, pp. 253-4, n. 6.

In 1442 Isabella married Duke Francis of Brittany, and in 1448 Eleanor married Archduke Sigismund of Austria: Downie, *She is but a Woman*, pp. 51-2, 62-4; Bawcutt and Henisch, 'Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century', pp. 48, 51; Downie, 'And they lived happily ever after?', pp. 131-2; Downie, "La voie quelle menace tenir", pp. 174-6; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 72-3, 75; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 200.

[20] Downie, *She is but a Woman*, pp. 66, 72-4, 79; Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy', pp. 60-3; David Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II and Mary of Guelders, 1449', in Frances Andrews (ed.), *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2011), pp. 180, 183-4; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 74-5, 77-9; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 185; Fiona Downie, 'Queenship in Late Medieval Scotland', in Brown and Tanner (ed.), *Scottish Kingship*, p. 233; Downie, 'And they lived happily ever after?', p. 132; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 111; Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 78-9; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', p. 113; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. 21-2; Downie, "La voie quelle menace tenir", p. 175; Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, pp. 253, 257.

Mons Meg.[21] These marriages have been put forward as one example of late medieval Scotland's participation in the mainstream of European affairs, highlighting the foreign influences at play in what past historians have considered a relatively politically and culturally isolated country. The alliance with France is believed to have raised the European profile of Scotland, now related by marriage to the French royal house, while those with Veere and Guelders are thought to have secured trade relations between Scotland and the Low Countries.[22] These marriages supposedly signalled an increasing Scottish awareness of and involvement in continental culture and international standards of behaviour, setting the scene for the later Stewart kings, James III, James IV, and James V, to emerge as 'true Renaissance princes' who displayed their new-found European standing through extensive and lavish artistic patronage.[23]

> Such contacts had a fertilising and invigorating effect on Scottish culture, and the latter, on a respectable scale not unbefitting a small and geographically peripheral country, followed as closely as possible the trends and fashions set in the most advanced parts of Europe. In this development, the role of the prince was of the greatest significance, since most international contacts went via the ruler and his court.[24]

However, Scotland's geographically peripheral location had not, before the mid-fifteenth century, prevented access to and familiarity with continental material culture. As this thesis will show, Scotland was commercially and artistically well-connected to the cultural hub of Flanders, and this foreign influence did not depend exclusively on the role of the prince but owed much to growing consumer agency and demand among burghal and ecclesiastical elites.

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[21] Kelly DeVries, 'A 15th-century weapons dowry: the weapons dowry of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy for the marriage of Mary of Guelders and James II of Scotland in 1449', *Royal Armouries Yearbook* 6 (Leeds, 2001), pp. 22-31. See also Chapter 3, pp. 79-90; Chapter 4, pp. 126-31; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 200; Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change in Late-Medieval Scotland', in Rudolf Suntrup and Jan R. Veestra (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 156, 160.

[22] Downie, *She is but a Woman*, pp. 50, 52; Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy', pp. 60-1, 63; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. 19, 21-2.

[23] Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland under James III and James IV', in Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt (ed.), *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450-1650*, vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston, 2003), pp. 147-8, 170-1; Duncan Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (ed.), *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation*, vol. 2 (Dundee, 2007), p. 201.

[24] MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland', p. 171.

The artistic and manufacturing culture of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century Low Countries was fairly amorphous and without clearly defined geographical boundaries, in part due to the free movement of artisans. For example, painter and illuminator Gerard David originated in Oudewater in Utrecht but spent the bulk of his career in Bruges.[25] Furthermore, it can be difficult to assign the production of an object to one specific town or county in the area since Flemish manufacturing and design methods became much more diffuse over the course of the fifteenth century. With this in mind, this thesis will discuss some objects which originated outwith the strict boundaries of medieval Flanders but which were produced within the extensive cultural influence of that county. For example, Lille cloth is discussed in Chapter 3. On the marriage of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders in 1369, Charles V of France granted Margaret's father Louis II Lille, Douai, and Orchies. These French-speaking, Walloon towns became part of Flanders and were known as *Flandre gallicante*, but were geographically separate, south of the River Leie.[26] The county of Flanders proper, or *Flandre flamigante*, was the part of Flanders in which the language spoken was Dutch: variant dialects of a Low Germanic vernacular known as *duitsch* or *dietsch* to its speakers.[27] This area contained the *drie steden* of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres: the three economic centres of the county.

Additionally, in contemporary written sources the term 'Flanders' was often used to refer to the southern Low Countries as a whole. Scribes were not careful to distinguish between the various regions of north-western Europe. Italian writers, for example, are known to have used the terms *fiandresco* or 'Flemish' and *francese* or 'French' interchangeably.[28] Furthermore, objects could be associated with a specific town even if they were not from that place. As discussed in Chapter 3, high quality tapestries were known as 'arras' despite their frequent production in southern Low Countries towns other than Arras itself.[29] Arras was within the county of Artois, inherited by the dukes of Burgundy in 1384. However, it lay within the cultural sphere of Flanders and so its tapestries remain a fitting subject for a study of Flemish objects as luxuries. The association with Arras signified high quality rather than specific origin, for in the minds of contemporaries luxury materials and design were indicative of the material output of that region. The terminology used to describe material culture in primary records is fundamental evidence of contemporary attitudes to culture. Historical semantics represent, in this study, a source of information regarding the elite status and desirability of the manufactures of Flanders, perceived as the cultural centre of the wider southern Low Countries area.[30] The semantics employed by contemporaries will therefore be utilised as part of a wider methodology for analysing material culture.

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[25] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 346, 349; Sophie Jugie, 'Painting in Burgundy', in Fliegel and Jugie (ed.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, p. 290; Elisabeth Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', in Decavele (ed.), *Ghent, In Defence of a Rebellious City*, p. 196.

[26] Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 16-7, 94, 126; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 24; Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, pp. 191-2, 194. After the death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1477, the kingdom of France absorbed much of *Flandre gallicante*, as well as Artois.

[27] Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 94, 126; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 24; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 122; Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, p. 189.

[28] Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. x.

The basis of material culture studies is that artefacts, defined as objects not naturally occurring but created by people, reflect the beliefs, attitudes, mental patterns, and social relations of those who commissioned, fabricated, purchased, and used them.[31] Material culture is thus the coming together of base, physical materiality and abstract, ideational culture. In essence, artefacts are ideas in material form.[32] Material culture studies by their very nature must be interdisciplinary, and conventional and arbitrary boundaries between disciplines need to be set aside in order to properly analyse the vast array of material and documentary evidence available.[33] The methodology employed in this thesis accordingly incorporates elements from traditional history, art history, anthropology, and archaeology.

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[29] Scot McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England during the Fifteenth Century', in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), p. 47.

[30] Christian J. Kay, 'Historical semantics and material culture', in Susan M. Pearce (ed.), *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World* (London, 1997), pp. 49, 51.

[31] Jules David Prown, 'The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?', in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (ed.), *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington and London, 1993), p. 1; Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio* 17:1 (1982), p. 6; Jules D. Prown, 'Material/Culture: Can the Farmer and the Cowman Still Be Friends?', in David Kingery (ed.), *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies* (Washington and London, 1996), p. 21; Jacques Maquet, 'Objects as Instruments, Objects as Signs', in Lubar and Kingery (ed.), *History from Things*, p. 35; Stephen T. Driscoll and Margaret R. Nieke, 'Introduction: Reworking Historical Archaeology', in Stephen T. Driscoll and Margaret R. Nieke (ed.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 4; Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London and New York, 2009), p. 3; Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 'Introduction: Writing Material Culture History', in Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (ed.), *Writing Material Culture History* (London and New York, 2015), pp. 2-4.

[32] Prown, 'Mind in Matter', p. 2; Prown, 'Material/Culture', p. 19; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), p. 10; Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis, 'Introduction', in Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (ed.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2006), p. 28.

Material culture studies developed in part due to the fragmentary, restrictive, and in some cases unreliable nature of traditional documentary sources. Historians have for a long time given greater attention to such evidence at the expense of artefactual evidence, allowing it to act as the dominant, more informative type of source in contrast to the merely 'illustrative' nature of objects. However, written sources are not without weaknesses. They were not designed to enlighten future historians but to record or communicate primarily economic and administrative details of a small and privileged portion of society.[34] Furthermore, documentary sources concerning late medieval material culture in Scotland have not survived in full nor in any great volume until the beginning of the early modern period. Rather than using textual evidence to legitimate historical theories about material culture, documents should be considered alongside and in parallel with objects. Both are artefacts and accordingly both can illuminate the social, cultural, and political attitudes of the past. Written evidence is particularly beneficial in that it can supplement surviving objects with information about those which have not endured. Thus, a picture can be built up of a past material environment, as outlined by Jules

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[33] Stephen T. Driscoll, 'The Relationship between History and Archaeology: Artefacts, Documents and Power', in Driscoll and Nieke (ed.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, p. 162; Hugh Cheape, 'Material Culture', in Alexander Fenton and Margaret A. Mackay (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 95; Stuart D. Campbell, 'The Language of Objects: Material Culture in Medieval Scotland', in Matthew Hammond (ed.), *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland, 1093-1286* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 183-4; David Austin and Julian Thomas, 'The 'proper study' of medieval archaeology: a case study', in David Austin and Leslie Alcock (ed.), *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* (London, 1990), p. 76; Prown, 'Mind in Matter', p. 1; Gerritsen and Riello, 'Introduction: Writing Material Culture History', p. 5.

[34] For the weakness of strictly documentary study, see Austin and Thomas, 'The 'proper study' of medieval archaeology', pp. 12-3; Driscoll and Nieke, 'Reworking Historical Archaeology', pp. 1-3; Driscoll, 'The Relationship between History and Archaeology', pp. 168, 170; Campbell, 'The Language of Objects', p. 183; Bailey K. Young, 'Text Aided or Text Misled? Reflections on the Uses of Archaeology in Medieval History', in Barbara J. Little (ed.), *Text-Aided Archaeology* (Boca Raton, 1992), p. 135; Henry Glassie, 'Studying Material Culture Today', in Gerald L. Pocius (ed.), *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture* (St John's, NL, 1991), p. 254; Cheape, 'Material Culture', p. 106; Sara Pennell, 'Mundane materiality, or, should small things still be forgotten? Material culture, micro-histories and the problem of scale', in Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide*, p. 174; William B. Hesseltine, 'The Challenge of the Artefact', in Thomas J. Schlereth (ed.), *Material Culture Studies in America* (Nashville, 1982), p. 96; Gerritsen and Riello, 'Introduction: Writing Material Culture History', pp. 3, 5; Catherine Richardson, 'Written Texts and the Performance of Materiality', in Gerritsen and Riello (ed.), *Writing Material Culture History*, p. 43.

Prown in his categorisation of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ material culture studies. Hard material culturalists are primarily concerned with the material reality of objects, their physical components, and the related written record as manifestations of conscious thought. This is also known as object-centred study.[35] Soft material culturalists, on the other hand, are more interested in underlying patterns of culture and belief, subconsciously expressed in physical form. This is also known as object-driven study.[36] These two methodologies need not be in direct opposition to each other. Indeed, the hard approach is essential to the full achievement of soft analysis. It is not mere reductionism to take into account the shape, material, design, or colour of artefacts since such properties form the foundation of any further analysis and interpretation of deeper cultural meaning.[37]

This is the approach which will be taken in this study, confirming, through a thorough analysis of the form, design, *and* cultural context of Flemish objects in Scotland, that their Flemish origin was a significant component of their function as status symbols. There has so far been considerable scholarly attention paid to individual objects or groups of objects imported from Flanders into Scotland.[38] However, these objects as a whole have never before been brought together in a single study and their cultural symbolism explored in any comprehensive way, as this thesis aims to do. The approach used is systematic, concentrating on a single category of object: those from Flanders and the southern Low Countries. What follows will be a model for those without an easily interpreted source base, helping them to understand fragments of the past and to reconstruct what is no longer extant.

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[35] Prown, ‘Material/Culture’, pp. 20-1, 24; Harvey, ‘Introduction: practical matters’, p. 2.

[36] Prown, ‘Material/Culture’, pp. 20-2, 24, 26; Harvey, ‘Introduction: practical matters’, p. 2.

[37] Steven M. Beckow, ‘Culture, History, and Artefact’, in Schlereth (ed.), *Material Culture Studies in America*, pp. 120, 122; Richard Grassby, ‘Material Culture and Cultural History’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35:4 (2005), p. 592; Jules David Prown, ‘On the “Art” in Artefacts’, in Pocius (ed.), *Living in a Material World*, p. 145; E. McClung Fleming, ‘Artefact Study: A Proposed Model’, in Schlereth (ed.), *Material Culture Studies in America*, p. 166; Harvey, ‘Introduction: practical matters’, p. 4.

[38] e.g., Francis C. Eeles, ‘The Perth Psalter’, *PSAS* 66 (1931-32), pp. 426-41; David McRoberts, ‘Dean Brown’s Book of Hours’, *IR* 19:2 (1968), pp. 144-67; Colin Thompson and Lorne Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1974); Thomas Tolley, ‘Hugo van der Goes’s Altarpiece for Trinity College Church in Edinburgh and Mary of Guelders, Queen of Scotland’, in John Higgitt (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews* (London, 1994), pp. 213-31; Lorne Campbell, ‘Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, in Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries*, pp. 89-103; Suzanne Lyle, ‘The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1999); Lorne Campbell and John Dick, ‘The Portrait of Bishop Elphinstone’, in Jane Geddes (ed.), *King’s College Chapel, Aberdeen, 1500-2000* (Leeds, 2000), pp. 98-108; Thomas Coomans, ‘From Flanders to Scotland: The Choir Stalls of Melrose Abbey in the Fifteenth Century’, in Terryl N. Kinder (ed.), *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 235-52; Mark Hall, ‘Full description of Marian chandelier from St John’s Kirk, Perth; Perth Museum and Art Gallery accession no. 2011.178’ (unpublished pamphlet); W. H. Finlayson, ‘Mons Meg’, *SHR* 27:104, pt. 2 (October 1948), pp. 124-6.

In Scotland religious objects have suffered significantly, although fragmentary documentary and material survivals hint at the visual surroundings of the pre-Reformation Church. From thirteen cathedrals, around a thousand parish churches, fifty or so monasteries, and over forty collegiate churches, inventories survive for only a few.[39] The dating of the available evidence, concentrated as it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, helps to define a suitable timeframe for research. As for the artefactual survivals such as Hugo van der Goes' Trinity Altarpiece, they give a glimpse of the richness that Scottish churches once possessed, as known from the written evidence.[40] The survival of such a high standard of furnishing from one of Flanders' great masters of painting

> is quite startling and unaccountable if one accepts the view that Scotland, in the middle ages [*sic*], was a sort of artistic desert with only a few redeeming features […] However, it may well be that the Trinity College panels in the National Gallery are monumental evidence to the fact that, in the later middle ages, Scotland was perhaps not quite so barbarous as is sometimes imagined but was capable of sending men into the artistic world of Flanders in the high tide of its achievement, who as patrons of art or as artists were able to take their place with other Europeans.[41]

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[39] Figures from David McRoberts, 'Introductory observations and some general features of decoration', in Stephen Mark Holmes (ed.), *Lost Interiors: The Furnishings of Scottish Churches in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 2012), p. 4. Mark Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 42, outlines the great wealth of Scottish monasteries.

Aberdeen Cathedral (1559, 1436): *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 1, app. 2, pp. lxxxvi-xci; *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 2, pp. 127-53; King's College, Aberdeen (1542): *King's College*, pp. 4-46; Coldingham Priory (1362-1446): *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham*, ed. James Raine (London, 1841), pp. xl, lxiv-lxv. lxvii, lxxiii, lxxxii-lxxxv; Crail collegiate church (immediately pre-Reformation): *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, ed. Charles Rogers (London, 1877), pp. 212-6; Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh (1493): *Holyrood Ordinale*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxviii, 212-6; Glasgow Cathedral (1432): *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitane Glasguensis a Sede Restaurata Seculo Ineunte XII ad Reformatam Religionem*, vol. 2, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 329-39, no. 339; St Salvator's College, St Andrews (1500-52): *St Salvator College*, pp. 151-63.

There are also scattered references to church furnishings in sources such as 'The Auchinleck Chronicle', in McGladdery, *James II*, app., pp. 261-76; *St Nich. Cart.*, 2 vols.; *Ferreri Historia Abbatum de Kynlos: una cum Vita Thomae Chrystalli Abbatis*, ed. William Dobie Wilson (Edinburgh, 1839); S. R. Macphail, *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn, Convent of the Vale of Saint Andrews, in Morayshire* (Edinburgh, 1881); *Dunk. Rent.*,

[40] NGS, acc. no. NG 1772. See Chapter 2, pp. 35-6; Chapter 5, pp. 144-8.

[41] David McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', *IR* 10:1 (1959), p. 91. See Duncan MacMillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 22.

Much of this material splendour was destroyed at the time of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, officially ushered in by parliament in August 1560.[42] The reformers were hostile towards those who 'maintain[ed] idolatry and superstition within the kirk of God', and thus sought to destroy religious art.[43] As well as targeted destruction of devotional monuments, furniture, and accessories, much was lost through disrepair and neglect. The removal of window glass and lead, for example, led to wind and water damage of interiors. Materials such as wood and textiles suffered in this way while metal objects were melted down and re-used.[44] The extent of the destruction is shown by Archbishop John Hamilton of St Andrews' account of a visitation of parish churches in south-east Scotland in 1555:

> We discovered and saw with our own eyes, that a great many of the parish churches – their choirs as well as their naves – were wholly thrown down and as it were levelled to the ground: others were partly ruinous or threatening collapse in respect of their walls and roofs: they were without glazed windows and without a baptismal font and had no vestments for the high altars and no missals or manuals, so that their parishioners could not hear the divine services or masses therein as befits good Christians, neither could masses be celebrated nor the church's sacraments administered.[45]

Furthermore, artefactual survival in general is by no means uniform, and some objects are more likely than others to have survived. Tapestries, for example, suffer wear and tear and many have been melted down to extract the precious metal from their gold and silver threads. Consequently, no medieval tapestry with a Scottish provenance is known to exist. Precious metal objects including jewellery and gold and silver plate have been melted down and re-used. Manuscripts, on the other hand, tend to have survived quite well due to their small size and the personal, private nature of their usage. Generally, high status luxury objects tend to have survived more frequently than ‘everyday’ objects, which are more likely to have been used to the point of disintegration then discarded. Luxuries tended to be valued, cared for, and preserved, and to have developed a corresponding documentary record. This has the potential to distort historians’ perceptions of past material environments.[46] Due to the non-uniform nature of survival, economic, diplomatic, and chronicle evidence will be analysed alongside artefactual evidence in an attempt to paint a fuller picture of late medieval elite material culture in Scotland and the influence that Flanders had on it. Documentary evidence plays a crucial role in the reconstruction of this visual environment.

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[42] *RPS*, A1560/8/3, A1560/8/4, A1560/8/5, A1560/8/6.

[43] *RPS*, A1560/8/5.

[44] For the destruction of religious art caused by the Reformation, see David McRoberts, 'Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation', in David McRoberts (ed.), *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), pp. 415-62; Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Abbeys and Priories* (London, 1994), pp. 120-5; Mairi Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change in Scottish Towns, c.1350-1560* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 163-4; McRoberts, 'Introductory observations and some general features of decoration', p. 4; David McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the choir', in Holmes (ed.), *Lost Interiors*, p. 85; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', p. 200; John Higgitt, 'Manuscripts and Libraries in the Diocese of Glasgow before the Reformation', in Richard Fawcett (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow* (Leeds, 1998), p. 102; John Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', in Wendy Kaplan (ed.), *Scotland Creates: 5000 Years of Art and Design*, exh. cat., McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 17 November 1990 – 1 April 1991 (London, 1990), p. 44; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 1, 79.

An early fourteenth century catalogue of books in Britain gives a glimpse of the extensive titles once owned by Scottish abbeys: *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*, ed. Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse (London, 1991), pp. 303-8, nos 152-8.

[45] *A Source Book of Scottish History*, vol. 2: *1423-1567*, ed. William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson and Isabel A. Milne (London, 1953), pp. 143.

Museum and library catalogues are a great source of information on Flemish material culture with a Scottish provenance and have facilitated personal examination and interpretation of objects. Notable exhibitions of late medieval and early Renaissance material culture in Scotland include *Renaissance Decorative Arts in Scotland* and *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, held at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of Scotland respectively.[47] As for library collections, the works of David McRoberts and Stephen Mark Holmes, as well as the catalogue of *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, have been invaluable in the search for Flemish manuscripts owned by Scots.[48] Archaeological excavation reports and finds are also useful sources for the historian seeking material evidence. Countless reports are published and readily available, most notably those on the extensive excavations carried out in Perth in the 1970s.[49] Due to the anaerobic nature of the soil of Perth, items made of such organic materials as wood and textile have survived much better than in other Scottish burghs. Archaeological evidence is most valuable in the context of this thesis for the vast amounts of ceramic material that have survived. Burghal assemblages of pottery show the extensive commercial links that Scottish burgh dwellers had with the continent through imported fabric types such as Low Countries Greywares and Redwares.

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[46] Grassby, ‘Material Culture and Cultural History’, p. 597; Karin Dannehl, ‘Object biographies: From production to consumption’, in Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide*, pp. 126-7; Prown, ‘Mind in Matter’, p. 4; Glenn Adamson, ‘The case of the missing footstool: Reading the absent object’, in Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide*, p. 192.

[47] *Renaissance Decorative Arts in Scotland, 1480-1650*: Exhibition in the Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 17th August – 19th September 1959 (Edinburgh, 1959); *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns: Art and Patronage in Medieval Scotland*; a handbook published in connection with an exhibition held at the National Museum of Scotland, August 12-September 26 1982, ed. David Caldwell (Edinburgh, 1982).

[48] David McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953); Stephen Mark Holmes, ‘Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments in Scotland before 1560’, *IR* 62:2 (2011), pp. 127-212; N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper (ed.), *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1969-2002).

The *Exchequer Rolls*, which survive as part of a regular series from 1326, contain records of trade, crown customs revenues on the export of staple commodities, and the custumars' accounts. The latter contain some information on imports, for which dues were not levied until 1597.[50] The significance placed by historians on the Scoto-Flemish wool trade can be attributed to its importance to crown income through export duties, which caused an extensive written record to develop. Surviving port books appear only from the late fifteenth century for Aberdeen (1499-1500) and Leith (1510-1, 1512-3). They detail exports of staple goods to England and the continent.[51] The *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland*, surviving in full from 1466, detail legislation passed concerning burgh life, trade, and sumptuary law, among other things; and the diplomatic correspondence for the reigns of James IV and James V has been published, much of it concerning the establishment of the Scottish staple port in the Low Countries.[52] As for imports, the *Treasurer's Accounts* contain details of crown payments for services, gifts, and commodities, often stating the origin of such purchases. They survive irregularly from 1473 and regularly from 1488.[53] The ledger of Andrew Halyburton, conservator of

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[49] *Perth High Street Archaeological Excavation, 1975-1977*, 4 vols., ed. Nicholas Q. Bogdan *et al.* (Perth, 2010-2). Sources such as *PSAS* (1851-), *SAIR*, *Scottish Archaeological Journal* (2000-), *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* (1995-), and *Medieval Archaeology* (1957-) provide extensive primary material.

Those interpreting archaeological finds should be prepared to acknowledge the urban, east coast bias of excavation, with relatively few rural, west coast sites excavated: Campbell, 'The Language of Objects', p. 185.

[50] *ER*. See Iain Flett and Judith Cripps, 'Documentary Sources', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, p. 21.

[51] NRS, E71/1/1, E71/29/2-3. See Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 317-25, table 7; Flett and Cripps, 'Documentary Sources', p. 21.

[52] *RPS*; *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, ed. R. L. Mackie and Anne Spilman (Edinburgh, 1953); *The Letters of James V*, ed. Denys Hay (Edinburgh, 1954).

[53] *TA*. See Flett and Cripps, 'Documentary Sources', p. 22.

Scottish trading privileges in the Low Countries, provides a wealth of information on Scottish trade not just in Flanders but in the wider Netherlandish area from 1492 to 1503.[54] Crown inventories from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries also give an idea of the material environment of the Scottish court.[55] For evidence of burghal material culture, merchant guild records from the fifteenth century survive in extremely small quantities. Those of Perth have been published, giving details of new admissions, guild court proceedings, and payments and offerings made to the guild altar from the mid-fifteenth century.[56] The records of some craft guilds have likewise survived: those of the Edinburgh hammermen from 1494 and of the Edinburgh goldsmiths from 1525.[57] The records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, a corporate body of merchants which protected trading privileges and which was formally constituted in 1487, have also been comprehensively published.[58]

The principal archival research for this thesis was conducted at the city archive of Bruges in Flanders.[59] The documents consulted concerned diplomacy, trade, industry, and religious ritual. These included diplomatic agreements concerning the trading privileges of Scottish merchants in Bruges; the records of such crafts as painters and illuminators, goldsmiths, embroiderers, fullers, and manufacturers of textiles, tiles, tapestries, and weapons; and the records of the Holy Blood cult, long thought to have been popularised in Scotland by international merchants.[60]

As companions to official government and guild documents, narrative sources inject some colour into our understanding of the material environment of late medieval elites. Scottish chronicles from the period include Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* from the 1440s, John Mair's *History of Greater Britain* from 1521, and Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* from 1527, which contain scattered references to Flemish products and producers as well as discussing court ceremony and elite performance.[61] There are also useful chronicle sources written by non-Scots, including the *Chronique* of Picard Mathieu d'Escouchy which contains a description of the 1449 marriage of James II and Mary of Guelders, and that of Somerset Herald John Young which details the 1503 marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor.[62] Also, there are contemporary foreign accounts of the market structure in Flanders, diplomacy in north-western Europe, and the material environment of Scotland, largely concentrating on the royal court.[63]

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[54] NRS, RH9/1/1; *Halyburton's Ledger*.

[55] *Wardrobe Inventories*.

[56] *Perth Guild Bk*.

[57] *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church, Being Extracts from the Records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, 1494-1558*, ed. John Smith (Edinburgh, 1906); *Edinburgh Goldsmiths' Minutes, 1525-1700*, ed. Henry Steuart Fothringham (Edinburgh, 2006).

[58] *Burghs Convention Recs*.

[59] SAB. See *IAVB*; *CAGT*; *CAEB*; *Beknopte Inventaris van het Stadsarchief van Brugge*, vol 1: *Oud Archief*, ed. A. Vandewalle (Bruges, 1979).

[60] SAB, Stadscartularia; Beeldenmakers; Goudsmeden; Kulktstikkers; Vollers; Drapiers; Tegeldekkers; Tapissiers; Wapenmakers; H. Bloedkapel. For the Holy Blood, see Chapter 5, pp. 170-6.

The concentration of artefactual and documentary source material in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has to some degree determined the period of study for this thesis. It was also the period in which Flanders reached the high point of its artistic production and international trade before ceding its position as the entrepôt of north-western Europe to Antwerp in Brabant around the turn of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the late medieval period is a fruitful one for the study of Flemish material culture as elite status symbols in Scotland. That being said, contemporary written sources directly related to Flemish material culture are few and far between. It is therefore necessary to adopt an anthropological approach and to consider the ways in which Flemish objects were used, with an emphasis on processes, ritual, and ceremony, to determine more clearly the level of prestige attached to these luxuries.

Firstly, Chapter 2 is concerned with the mechanisms and processes of manufacture and trade and examines the impact that Scottish consumers had on the Flemish luxury market. The commercial dynamic between Scotland and Flanders in the late medieval period was made possible by a vibrant consumer culture that centred around the international distribution of luxury Flemish products. This chapter examines how the high technical and artistic quality of these products was a direct result of, and stimulant to, Scottish consumer demand. The effect was cyclical: high consumer demand endowed Flemish objects with cultural value; demand and value caused the development of a sophisticated market system, utilising ostensibly low-quality techniques such as production on speculation and serial production; and this market system in turn increased exposure of and demand for Flemish goods in Scotland.

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[61] *Chron. Bower*; Mair, *History*; *Chron. Boece*.

[62] *Chron. d'Escouchy*; Young, *Fyancells*, pp. 258-300.

[63] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA, 1936); Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Letts (London, 1926); *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis: Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France and Italy, 1517-1518*, trans. J. R. Hale and J. M. A. Lindon (London, 1979); Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. Joseph Calmette, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924-5); *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh, 1973); 'The Protonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, to Ferdinand and Isabella', in *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere*, vol. 1: *Henry VII, 1485-1509*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London, 1862).

Linking to the processes of exchange, Chapter 3 considers the ritual aspect of gift giving as a significant route via which Scottish elites interacted with the material culture of Flanders. The prestige attached to Flemish objects as gifts was associated with the county's reputation as the premier hub of northern European manufacture and trade, as well as the splendour and sophistication of the court of the dukes of Burgundy. This chapter situates Scottish demand for such objects as tapestries and munitions within a wider European context, revealing the common cultural currency that such Flemish manufactures exercised. The high-status, high-quality associations attached to Flemish objects made them the elite gift *par excellence* in Scottish culture and a deeply powerful sign of self-identification.

Moving on from the transfer of status to its performance, Chapter 4 looks at how elite identity was acted out through highly choreographed ceremonial. Deliberately communicative public displays used visual as well as rhetorical resources in order to convey splendour, power, and lineage. The paraphernalia of ritual is discussed in the context of its Flemish origin and what that meant to contemporaries, entailing a re-examination, through the lens of Flemish material culture, of the symbolic meanings of the rituals of personal adornment, marriage, tournament, and war. It is argued that, as the pinnacle of material luxury, Flemish objects enhanced the symbolic meanings inherent in the rituals of the Scottish court. Acting as a kind of stage set, these objects were essential to protagonists' expressions of ambition, policy, power, and identity. This chapter argues that Flemish objects were part of a ‘standardisation of expectations’: elements of which princely courts were expected to be constituted.

Finally, in Chapter 5 the impact in Scottish churches of imported Flemish furniture, its imitation by Scottish artisans, and the emergence of the Brugeois cult of the Holy Blood are examined. The use of Flemish or Flemish-inspired altarpieces, choir screens, and choir stalls, maintaining physical and ideological boundaries between clerical and burghal elites and the remainder of the population, are considered in the context of accepted social hierarchy. In Scottish cathedrals, collegiate churches, and parish churches, a recognisably Flemish aesthetic was appropriated and manipulated to maintain the stratification of society, legitimated by its association with the ritual of the Church.

What brings all this together is the idea that for material objects to have had any kind of cultural power, they were required to be of high quality and aesthetically beautiful. This is why the elites of late medieval Scotland looked to Flanders as the source of its status symbols. It was not necessarily the Flemish origin that was important, but the top level of design and quality that that origin represented. This thesis therefore involves the recontextualisation of a few surviving objects and many widely scattered written references to lost objects, within what was a culturally rich and internationally well-connected Scottish elite. Jenny Wormald summed up the situation aptly when she wrote that the culturally vibrant court of late medieval Scotland ‘was achieved not by grandiose and costly military exploits, but by lofty self-opinion, shoestring diplomacy and an instinct for the right modes and fashions to follow’.[64]

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[64] Jenny Wormald, The House of Stewart and its Realm’, in Jenny Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), p. 18.

Chapter 2: *Cyclical Consumer Culture: The Scottish Impact on the Flemish Luxury Market*

The commercial dynamic between Scotland and Flanders in the late medieval period was made possible by a vibrant consumer culture that centred around the international distribution of luxury Flemish products. This chapter will examine how the high technical and artistic quality of these products was a direct result of, and stimulant to, Scottish consumer demand.[1] The effect was cyclical: high consumer demand endowed Flemish objects with cultural value; demand and value caused the development of a sophisticated market system, utilising 'low quality' techniques such as production on speculation and serial production; and this market system in turn increased exposure of and demand for Flemish goods in Scotland. This was by no means a unique relationship, as demand from other European polities also influenced the Flemish market structure. Yet by highlighting the Scoto-Flemish dynamic it is clear that Scottish consumers exercised a much greater degree of agency than has been previously attributed to them.

The existence of a consumer culture in north-western Europe in the fifteenth century is essential to the theory that consumer demand had a significant impact on production and marketing. The view that characteristics of consumerism can only be seen from the time of the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution is now discredited.[2] Factors such as social mobility, the mass market, expenditure on luxuries, and conspicuous consumption had previously been thought to be modern developments, but Renaissance Italy, from c.1400 to c.1650, has received particular attention as a centre of early consumer culture. Characteristics of consumerism can be said to include large towns acting as distribution points in wider networks of international trade, a high standard and reputation associated with specialist products of certain towns, and growing expenditure on non-essential and luxury objects.[3] Yet these elements are identifiable in late medieval Europe as a whole, as pointed out by Christopher Dyer. Dyer also highlights producer response to consumer demand as well as the proliferation of sumptuary legislation, indicative of aristocratic elites' fears that luxury goods were too accessible to the middling and lower ranks of society.[4]

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[1] See Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 4.

[2] For consumerism as a modern development: Helga Dittmar, *The Social Psychology of Material Possessions: To Have Is To Be* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992), pp. 11-2; A. Fuat Firat, 'Towards a Deeper Understanding of Consumption Experiences: The Underlying Dimensions', *Advances in Consumer Research* 14 (1987), p. 343; W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850-1914* (London, 1981); Thorstein Veblen, 'Conspicuous Consumption', in Martyn J. Lee (ed.), *The Consumer Society Reader* (Oxford, 2000), p. 31; Dell Upton, 'Form and User: Style, Mode, Fashion, and the Artifact', in Pocius (ed.), *Living in a Material World*, p. 164; Robert F. Kelly, 'Culture as Commodity: The Marketing of Cultural Objects and Cultural Experiences', *Advances in Consumer Research* 14 (1987), p. 348; Neil McKendrick, Colin Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982).

The issue of periodisation is, however, not always helpful in looking at the development of consumer culture. Many scholars advocate the concept of increasingly developing consumerism based on a foundation of precedents. It is misleading to suggest that, with the emergence of a wealthy merchant and administrative class or with the dawn of the Renaissance, the infrastructure of consumerism manifested fully formed. Instead, there was a series of phases in which production and marketing methods were gradually and irregularly developed.[5] There has also been a lack of clarity with regard to the definition of consumption and consumer culture, the scope being so broad that scholars are able to focus on the criteria which are relevant to their period and location of study.[6] This can be an advantage to historians of material culture since the ability to analyse the society of a specific time and place is surely more beneficial than applying broad theories without due consideration of context. This chapter aims to show that Scottish consumers exercised a great deal of influence over the production and high status of Flemish objects. To do so, the criteria for Scoto-Flemish consumer culture will be defined as follows: the existence of a trading infrastructure, both physical, i.e., specialised districts for production and sale, shops, workshops, and fairs, and institutional, i.e., staple agreements and the mercantile legislation, free and autonomous choice from a wide variety of products due to the international nature of Bruges, which played host to many 'nations' of merchants, the specialisation of Flanders as a luxury production centre for objects including manuscripts, tapestries, panel paintings, and metalwork, and the emergence of an aesthetically distinct style or fashion popular among large sections of society, such as naturalistic illumination and Northern Renaissance oil painting. These factors combined to create a 'regime of value' within which was sustained a common set of cultural assumptions about the value of Flemish manufactures, inextricably related to the process of their exchange:

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[3] Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven and London, 2005); Patricia Allerston, 'Consuming problems: worldly goods in Renaissance Venice', in Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (ed.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 11-46; Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1993).

[4] Christopher Dyer, 'Material culture: production and consumption', *Material Culture in Medieval Europe* 7 (Zellik, 1997), pp. 505, 507-8. See Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983); Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), p. 136; Peter N. Stearns, 'Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodisation', *The Journal of Modern History* 69:1 (March 1997), pp. 106-7; Lisa Tiersten, 'Redefining Consumer Culture: Recent Literature on Consumption and the Bourgeoisie in Western Europe', *Radical History Review* 57 (1993), p. 121.

[5] Don Slater, 'Looking Backwards', in Lee (ed.), *The Consumer Society Reader*, p. 177; Jan de Vries, 'Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern Europe', in John Brewer and Roy Porters (ed.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1994), p. 101; Dyer, 'Material culture: production and consumption', p. 506; Harald Deceulaer, 'Between Medieval Continuities and Early Modern Change: Proto-Industrialisation and Consumption in the Southern Low Countries (1300-1800)', *Textile History* 37:2 (November 2006), p. 124; Stearns, 'Stages of Consumerism', p. 115; Tiersten, 'Redefining Consumer Culture', p. 121.

[6] David Graeber, 'Consumption', *Current Anthropology* 52: 4 (August 2011), p. 491; Slater, 'Looking Backwards', pp. 180-1.

> Economic exchange creates value. Value is embodied in commodities that are exchanged. Focussing on the things that are exchanged, rather than simply on the forms or functions of exchange, makes it possible to argue that what creates the link between exchange and value is *politics*, construed broadly. This argument […] justifies the conceit that commodities, like persons, have social lives.[7]

Before focussing on objects imported into Scotland, it is necessary to outline the physical processes of trade through which Flemish material culture first acquired its high value. By the late Middle Ages Flanders had emerged as one of the most urbanised and populous areas of Europe alongside the city states of northern Italy. In c.1470 its population is estimated to have stood at 705,000, a third of which lived in urban settlements.[8] Increasingly concentrated in this small geographical space were resident merchants and artisans, administrative and bureaucratic elites, and, from 1384, the

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[7] Appadurai, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', pp. 3. 15.

[8] Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 152, table 4 (see also p. 7); Jessica Dijkman, *Shaping Medieval Markets: The Organisation of Commodity Markets in Holland, c.1200-c.1450* (Leiden, 2011), p. 326; Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c.1420-1530* (Manchester, 2007), p. 4; Prevenier and Boone, 'The 'City-State' Dream', p. 81; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 12; Peter Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants: The Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages* (Leuven and Apeldoorn, 1997), pp. 24-31.

Burgundian ducal court. These wealthy elites participated in a growing culture of consumerism and display which stimulated the production of luxuries.[9] The emergence of prosperous merchants and administrators created a more widespread consumer demand for fashionable Flemish products, blurring the material line between the aristocracy and their social inferiors. Although this stimulated manufacture and trade, it also caused anxiety among the political classes concerning the appropriate display of hierarchy and the regulation of clothing and personal adornment. Sumptuary legislation was thus enacted to reinforce visible social stratification.[10] At the same time the maintenance of good international trade relations was held to be the responsibility of the government, for the benefit of all:

> Throu the quhilk repair of merchaundis, realmis ar puplit and richit, and rychess is multiplyit bathe to the king and to commoun, quharefore all princis suld tak tent tharto and example thare efter.[11]

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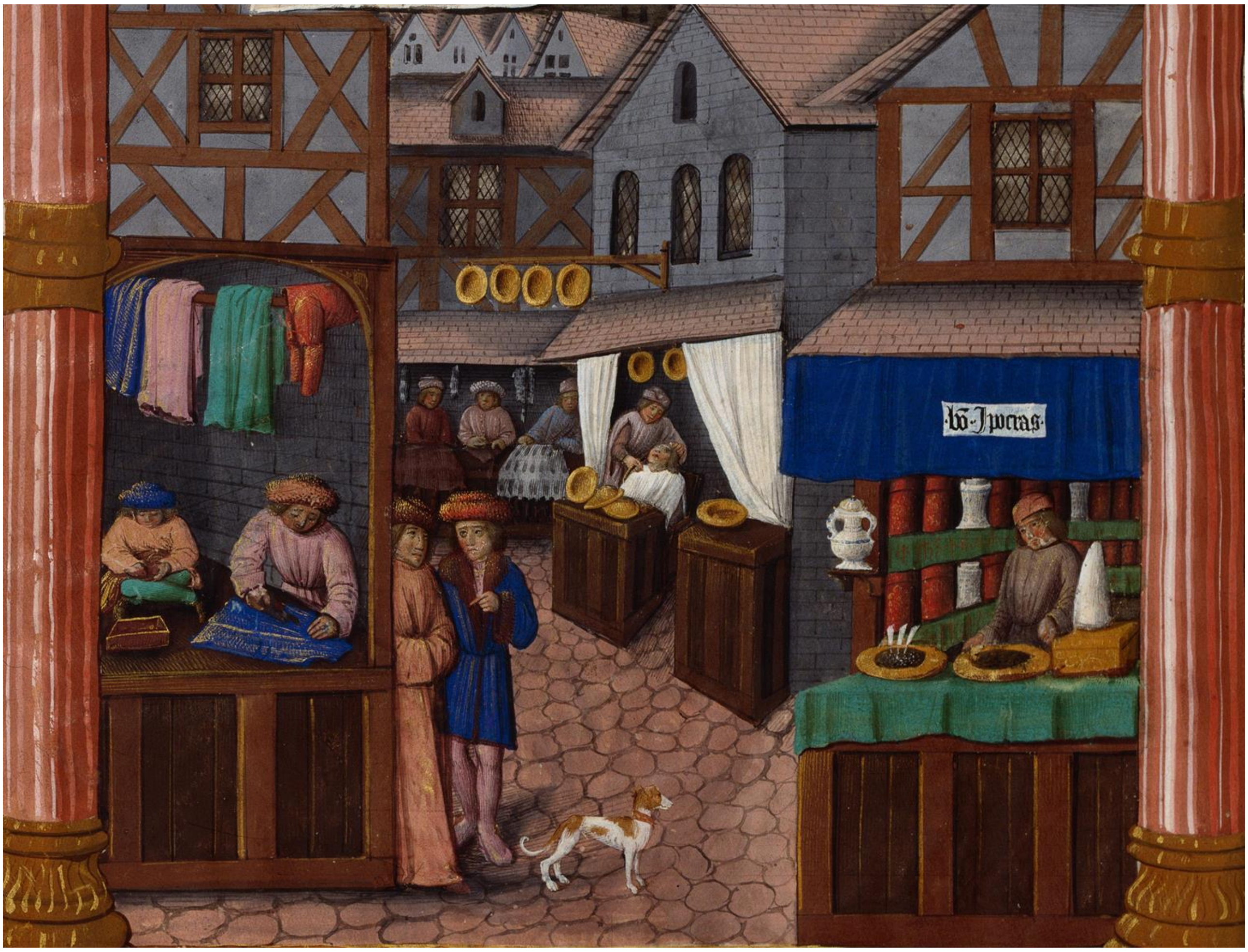
[9] James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, 2005), p. 155; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance* (London, 2004), p. 66; Vincent Tabbagh, 'Art Patrons in Burgundy (1360-1420)', in Fliegel and Jugie (ed.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, pp. 267, 269; Paul van Calster, (ed.), *Imperial Treasures: Van Eyck, Gossaert, Bruegel: Masterpieces from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna* (Tielt, 2011), p. 9; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 106, 108, 113; Jean C. Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture* (University Park, PA, 1998), pp. 6, 20, 41-2, 163; Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, p. 102; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 133; Shirley Neilsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs: A Study in Patronage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 1-2; Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, vol. 1 (New York, 1971), pp. 68, 149; Van der Wee, *The Low Countries in the Early Modern World*, p. 10; David Gaimster, 'Material Culture, Archaeology and Defining Modernity: Case Studies in Ceramic Research', in Gerritsen and Riello (ed.), *Writing Material Culture History*, p. 60.

[10] Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, pp. 154-5; Appadurai, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', pp. 25, 36-7; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 68; Sally V. Smith, 'Materialising Resistant Identities Among the Medieval Peasantry: An Examination of Dress Accessories from English Rural Settlement Sites', *Journal of Material Culture* 14:3 (September 2009), pp. 313-5; Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1986), p. 14; Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 11, 14-5; Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, p. 135; Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300-1550* (New Haven and London, 2008), p. 2; Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, 'The Language of Personal Adornment', in Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz, *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (The Hague, 1979), p. 12; Odile Blanc, 'From Battlefield to Court: The Invention of Fashion in the Fourteenth Century', in Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder (ed.), *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images* (New York, 2002), p. 158; Caroline Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing* (Baltimore and London, 2002), pp. 179-90; Jane Schneider, 'Cloth and Clothing', in Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (ed.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London, 2006), p. 208; John Munro, 'Necessities and Luxuries in Early-Modern Textile Consumption: Real Values of Worsted Says and Fine Woollens in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries', in Philipp Robinson Roessner (ed.), *Cities, Coins, and Commerce: Essays Presented to Ian Blanchard on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Stuttgart, 2012), p. 121.

For sumptuary legislation in Scotland, see *RPS*, 1430/12-14, 1458/3/14, 1471/5/7; Frances J. Shaw, 'Sumptuary Legislation in Scotland', *Juridical Review* 24, new ser. (1979), pp. 81-115; Alan Hunt, *Governance of Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 34-5, 153-4, 172.

[11] Haye, *Governaunce*, p. 95. This corresponded with the view of Flemish and Burgundian theorists, who saw commerce as an essential aspect of the common good: Jan Dumolyn, 'Justice, Equity and the Common Good: The State



Giles of Rome, *Le livre du gouvernement des princes*, trans. 1444, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS 5062, f. 149v (detail): a fifteenth century commercial street.

However, control over luxury products was not monopolised by governments but was also exercised by international merchants, the facilitators of the complex nodal system of Scoto-Flemish trade.[12] They had the ultimate, physical control over the distribution of the high status, luxury objects produced by a market geared towards international consumer demand. Merchants and brokers translated consumer demand at home into specialised production techniques in Flanders by acting as a bridge between consumers and producers, and thus they controlled the material symbols of both Flemish artistic culture

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Ideology of the Councillors of the Burgundian Dukes', in D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra (ed.), *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 8-9; Jan Dumolyn, ''Our land is only founded on trade and industry': Economic Discourses in Fifteenth-Century Bruges', *JMH* 36:4 (2010), pp. 384, 386-7.

[12] International merchants' economic power led to protectionist trade legislation being instituted by the crown, in turn leading to greater privileges at the staple in Bruges: Amy Eberlin, 'Mechanisms of Foreign Trade: Re-Evaluating the Power of the Scottish Mercantile Elite, 1320 to 1513' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2016), pp. 71-120.

and Scottish consumer culture.[13] Flemish products were 'transvalued' in the sense that their value was inherently linked to the geographical and cultural zone of Flanders, where Scottish merchants were largely concentrated by staple agreements with Bruges.[14]

The sophisticated market system of Flanders was advanced by the late medieval settlement in Bruges of groups of international bankers and merchants. The establishment of Italian banking families, most notably the Medici, and the use of bills of exchange allowed merchants to conduct their business without the physical transfer of large amounts of money.[15] Numerous nations of merchants established business premises and residences near the Grote Markt from the late fourteenth century, receiving collective legal protection and privileges from the Bruges authorities for their import and export trades.[16] These included Hanseatic, Baltic, Iberian, Italian, English, and Scottish merchants, giving Bruges a distinctly international character. German scholar Hieronymus Münzer remarked in 1495 that, 'the market is where merchants come together: at the said *beurs*. Where Spaniards, Italians, English, Germans, Hansards, and all nations come together'.[17] These international merchants had control over communication between producers and consumers, the interpretation of demand, and the physical movement of Flemish goods. The history and development of Scotland's staple port, where merchants were obliged to bring their wares in exchange for certain privileges and rights, has been a focus for the study of the changing fortunes of Bruges as an international trading centre and Scotland as an exporter of high quality wool.[18] Agreements establishing the Scottish staple in Bruges survive from as early as 1359 and were renegotiated and reissued in 1387, 1394, 1407, 1427, and 1470.[19] On 30 April 1407 John the Fearless of Burgundy confirmed Scottish trading privileges in Bruges and established the office of conservator to maintain those rights: 'the said merchants may have a certain commissioner who will be authorised by us and to whom we are giving power and authority to pursue, require, seek, and defend the goods of those merchants and subjects to all and against all'.[20] The stated aim of the document was, 'for the common good and evident profit, multiplication, augmentation, and increase of the merchandise of our country of Flanders [...], and for the good sustenance and governance of those people'.[21] It was clearly important to the economic health of Flanders that Scottish merchants should be able 'to bring their wares and merchandise openly and peacefully'.[22] These wares were primarily wools and to a lesser extent woolfells and hides. However, frequent references to the charging as well as discharging of merchants' vessels, for example, 'ilz voulsissent oultre leur p[re]mie[re] charge mettre ou chargier en leurs dic[te]s nefz et navire autres m[ar]chandises', suggest that a significant quantity of goods was being exported from Flanders to Scotland and that awareness of this was an important element in the granting of new trading privileges to the Scots.[23] Thus the authorities of Flanders acknowledged the impact of exports to Scotland on the 'increase of merchandise'.

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[13] See Appadurai, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', pp. 24-5, 33, 42.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[15] D. Ditchburn and A. MacKay, 'Financial centres in western Europe', in Ditchburn, MacLean and MacKay (ed.), *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, p. 255; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 180, 229-30, 245; Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986), pp. xxx-xxxi; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, pp. 339-49; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 164; J. N. Ball, *Merchants and Merchandise: The Expansion of Trade in Europe, 1500-1630* (London, 1977), p. 61; Raymond de Roover, *The Bruges Money Market around 1400* (Brussels, 1968), p. 27; Raymond de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges: Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers: A Study in the Origins of Banking* (Cambridge, MA, 1948), pp. 12, 48-59; John Day, *The Medieval Market Economy* (Oxford, 1987), p. 2; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, pp. 10-1; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 143; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, pp. 8-9.

Scots known to have banked in Bruges include James Stewart, duke of Ross and archbishop of St Andrews, and Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld: *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 215, 218; Francis C. Eeles, 'Dunkeld Cathedral: A Note on the Development of the Building and its Internal Arrangement', in *Dunk. Rent.*, p. 7; Ditchburn, 'Locating Aberdeen and Elgin in the Later Middle Ages', p. 3; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 53.

[16] Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 22-3; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 164; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 96-7; De Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges*, pp. 13-21.

However, the opinion that 'the lytell londe of Flaundres is / But a staple to other londes iwys', stated in a fifteenth century English poem, is not borne out by the huge number of luxury industries based in Flanders, discussed in this thesis: *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436*, ed. George Warner (Oxford, 1926), p. 7, ll. 116-7.

[17] E. P. Goldschmidt, 'Le Voyage de Hieronimus Monetarius à Travers le France: III', *Humanisme et Renaissance* 6:3 (1939), p. 341. The Scots had left Bruges by 1495.

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[18] Stevenson, 'Trade with the South', pp. 184-5, 190-2, table 1; Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 1-5, 18-31.

[19] *CAEB*, vol. 1, pp. 207-9, 235-6, nos 272-4, 309; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, app. nos 10-1, 13-5, 20-1, pp. viii-xi, xiv-xviii, xxv-xxix; *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3, no. 579, pp. 352-3.

David Ditchburn points out that in the late medieval period there were almost as many Scoto-Netherlandish commercial treaties as there were Franco-Scottish diplomatic treaties, signalling the great importance of Scottish trade with the Low Countries: Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 42.

[20] SAB, Stadscartularium 4, Oude Wittenboek, 1089-1546, ff. 183v-184r; *CAEB*, vol. 1, pp. 448-51, no. 540.

Notable conservators include Anselm Adornes, councillor to Charles the Bold and James III and burgomaster of Bruges, and Andrew Halyburton. For Adornes, see SAB, Stadscartulariam 2, Rodenboek, 1282-1548, ff. 270r-270v; *CAEB*, vol. 2, pp. 215-6, no. 1169; Alan Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III', *IR* 33 (1982), p. 19; Eberlin, 'Mechanisms of Foreign Trade', pp. 147-9; John Davidson and Alexander Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere: A Study in the Economic History of Scotland* (London, 1909), p. 134; Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 101; Small, 'The Scottish Court in the Fifteenth Century', p. 472; Elena Parma, 'Genoa-Bruges: The Art Market and Cultural Exchange in the Fifteenth Century', in Victor M. Schmidt, Gert Jan van der Sman, Marilena Vecchi and Jeanne van Waadenoijen (ed.), *Italy and the Low Countries – Artistic Relations, The Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the Symposium held at Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, 14 March 1994* (Florence, 1999), pp. 92-3. For Halyburton, see *Halyburton's Ledger*.

[21] SAB, Stadscartularium 4, Oude Wittenboek, 1089-1546, f. 183v.

[22] *Ibid.*, f. 183v. So much so that the Bruges authorities gave the Scottish ambassadors involved in the finalisation of the treaty a gift of £3,000 *parisis*: *IAVB*, vol. 5, pp. 302-3, n.

The fifteenth century orientation of the Flemish economy towards the luxury products so in demand among international consumers was prompted in large part by the steep decline of its textile industry from the late thirteenth century. This was caused by competition from manufacturers in Brabant, England, Holland, and Italy, restrictive *keuren* or guild regulations, intended to prevent a high volume of production from negatively affecting prices, and the imposition of heavy tolls on the export of English wool: the highest quality raw material for the textile industry.[24] This paved the way for Flanders' economic renaissance through reorientation away from heavy cloth towards a wide variety of luxury goods such as tapestries, manuscripts, and luxury textiles. Production of these luxury articles became concentrated in large urban centres with smaller towns acting as distribution points.[25] The mid-fifteenth century quickly became known as a time of relative prosperity and commercial and artistic boom. Flemish diplomat Philippe de Commynes wrote in the late 1400s that, '[these] lands are best able to be called the promised lands of all other principalities which are on the earth. They are so full of riches […], the meals and banquets greater and more lavish than in any other place that I know'.[26] Scottish demand for Flemish luxuries accordingly remained high and direct Scottish trade with Bruges did not diminish until later in the fifteenth century. Indeed, in the surviving fifteenth century *poorterboeken* of Bruges, recording those who became burgesses of the town, the volume with the most Scottish entrants belongs to the period 1454 to 1478.[27] However, the gradual silting up of the Zwin inlet, a desire for less restrictive trading regulations, and the establishment of the Portuguese staple for colonial goods at Antwerp in Brabant around 1500 caused a general movement of international merchants away from Bruges in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[28] This later period saw several movements of the Scottish staple between Bruges and Antwerp as well as Middelburg and Veere in Zeeland, with many negotiations and renegotiations concerning its permanent location. In April 1469 Alexander Napier of Merchiston promised the officials of the town of Bruges that he would,

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[23] SAB, Stadscartularium 4, Oude Wittenboek, 1089-1546, f. 183v. Contrary to the opinion stated in S. G. E. Lythe, 'Economic life', in Jennifer M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 78, which is that the greatest attraction for mercantile centres such as Bruges was Scottish wool.

[24] Munro, 'Industrial Protectionism in Medieval Flanders', pp. 230-1; Munro, 'Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth', pp. 1138-9; Endrei, 'The Productivity of Weaving in Late Medieval Flanders', pp. 108, 116-7; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 280-1; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 160-1; Nicholas, *Town and Countryside*, pp. 78-9; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 277; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 80-1; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, p. 369; Van der Wee, *The Low Countries in the Early Modern World*, p. 12; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, pp. 140-1, 144.

The decline of the Flemish textile industry was reflected in decreasing exports of Scottish wool: Gemmill and Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland*, pp. 371-3; Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, pp. 71-3; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', p. 115; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, pp. 70, 80; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South', pp. 200-1; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, pp. 175-6.

[25] Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 107-8 and graphs 1-3, pp. 115-6; Herman van der Wee, 'Structural Changes and Specialisation in the Industry of the Southern Netherlands, 1100-1600', *The Economic History Review* 28:2 (May 1975), p. 213; Day, *The Medieval Market Economy*, p. 199; Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century: The Medieval World on Parchment* (Leuven, 1999), p. 193; Lynn F. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 9; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 86; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, p. 73.

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[26] De Commynes, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2 pp. 13-4.

[27] SAB, Oud Archief, 130:2, Poorterboek, 1454-1478, ff. 14r, 18v, 19v, 24v, 30v, 35r, 44r, 46v, 49r, 57r, 58r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 68v, 71r, 71v, 73r, 75v, 90v, 105v, 124r (24 entries); *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, vol. 2: *Poorterboeken over 1450-1794*, ed. R. A. Parmentier (Bruges, 1938), pp. 538-9, 566-9, 576-7, 586-7, 600-3, 612-7, 622-3, 640-1, 658-61, 666-7, 672-3, 682-3, 686-7, 696-7, 704-5, 708-9, 714-5.

1418-1434 (7 entries): SAB, Oud Archief, 130:1, Poorterboek, 1418-1434, ff. 3v, 20r, 23r, 108v, 114r, 119r, 123r; *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, vol. 1: *Poorterboeken over 1418-1450*, ed. R. A. Parmentier (Bruges, 1938), pp. 6-7, 12-3, 124-5, 146-7, 156-7, 180-1.

1434-1450 (14 entries): SAB, Oud Archief, 130:1, Poorterboek, 1434-1450, ff. 22v, 29r, 30r, 52v, 65r, 67v, 68r, 71v, 72r, 86r, 90r, 103v, 125v; *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, vol. 1, pp. 266-7, 282-3, 286-7, 290-1, 294-5, 302-5, 310-1, 330-3, 388-9, 394-5, 410-1, 420-1.

1450-1460 (6 entries): SAB, Oud Archief, 130:2, Poorterboek, 1450-1460, ff. 2v, 7r, 19r, 22r, 22v, 26v; *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, vol. 2, pp. 476-9, 488-9, 494-5, 498-501.

1479-1496 (2 entries): SAB, Oud Archief, 130:2, Poorterboek, 1479-1496, ff. 51v, 60v; *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, vol. 2, pp. 766-7, 806-7.

[28] Dan Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's *Pand*', *The Art Bulletin* 72:4 (December 1990), pp. 559-61; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, p. 77; Van der Wee, *The Low Countries in the Early Modern World*, pp. 17-8, 20, 35-6; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, pp. 26-30; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 215; Munro, 'Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth', pp. 1137-8, 1143-4, 1147-50; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 98; Ball, *Merchants and Merchandise*, p. 87; Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, pp. 102, 110; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 390-1; Dumolyn, "Our land is only founded on trade and industry", pp. 376-7; William Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art* (London, 1969), pp. 11, 54; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 32; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 150.

By 1517-8 Antwerp was described as having 'a fine harbour with an infinite number of ships in it and a fine semi-circular quay built out into water which is so deep that ships no matter how big can moor alongside it'; while Bruges was noted as having a channel leading from the sea through which large ships could not pass: *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, pp. 87, 97.

> solicit […] my said sovereign lord the king of Scotland, that thereon the king will consent and mandate all the merchants of Scotland coming to this place, that henceforth they will be obliged to trade among other things their leather, skins and wool of Scotland which will come to this place in the said town of Bruges to hold their staple as they were accustomed [to do] in ancient times.[29]

Scottish merchants left Bruges for Middelburg in the 1470s.[30] However, it is clear that Flemish manufactures retained their high value and status thanks to the production and trading structures developed in the late medieval period. Merchant colonies were not static, and Scottish consumers exercised a high degree of agency in choosing to patronise Flemish artisans.

The sophisticated market system of Flanders, developed on account of high international demand for Flemish goods, meant that prior to its eventual decline Bruges was the premier northern European trading centre. Historians have characterised it as a depot, an entrepôt, a general emporium, a commercial arena, and a world market.[31] Despite the eventual movement of the Scottish staple away from Bruges, Flemish products remained accessible to consumers via the conservator of privileges or mercantile factors who organised purchases and sales and arranged the movement of capital.[32] For example, Andrew Halyburton organised the movement of Flemish products to his Scottish clients from his base in Middelburg, which was an intermediary 'gateway' between producers and consumers. The gateway model proposed by Clé Lesger outlines the spatial economy of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland by the mid-sixteenth century. Low Countries ports acted as gateways for the distribution of a vast array of goods which were not simply transported from one destination to another but travelled via nodal points or intermediate stages before ending up in the hands of the consumers.[33] It is possible to detect in this model a framework that is applicable to Scoto-Flemish trade in the late medieval period. Bruges fulfilled an axial function in that it took in raw materials, transformed them into luxury products with an international reputation, and then distributed them via nodal points to increasingly smaller stages in the network until they reached the consumers.[34] James Murray, however, warns against the use of static or hierarchical models such as the gateway system, stressing that complexity and flexibility were defining features of late medieval Flemish trade.[35]

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[29] SAB, Stadcartularium 14, Nieuwe groenenboek ongecotteerd, 1447-1512, f. 271v; *CAEB*, vol. 2, p. 199, no. 1146.

[30] Stevenson, 'Trade with the South', p. 199; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 175; Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, p. 102; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, p. 28.

[31] Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 165; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 283; Munro, 'Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth', p. 1145; Lythe, 'Economic life', p. 78; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, p. 171; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 101.

[32] Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 99; Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, pp. 74, 79, 82-3; Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, p. 390.

[33] Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries c.1550-1630* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 186. See also Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, pp. 141-2. This relates to the Rubik's Cube model of economic history: 'All commodities, all sectors, and all regional economies were interconnected and had to adjust constantly to altered market conditions.' Henriette

Elements of both theories are visible in late medieval Scoto-Flemish consumer culture. Bruges was indeed a gateway for the distribution of luxury Flemish articles, yet the myriad ways in which those articles reached Scottish consumers were anything but static. The route taken by some Flemish imports into Scotland would have comprised sale at one of Flanders' great international fairs, held at Bruges, Ypres, Torhout, Lille, and Mesen, and involved the display and sale of goods from specialised *hallen*, market squares, shops, stalls, and craftspeople's workplaces.[36] Goods were then transported from Bruges via the town's outports of Damme and Sluis, reaching Scotland through royal burghs. These were urban and commercial centres concentrated primarily on the east coast, with monopolistic rights over international trade and trade within their hinterlands.[37] Flemish products might then be distributed within Scotland through baronial and ecclesiastical burghs, fairs, and itinerant traders. Non-royal burghs were also entitled to hold weekly markets and annual fairs which acted as smaller, more

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de Bruyn Kops, *A Spirited Exchange: The Wine and Brandy Trade between France and the Dutch Republic in its Atlantic Framework, 1600-1650* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 14-5. See Talbott, 'An Alliance Ended?', p. 93.

[34] Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 163.

[35] Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 217, 258.

[36] *CAEB*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 379-80, nos 914, 1370; Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, pp. 236-7; D. Ditchburn, 'European Fairs and Trade Routes', in Ditchburn, MacLean and MacKay (ed.), *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, p. 159; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 44, 217-8, 288-9; Jean C. Wilson, 'Marketing paintings in late medieval Flanders and Brabant', in Xavier Barral i Altet (ed.), *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Âge: Colloque International, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Université de Rennes II – Haute-Bretagne 2 – 6 mai 1983*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1990), p. 622; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 16, 171, 173; Jean C. Wilson, 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges 'Pandt' Market, 1512-1550', *The Burlington Magazine* 125:965 (August 1983), p. 476; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, p. 20; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 6; Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, p. 101.

[37] Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, pp. 69-70; Ian H. Adams, *The Making of Urban Scotland* (London, 1978), pp. 22, 40; Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 26.

localised entrepôts for the sale of both domestic and international manufactures and raw materials.[38] Merchants operated out of shops, stalls, or booths around burghal marketplaces. Outwith burghal settlements fairs developed in association with already established meeting places such as churchyards, often on holy days.[39] These commercial events facilitated the spread of Flemish material culture into areas which were less urbanised or distant from the east coast. They acted as nodal and focal points for Scottish consumers and points of access to the Flemish products, though these were more likely to have been mundane, serially produced objects such as ceramics and cheaper furnishings. This model therefore fails to illuminate the dynamism of Scoto-Flemish trade and the cyclical effect which Scottish consumer taste and demand had on the development of the Flemish luxury market.

The top level of design and production quality of Flemish material culture was achieved in an apparently paradoxical manner. Models, patterns, and imitation techniques were utilised to create objects of the highest quality and status such as illuminated manuscripts and panel paintings.[40] Although the result of this serial production was a broadly uniform aesthetic incorporating themes popular among consumers, it also allowed the development of a recognisably Flemish style which became a highly desirable component of luxury products in the late medieval period. Consideration of social and cultural factors such as value and demand is central to the understanding of technical innovation and the development of commodities.[41] Furthermore, it illuminates the processes of Scoto-Flemish consumerism and the cyclical effect that international demand had upon Flemish production.

Manuscript illumination was one area in which serial production techniques were used extensively to respond to high consumer demand, generating great quantities of lavishly illustrated religious texts for the home market and for export to places such as Scotland. The development from the 1470s of the characteristic style of the Ghent-Bruges school can be said to have occurred in part due to the emergence of a 'middle class' and the patronage of wealthy urban and mercantile elites, clergy, aristocracy, and royalty, both Flemish and international.[42] The work of the school can be identified by its illusionistic borders of flowers, acanthus leaves, insects, jewels, and shells. The use of rich colours, realistic shadows, and other *trompe l'oeil* effects combined to form what is known as the 'baroque period' of Flemish manuscript illumination.[43] The speedy recreation of these motifs was facilitated by the sharing of designs and pattern books containing compositions for letter forms and illustrations to be copied by the artist. Very few survive, although two can be seen at University of Glasgow Library: one French from c.1526 and the other Netherlandish from c.1529.[44] The latter aimed to 'fett forthe the arte of Limming [illumination], which teacheth the order in drawing & tracing of letters, vinets, flowers, armes and imagery'.[45]

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[38] Adams, *The Making of Urban Scotland*, pp. 24-6; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 86; Brian Dicks, 'The Scottish Medieval Town: A Search for Origins', in George Gordon and Brian Dicks (ed.), *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen, 1983), p. 26.

[39] Adrian Cox, 'Medieval Fairs and Markets in Angus and Fife: A discussion of the documentary and artefactual evidence', *Review of Scottish Culture* 17 (2004-5), pp. 2, 4-5.

[40] Jean C. Wilson, 'Workshop Patterns and the Production of Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Bruges', *The Burlington Magazine* 132:1049 (August 1990), pp. 523-7; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 162; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 109-10; Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870*, 2nd ed. (London, 1970), p. 89.

[41] Colin Renfrew, 'Varna and the Emergence of Wealth in Prehistoric Europe', in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 144-7.

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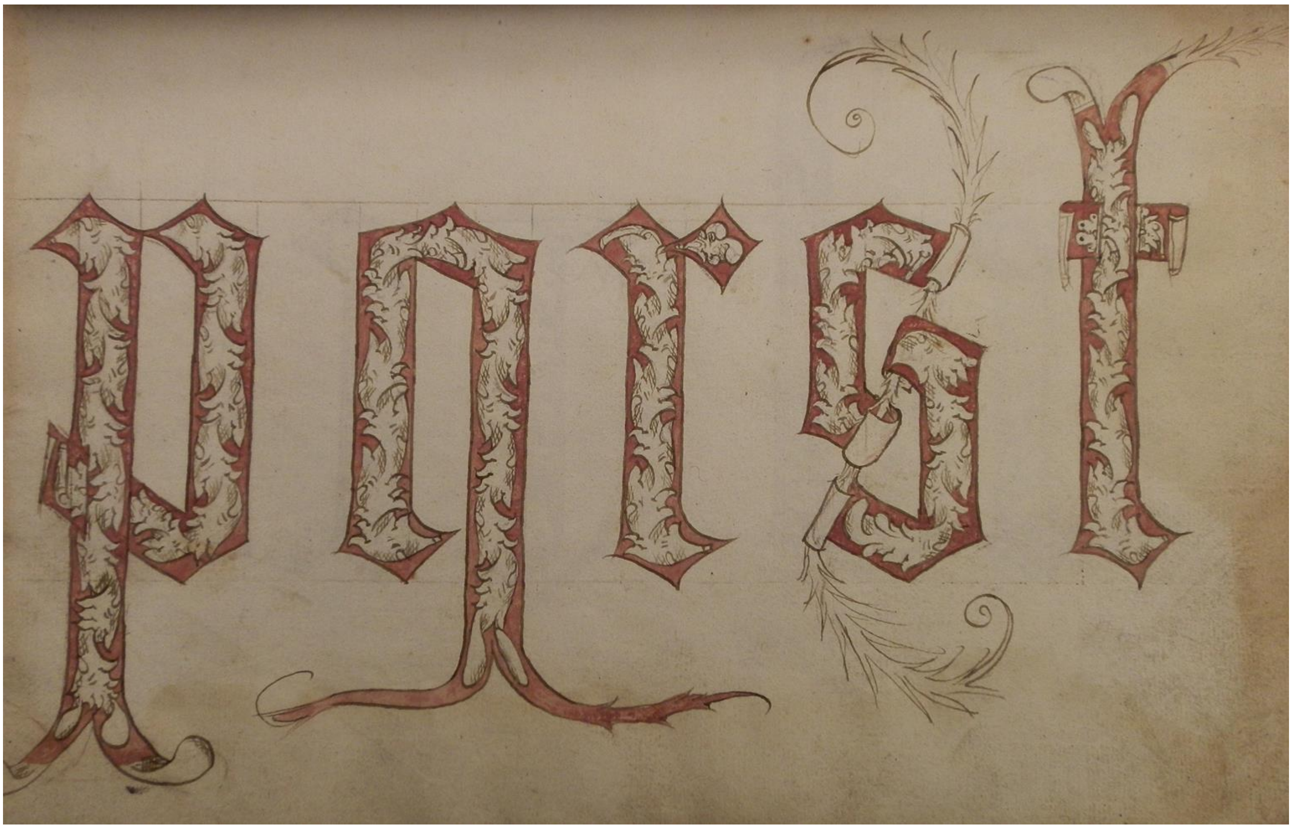
[42] Literacy increased alongside purchasing power, creating greater demand for devotional texts in the late Middle Ages: Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 137, 175.

The name 'Ghent-Bruges school' is misleading considering the peripatetic nature of craftsmanship and the dispersion of artists over different locations in the southern Low Countries. Rather than a geographical significance, the name indicates a stylistic commonality during the period c.1470-c.1561: Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles and London, 2003), pp. 1-2; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 419; Lyle, 'The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV', pp. 4, 52, 81; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 171; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 19; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 234.

[43] Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 419-20; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 1-2, 6; Bert Cardon, 'The Portfolio of a Bruges Miniaturist in the Mid-15th Century', in Bert Cardon, Jan van der Stock and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (ed.), *Als Ich Can: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr Maurits Smeyers* (Leuven, 2002), p. 351; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 170; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 27; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', p. 250; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 20.

[44] University of Glasgow Library, MS General 326; Stirling Maxwell Collection, SM 1161. See Nigel Thorp, *The Glory of the Page: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library* (London, 1987), pp. 129, 195, nos 69, 129; Maryan W. Ainsworth, 'Was Simon Bening a Panel Painter?', in Cardon, Van der Stock and Vanwijnsberghe (ed.), *Als Ich Can*, p. 7.

[45] University of Glasgow Library, Stirling Maxwell Collection, SM 1161, f. 2r.



University of Glasgow Library, MS General 326, f. 17r (detail), by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

Another technique was the creation of single leaf illuminations, in some cases illustrated to suit clients' tastes, and the leaving of blank spaces for the later insertion of identifying marks such as coats of arms.[46] It is now generally agreed among scholars that the repetition of motifs and compositions and the insertion of single leaf illuminations or blank spaces by illuminators did not at all signify a lack of innovation or quality but was a strategic response to high levels of demand for the luxurious production of Flemish workshops. Indeed, it was common for illuminators to explicitly draw on the work of other artists to increase the value of their own output. Gerard Horenbout, for example, incorporated elements from the early fifteenth century Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry into the Grimani Breviary of c.1510.[47]

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[46] Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 434; Eamon Duffy, 'Elite and Popular Religion: the Book of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *Elite and Popular Religion: Papers read at the 2004 summer meeting and the 2005 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 147.

[47] Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 423, 434; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 6; Robert G. Calkins, 'Gerard Horenbout and his Associates: Illuminating Activities in Ghent,

The production of manuscripts was something of a production line, with high-end books requiring the co-operation of skilled craftspeople including scribes, miniators, and illuminators under a *chef d'atelier* or *liberaris* who supervised the operation.[48] It was through this system that Scottish consumers purchased luxury objects such as the Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor.[49] The absence of any reference to James and Margaret in the text and the contribution of several illuminators including Simon Bening and Gerard Horenbout have led to the conclusion that the book was already partially completed before it was commissioned and was initially produced on speculation.[50] Several references to James and Margaret, such as their arms and initials, are included in the imagery.[51] However, most of the images in the book represent typical themes regarding marriage, parenthood, and general Christian devotion such as the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi.[52] Decoration typical of the Ghent-Bruges school – naturalistic flowers, fruits, and insects,

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1480-1521', in Laurinda S. Dixon (ed.), *In Detail: New Studies of Northern Renaissance Art in Honour of Walter S. Gibson* (Turnhout, 1998), p. 63; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 6-7.

[48] John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London, 1977), p. 22. Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 13-4, 194-5; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 19. It may have been too early to speak of 'mass production', since labour forces were not typically concentrated *en masse*, but separately and in small stages. The same was true for several different industries, e.g., the cloth industry was comprised of spinners, weavers, fullers, finishers, and cloth merchants, who might have little to no contact among each other: Harry A. Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), p. 82.

[49] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897. Facsimile: *Das Gebetbuch Jakobs IV. Von Schottland und seiner Gemahlin Margaret Tudor: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex 1897 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien*, intro. Franz Unterkircher and James Wilkie (Graz, 1987).

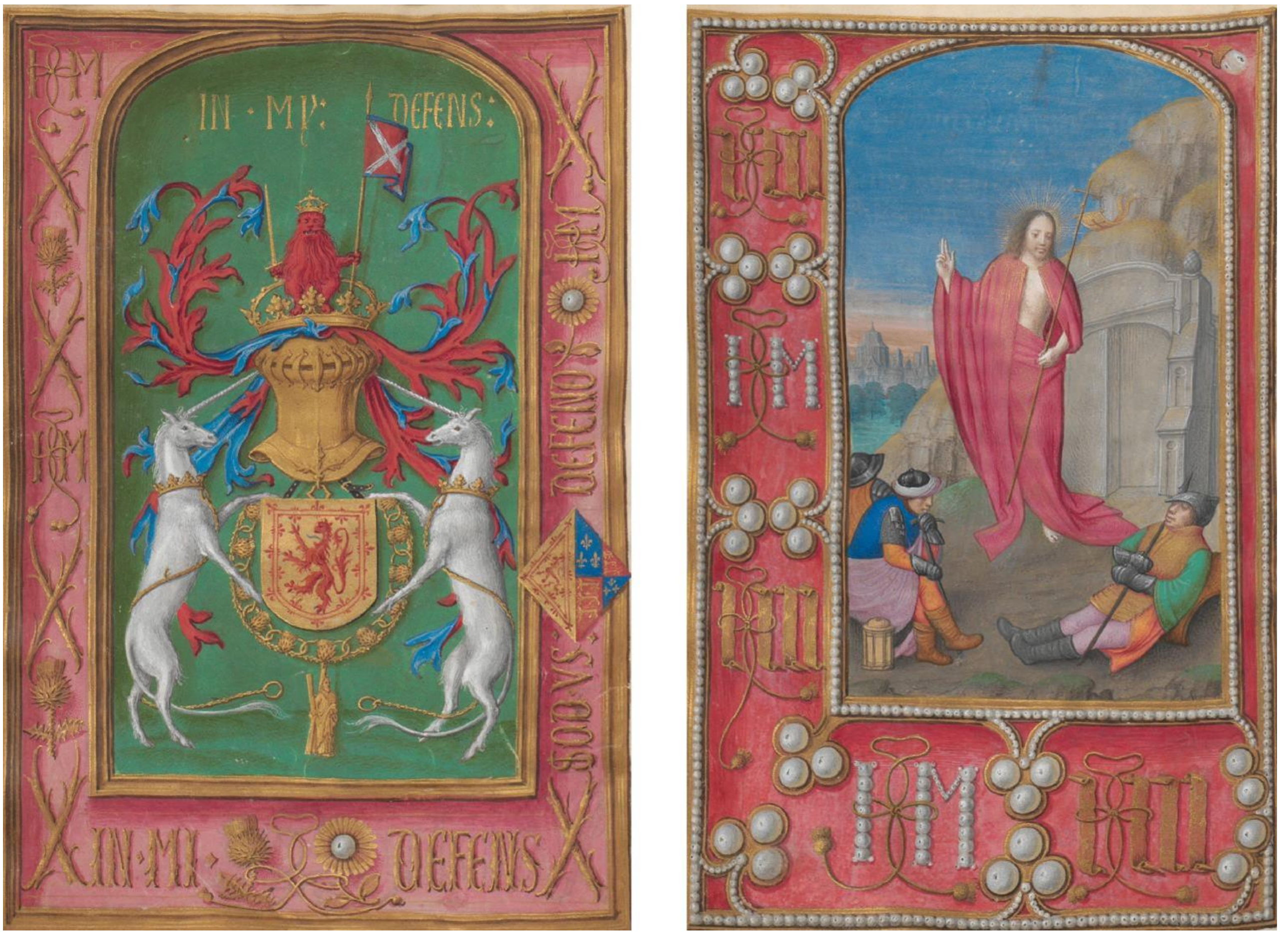
See Lyle, 'The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV'; Leslie Macfarlane, 'The book of hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *IR* 11 (1960), pp. 3-21; Ishbel Barnes, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor, Austrian National Library, Vienna', *The Forth Naturalist and Historian* 25 (2002), pp. 85-6; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 173; Priscilla Bawcutt, "My bright buke': Women and their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, Arlyn Diamond, Ann Hutchison, Carol M. Meale and Lesley Johnson (ed), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain:* Essays for Felicity Riddy (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 21-2; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 83; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 371-3; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 84; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, pp. 26-7; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', pp. 203-4; Calkins, 'Gerard Horenbout and his Associates', pp. 55-6, figs. 6-9; MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland', p. 161; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 466, fig. 69; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 36, fig. 2.10; Lieve De Kesel, 'Heritage and Innovation in Flemish Book Illumination at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century: Framing the Frames from Simon Marmion to Gerard David', in Hanno Wijsman (ed.), *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 118-9; Georges Hulin de Loo, 'Comment J'ai Retrouvé Horenbaut', *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique – Jaarboek der Koninklijke Museums voor Schoone Kunsten van België* 2 (1939), p. 16.

[50] Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 371-3.

[51] The royal arms: ff. 9r, 14v, 21r, 24v, 109v, 141v, 243v; mottoes: ff. 14v, 24v, 109v, 189v, 202v, 243v; initials: ff. 14v, 183v, 243v; portraits: ff. 24v, 243v; and flowers: ff. 14v, 3r, 53v, 56r, 148v, 150v, 218v, 235r.

[52] ff. 59v, 86v, 94v.

likely painted using workshop patterns – identify the manuscript as a product of the highly regarded ateliers of Flanders.[53] Additionally, Horenbout drew on the prototype of the Trinity Altarpiece, showing James III and Margaret of Denmark at prayer, for his depiction of James IV and Margaret Tudor.[54]



James IV Book of Hours, © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, ff. 14v, 183v (detail).

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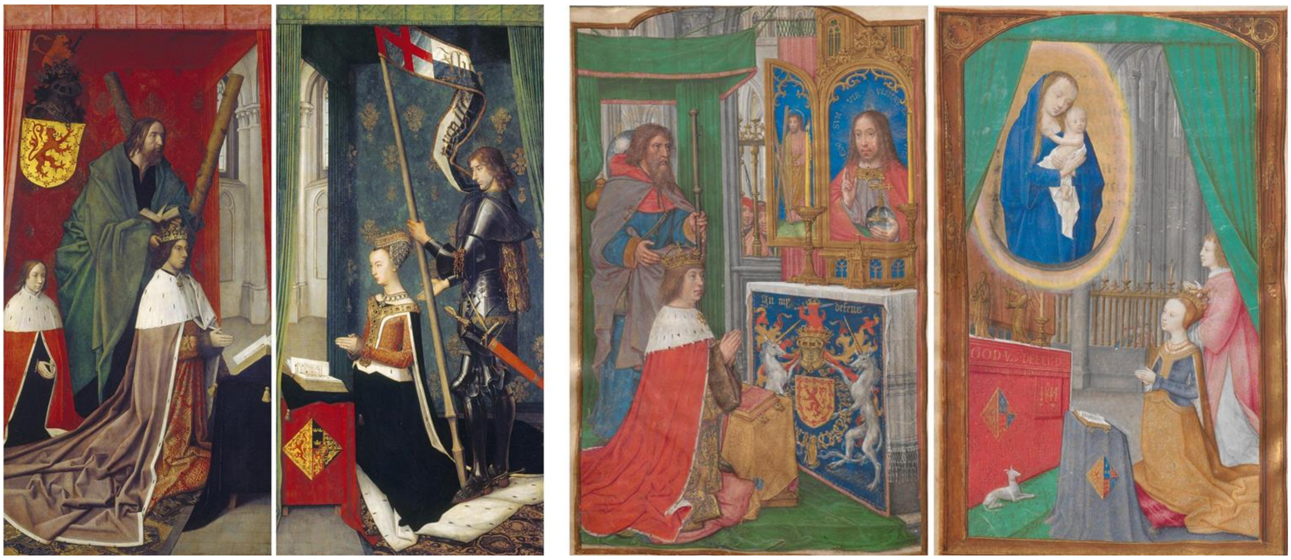
[53] Flemish illumination was imitated in Scotland, too: see Appendix 1. Despite similar imitation occurring in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and other territories, and despite the use of imitative techniques by renowned Flemish illuminators themselves, Scottish attempts at emulation are described in disparaging terms as crudely imitative: MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 29; David H. Caldwell, 'In Search of Scottish Art: Native Traditions and Foreign Influences', in Kaplan (ed.), *Scotland Creates*, p. 47. For European imitation, see Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 424.

[54] Trinity Altarpiece: NGS, acc. no. NG 1772. James IV and Margaret Tudor: ff. 24v, 243v. The book is discussed further in Chapter 3, pp. 90-100, and the altarpiece is discussed in Chapter 5, pp. 144-8. For the similarities between the miniatures and the panels, see Lyle, 'The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV', pp. 114, 134; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 26; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 84.

The Trinity Altarpiece itself borrowed elements from previous works. The Trinity *Pietà* derives from Robert Campin's *Holy Trinity*: State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. GE-443, while the image of St George behind Margaret of Denmark resembles that of Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Canon van der Paele*: Groeningemuseum, Bruges, inv. no. 0.161.1: Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh*, p. 24; Joseph Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes* (Paris and Brussels, 1914), p. 91; Tolley, 'Hugo van der Goes's Altarpiece for Trinity College Church', p. 216; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 335-6.



Hugo van der Goes, *Trinity Altarpiece*, c.1478-9, NGS, acc. no. NG 1772, Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016: interior wings; James IV Book of Hours, © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, ff. 24v, 243v (detail).

The composition is similar, recreating the motif of the monarchs facing inwards to pray to devotional images. As in the Trinity Altarpiece James IV and Margaret are also before *prie dieux*, surrounded by richly coloured canopies, and presented by patron saints. It has been noted that the same composition was used in at least three other Flemish manuscripts of the Ghent-Bruges school.[55] This confirms that the re-use of existing images did not signify low quality but solidified the high status of the artwork by utilising a traditional model. This was both a response to high consumer demand and a stimulant, showcasing the technical and artistic mastery of Flemish illuminators.

Imitation did not signify a low standard of work and originality was not valued by consumers in the same sense as it is today. Fifteenth century Italian artist Leon Battista Alberti recommended that ‘we should always have before us some elegant and singular example to look at and imitate’.[56] Another example of an artist copying an extant work for a Scottish patron is the Aberdeen donor panel of c.1500, probably the left hand wing of a small triptych and thought to be the work of a Fleming or of a Scot closely familiar with Flemish artistic techniques.[57] The lower half of the painting depicts a male donor kneeling in prayer before a *prie dieu* and clad in a richly coloured red garment with a black, fur-trimmed cape. The rendering of the face of Christ and the cool, atmospheric treatment of the background have been cited as typical elements of Flemish work of the late fifteenth century.[58] The inclusion of a portrait of the donor was a fifteenth century development in which patrons became active rather than passive and nameless participants in Church patronage. That he is depicted in the same size as the divine figures in the upper portion of the panel shows that his own personal identity was just as important as his religious identity.[59] The upper portion resembles Robert Campin's 1435 depiction of the Holy Trinity in the format of the Trinity *Pietà*: God enthroned cradling Christ in his arms, the dove of the Holy Spirit between their heads, underneath a curtained canopy and with an angel to either side.[60] The Aberdeen panel clearly derives from this earlier example and was intended to cater to the widespread demand in northern Europe for depictions of the Holy Trinity in this manner, which were particularly prominent in Flanders from the 1420s.[61]

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[55] e.g., Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 2844, f. 16v, cited in Lyle, ‘The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV’, p. 134, fig. 88.

[56] Leon Battista Alberti, *Della Pittura e della Statua*, ed. Ferrario Giusti (Milan, 1804), p. 92.

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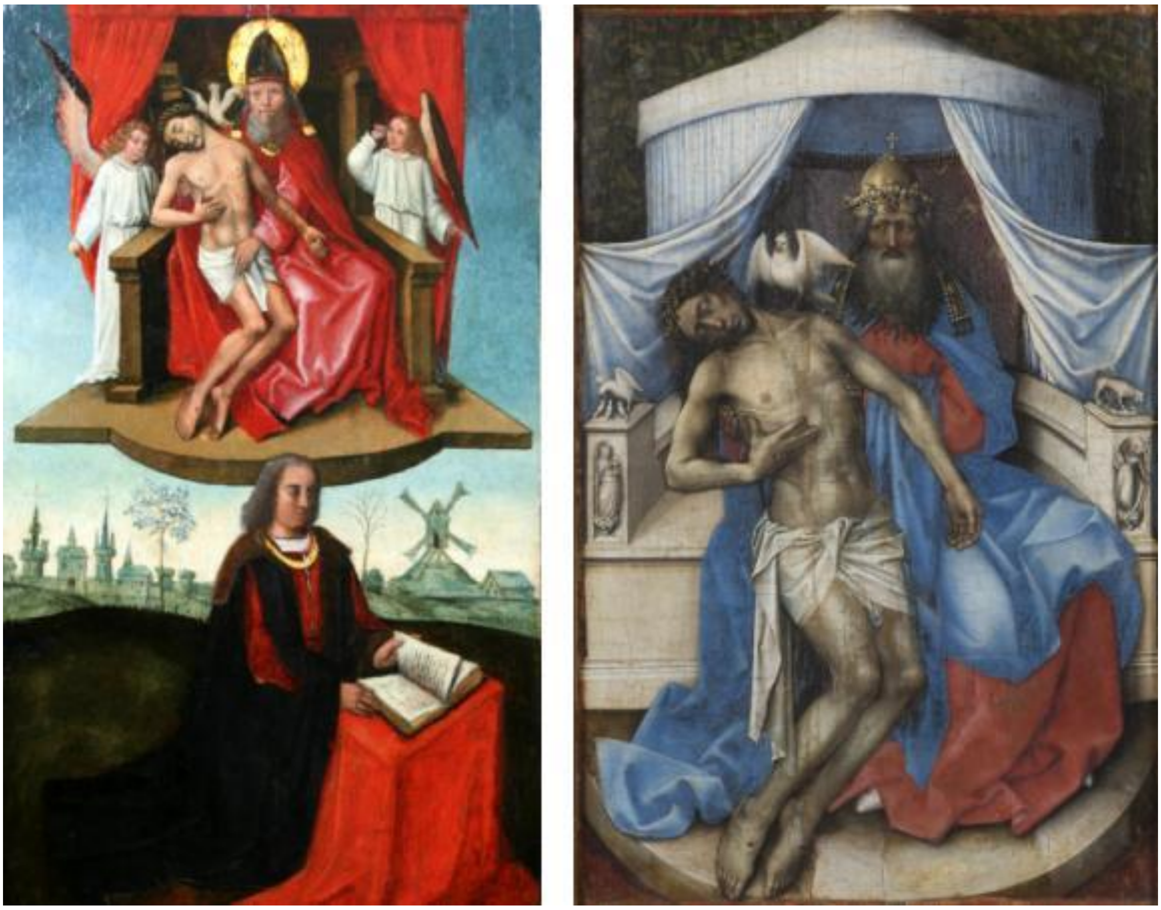
[57] BMA, acc. no. TO313; Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, 'Bishop Elphinstone: Quincentenary Commemoration', *The Review: Aberdeen University Alumnus Association* 63 (2015), pp. 12-3, 18.

[58] Julian Luxford, University of St Andrews, pers. comm.

[59] Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs*, pp. 1-2.

[60] State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. GE-443.

[61] Julian Luxford, pers. comm.



Donor panel, Blairs Museum, Aberdeen, acc. no. TO313; Robert Campin, *Holy Trinity*, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. GE-443.

Again, we see Scottish consumer demand advancing the development of serial production methods. Flemish panel painters used patterns in their work in response to high levels of domestic and international consumer demand. Artists frequently held among their possessions *patronen* or models, as shown by evidence in marriage contracts and wills.[62] They also utilised techniques such as pouncing, tracing, and stencilling which enabled the duplication and reproduction of popular stylistic motifs.[63] As with manuscript production, the proliferation of *patronen* and *voorbeelden* or prototypes was indicative not of unoriginality and inferiority but of a stylistic conservatism which, when combined with these innovative serial production techniques, facilitated production for a market which was highly consumer driven.[64] Returning to the idea that social and cultural factors are central to the understanding of technical innovation, it is clear that Scottish elite consumers played a significant part in the production methods of Flemish artisans. By maintaining a high level of demand for Flemish manuscripts and paintings, they contributed to the increasing efficiency of those industries while simultaneously enabling the luxurious design and production quality to remain at a high level.

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[62] Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, p. 138; Wilson, 'Workshop Patterns and the Production of Paintings', p. 525; Lorne Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine* 118:877 (April 1976), pp. 194-5.

[63] Wilson, 'Workshop Patterns and the Production of Paintings', pp. 523, 525; Jellie Dijkstra, 'Methods for the Copying of Paintings in the Southern Netherlands in the 15th and 16th Centuries', in Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq et Roger van Schoute (ed.), *Le Dessin Sous-Jacent dans la Peinture: Colloque VIII, 8-10 Septembre 1989* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991), pp. 67, 69; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 109-10; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 219-28.

This phenomenon, of imitation as a legitimate form of production, can also be seen in the reproduction of Flemish ceramic motifs by Scottish producers. Flemish and other imported pottery typically makes up a small proportion of excavated sherds even in east coast urban sites which had strong trade links with Flanders.[65] Due to the similarity of clays it is difficult to attribute ceramics to specific Flemish production centres, but there are two principal fabric types found in Scotland: Low Countries Greywares and Low Countries Redwares.[66] Scottish potters imitated Low Countries Highly

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[64] Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 6-7; Susan Urbach, 'Research Report on Examinations of Underdrawings in some Early Netherlandish and German Panels in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts II', in Verougstraete-Marcq et Van Schoute (ed.), *Le Dessin Sous-Jacent dans la Peinture*, p. 77; Cyriel Stroo, Pascale Syfer-d'Olne, Anne Dubois, Roel Slachmuylders and Nathalie Toussaint, *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 3: *The Hieronymus Bosch, Albrecht Bouts, Gerard David, Colijn de Coter and Goossen van der Weyden Groups* (Brussels, 2001), p. 284.

[65] From the fourteenth to early sixteenth century ceramic floor tiles were imported from the Low Countries, and have been found in an archaeological context at urban and ecclesiastical sites: Gordon G. Barclay and Anna Ritchie, 'Artefactual, Environmental and Archaeological Evidence from the Holyrood Parliament Site Excavations', *SAIR* 40 (2010), pp. 43-4; Elizabeth Jones, 'Through the Cowgate: life in 15th-century Edinburgh as revealed by excavations at St Patrick's Church', *SAIR* 42 (2010), p. 53; Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 40; Elizabeth Eames, 'The plain glazed floor tiles', in John Schofield et al., 'Excavations south of Edinburgh High Street, 1973-4', *PSAS* 107 (1975-6), p. 212.

In the documentary record, Robert Wells, archdeacon of St Andrews, imported a thousand 'tyls for his chamer', carried by 'a schip of the Feir [Veere]': *Halyburton's Ledger*, p. 251. England also imported large quantities of Flemish floor tiles: Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 187.

[66] Kilns have been located in or near Aardenburg, Antwerp, Bruges, Damme, Ghent, Koksijde, Lampernisse, Mechelen, Nieuwpoort, Raversijde, Sint-Margriete, Veurne, and Ypres. Frans Verhaege argues that the pottery produced in Flanders belongs to a larger ceramic province incorporating the rest of the Low Countries and northern France: Frans Verhaege, 'Medieval pottery production in coastal Flanders', in Peter Davey and Richard Hodges (ed.), *Ceramics and Trade: The Production and Distribution of Later Medieval Pottery in North-West Europe* (Sheffield, 1983), p. 88; J. G. Hurst, S. Vandenberghe, and F. Verhaege, 'Low Countries Blackware', *Medieval Archaeology* 22 (1978), p. 136.

Low Countries Greywares: Peter Cheer, 'The Pottery', in Russel J. Coleman, 'Burgage plots of medieval Perth: the evidence from excavations at Canal Street', *PSAS* 126 (1996), p. 717; C. Scott and L. Blanchard, 'The Pottery', in Linda Blanchard, 'An excavation at 45 Canal Street, Perth, 1978-9', *PSAS* 113 (1983), p. 508; M. J. Rains and D. W. Hall (ed.), *Excavations in St Andrews, 1980-89: A Decade of Archaeology in a Historic Scottish Burgh* (Glenrothes, 1997), pp. 52, 54-5; Jones, 'Through the Cowgate', p. 45; David Bowler, Adrian Cox and Catherine Smith, 'Four excavations in Perth, 1979-84', *PSAS* 125 (1995), pp. 931, 954, 957, 959; Piers Dixon, 'A rural medieval settlement in Roxburghshire: excavations at Springwood Park, Kelso, 1985-6', *PSAS* 128 (1998), p. 738;

Decorated Redwares, a luxury group of Redwares which had decorative elements including colour effects and floral and anthropomorphic designs. These were produced from c.1300 throughout Flanders, Zeeland, and northern France.[67] Highly decorated dripping pans from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been found in the Perth Local fabric: a variety of Redware. One is externally smoke blackened and the other is decorated with applied pads.[68] Another piece excavated at Perth is a virtually complete Scottish Redware jug decorated with an impressed shell pattern in the style of Low Countries wares.[69]

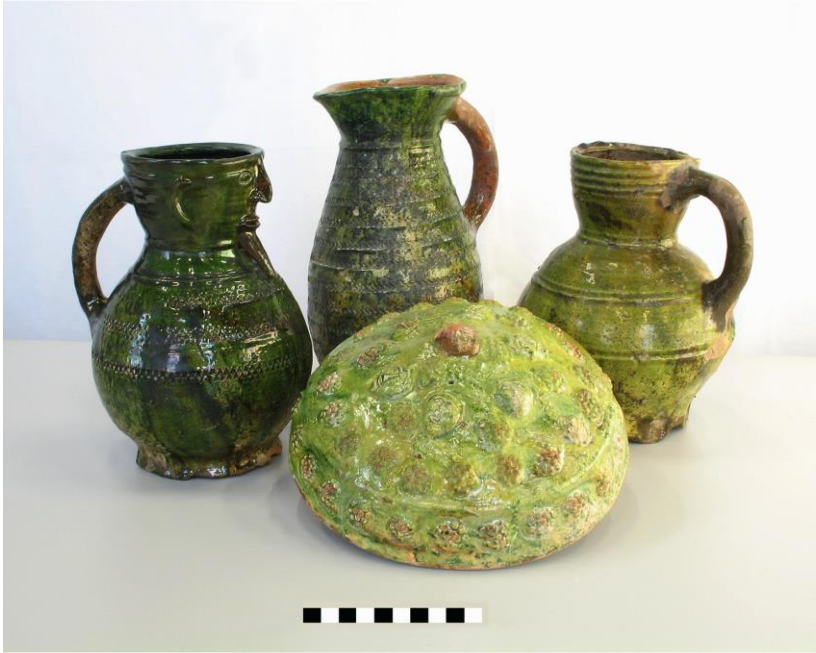
D. W. Hall, A. D. S. MacDonald, D. R. Perry and J. Terry, 'The archaeology of Elgin: excavations on Ladyhill and in the High Street, with an overview of the archaeology of the burgh', *PSAS* 128 (1998), pp. 765, 786; H. K. Murray and J. C. Murray, 'Excavations at Rattray, Aberdeenshire: A Scottish Deserted Burgh', *Medieval Archaeology* 37 (1993), p. 209; Derek W. Hall, George Haggarty and Alan Vince, 'The medieval pottery', in *Perth High Street Archaeological Excavation 1975-1977*, vol. 2 (Perth, 2012), pp. 20, 36; Barclay and Ritchie, 'Artefactual, Environmental and Archaeological Evidence from the Holyrood Parliament Site Excavations', p. 8; Catherine Brooks and Richard Hodges, 'Imported pottery in eastern Britain c.1200-1500', in Davey and Hodges (ed.), *Ceramics and Trade*, pp. 239, 255; H. K. Murray and J. C. Murray, 'Excavations in Bishop's Close, Brechin 2009 and 2010', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 17 (2011), pp. 40, 49-50; P. J. Dixon, J. R. Mackenzie, D. R. Perry and P. Sharman, 'The origins of the settlements at Kelso and Peebles, Scottish Borders: archaeological excavations in Kelso and Floors Castle and Cuddyside/Bridgegate, Peebles', *SAIR* 2 (2002), p. 89.

Low Countries Redwares: Cheer, 'The Pottery', in Coleman, 'Burgage plots of medieval Perth', p. 717; Scott and Blanchard, 'The Pottery', in Blanchard, 'An excavation at 45 Canal Street, Perth', pp. 507-8; Rains and Hall (ed.), *Excavations in St Andrews*, pp. 27, 54; Jones, 'Through the Cowgate', p. 45; Bowler, Cox and Smith, 'Four excavations in Perth', pp. 954, 957; Russel Coleman, 'Excavations at the Abbot's House, Maygate, Dunfermline', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 2 (1996), pp. 88, 91; Mark Collard, John A. Lawson and Nicholas Holmes, 'Archaeological excavations in St Giles' Cathedral Edinburgh, 1981-93' *SAIR* 22 (2006), p. 50; Hall, MacDonald, Perry and Terry, 'The archaeology of Elgin', p. 765; Heather F. James, 'An organically rich medieval midden and other finds from the Top of the Town, Stirling', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 32:2 (2010), p. 209; Murray and Murray, 'Excavations at Rattray', p. 209; Hall, Haggarty and Vince, 'The medieval pottery', in *Perth High Street Archaeological Excavation 1975-1977*, vol. 2, pp. 36-7; Ross H. M. White and Chris O'Connell, 'Excavations on the Site of Balmerino House, Constitution Street, Leith,' *SAIR* 41 (2010), p. 19; Barclay and Ritchie, 'Artefactual, Environmental and Archaeological Evidence from the Holyrood Parliament Site Excavations', p. 8; Brooks and Hodges, 'Imported pottery in eastern Britain', pp. 239, 255; Murray and Murray, 'Excavations in Bishop's Close', p. 50; Dixon, Mackenzie, Perry and Sharman, 'The origins of the settlements at Kelso and Peebles', p. 89.

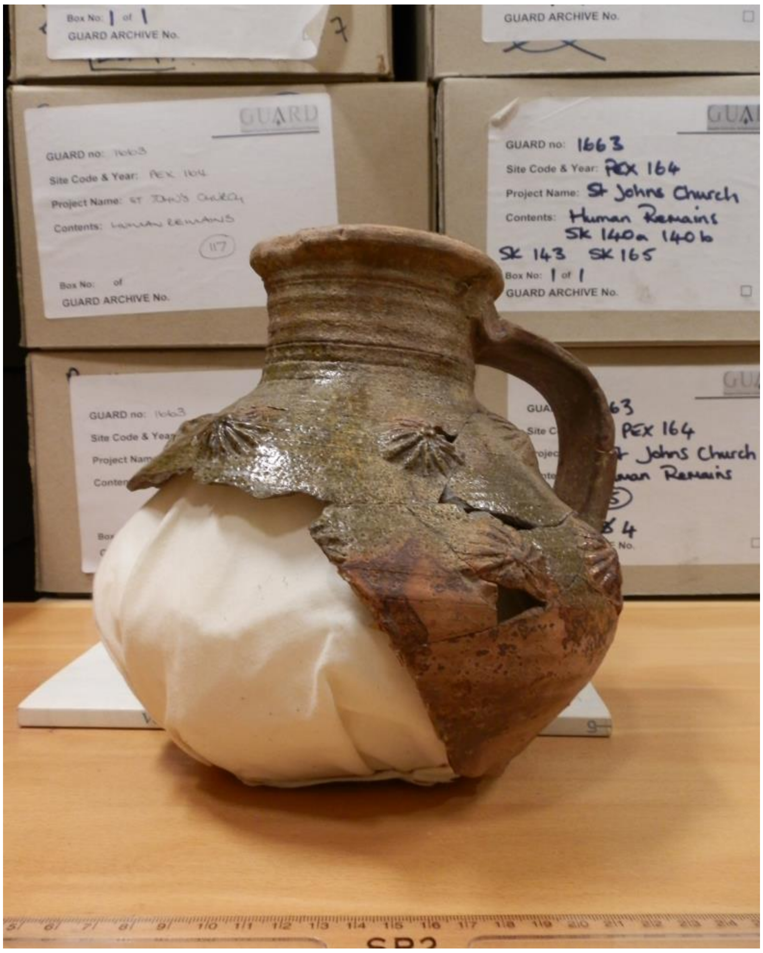
[67] Verhaege, 'Medieval pottery production in coastal Flanders', pp. 67-8, 70-3; John G. Hurst, David S. Neal and H. J. E. van Beuningen, *Pottery Produced and Traded in North-West Europe, 1350-1650* (Rotterdam, 1986), pp. 146.

[68] PMAG. Hall, Haggarty and Vince, 'The medieval pottery', in *Perth High Street Archaeological Excavation, 1975-1977*, vol. 2, p. 31, cat nos 165-6.

[69] PMAG. *Ibid.*, p. 27, cat. no. 1: see image below. See also Derek W. Hall, 'Blind Date – Scottish medieval pottery industries', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 2 (Glenrothes, 1996), p. 128, for the imitation of Low Countries surface washes, slips, and vessel forms.



Low Countries decorated wares excavated from the Potterierei, Bruges, courtesy of Raakvlak archaeological service.



Scottish Redware jug, courtesy of Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Perth and Kinross Council.

It is difficult to see how such aesthetic innovations could have been made in the absence of consumer demand for Flemish ceramics and a certain degree of dialogue between producers and consumers.[70]

Increasingly in fifteenth century Flanders the flourishing of consumer culture caused a greater proportion of luxury objects to be produced on speculation rather than on commission: a direct result of high international demand. Artisans increasingly maintained stocks of goods such as tapestries, paintings, and manuscripts in the knowledge that popular imagery, for example Marian and Christocentric, would be popular among consumers.[71] Artists' marriage contracts and wills listed objects suggestive of the speculative nature of the art market, such as *patronen* and unfinished *pannelen* or panels.[72] This was done in response to high consumer demand, which allowed the relatively cheap and speedy production of high quality Flemish goods, in turn endowing them with high value and further stimulating demand. Thus, during the fifteenth century there developed in Bruges what has been called a 'mass market'.[73] Speculatively produced works were not necessarily of lower quality or price than commissioned works, as demonstrated by a study of documented sales of carved altarpieces.[74]

Flemish artisans could produce, exhibit, and sell their work from their ateliers.[75] During fair time goods could also be sold from specialised *hallen*, which in Bruges were in the Belfry on the Grote

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[70] This is contrary to the opinion that shape, colour, and texture were strictly subservient to practical function: Henry Hodges, 'The Medieval Potter: Artisan or Artist?', in Vera I. Evison, H. Hodges and J. G. Hurst (ed.), *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: Studies Presented to Gerald Clough Dunning, with a Bibliography of his Works* (London, 1974), p. 38.

[71] Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', pp. 194-5; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 19, 22, 149, 203-8, 228-32; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 108-9; James H. Marrow, 'Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16:2/3 (1986), p. 151; Susan Frances Jones, *Van Eyck to Gossaert: Towards a Northern Renaissance* (London, 2011), p. 28; Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, p. 26; Wilson, 'Marketing paintings in late medieval Flanders and Brabant', p. 626; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 6-7, 186; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 78-80; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 229.

[72] Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, p. 138; Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', p. 194-5; Wilson, 'Workshop Patterns and the Production of Paintings', p. 525.

[73] Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, p. 164.

[74] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 192, 200-1.

[75] A statute of Mons in Hainaut imposed a lower duty on shops without 'windows or displays onto the street', suggesting that work was often displayed to passing customers from windows: Léopold Devillers, 'Le Passé Artistique de la Ville de Mons: Conférence donnée au Cercle archéologique, dans sa séance publique du 17 novembre 1878', *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons* 16 (1880), p. 408.

Markt, from shops and stalls, and public buildings such as churches.[76] Members of certain crafts and their workshops tended to be concentrated in specific areas of town. For example, Philipstockstraat in Bruges was identified with goldsmiths, scriptoria, and illuminators, Wapenmakersstraat with armourers, and Minderbroedersstraat with woodworkers.[77] Thus consumers could easily locate their required product. The foundation of the Bruges *pandt* in 1482 also facilitated the distribution of luxury Flemish products.[78] This was a special exhibition gallery and marketplace within the grounds of the Franciscan monastery of the Minderbroederklooster, in the form of an open courtyard enclosed by 187 stalls. These stalls could be rented during fair time by artisans, dealers, and merchants: 'de goudsmeden, juwliers ende andere cooplieden ghelike coopmanscepe antierende'.[79] The records of participants' rentals from 1511 show that painters too exhibited their artistic output at the pandt.[80] Also, despite the movement of resident international merchants away from Bruges in the late fifteenth century, there was no significant decline in stall rentals until around 1530, showing that demand for Flemish goods remained significant.[81]

Scottish consumers' participation in the highly sophisticated market system of Flanders, to which merchants were drawn because of the accessibility of high-quality, high-status products, led them to benefit from Flemish serial production techniques and speculative manufacture. Spontaneous

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See Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', p. 194; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 149; Clare Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery* (London, 2000), p. 144; Ronald W. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery, with a catalogue of the collection in the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London, 1992), p. 57.

[76] Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 63, 65, 68-70; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 171, 173; Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', p. 195; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', p. 109; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 14.

This was also common practice in other towns such as Ghent, Brussels, Tournai, Leuven, Antwerp, and Bergen-op-Zoom: Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', p. 109; Lynn F. Jacobs, 'The Marketing and Standardisation of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron', *The Art Bulletin* 71:2 (June 1989), p. 209; Wilson, 'Marketing paintings in late medieval Flanders and Brabant', pp. 622-3.

[77] Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', pp. 105-7; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 70. See Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', p. 195.

[78] *CAEB*, vol. 2, pp. 239-40, no. 1208; Wilson, 'Marketing paintings in late medieval Flanders and Brabant', pp. 623-7; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 168, 174, 181; Wilson, 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges 'Pandt' Market', pp. 476-7; Van Calster, (ed.), *Imperial Treasures*, p. 9; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 229.

[79] 'The goldsmiths, jewellers and other merchants handling similar merchandise': *CAEB*, vol. 2, p. 239, no, 1208.

[80] Wilson, 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges 'Pandt' Market', p. 479. It is likely that the pandt was utilised by craftspeople from outwith Bruges, without an already established workshop or atelier within the town, as this required membership of the Bruges painters' guild.

[81] Wilson, 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges 'Pandt' Market', pp. 477-8.

or speculative purchase by merchants for Scottish consumers is suggested by the survival of an early fifteenth century merchant's handbook which served as a ready reckoner for the quick and easy calculation of weights, measures, and currencies in the Low Countries.[82] The late fifteenth to early sixteenth century gilded brass chandelier in St John's parish church in Perth is likely to have been produced on speculation and purchased from a shop or stall in Flanders.[83] Its Flemish production is suggested by the twelve curved, branch-like brackets featuring vine leaves and tendrils, which were typical motifs in Flemish metalwork.[84] At the top is the figure of Our Lady in the Sun, a popular Marian image of the period which depicted the Virgin as the apocalyptic woman from the Revelation of St John.[85] Therefore this is another example of demand among Scottish consumers for Flemish products, realised through the reproduction of popular motifs.

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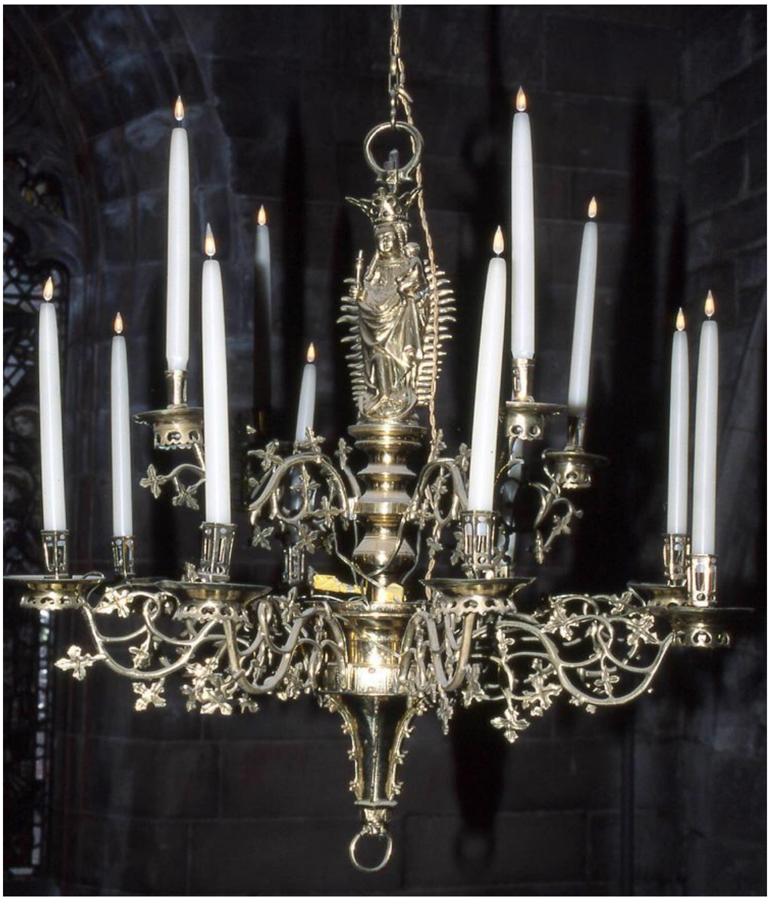
[82] NLS, Adv. MS 34.7.6, ff. 5r-34r. As well as wool and skins, the handbook contains prices for damask, ff. 27r-28r. See also Alison Hanham, 'A Medieval Scots Merchant's Handbook', *SHR* 50:150, pt. 2 (1971), pp. 107-20.

[83] PMAG, acc. no. 2011.178, on loan to St John's Kirk, Perth. See Hall, 'Full description of Marian chandelier from St John's Kirk'; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 116; McRoberts, 'Introductory observations and some general features of decoration', p. 24; Trust for St John's Kirk of Perth, *Saint John's Kirk Perth: A Great Trust (Illustrated notes on the stained glass windows and the medieval silver of the kirk)* (Perth, 1952), p. 27; Richard Fawcett, *St John's Kirk of Perth* (Perth, 1987), p. 25; Thomas Hunter, *St John's Kirk, Perth: A History* (Perth, 1932), p. 32; W. H. Findlay, *Heritage of Perth* (Perth, 1984), p. 5.

[84] The design is similar to, for example, a chandelier of the same period in the Bishop's Chapel of St Baaf's Cathedral, Ghent, which has two tiers of branch and leaf motifs: Erik Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', in Decavele (ed.), *Ghent, In Defence of a Rebellious City*, pp. 321-2, fig.

[85] Revelation 12:1; McRoberts, 'Introductory observations and some general features of decoration', p. 23; Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers, 'Weaving Mary's Chaplet: The Representation of the Rosary in Late Medieval Flemish Manuscript Illumination', in Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (ed.), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 57-9.



Chandelier, St John’s Parish Church, Perth, courtesy of Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Perth and Kinross Council, acc. no. 2011.178.

The chandelier has been associated with both the skinner and the shoemaker guilds of Perth, but it is not known for certain how it was acquired.[86] It can be argued that it was produced on speculation in Flanders, sold at a workshop or at the pandt, then imported into Scotland. It has been pointed out that, perhaps due to destruction caused during the Reformation, the chandelier is made up of composite parts.[87] That these parts are from at least two different chandeliers demonstrates the fact that these objects could be dismantled and reassembled, which was a feature of Flemish chandeliers produced for export. In 1464 Piero de’ Medici of Florence imported from Bruges through banker Tommaso Portinari a ‘large brass chandelier with twelve candle-holders with numerous branches, figures and foliage’. Portinari wrote to Medici: ‘I should dearly like to know how it pleases you. Here it was held to be the most beautiful that had been seen for a long time. Be sure that whoever reassembles it takes good care, because as you will see, it is in many pieces, and they are marked.'[88] It is conceivable that the Perth chandelier was exported from Flanders in a similar state. Flanders had become a notable producer of copper, bronze, and brass objects in the late Middle Ages, superseding Dinant and other towns in the Meuse River region south of Flanders. Bruges, Tournai, and Ghent were prominent exporters; however, Ghent was by the turn of the sixteenth century importing and reselling candelabra from Mechelen and Nuremberg.[89] Flanders' emerging pre-eminence in metalworking was due in large part to its international client base and sophisticated nodal system which were both a result and cause of high demand, including that of Scottish consumers.[90]

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[86] Hall, ‘Full description of Marian chandelier from St John’s Kirk’, p. 1; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 116; Fawcett, *St John’s Kirk of Perth*, p. 25; Trust for St John’s Kirk of Perth, *Saint John’s Kirk Perth*, p. 27; Hunter, *St John’s Kirk, Perth*, p. 32.

[87] Hall, ‘Full description of Marian chandelier from St John’s Kirk’, p. 17.

The same was true for a wide variety of manufactured goods, including altarpieces. Speculatively produced altarpieces, which could include sections of sculpted wood and painted panel, sometimes bearing the donors' portraits, were exported from Flanders via factors and intermediate merchants.[91] In 1508 Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld imported from Flanders through Haddington merchant David Fourous 'ane tabernacle to the hie altar of Dounkeld' and 'ane tabirnacle to my Lordis altar in Dounde', the latter being an altar dedicated to St Mary and the Three Kings founded by Brown.[92] In the same year Pluscarden Abbey in Moray granted Robert Innes of Rothnakenzie, John

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[88] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 73, no. 315, quoted in Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, p. 78. Nuttall identifies it with a chandelier in the 1492 inventory of the Medici palace: *Libro d'Inventario dei Beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ed. Marco Spallanzani and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà (Florence, 1992), p. 71.

[89] Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', pp. 324-6; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 208; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 87. The diocese of Tournai was culturally Flemish but was officially part of the kingdom of France.

[90] The southern Low Countries as a whole was a prestigious centre of metalworking. Archbishop William Scheves of St Andrews had a bronze portrait medal struck in 1491 by Quentin Matsys of Antwerp, Brabant: NMS, acc. no. H.1983.10; British Museum, acc. no. 1888,1007.1. On the obverse his portrait in profile is accompanied by the words 'WILHELMUS + SCHEVEZ . SCI + ADREE + ARCHIEPS', while the reverse bears his coat of arms, an archiepiscopal cross, and the words '+ LEGATVS . NATVS . & . TOTIVS REGNI . SCOTIE . PRIMAS . 1491'. See Larry Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys, with Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford, 1984), app. A, p. 244; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 101; R. W. Cochran-Patrick, 'Notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland', *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, new ser., 18 (1878), p. 74, no. 1, pl. iv; Norman Macdougall, 'Scheves, William (b. in or before 1440, d. 1497)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 73; David McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', in David McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews* (Glasgow, 1976), pl. xiii; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', p. 203.

[91] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 195-6; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', p. 109.

[92] Eeles, 'Dunkeld Cathedral', in *Dunk. Rent.*, pp. 2, 311.

Dunbar, alderman of Forres, and Alexander Catour, burgess of Elgin fishing rights in the River Spey. The rights were granted in return, among other things, for 'þe help making and putting of twa tabirnaclez in þe said abbay That is to say ane to þe hie alter and ane oþer to our lady alter to þe making in flandris'.[93] These acquisitions were regarded as beneficial to '[t]he gret vtilite and profit of our place'.[94] It is suggested, then, that there was an ideological link between access to Flemish objects and high value, and that the international merchants of Scotland were highly regarded links in the provision of products that were in high demand.

The bulk acquisition of a variety of Flemish objects appears to have been a feature of Scottish consumer culture, particularly among ecclesiastical institutions. In the late fifteenth century Abbot Finlay McFaid of Fearn Abbey in Ross-shire imported from Flanders an organ, vestments, an altarpiece, a lectern, and chalices.[95] Additionally, in 1520 Abbot Thomas Crystall of Kinloss in Moray imported from France and Flanders, via a Robert Cumein, a great quantity of 'auro textili et florulento veftes facras', namely a cope, a chasuble, and two dalmatics made of fine dyed cloth and gold thread. At the same time, he acquired a mitre decorated with gems and pearls.[96] These were not isolated incidents in the development of Scoto-Flemish consumer culture. As early as 1441 Lawrence of Lindores, abbot of Culross, requested of Bernardo Portinari of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank that he send a 'parchment book of St Mary' and an altar cloth, presumably for his abbey.[97] Abbot Robert Bellenden of Holyrood in 1494 travelled, while en route to Rome, to Flanders, where he purchased vestments and decorative textiles 'for the replenishment of the monastery of Holy Rood,

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[93] Macphail, *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn*, app. HH, p. 236. See David McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', in Holmes (ed.), *Lost Interiors*, p. 35; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', p. 92.

[94] Macphail, *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn*, app. HH, p. 236.

[95] *Ane Breve Cronicle of the Earlis of Ross, including notices of the Abbots of Fearn, and of the Family of Ross of Balnagown*, ed. W. R. Baillie (Edinburgh, 1850), p. 17. See *Origines Parochiales Scotiae: The Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1855), p. 436; *The Calendar of Fearn: Text and Additions, 1471-1667*, ed. R. J. Adam (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 31, 91; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', p. 35.

[96] *Ferreri Historia Abbatum de Kynlos*, pp. 75-6. See *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss, with illustrative documents*, ed. John Stuart (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. xlvi, 34-5; David McRoberts, 'The contents of the sacristy', in Holmes (ed.), *Lost Interiors*, p. 145; Ian Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work* (London, 1956), p. 37.

[97] Archivio di Stato, Florence, Medici avanti il principato, MAP 47/5, cited in Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', p. 94.

[…] in the market-place of Bruges'.[98] The availability of such high status objects was due to the sophisticated Flemish market system of shops and fairs, caused by high demand from Scottish and other consumers. This cycle created value and ensured that Flemish products had the cultural power to act as status symbols.

The serial production on speculation of luxury objects was possible since consumer demand made international tastes well known to Flemish artisans. Catering to a generalised Scottish market did not diminish the perceived value of these products but widened their appeal by making them accessible and relatively inexpensive.[99] The St Ninian Book of Hours, produced in Flanders between 1460 and 1480, exhibits many of the stylistic features for which Flemish manuscript illumination was known: floral and foliate decoration of miniatures and the use of penwork and gold paint to highlight initials.[100] The contents of the hours are largely typical of Flemish serial production in the fifteenth century, providing prayers and psalms dedicated to the popular devotional themes of Marianism and Christocentrism, and the illumination is similarly themed. Yet the late fifteenth century addition of suffrages to SS Ninian, Hugh, and Cuthbert suggests that the book had a Scottish or northern English owner. Another example is the Aberdeen Hours, produced in the southern Low Countries between 1440 and 1450.[101] The calendar and illumination are conventional, again suggesting serial production for a generalised market. A rubric and prayer in the Scots language were added to ff. 96v-99r in the fifteenth century – 'Qwha sa says þis orison dayly devoutly he sal hafe ful remissione of al hys synnys' – and later inscriptions suggest that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the book was in the

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[98] *Holyrood Ordinale*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii, 216.

[99] For Flemish manuscripts with Scottish provenance, see Appendix 6.

[100] Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, acc. no. MS 51. See Kari Anne Rand, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XVIII: Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 47-8; James Montague Rhodes, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 125-9.

[101] NAL, MSL/1902/1694. See Rowan Watson, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A catalogue of works in the National Art Library from the eleventh to the early twentieth century, with a complete account of the George Reid Collection*, vol. 1 (London, 2011), pp. 249-51; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 161; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 11, no. 57; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 1, p. 383; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 83; Neilson, 'Early Literary Manuscripts', p. 267.

Aberdeen area. It is likely that such manuscripts were displayed and sold in workshops or the fairs of the pandt system. As discussed, the use of models and pattern books by illuminators facilitated the production of high-quality, high-status manuscripts of recognisably Flemish origin. The high international demand for manuscripts which displayed illusionistic, naturalistic motifs contributed to the cyclical nature of the Flemish market system, at once necessitating time- and money-saving techniques and bestowing high value on the products of those techniques. Thus, Scottish consumption of Flemish manuscripts had a direct impact on their international reputation and the development in the fifteenth century of a recognisable school of illumination, and this style became entrenched by pattern use.

The serial production techniques of Flemish illuminators also accelerated the manufacture of specially commissioned, personalised manuscripts for elite consumers. One example is the book of hours of James Brown, dean of Aberdeen Cathedral, made in c.1498.[102] Brown travelled via the Low Countries to Rome in February 1497 in order to secure the newly vacant archbishopric of St Andrews for James, duke of Ross and brother of James IV.[103] On his return Brown was present in the Low Countries from at least May to October 1498.[104] The book contains notable elements of personalisation and thus exclusivity. The calendar and litany include several saints related to Scotland, including Columba, Machar, Ninian, Palladius, and Vigean, who would later feature in the Aberdeen Breviary of Bishop William Elphinstone.[105] More specifically, there is a full-page illumination of Brown himself kneeling in prayer before an altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin and Child and accompanied by an episcopal patron saint, perhaps Machar or Ninian.[106]

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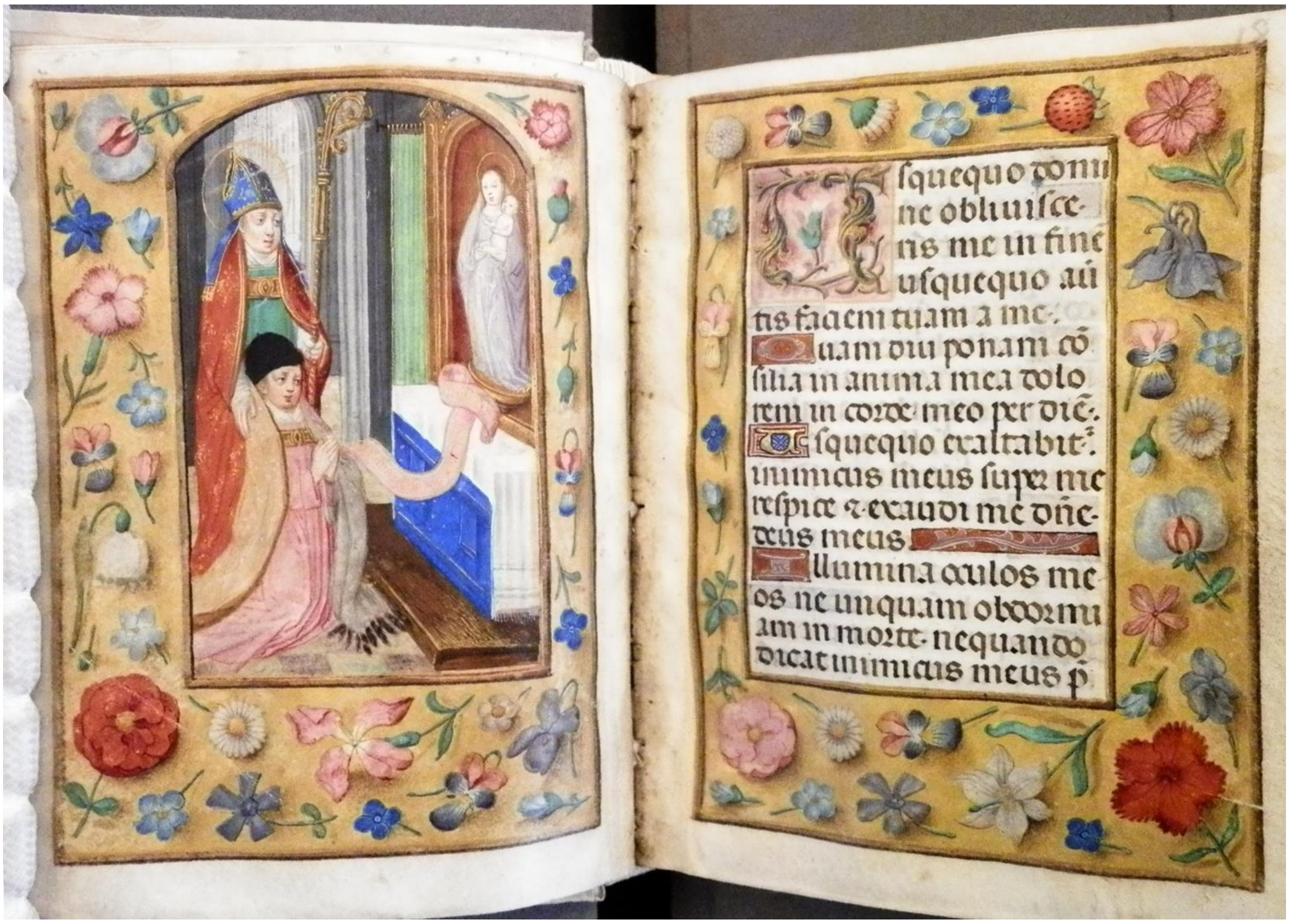
[102] NLS, MS 10270. See *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 26, 112, 205, 211, 216-7; McRoberts, 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours', pp. 144-67; Davidson and Stevenson, 'Bishop Elphinstone', pp. 13, 20; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, pp. 28-9; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', pp. 168-9; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 13, no. 75; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2, pp. 529-30; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 84; Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', p. 95; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 83; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 466, fig. 71; Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488-1587* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 55; Neilson, 'Early Literary Manuscripts', pp. 267-8.

[103] NLS, MS 10270, f. 12v; *Halyburton's Ledger*, p. 26. As Brown was known to Halyburton as 'factor for my Lord the Duc of Ros', he is likely to have commissioned Ross's tombstone, discussed on p. 54, on Ross's behalf.

[104] *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 112, 205, 211, 216-7.

[105] McRoberts, 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours', pp. 158, 164; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 169. For the Aberdeen Breviary, see Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1995), pp. 235-8; Alan Macquarrie, 'Scottish saints' legends in the Aberdeen Breviary', in Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (ed.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 143-57; MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland', pp. 154-5.



ſquequo domi
ne obliuiſce-
ris me in finē
uſquequo aũ
tis faciem tuam a me.
uam diu ponam cō
ſilia in anima mea dolo
rem in corde meo per diē.
ſquequo exaltabit᷑.
inimicus meus ſuper me
reſpice ⁊ exaudi me dñe
deus meus
llumina oculos me
os ne unquam obdormi
am in morte. nequando
dicat inimicus meus p̄

Dean Brown’s Book of Hours, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS 10270, ff. 17v-18r.

The portrait and the illumination as a whole conform to the standard aesthetic of the Ghent-Bruges school, with typically naturalistic floral borders of violets, roses, daisies, and other plants. It is possible that, as well as the floral designs, the image of Brown was adapted from an already existing pattern since donor images were a popular and relatively versatile category of illumination.[107]

The Flemish market structure promoted the re-use and renewal of designs not at the expense of artistic integrity but as a response to the high consumer demand of the fifteenth century. In turn this allowed the multiplication of recognisably Flemish products and thus worked to increase demand. This is demonstrable in the commission of the choir stalls of Melrose Abbey in the early 1430s by Abbot John Fogo.[108] They were ordered from Brugeois wright Cornelius van Aeltre and were to be similar in style to those at the Flemish abbeys of Ten Duinen and Ter Doest, Thosan, both near Bruges: 'ad instar et si[mi]litudine[m] stallore[m] in choro eccle[sie] seu monasterii de Dunis in flandria situatore[m] cu[m] scissura tali qua[m] habent sedilia situata in choro eccle[sie] de thosan iuxta brugis'.[109] Although the stalls of Ten Duinen and Ter Doest have not survived, the fact that Fogo requested a stylistic similarity in the Melrose stalls signifies, firstly, that Flemish woodwork was known internationally, secondly, that there was a demand for it, and thirdly, that the imitation of anterior manufactures did not diminish desirability among elite consumers.[110] Fogo may have become familiar with the stalls of Ten Duinen and Ter Doest through the Cistercian order of which the two monasteries and Melrose were members. The abbots of Melrose would have travelled via Bruges to attend the General Chapter at Cîteaux, at which he would have met the abbots of other Cistercian monasteries. Abbot Jacob Schaep of Ter Doest and Abbot Johannes Crabbe of Ten Duinen were active in the collection of financial contributions from abbeys in Scotland to the General Chapter of the order.[111] Additionally, Melrose Abbey's status as a large-scale wool producer meant that there was also a commercial link with Flanders, the textile industry of which required vast quantities of imported wool from Scotland and other places.[112] Fogo may also have seen the choir stalls while in the service of Archibald, 4th earl of

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[106] NLS, MS 10270, f. 17v. See McRoberts, ‘Dean Brown’s Book of Hours’, p. 159; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 26, pl. 13.

[107] Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 195.

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[108] SAB, Stadscartularium 11, Groenenboek A, ff. 297r-297v: a 1441 contract outlining the projected completion of the stalls; *Beknopte Inventaris van het Stadsarchief van Brugge*, vol. 1, p. 203, no. 11; 'Letter from M. Octave Delepierre, Secretary of the Belgian Legation, Honorary F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, communicating a Document preserved among the Records of West Flanders, relating to the carved Stalls of Melrose Abbey Church', *Archaeologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity* 31 (1846), pp. 346-9; Coomans, 'From Flanders to Scotland', pp. 235-52; Octave Delepierre, 'L'Abbaye de Melrose et les Ouvriers Flamands', *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* 5 (1858-9), pp. 7-22; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the choir', p. 68; Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: An Introduction to the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the 12th to 16th Centuries in the Care of the Secretary of State for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 284; Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture: From the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation, 1371-1560* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 41, 45; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 36; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 54.

[109] SAB, Stadscartularium 11, Groenenboek A, f. 297r, ll. 10-2.

[110] The cultural significance of Flemish woodwork in ecclesiastical settings in Scotland is discussed in Chapter 5, pp. 157-8, 164-9.

[111] Coomans, 'From Flanders to Scotland', pp. 249-50.

[112] As early as the late twelfth century, Philip I of Flanders (1168-91) granted the monks of Melrose safe passage through his county: *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros: Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros*, vol. 1, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 13, no. 14.

Douglas and duke of Touraine. As Douglas's confessor from 1419, he may have been present on the duke's continental military campaigns in aid of the French crown against the English and Burgundians.[113] Bruges's outports were convenient landing places for Scottish visitors to the continent. However he came to know of the Ten Duinen and Ter Doest stalls, what is significant is that he had a clear, Flemish aesthetic in mind when commissioning those of Melrose.

The high esteem in which Flemish manufacturing was held by late medieval Scottish consumers is also evident in the fashion for royal and aristocratic elites to commission their tombstones or plates from Flanders.[114] The status of Flemish stone and metalworking was such that consumers looked there for long-lasting material representations of their identity. This high demand endowed Flemish grave markers with greater social value and in turn stimulated the developing industrial and mercantile economy of Flanders. In 1373 a group of Edinburgh burgesses was sent to Flanders to purchase 'div[er]fis lapidib[us] nigris p[er] tumulo David [II]' at Holyrood Abbey.[115] These black stones are likely to have been marble from Tournai, which was imported into Flemish cities in order to be manufactured into grave slabs.[116] The tomb of Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews (d.1465) within his foundation of St Salvator's chapel is composed of a thick slab of the black stone within a recess made up of intricate tabernacle, vaulting, and arch motifs.[117] Although Kennedy had visited

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[113] Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 163, 198, 241. After Douglas's 1424 death Fogo was confessor to James I: Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 52, 135; Christine McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases, 1369-1455', in Richard D. Oram and Geoffrey P. Stell (ed.), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 171.

[114] The carved alabaster tomb of Robert I (d.1329) was made in Paris and imported via Bruges: *ER*, vol. 1, pp. 213-4; Lucinda H. S. Dean, 'Projecting Dynastic Majesty: State Ceremony in the Reign of Robert the Bruce', *International Review of Scottish Studies* 40 (2015), p. 43; Kim Woods, 'Plantagenets in Alabaster', in Crooks, Green and Ormrod (ed.), *The Plantagenet Empire*, pp. 92-5, 97; *Painters in Scotland, 1301-1700: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Michael R. Apted and Susan Hannabuss (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 24, 53-4.

The tomb was installed by stonemason Nicholao de Hane, who may have been the Low Countries sculptor Claux de Haine who worked for Philip the Bold: *ER*, vol. 2, pp. 585, 592, 608, 622; *ER*, vol. 3, p. 348; Woods, 'Plantagenets in Alabaster', pp. 97-8; Stephen Boardman, 'Robert II, 1371-90', in Brown and Tanner (ed.), *Scottish Kingship*, p. 85.

[115] *Rotuli Scotiæ in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, vol. 1: *Temporibus Regum Angliæ Edwardi I, Edwardi II, Edwardi III*, ed. David Macpherson, John Caley and William Illingworth (London, 1814), p. 959; Woods, 'Plantagenets in Alabaster', pp. 96-7.

[116] Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', p. 192. In 1450 John Trail of Aberdeen was obliged by the baillie court to 'bryng hame the blew [Tournai] stane til his fadre saule at Sancte Duthawis altar': *Abdn Counc.*, p. 18.

[117] Richard Fawcett, 'Aspects of Scottish Canopied Tomb Design', in Michael Penman (ed.), *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference*

Bruges in 1440, 1451, and 1460, this was not a prerequisite for high consumer demand for southern Low Countries products, as demonstrated in this chapter, since the reputation of these products extended beyond the physical boundaries of the region.[118] Grave stones such as Kennedy's had memorial brasses inlaid onto them, this being another area of expertise for Flemish artisans.

The high demand for and cultural value of Flemish-produced memorial brasses stimulated an industry capable of responding to that demand by manufacturing pieces which could be customised to suit the needs of consumers. Alongside Tournai, Ghent and Bruges were leading centres of memorial brass production, with *zaercmakers* or gravestone makers providing figural and textual brasses to international aristocrats, burgesses, merchants, and clergy.[119] Another noted centre of the memorial brass industry was Leuven, where Roman chaplain Antonio de Beatis witnessed a brass tomb being made for the bishop of Cambrai in the early sixteenth century.[120] The metalworking towns of the southern Low Countries exported their work abroad, also supplying English clergy and urban elites with memorial brasses.[121] A Scottish example is the Flemish brass in the south transept of St Nicholas' parish church, Aberdeen, commemorating Sir Alexander Irvine (d.1457) and his wife Elizabeth Keith.[122] Irvine was 4th lord of Drum, governor of Aberdeen, a lord auditor, and a justiciar. In 1456 he

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(Donington, 2013), pp. 135-7, pl. 5; Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origin and Progress* (Edinburgh and London, 1889), pp. 27-8.

[118] Annie I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh and London, 1950), pp. 123, 135 199, 353-7. For Kennedy in Bruges in 1451, see SAB, Chapelle du St Sang, Cortèges, 1442, f. 4r; Lieve Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge in de Late Middeleeuwen (1281-1577)' (unpublished master's dissertation, Catholic University of Leuven, 1982), app. 2, p. 94.

[119] Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', pp. 197-8; Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', pp. 325-6; H. K. Cameron, 'The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn', *The Archaeological Journal* 136 (1979), pp. 151-2.

[120] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, p. 86. See Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, pp. 16-7.

[121] H. K. Cameron, '14th Century Flemish Brasses to Ecclesiastics in English Churches', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 13:1 (1980), pp. 3-24; H. K. Cameron, 'The Fourteenth-Century Flemish Brasses at King's Lynn', *The Archaeological Journal* 136 (1979), pp. 151-72, pls. 35-49; H. K. Cameron, 'Flemish brasses to Civilians in England', *Archaeological Journal* 139 (1982), pp. 420-40; Jerome Bertram, 'An unnoticed Flemish indent in St. Albans Abbey', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 13:6 (1985), pp. 536-7; Caroline Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries, 1327-1477', in Barron and Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries*, p. 16; Catherine Walden, ''So lyvely in cullers and gilting': Vestments on Episcopal Tomb Effigies in England', in Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring (ed.), *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 122, 124, fig. 10.

[122] St Nicholas' parish church, Aberdeen: the brass is mounted on the wall above two carved stone effigies of Alexander and Elizabeth. See Andrew Gibb, 'Notice of the Memorial Brass of Dr Duncan Liddel, and of the Tombstone of Sir Paul Menzies of Kinmundy, in Saint Nicholas Church, Aberdeen', *PSAS* 11 (1874-6), pp. 450-1; William Kelly, 'St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen', in J. Arthur Thomson, Harry Townend, J. Bentley Philip and J. F. Tocher (ed.), *The*

founded the chantry of St Ninian in St Nicholas'.[123] Following representations of the Irvine and Keith arms, the inscription is inlaid with black enamel. It reads:

> hic sub ista sepultura iacet honorabilis et
> annosus miles d[omin]us alexander de irvyn secund[us]
> q[uon]da[m] d[omin]us de drum[o]nd achyndor et forglen qui obiit
> __ die me[n]sis ____ anno d[omi]ni iii^{o} cccc^{mo} ___
> hic eciam iacet nobilis d[omi]na d[omi]na [*sic*] elisabeth de
> keth filia q[uon]dam d[omi]ni roberti de keth militis
> marescalli scocie uxor q[uon]da[m] d[i]c[t]i d[omi]ni alexandri de irvyn
> que obiit __ die me[n]sis ____ an[n]o d[omi]ni iii^{o} cccc^{mo} ___

The blank spaces were intended to be filled in at a later date with the day, month, and year of the deaths of Alexander and Elizabeth. It was common for such inscriptions to be prepared in advance of the patron's death, perhaps on the earlier death of a spouse, and for the spaces never to be filled in or completed in a different hand.[124]

The high cultural value of Flemish grave markers continued into the late fifteenth century. Through Andrew Halyburton in the 1490s, *throwchts* or grave markers were imported from Flanders for elite consumers including William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews (d.1497) and his successor in the archbishopric, James, duke of Ross (d.1504). These memorials are recorded as being 'bocht [...] in Brugis'.[125] The monumental brass of the duke of Ross, once one of the largest in Europe, was commissioned using a pattern for which 28s. were paid.[126] Again, demand for Flemish material culture

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North-East: The Land and its People; the book of the Aberdeen loan exhibition 1929 and the proposed regional museum (Aberdeen, 1930), pp. 89-90; Iain Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas, Aberdeen' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989), p. 66; Malcolm Norris, 'The Analysis of Style in Monumental Brasses', in Jerome Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 112-3, fig. 80.

[123] Kelly, 'St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen', p. 90; Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424-1488* (East Linton, 2001), pp. 100-1; Gibb, 'Notice of the Memorial Brass', p. 451.

[124] Jerome Bertram, 'Introduction', in Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, p. 20.

[125] *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. lvii-lix, 7, 160-1, 215, 250-1; David McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', *IR* 25 (1974), pp. 122-3; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', in McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, pp. 90-1. Stones were also ordered for Elizabeth, countess of Ross and Sir Alexander Scot: *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 160, 250.

Grave markers of Flemish origin are extant at St Andrews, Dunblane, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Elgin, Whithorn, Iona Cathedral, Seton Collegiate Chapel, and Aberdalgie. See Jerome Bertram, 'Information from Indents', in Bertram (ed.), *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, p. 73; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the choir', p. 87, ill. 82.

[126] *Halyburton's Ledger*, p. 215; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', *IR*, p. 123.

was stimulated by the sophisticated Flemish market system which advocated the use of time- and money-saving patterns and produced high value objects as a result.

This high consumer demand for Flemish metalworking among Scottish elites is also apparent at the level of the parish church. Many of the early sixteenth century church bells of Scotland originated in Mechelen, part of the duchy of Brabant and a thriving metalworking centre in the late Middle Ages.[127] This is an example of a specific geographical area becoming associated with the high-quality production of certain products and is therefore a sign of a proactive consumer culture. Examples can be found both in east coast Scottish towns such as Perth and Edinburgh as well as in western and more remote locations like Iona and Glasgow.[128] Flemish bells were known internationally: Antonio de Beatis noted that in Flanders,

> Everywhere there are tall and very narrow bell towers, with fine bells. Their clocks go by twelve hours and twelve, starting from noon, and before they sound the hour certain small bells play three part and well harmonised motets by way of warning; in many places these bells also signal the half-hour.[129]

Most of the known bells appear to have been made on speculation, with no reference in the inscriptions to the institutions or towns for which they were made. They give the basic information of the year of founding and sometimes the name of the founder.[130] Some bear religious wording or imagery. For example, the 1506 bourdon bell of St John's parish church in Perth reads 'iohannes baptifta vocor ego' and bears a statuette of the saint, and the 1526 bell of Dunning in Perthshire bears representations of the Madonna and St James of Compostela.[131] These were popular devotional subjects, demand for which could be fairly securely relied upon by manufacturers, and bells bearing such symbolism are likely to have been produced on speculation.[132] This view is strengthened when it is noted that the inscriptions of many of the known examples of Mechelen bells in Scotland are in the Flemish or Dutch language, with few in the medieval *lingua franca* of Latin. This suggests not only that these objects were produced speculatively, but that their Flemish origin was desirable to consumers.

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[127] Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, p. 71. Mechelen is included here due to its physical and cultural proximity to neighbouring Flanders and for the light it sheds on the high value of Low Countries products. Ghent also exported bells, manufactured by the De Leenknecht family: Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 325.

[128] See Appendix 2. While most smaller churches in Scotland would have possessed only a single bell, larger ones with several bells tended to follow continental practice in their arrangement and usage: multiple bells, not necessarily arranged as part of a scale, were hit with hammers worked via a keyboard: R. W. M. Clouston, 'The Church Bells of Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire', *PSAS* 82 (1947-8), pp. 146-7; F. C. Eeles, 'The Church Bells of Linlithgowshire', *PSAS* 47 (1912-3), pp. 61-2; Denis McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560', in McRoberts (ed.), *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, p. 105.

[129] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, p. 99.

[130] Appendix 2: Fearn, Perth, Kinnellar, Comrie, Amulree, Cruden, Crail, Dunning, and Glasgow.

Willem van den Ghein, who manufactured many Scottish examples, produced the 1510 bell of Henry VIII's warship, the Mary Rose: R. W. M. Clouston, 'The Bells of Perthshire', *PSAS* 122 (1992), p. 454. For the Van den Ghein family of manufacturers, who made several of the bells exported to Scotland, see G. van Doorslaer, 'Les van den Ghein, fondeurs de cloches, canons, sonnettes et mortiers, à Malines', *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* 62 (1910), pp. 463-666.

Glasgow tolbooth bell, by Jacob Waghevens of Mechelen, 1554: Glasgow Museums, acc. no. 1888.75 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection.

Having examined the complex Scoto-Flemish trade relationship, the sophisticated production and marketing system of Flanders, and the high demand for Flemish goods in Scotland, it is clear that late medieval consumer culture was a cyclical phenomenon. Flemish artisans were able to produce luxury manuscripts, metalwork, and other objects only because high demand from international consumers, including those of Scotland, necessitated the creation of a mass market which produced on speculation, using time- and money-saving methods such as the use of patterns. This enabled the relatively quick and easy production of high-quality, high-status objects which were responsive to consumer demand, for example bearing popular religious imagery. Clearly there existed a fluid, bi-directional dynamic between art and the commercial market.[133] It is argued here, then, that Scottish consumers had a hand in the development of the Flemish luxury market, creating a 'regime of value' in which those luxuries became the status symbols of Scotland's aristocratic and ecclesiastical elites.

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[131] A bourdon bell is the heaviest bell in a set, with the lowest tone.

[132] Church bells were rung to mark the start of the work day, religious services, notable events such as royal visits and births, and as warnings of attack: McKay, ‘Parish Life in Scotland’, p. 104; Mairi Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change in Scottish Towns, c.1350-1560* (Manchester, 2012), p. 1.

They were instruments of communal identity, and it has been shown that pilgrim badges were attached to them as apotropaic symbols: *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, ed. Timothy M. Thibodeau (New York, 2007), bk. 1, ch. 4, p. 49, pt. 2; Mark. A. Hall, ‘Burgh Mentalities: A Town-in-the-Country Case Study of Perth, Scotland’, in Kate Giles and Christopher Dyer (ed.), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2005), pp. 214-5; Elly van Loon-van de Moosdijk, ‘Pilgrim Badges and Bells’, in Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (ed.), *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe: Papers of the ‘Medieval Europe Brugge 1997’ Conference* (Zellik, 1997), pp. 151-2.

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[133] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 20.

Chapter 3: ***A Common Cultural Currency: Flemish Objects and Gift Exchange***

Luxury Flemish products acted as carriers of ambition and prestige due to their high-quality design and manufacture, their association with the commercial hub of Bruges, and the sophistication of the dukes of Burgundy. The cultural currency of objects such as tapestries and manuscripts was recognised by European aristocratic and ecclesiastical elites, creating an international *milieu* in which Flemish objects were extensively traded as gifts. The ethos of gift exchange permeated contemporary court culture, *largesse* being one of the fundamental characteristics with which the elite were expected to behave. In the widely influential chivalric legend Alexander the Great was regarded as a paragon of princely liberality, advised by Aristotle to win loyal service by giving generously.[1] This sentiment was echoed in the *Scotichronicon*: 'nothing more befits a king, and enhances his prestige, as ruling with restraint, and rewarding with his charity those who toil in his service.'[2] By giving away their wealth in performance of conspicuous consumption, rulers participated in a cycle of competitive expenditure and display.[3] Philip the Good duly emulated Alexander to such an extent that in 1454 he was required to temporarily suspend his court's expenses and wages in order to finance his projected crusade,

> because of […] the sumptuous marriage-gifts we have provided for several members of our family and others, whom we have married and allied to important and noble houses; the generous and excessive gifts we have made of various towns, castles and other parts of our domain […]; also because of the costly and lavish pensions we have granted to several people […]; the extravagant gifts made by us of cloth of gold, of silk and […] of jewellery, at high and excessive prices.[4]

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[1] Hay, *Governaunce*, pp. 83-4. See Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 2, 11; Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Mineola, 1999), pp. 59-61; Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (London, 2002), pp. 25, 32.

[2] *Chron. Bower*, vol. 5, bk. 10, ch. 6, p. 309.

[3] Roger Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart Kingship (1469-1542)', in Brown and Tanner (ed.), *Scottish Kingship*, p. 256; Andrew Wernick, 'The work of art as gift and commodity', in Pearce (ed.), *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World*, pp. 180-1.

[4] Archives Départmentales du Nord, Lille, B1607, f. 97r, quoted in Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 266.

The pervasive influence of the gift exchange culture in late medieval Europe has led to a great deal of scholarship on the subject. It has been interpreted as a mechanism for the maintenance, negotiation, continuation, and articulation of social connections, greasing the wheels of relationships within familial, political, occupational, and commercial contexts: a form of ritualised barter or bribery.[5] Gift exchange has been explored in myriad contexts as a tool with which identity, status, and hierarchy could be maintained and displayed, incorporating ideas of social bonding, good lordship, deference, competitive display, patronage, and clientage.[6] As a form of symbolic capital, gifts gave depth of meaning to the social and political processes of late medieval society. They acted as economic, cultural, and social capital which was visible and tangible.[7]

The significance of gifts from Flanders and the wider southern Low Countries was that contemporaries recognised, from their superior manufacture and material splendour, the cultural refinement inherent in those objects. The prestige associated with Flemish fabrics, tapestries, munitions, and manuscripts prompted recognition of donors' wealth, power, and taste, creating a cultural cycle in which Flemish objects became the elite gift *par excellence* both in Scotland and in north-western Europe more widely.[8]

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[5] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 4, 147-8, 209; Driscoll, 'The Relationship between History and Archaeology: Artefacts, Documents and Power', p. 165; Lorna G. Barrow, ''The Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a grett tame Hart': Marriage, gift exchange, and politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV, 1502-13', *Parergon* 21:1 (2004), pp. 67-8; Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992), pp. 4, 7-8, 15; Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 37; Paul Michael Taylor, 'Introduction: Perspectives on the Gift in Indonesia and Beyond', in Patricia Thatcher and Paul Michael Taylor (ed.), *The Gift as Material Culture: Report of a Yale-Smithsonian Seminar held at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., April 28-30, 1991* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 3-14.

[6] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 2008); Hepburn, 'The Household of James IV', pp. 150-4; Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*; Felicity Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* 199:1 (2008), pp. 41-70; Poul Grinder-Hansen, 'Aspects of gift giving in Denmark in the sixteenth century and the case of the Rose Flower Cup', *JMH* 37:1 (2011), pp. 114-24; Mario Damen, 'Princely Entries and Gift Exchange in the Burgundian Low Countries: A Crucial Link in Late Medieval Political Culture', *JMH* 33 (2007), pp. 233-49; Jane Fair Bestor, 'Marriage Transactions in Renaissance Italy and Mauss's *Essay on The Gift*', *Past and Present* 164:1 (1999), pp. 6-46; Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France', *French History* 2:2 (1988), pp. 131-51; Martha C. Howell, 'Fixing Moveables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai', *Past and Present* 150:1 (1996), pp. 3-45; Ilana F. Silber, 'Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology* 36:2 (1995), pp. 209-43; John-Henry Wilson Clay, 'Gift-giving and books in the letters of St Boniface and Lul', *JMH* 35:4 (2009), pp. 313-25; Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London, 1972); Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach', in Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (ed.), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 123-56.

[7] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 40, 54, 59, 65, 171-83; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 16, 108-10, 112-21, 124-5, 132-3; Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 16, 19, 40-52, 102-4, 107-8, 120.

Tied up with the notion of princely generosity and the visual communication of status was the necessity of dressing the royal court in the high quality textiles of Flanders: the 'literal fabrication of identity'.[9] This was achieved through the distribution of livery clothing, which was a recognised symbol of identification.[10] Royal and aristocratic households of the late Middle Ages participated in annual distributions of clothing which identified members of the household as such through the use of specific and recognisable colours and insignia, and clothing was also given to servants in lieu of money payments.[11] The distributions became increasingly structured and ritualised and reinforced the hierarchical nature of the donor-recipient, noble-servant relationship. Liveried servants were visibly marked as subordinates to the heads of households, to whom they were obliged, but they were also absorbed into and associated with those households, granting them status and security.[12] Liveries were primarily distributed to the Scottish royal household in December, the period of preparation for the festivities surrounding Christmas and New Year, as this was the traditional time in which to give gifts. Livery distribution and the clothing of the royal household as a mass ritual behaviour was intended to foster a sense of belonging to and identification with the court as a whole.[13] The *Treasurer's Accounts*, surviving from the late fifteenth century, provide details of the recipients, the types and amounts of fabric received, and their relative prices. The fabric types under discussion here, Bruges satin and

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[8] Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things*, p. 105.

[9] Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring, 'Introduction', in Dimitrova and Goehring (ed.), *Dressing the Part*, p. 9.

[10] Hepburn, 'The Household of James IV', pp. 56-9, 77-9, 138-40.

[11] Until the reign of James V (1513-42) there were no fixed livery colours for the Scottish king's servants. Also apparent is a mixture of fabric types used in livery, including velvet, fustian, kersey, taffeta, and camlet: *TA*, vol. 1, pp. clxxvi-clxxvii.

[12] Joanna Crawford, 'Clothing Distributions and Social Relations c.1350-1500', in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 155-7; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 4-5, 17; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 11; Philippe Braunstein, 'Toward Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in Georges Duby (ed.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. 2: *Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1988), pp. 577-8; Veblen, 'Conspicuous Consumption', pp. 35-6.

[13] David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 72, 76.

Rijsel or Lille cloth, were the two most numerous types in the reign of James IV and they functioned as recognisable symbols of the monarch's wealth and sophistication.[14]

Bruges satin was distributed to James IV's servants, minstrels, members of the nobility, and the queen.[15] Satin was an expensive type of silken fabric alongside damask, velvet, and cloth of gold and silver, and in the late medieval period was one of the most sought-after fabrics with which to conspicuously display wealth and status.[16] Although around half of distributions of this fabric occurred in December, there are several examples of it being given out in preparation for public events.[17] For James's marriage on 8 August 1503 Bruges satin was given to James Jaclen of the queen's chamber and John Terres, yeoman of the stable.[18] In May 1508 the maids of the Black Lady were given red and yellow Bruges satin for gowns and coats.[19] This was the period of the second tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, at which allegorical characters celebrated the cultural and chivalric sophistication of the Scottish crown and for which a great deal of Flemish textiles were employed to showcase those attributes.[20] Bruges satin therefore fell into seemingly oppositional categories. It was suitable for both servants and royalty and for everyday wear as well as for special occasions. Sumptuary legislation had in 1471 restricted the wearing of silk fabrics to knights, minstrels, heralds, high-ranking burgesses, and those with £100 of annual rent.[21] Livery garments in Bruges satin therefore indicated the wearers' exalted position, differentiating them from those not associated with the court. It was clearly a high-status textile and the association with Bruges was significant enough to be noted by the treasurer's scribe.[22]

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[14] See Appendices 3-4.

[15] Household servants: Appendix 3, nos 1-6, 9-10, 15-8, 24-6, 28-31, 35-8, 42-8, 51-2, 55, 58-62; minstrels, musicians and entertainers, nos 7-8, 11-4, 20-3, 32, 39-41, 56, 63; nobility, nos 19, 27, 34, 49-50, 53-4, 57, 64-5; the queen, no. 33.

[16] Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, pp. 1, 4; Munro, 'Necessities and Luxuries in Early-Modern Textile Consumption', p. 125; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 277; Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe*, pp. 102, 104; Katherine Anne Wilson, ''In the chamber, in the garde robe, in the chapel, in a chest': The Possession and Uses of Luxury Textiles: The Case of Later Medieval Dijon', in Bart Lambert and Katherine Anne Wilson (ed.), *Europe's Rich Fabric: The Consumption, Commercialisation, and Production of Luxury Textiles in Italy, the Low Countries and Neighbouring Territories (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)* (Farnham, 2016), pp. 11-34.

[17] December distributions: Appendix 3, nos 3-4, 6-7, 9-13, 17-25, 36-45, 51, 53-4, 56-7, 60, 62-3.

[18] Appendix 3, nos 1-2. The small number of entries associated with the wedding reflects the variety of alternative fabrics purchased, including velvet, taffeta, scarlet (a fine woollen fabric), damask, buckram, and fustian: *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 306-14.

[19] Appendix 3, nos 47-8.

[20] See Chapter 4, pp. 121-6.

[21] *RPS*, 1471/5/7.

Although Flanders was renowned for its woollen and linen industries, it did not manufacture silks until the latter part of the fifteenth century. Until then the Italian city states had dominated the European market. In response to growing demand in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the silk industry boomed in cities such as Bologna, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Milan, and Venice, and to a lesser extent in Spain, where there were specialists capable of carrying out the highly complicated and expensive processes required.[23] Italian *setaioli*, silk weavers and merchants, exported large quantities of their high quality product towards the great commercial centres of Europe, including Bruges and Antwerp as well as Rome, Lisbon, London, and Frankfurt.[24] Initially Bruges was merely a distribution centre for such fabrics, facilitated by the presence there of leading Italian merchant families such as the Arnolfini and the Portinari.[25] As part of the reorientation of the economy of Flanders and the southern Low Countries in the fifteenth century, Bruges and Antwerp began to develop their own industries in the spinning, weaving, and dyeing of silk, with production increasing in the sixteenth century.[26] Considering the appellation of 'Bruges' satin in the *Treasurer's Accounts*, it seems likely that these relatively young industries were already significant by the early sixteenth century, and their products considered fitting for courtly wear.

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[22] Bruges satin's high status is shown by James IV's choice to clothe his household in it, contrary to Margaret Sanderson's assertion that it was a cheap imitation of expensive fabrics, used to line cloaks: Margaret H. B. Sanderson, 'Clothing Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Crafts, Clothes and Clients', *Review of Scottish Culture* 22 (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 41.

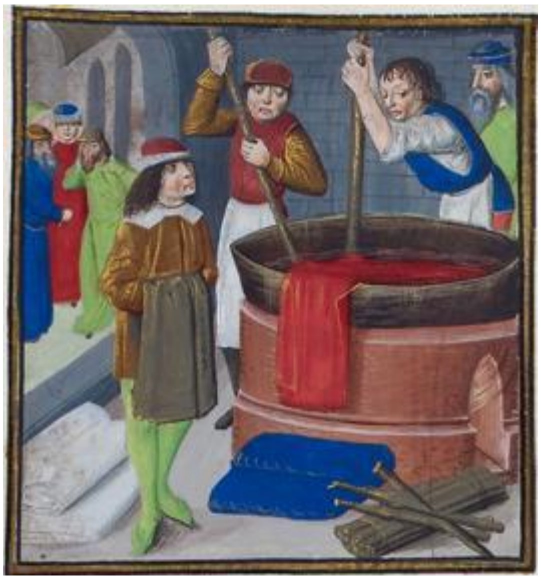
[23] Italian merchants had access to Chinese silks until the death of the Yongle Emperor in 1424, after which greater restrictions were imposed on exchange and foreign movement through China: James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardell, *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), pp. 18-9; Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe*, p. 104.

[24] Sergio Tognetti, 'The development of the Florentine silk industry: a positive response to the crisis of the fourteenth century', *JMH* 31:1 (2005), pp. 58, 63, 67-8; Edoardo Demo, 'Wool and Silk: The Textile Urban Industry of the Venetian Mainland (15th-17th Centuries)', in Paola Lanaro (ed.), *At the Centre of the Old World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and the Venetian Mainland, 1400-1800* (Toronto, 2006), pp. 217-43; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, pp. 4, 6-7; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 234; Luca Molà, 'A Luxury Industry: The Production of Italian Silks 1400-1600', in Lambert and Wilson (ed.), *Europe's Rich Fabric*, pp. 205-34; John H. Munro, 'Silk', in Joseph R. Strayer (ed.), *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 11 (New York, 1988), p. 295; Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe*, pp. 103-4; Elizabeth Currie, 'Textiles and Clothing', in Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis (ed.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, p. 348; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 100.

[25] Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 234.

[26] Van der Wee, 'Structural Changes and Specialisation', p. 216; Jeroen Puttevils, 'Trading Silks and Tapestries in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in Lambert and Wilson (ed.), *Europe's Rich Fabric*, p. 138.

Flemish expertise in dyeing added value to textiles produced and sold there, contributing to the cultural currency of the Bruges satin and Lille cloth worn at the Scottish royal court. As 'the acknowledged masters of the mysteries of colour', fabrics produced elsewhere were sent to dyers in Flanders to be dyed before being re-exported.[27] Also, some raw materials for dyeing, namely madder and woad, were native to the southern Low Countries and were exported abroad.[28]



Bartholomaeus Anglicus, trans. Jean Corbechon, *Livre des Proprietez des Choses*, Bruges, 1482, British Library, London, Royal MS 15 E III, f. 269r (detail): cloth dyers.

Flemish dyeing expertise was recognised in Scotland. In 1587 a group of Flemish textile workers were invited to settle and teach native apprentices; they were to include 'one dyer or more for dyeing and perfecting of their said works'.[29] The high value placed on Flemish dyed cloth made it a fitting communicator of the wealth and taste of the Scottish crown through the distribution of livery. For the most part the *Treasurer's Accounts* list Lille cloth as being black: of 206 entries, 159 are black.[30] Lille was a production and finishing centre for high quality woollen 'coloureds' alongside such towns as Ghent, Douai, and Ypres in Flanders, Châlons and Provins in France, and the prince-bishopric of Cambrai.[31] The dyeing of black fabrics was particularly skilful and time-consuming since it required many repeated processes to achieve a strong, dense colour. Black was therefore expensive and by the late fifteenth century it had developed from a staple colour to the most fashionable, superseding brighter tones.[32] Philip the Good was a trendsetter in this regard, favouring black for his own apparel.[33] The colour possessed not only economic value, inherent in its costly production, but also social value in that it was a cultural code for wealth and sophistication.[34] Therefore it is fitting that many of the crown's purchases of Lille cloth were black. Although a regular occurrence in the records and therefore probably for everyday wear as well as ceremonial use, this fabric was of the highest quality. The fact that it was considered prestigious enough to be worn by James IV is testament to its perceived value. Although the *Treasurer's Accounts* contain very few subjective references to taste, there is a singular reference in 1503 to black Lille cloth being 'rycht gude', and thus a fitting fabric for regal wear.[35]

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[27] Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, p. 104. In 1366 a pocket of wool was exported from Montrose to be dyed: *ER*, vol. 2, p. 238; Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 248.

[28] Marie-Rose Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre: Relations Politiques et Economiques entre les Pays-Bas Bourguignons et l'Angleterre, 1435-1467* (Brussels, 1966), pp. 233, 235; *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, p. 7, l. 121.

[29] *RPS*, 1587/7/142.

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[30] Appendix 4, nos 3, 6-8, 12-28, 30, 33, 35-46, 48, 51-6, 58-69, 71, 75-9, 81-3, 85-8, 90-1, 93-5, 97-8, 100-3, 105-11, 113-27, 130, 132-8, 141-50, 152, 154-63, 165, 167-70, 172-6, 178-83, 185, 187-8, 191-6, 198-200, 202, 204, 206.

[31] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 175; Deceulaer, 'Between Medieval Continuities and Early Modern Change', p. 136; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy,* vol. 2, p. 137; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 147.

Lille was ceded to Flanders from France in 1387: Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 94-5.

[32] Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 18; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, p. 24; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 234; Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, p. 175.

At the 1449 tournament at Stirling Castle, discussed on pp. 82-3, the Burgundian protagonists were dressed in black velvet: *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, p. 149. Also, James II was depicted in black jacket, hat, and shoes in the diary of Austrian nobleman Georg von Ehingen: *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, ed. Malcolm Letts (London, 1929), pp. 62-3, no. 9.

James IV's son and successor James V favoured the high-status colours of black and white, as well as purple, crimson, tawny, and cloth of gold and silver: Rosalind K. Marshall, "To be the Kingis Grace ane Dowblett': The Costume of James V, King of Scots', *Costume* 28 (1994), p. 14. Similar colours predominate in the wardrobe of Henry VIII, with black items of clothing the most numerous in the accounts: Maria Hayward, 'Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII', *Textile History* 38:2 (November 2007), p. 141.

[33] Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 249; William R. Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (Norman, OK, 1971), p. 67; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 19.

[34] Andrea Feeser, Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, 'Introduction: The Value of Colour', in Andrea Feeser, Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (ed.), *The Materiality of Colour: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400-1800* (Farnham, 2012), p. 1.

[35] *TA*, vol. 2, p. 201; Appendix 4, no. 42.

Lille cloth was utilised by the crown at important points in the liturgical year. Although it was purchased throughout the year for the king, some entries in the *Accounts* make specific reference to the liturgical calendar. For Lent, Easter, and Whitsun of 1496 James was supplied with a riding gown, a side gown, a cloak, a gown 'of the new fassoune', and a coat, all of Rijsel black.[36] Due to the significance of black clothing as a prized commodity, James's expenditure on black Lille cloth was a physical confirmation of his kingly rank and status.[37] It was also considered a fitting fabric to wear at other ceremonial occasions. In 1495 the king gave to Sir Robert Lundy four ells of Rijsel black 'to his mariage clething'; in January 1504 James had made for himself 'ane dule goun with ane hude' and 'ane riding goun for dule' to mourn the death of his brother James, duke of Ross and archbishop of St Andrews; and the king's marriage in August 1503 prompted expenditure on Rijsel black and brown for certain servants of the royal household.[38]

Conspicuous consumption of dyed Flemish fabric clearly had a cachet among the elite of Scotland. Flanders had maintained its reputation for the production of high quality textiles into the sixteenth century, exporting to wealthy consumers over much of Europe.[39] Great quantities of fabric were exported to England from Ghent, Bruges, Courtrai, Oudenaarde, Ypres, Oostburg, Izegem, Lille, and Hazebrouck in Flanders, as well as towns in Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, and Zeeland.[40] An English poet in 1436 proclaimed cloth of Ypres to be 'better than oures', while Courtrai produced 'fyne cloothe of all colours'; and Antonio de Beatis declared that in Bruges could be found 'wool which bears comparison with silk'.[41] This is despite the decline from the late fourteenth century of the Flemish textile industries. They were affected by general economic decline, unrest, and depopulation in Europe, a reluctance among manufacturers to embrace new methods and technology, international competition from regions such as Brabant, Catalonia, England, Holland, and Italy, and the increasing production of cheaper varieties of cloth in the smaller urban centres known as the *nouvelles draperies*, including Armentières, Courtrai, Diksmuide, Menen, and Wervik.[42] During the fifteenth century Flanders concentrated its cloth production efforts on luxury fabrics and producers retained a smaller but more lucrative share of the textile market. Flemish cloth imports into Scotland for the use of the royal family remained significant well into the reign of James IV. The *nouvelles draperies* relied on the finishing industries in Lille, which itself experienced industrial regeneration from the late fifteenth century.[43] Alongside old textile towns including Arras, Douai, and Saint-Omer, Lille developed into a significant manufacturer and exporter of the light woollen fabrics of say and serge.[44] These may have been the fabrics which appear so frequently in the *Treasurer's Accounts*.

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[36] Appendix 4, nos 20-5. In a similar fashion, many of Henry VIII of England's wardrobe choices revolved around the liturgical year At Easter, Whitsun, All Saints' Day, and Christmas, 'the King should weare eyther purple or redd velvett' to signify his royal presence: *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in divers reigns, from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary* (London, 1790), p. 119; Hayward, 'Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation', pp. 140-1.

[37] At his 1488 coronation, James IV was dressed in black, crimson, and purple satin and velvet, while his henchmen wore black satin and velvet, marking the group out as a group with both wealth and power: *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 140-1, 164.

[38] Robert Lundy: Appendix 4, no. 18; James IV's mourning clothes: nos 44-5; 1503 liveries: nos 53-7.

[39] Munro, 'Necessities and Luxuries in Early-Modern Textile Consumption', pp. 121-6, 130; Munro, 'Industrial Protectionism in Medieval Flanders', pp. 230, 251; Ian Blanchard, 'Northern Wools and Netherlands Markets', p. 79; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 160; Ludo Milis, 'The Medieval City', in Decavele (ed.), *Ghent, In Defence of a Rebellious City*, p. 68.

[40] 'Des charges qui en mariage pour le menage soustenir evec les pompes et grans bobans des femmes', in *Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, vol. 9, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1894), p. 43, l. 1236; Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp. 225-6.

As well as practising kingly generosity in his giving of fabric to servants and retainers, James IV was sending a coded message understandable to his European contemporaries. In the case of the Lille cloth, out of some two hundred entries during James's reign, roughly half of these went to royal and aristocratic elites including the king himself, his queen, mistresses, and children, as well as visitors such as Perkin Warbeck.[45] The latter recipient is significant since James made great show of his acknowledgement of Warbeck's claim to the English throne, marrying him to his own cousin Catherine Gordon in 1496 and staging a lavish tournament in celebration.[46] The giving of Lille cloth to Warbeck indicates that this fabric was considered a suitable gift for a visiting foreign 'prince'. Therefore the servants who were entitled to wear Rijsel by the king's gift were conspicuously identified as belonging to the royal household through their wearing of high status textiles.[47] The cloth was a mark of social rank and of affinity to each other and to the king, but also of obligation and dependence: those wearing this fabric would be reminded by it of their duty towards their employer and social superiors.[48] The appearance of Bruges satin from 1503 onwards suggests an increasing awareness of the importance of the visual incorporation of many disparate elements into a unified whole. This was perhaps fuelled by the arrival of Margaret Tudor, who herself was to be incorporated into the cultural milieu of the Scottish court.[49] Bruges satin and Lille cloth functioned as unifying elements by virtue of their recognisability as luxury Flemish fabrics. In order to ensure that the prestige of James IV as a provider and of the Scottish crown as a centre of courtly sophistication was upheld, the highest quality and highest status materials were essential. There was a clear consciousness of the international perception of Scottish court dress and an awareness of the prestige held by Flemish fabrics among the elites of Europe.

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[41] *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, p. 5, ll. 74-5; *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, p. 97.

Edward III (1327-77) attempted to attract Flemish weavers to England by exempting them from the guild of weavers and allowing them to create their own corporation: Henri-E. de Sagher, 'L'Immigration des Tisserands Flamands et Brabançons en Angleterre sous Édouard III', in F.-L. Ganshof (ed.) *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne, par ses anciens élèves et ses amis a l'occasion de sa quarantième année d'enseignement a l'Université de Gand, 1881-1926* (Brussels, 1926), pp. 112-5; Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries', p. 13; Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, p. 293.

Flemish weavers also settled in Florence: Samuel Kline Cohn, *The Labouring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980), p. 102; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, p. 93.

[42] Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold*, pp. 2-3, 6-7; Munro, 'Necessities and Luxuries in Early-Modern Textile Consumption', p. 122; Munro, 'Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth', pp. 1138-42, 1146; Munro, 'Industrial Protectionism in Medieval Flanders', pp. 230-1, 234, 251; Munro, *Textiles, Towns and Trade*, pp. 41-3, 46-7, 237-9; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, pp. 280-2; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, pp. 11, 137-8; Endrei, 'The Productivity of Weaving in Late Medieval Flanders', p. 108; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 174-5, 277-8; Nicholas, *Town and Countryside*, pp. 78-9; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', p. 115; Day, *The Medieval Market Economy*, pp. 199-203; Miskimin, *Economy of Early Renaissance Europe*, p. 98; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 82-3; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', p. 103; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, pp. 147-9.

[43] Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 147.

[44] Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, pp. 137-8; 303; Van der Wee, 'Structural Changes and Specialisation', p. 217.

Flemish textiles demonstrably functioned as status symbols, and there is limited evidence that in Scotland Flemish embroidery performed a similar role in the gift exchange culture of the late medieval Church. Such items were given to the Church by donors who wished to earn worldly recognition as well as divine favour for their generosity. They were intended to symbolise the glory of God, they made visible and tangible the wealth of the donor, and they prompted prayers and liturgical intercession on the donors' behalf. The giving of objects rather than money ensured that the exchange retained its symbolic nature and did not become a base economic transaction.[50] The objects themselves therefore became significant. The late medieval period witnessed increasing social diversity among donors with the rise of urban elites including merchants and artisans, meaning that aristocrats and clergy no longer dominated gift giving to churches. Accordingly, the typical gift changed from land to moveable objects.[51] The urban elites with international commercial and artistic connections were now in a position to furnish their churches with the widely sought-after luxuries of Flanders. Flemish embroidery was renowned as one of the many luxurious art forms in which the southern Low Countries was considered to excel.[52] James IV admired Flemish embroidery: in 1512 he brought embroiderer John Paulis from Flanders to Scotland and had two of his own 'broudstaris […] wrocht with the Flemyng'.[53] Also, two fifteenth or sixteenth century chasubles and two chalice veils at Blairs Museum in Aberdeen are thought to have belonged to St Nicholas' parish church in the town.[54]

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[45] James IV: Appendix 4, nos 4-8, 20-5, 36-7, 40-7, 73-9, 100-10, 143-51, 202. Margaret Tudor: nos 111, 152-3, 168-9. Other members of the king's family: nos 3, 35, 49, 62-3, 69-71, 82, 85, 95-6, 98-9, 121, 125-6, 134, 162, 204. Aristocracy and clergy: nos 1-2, 9-19, 30-3, 38-9, 48, 50-2, 60, 62-3, 83-4, 113, 124, 127, 130, 136, 154, 157, 160, 163-5, 170-4, 178, 182-3, 206. Visitors to the court: nos 26-9, 87.

[46] Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 187.

[47] Distributions to servants: Appendix 4, nos 34, 53-9, 61, 64-8, 72, 80-1, 86, 88-94, 97, 112-20, 122-3, 128-33, 135, 137-42, 154-61, 166-7, 175-201, 203, 205-6.

[48] Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago, 1999), p. 12.

[49] See Diane Owen Hughes, 'Regulating Women's Fashion', in Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (ed.), *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 2: *Silences of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), pp. 140-1.

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[50] Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power', p. 128; Keith J. Stringer, 'Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c.1140-c.1240', in Edward J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald (ed.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (East Linton, 2000), p. 141; Clay, 'Gift-giving and books', p. 324; Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, pp. 168, 170; Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, pp. 10-1, 87; David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley, 2012), pp. 84-5.

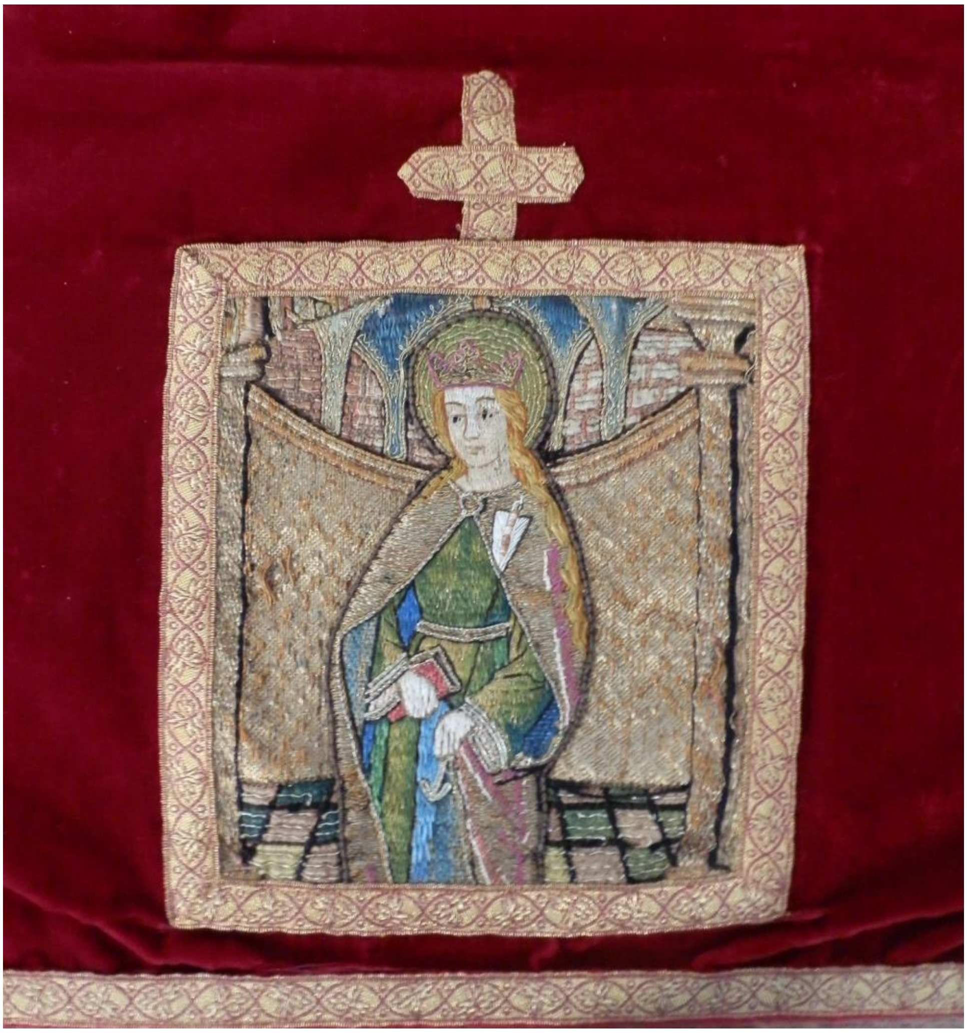
[51] Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power', p. 145; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 180-1; Maureen C. Miller, 'Donors, Their Gifts, and Religious Innovation in Medieval Verona', *Speculum* 66:1 (January 1991), pp. 31-5.

For the giving of precious textiles in an ecclesiastical context, see Christiane Elster, 'Liturgical Textiles as Papal Donations in Late Medieval Italy', in Dimitrova and Goehring (ed.), *Dressing the Part*, pp. 65-79; Ellen Schultz (ed.), *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1982), p. 50, no. 15; Henry Schilb, 'The *Epitaphioi* of Stephen the Great', in Dimitrova and Goehring (ed.), *Dressing the Part*, pp. 53-63.

[52] Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 314; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, p. 101.

[53] *TA*, vol. 4, pp. 354, 441-2. See also p. 342.

[54] BMA, St Ursula chasuble: acc. no. T8000a; St Ursula chalice veil: acc. no. T8000b; SS Anne and Joachim chasuble: acc. no. T8001a; SS Mary and Joseph chalice veil: acc. no. 8001b. See Davidson and Stevenson, 'Bishop Elphinstone', p. 14. The following discussion derives from personal communication with Prue King, BMA.



St Ursula chalice veil, Blairs Museum, Aberdeen, acc. no. T8000b (detail).

They indicate the high quality of embroidery which once existed in Scotland’s churches. The style of these embroidered pieces, with vivid colours and a painterly quality akin to the work of the Flemish Primitives, suggests a possible Flemish or Burgundian origin. Both chasubles have patterned, couched gold threadwork backgrounds with the figures in multicoloured silk *or nué*: ‘shaded gold’ achieved by creating gradations of coloured silks and gold. This technique was particularly sophisticated in Flanders and Italy in the fifteenth century.[55] However, there is little evidence for the donation of Flemish embroidery to Scottish churches compared to that for tapestry, known to contemporaries as *arras*.

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[55] Kay Staniland, *Medieval Craftsmen: Embroiderers* (London, 1991), pp. 44-5. Couching involved laying threads in parallel lines on the upper surface of the cloth and holding them in place by stitching: pp. 40, 42-4.

The town of Arras in the county of Artois gained a reputation amongst contemporaries for the highest quality tapestry, the name of the town becoming synonymous with this luxury product. In Italy it was known as *arrazzi*, in Spain as *pannos de raz*, and in Scotland and England as *arras*.[56] However, it has been noted that the term *arras* was used in English inventories, wills, and accounts to denote tapestries made in towns other than Arras. The pieces surveyed were woven with high quality silk, gold, and silver thread, creating a finished product not known to have been made in England. It is therefore likely that *arras* was used to denote both high quality and continental origin, while 'tapestry' signified pieces woven with less costly materials and simpler designs.[57] In the 1430s Spanish nobleman Pero Tafur noted that Arras 'is a pleasant place, and very rich, especially by reason of its woven cloths and all kinds of tapestries, and although they are also made in other places, yet it well appears that those which are made in Arras have the preference.'[58] The prestige associated with tapestry from the southern Low Countries made it a common gift to ecclesiastical institutions.[59] The international careers of many churchmen and merchants meant that religious communities and urban populations were well acquainted with continental material culture. Southern Low Countries tapestry had great currency in this context and accordingly Scottish churches were well-furnished with it in this period. By 1371 Coldingham Priory possessed a piece of arras to adorn its high altar.[60] In the first half of the fifteenth century the collegiate church of St Salvator in St Andrews possessed three pieces of arras for the high altar, one frontal of arras, one blue and one green lined tapestry for the high altar, and two arras cloths for the presbytery, one of which was white and green.[61] In 1432 Glasgow Cathedral had a great arras tapestry depicting the life of St Kentigern, the patron saint of the cathedral.[62] It is likely that such a tapestry was commissioned specially rather than made on speculation, considering the specific subject matter. In 1436 Aberdeen Cathedral held a piece of arras depicting the seven deadly sins, one of Jesus, and four others.[63] By the mid-sixteenth century Crail collegiate church held 'ane baitkyne [baldachin] of arres werk for the provest stalle'.[64] Arras was often given to a religious establishment on the death of the owner. By October 1491 David Waus, vicar of Banff and chaplain at St Nicholas' parish church in Aberdeen, had left 'a coverlet, "the arrass bede," for covering the monuments and tables […] within the said church at the time of observing […] obits or anniversaries'. The arras was placed under the protection of a named chaplain, 'to remain for ever within the said church'.[65] At King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, a chapel dedicated to St Catherine was built by the executors of Hector Boece, first principal of the college, after his death in 1536. The altar was adorned with a frontal bearing the arms of Boece as well as a vesture of arras with an image of the Virgin given to the altar by Hector's brother Arthur, a scholar of civil law.[66]

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[56] W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times until the Present Day* (London, 1973), p. 73; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 86; Marina Belozerskaya, 'Critical Mass: Importing Luxury Industries Across the Alps', in Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes (ed.), *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)* (Turnhout, 2007), p. 164; Fabrice Rey, 'The Tapestry Collections', in Fliegel and Jugie (ed.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, p. 123.

[57] McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England', pp. 46-8; Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre* p. 232. Katherine Wilson notes that in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries *tapisserie* was linked on the continent with *sarranoise*, which signified non-European, exotic production or style. By the fifteenth century this association had fallen out of use, indicating that the Flemish association had become more luxurious in the eyes of contemporaries: Wilson, "In the chamber, in the garde robe, in the chapel, in a chest", p. 29; Victor Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, vol. 2: *H-Z* (Nendeln, 1967), p. 328. Cheaper, lower quality pieces of tapestry, used as bedspreads, furniture covers, and wall hangings, were produced by *saergemakers*, whereas *sarasinoiswerkers* or, from the mid-fifteenth century, *legwerkers* produced the finest work, again linking high status tapestry with *sarranoise*: Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 313.

[58] Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 201-2.

[59] For tapestry gifts from Burgundian donors to churches, see Katherine Anne Wilson, 'Tapestry in the Burgundian Dominions: A Complex Object', in Parvicini, Hiltmann and Viltart (ed.), *La Cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe*, p. 330.

[60] *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham*, app., pp. lxiv, lxvii, lxx, lxxiii.

Little is known about such gifts of arras; however, it was clearly a commonly utilised mechanism with which to convey pious generosity and to exchange it for spiritual benefit and worldly prestige, as shown by the high status of its donors. Bishop Gilbert Greenlaw of Aberdeen (1389-1421) gave to his cathedral a cloth of arras depicting the Epiphany.[67] Greenlaw, who studied in Paris then spent time at the papal court at Avignon, acted as chancellor of Scotland, auditor of the exchequer, witness to the charters of Robert III and the duke of Albany, and perhaps as ambassador to France.[68] This is not to say that he was made aware of Flemish tapestry through his courtly and foreign experience, since arras was already well-known in Scotland by this time. His predecessor in the bishopric, Alexander de Kininmund, had provided for the choir five pieces of arras depicting the Annunciation, and Greenlaw himself had come into possession of at least one tapestry after the death of Bishop Walter Trail of St Andrews in 1401.[69] It merely serves to enforce our perception of arras as a high status object and a worthy gift from a courtly bishop to his church. Another example is that of a piece of arras with two images given to Aberdeen Cathedral by Thomas Stewart, earl of Mar and lord of Garioch (c.1330-77).[70] In 1368 the earl was granted a safe conduct to go on pilgrimage to Amiens where the relics of St John the Baptist were kept.[71] It is possible that he purchased the arras en route, although it is equally feasible that he had it imported from Flanders to Scotland. Also, in the spring of 1505 James IV gave to the church he had founded at Ladykirk 'ane frontell of ane altair of Arres werk' which cost £6 13s. 4d. This was given along with a collection of vestments including satin, damask, velvet, and gold chasubles, one with the king's arms, as well as albs and towels.[72] The strong reputation of southern Low Countries tapestry workshops continued well into the sixteenth century. In 1532 James V commissioned from weaver François van Cralot of Bruges a tapestry altar frontal of fine serge and silk depicting the royal arms and mottoes as well as antique and floral designs.[73] Flemish textiles, whether tapestry or embroidery, evidently possessed a certain cachet which ultimately derived from their high quality raw materials, design, and manufacture. However, there was also a strong secular element to their prestige which in turn gave them strong cultural currency in gift exchange. This was undoubtedly connected to their ownership by the dukes of Burgundy, whose sophisticated court was furnished with the finest material output of their southern Low Countries territories.

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[61] *St Salvator College*, pp. 155-7. St Salvator's had a dedicated 'reuestre of arress': p. 155; 'Regifter of Veftments, Jewels, and Books for the Choir, etc., belonging to the College of St. Salvator in the Univerfity of St. Andrews, - circa A.D. MCCCCL', *Miscellany of the Maitland Club, consisting of original papers and other documents illustrative of the history and literature of Scotland*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 198-9.

[62] *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. 2, p. 334: 'It[em] magn[us] pa[n]nus arrace de vita fancti Kentig[ern]i'.

[63] *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 2, pp. 141-2.

[64] *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*, p. 65, no. 110.

[65] *St Nich. Cart.*, vol. 2, p. 196.

[66] *King's College*, pp. 14, 37.

[67] *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 2, p. 141.

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[68] Alan R. Borthwick, 'Greenlaw, Gilbert (c.1354–1421/2)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2005).

[69] *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 2, p. 141: 'Item quinque pecie de arraff pro choro de falutatione angelica date per epifcopum Alexandrum'. It is unclear whether this Alexander was the bishop who died in 1344 or the one who died in 1380, both of the same name. Robert III in 1403 gave Greenlaw 'unum […] laneum de Arras de hiftoria oblationis trium regum de Colonia ad beatam Virginem': *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 1, p. 208.

[70] *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 2, p. 142.

[71] Fiona Watson, 'Donald, eighth earl of Mar (1293–1332)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

[72] *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 78-9.

[73] NLS, Balcarres Papers, vol. 5, Adv. Mss. 29.2.5, f. 104r. My thanks to Michael Pearce for this reference. See also Michael Pearce, 'Vanished Comforts: Locating Roles of Domestic Furnishings in Scotland, 1500-1650' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Dundee, 2016), p. 48.

Flemish tapestries were eloquent tools in the communication of wealth and prestige. As cultural currency, they were inherently princely objects and lent themselves to the gift exchange economy of late medieval diplomacy. This was in no small part due to the use of large quantities of silk, gold, and silver thread in their production. They were 'as rich in substance as in design, with their multitudinous threads of gold and silver, silk and fine wool, they had a sumptuousness that appealed […] strongly to the Burgundian connoisseurs'.[74] The international reputation of Arras as a centre of luxury tapestry production is shown by the response of Ottoman sultan Bayezid I, offered tapestries by Philip the Bold in payment of the ransom of the latter's son John after the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396: Bayezid 'would be very pleased to own *haute-lice* [high warp] tapestries made in Arras'.[75] However, as the sixteenth century dawned Arras had lost its position as producer of tapestry *par excellence*. Antonio de Beatis witnessed the production in Brussels of a tapestry depicting Christ's delivery of the keys of St Peter, commissioned by Pope Leo X: 'Judging from this one, the Cardinal [Luigi of Aragon] gave it as his opinion that they will be among the finest in Christendom.'[76] This change was due to the 1477 death of Charles the Bold, the subsequent seizure of Arras by the French, and the imposition of new taxes and manufacturing restrictions, all of which allowed other manufacturing towns to come to the fore.[77] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tapestry production had already been established at Bruges, Geraardsbergen, Ghent, Lille, Oudenaarde, and Ypres in Flanders.[78]

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[74] Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 52.

[75] *Chefs-d'œuvre de la tapisserie du XIV^{e} au XVI^{e} siècle, Grand Palais, 26 octobre 1973 – 7 janvier 1974*, ed. Geneviève Souchal (Paris, 1973), p. 18.

[76] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, p. 95. Now in Musei Vaticani, Rome. The cartoons by Raphael are at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[77] Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, pp. 103-4; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 86-7; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (London, 1999), p. 45; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 53; *Chefs-d'œuvre de la tapisserie du XIV^{e} au XVI^{e} siècle*, p. 15.

[78] Tapestry manufacture also flourished in Brabant, Hainaut, Liège, and Tournai: Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, pp. 105, 108-10, 189; Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, p. 30; Guy Delmarcel, 'Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: An Introduction', in Guy Delmarcel (ed.), *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of*

Flemish and other southern Low Countries tapestries were particularly valued in Italy, where they were sought after by aristocrats and civic authorities. In the fifteenth century Flemish weavers were encouraged to settle in Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, Milan, Perugia, Siena, Urbino, and Venice, to produce tapestries and to teach their skills to native craftspeople.[79] A Giachetto di Benedetto of Arras was active in Siena from 1442 to 1458, furnishing the Palazzo Pubblico with tapestries bearing the city's coats of arms as well as producing pieces depicting St Peter for Pope Nicholas V.[80] The Medici, rulers of Florence and powerful international bankers, collected *arazzi* with classical and hunting themes.[81] Southern Low Countries tapestries were also exported in large quantities to England, particularly in the second half of the fifteenth century. These included both high quality, commissioned pieces, as well as lower quality, speculative purchases for the nobility and the merchant class.[82]

Flemish tapestries were luxury items but also had a practical purpose. They were used as wall hangings, canopies, and covers for beds, tables, and chairs, and insulation for draughty rooms. They were well-suited to the peripatetic lifestyles of their princely owners in that they were easily portable between rooms and residences. This made Flemish examples a fitting currency with which to

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Manufactories in Europe (Leuven, 2002), p. 7; Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', pp. 311-3; Robert L. Wyss, 'The Dukes of Burgundy and the Encouragement of Textiles in the Netherlands', *The Connoisseur* 194:781 (March 1977), p. 169; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 381; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', pp. 108, 110; Richard Marks, Rosemary Scott, Barry Gasson, James K. Thomson and Philip Vainker, *The Burrell Collection* (London, 1983), p. 104; Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (London, 2005), p. 130; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 53; Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2, p. 71; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 135, 219; Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy: Studies in the History of Civilisation* (London, 1929), p. 235.

[79] Hillie Smit, "Un si bello et onorato mistero': Flemish weavers employed by the city government of Siena (1438-1480)', in Schmidt, Van der Sman, Vecchi and Van Waadenoijen (ed.), *Italy and the Low Countries – Artistic Relations*, pp. 69-75; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, p. 100; Martin Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market*, trans. Alison Luchs (Toronto, 2011), pp. 56, 179; Belozerskaya, 'Critical Mass', pp. 166-7.

[80] Smit, "Un si bello et onorato mistero", pp. 71-4.

[81] *Libro d'Inventario dei Beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, pp. 7-9, 17-20, 28, 68, 73, 77, 93, 99, 101, 135-9, 143, 147-8, 151, 178, 198, 204, 214, 219-20, 227, 229, 242. See Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, p. 180; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 114, 116; Michael Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence: Early Netherlandish Painting in Italy and its Particular Influence on Florentine Art: An Overview', in Schmidt, Van der Sman, Vecchi and Van Waadenoijen (ed.), *Italy and the Low Countries – Artistic Relations*, p. 45; Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, pp. 166, 180, 257.

For further examples of Flemish tapestries owned by Italians, see Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence', pp. 42-3; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 32, 80-3.

[82] McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England', pp. 43-60; Scot McKendrick, 'Edward IV: An English Royal Collector of Netherlandish Tapestry', *The Burlington Magazine* 129:1013 (August 1987), pp. 521-4; Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp. 232-3.

accomplish political aims, as they combined the coveted splendour of Flanders with the adaptability required for elite ownership. As tools for the exertion of diplomatic and cultural power, they were exchanged among the aristocratic elites of Europe. The Valois dukes of Burgundy displayed their own economic strength and that of their territories by presenting foreign rulers with high quality pieces of tapestry. Philip the Bold presented Richard II of England with a Trinity tapestry with gold thread at the time of the latter's marriage to Isabel of France in 1396; and he gave a 'tappis de haulte liche' depicting Hector of Troy to Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order of Prussia, in 1397.[83] In 1423 Philip the Good purchased from Giovanni Arnolfini, a Lucchese merchant based in Bruges, a set of six tapestries of the Life of the Virgin to send to Pope Martin V.[84] Diplomatic negotiations appear to have been the most common occasion at which the Burgundian dukes gave tapestries, particularly those of Arras, as gifts to foreign rulers and nobility.[85] Undoubtedly, the question of access and availability was central to such a choice of gift. The great centres of tapestry production were all within the territories of the dukes of Burgundy. Extending Flemish tapestries to foreign powers was a way to display the dukes' princely magnificence, but also their economic and commercial power as rulers of Flanders as a centre of trade and manufacture.[86]

Flemish tapestry was well known by the elites of Scotland in the late medieval period. As early as 1312 a 'Matheus de Araz', perhaps a tapestry merchant or weaver, was in Scotland.[87] The next significant mention of Arras does not appear until 1435, when James I paid £6 10s. to 'Egidie Gremar de Arras'.[88] The following year Egidio, or Giles, is named as a 'tapisario' making 'pannos de attrabato apud Bruges'.[89] 'Gremar' may have been a rendering of the name Grenier: a family of tapestry merchants based in Tournai who sold to clients such as the dukes of Burgundy, Edward IV and Henry VII of England, and Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan.[90] Also in 1436, the crown purchased from Flanders 'duabus tapetis cum armis domini regis' along with a collection of precious jewels, and Giles perhaps facilitated these purchases in his role as tapestry merchant.[91] On her arrival in Scotland in 1503 Margaret Tudor brought with her seventy-four 'Flemmych stikks' of arras; and at her marriage to James IV were displayed southern Low Countries tapestries depicting chivalric themes.[92] In February 1538 James V sent a servant 'to pas in Flanderis for bringing of certane tapistre', amounting to thirty-seven pieces.[93] There are numerous additional references in the crown's records of the movement of tapestries from one residence to another, the mending of pieces in need of repair, and the purchase of new tapestries.[94] These are almost invariably referred to as 'arras', denoting the luxury output of the southern Low Countries.

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[83] *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parliamento*, vol. 4: *Tempore Henrici R. V.*, ed. J. Strachey (London, 1773), p. 234; *Documents et Extraits Divers concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut avant le XV^{e} Siècle*, vol. 2, ed. Chrétien Dehaisnes (Lille, 1886), p. 737.

[84] *Les Ducs de Bourgogne: Études sur les Lettres, Les Arts et L'Industrie pendant le XV^{e} Siècle, et plus particulierement dans les Pays-Bas et le Duché de Bourgogne, seconde partie*, vol. 1: *Preuves*, ed. Léon de Laborde (Paris, 1849), pp. 196-7, no. 664; Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence', p. 43.

[85] McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England', p. 45.

[86] Southern Low Countries tapestries were also given to the dukes of Burgundy. In 1471-2 the city and franc of Bruges purchased from Tournai tapestry merchant Pasquier Grenier a series of twelve fine tapestries depicting the History of Troy as a gift for Charles the Bold. The total cost was £800 *groten*, the equivalent of the annual wage of 125 journeymen carpenters: Scot McKendrick, 'The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), p. 49; Jean-Paul Asselberghs, 'Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes de la Guerre de Troie', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art: Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis* 39 (1970), pp. 162-6; Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, pp. 116, 125; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 53. This series is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, pp. 116-8.

[87] *CDS*, vol. 3, p. 427.

John the Fearless of Burgundy was capitalising on the cultural currency of Flemish tapestry when in 1413 he gave Robert Stewart, duke of Albany and governor of Scotland a series of tapestries from Arras. The five pieces, in blue and gold thread, depicted a grand lady and children surrounded by flowers. The entire chamber measured 200 square ells or 140 metres and cost 200 francs:

> To Jehan Renout, merchant, residing in Arras, for the sale and deliverance of one chamber of tapestry of high warp, of blue colour, strewn with blue flowers and

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[88] *ER*, vol. 4, p. 620.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 678.

[90] *Chefs-d'œuvre de la tapisserie*, pp. 13-4; McKendrick, 'Edward IV: An English Royal Collector of Netherlandish Tapestry', pp. 521-2; McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England', p. 49; Belozerskaya, 'Critical Mass', p. 165; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 135-6, fig. 6.31.

[91] *ER*, vol. 4, pp. 679-80.

[92] *CDS*, vol. 4, p. 441; Young, *Fyancells*, pp. 295-6. See Chapter 4, pp. 116-8.

[93] NRS, E 35/1, ff. 24r-24v; *Wardrobe Inventories*, pp. 49-51; *TA*, vol. 7, pp. 17-8, 257, 471.

[94] Movement: *ER*, vol. 7, p. 63; *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 100, 117, 179, 183-4, 268, 325, 393; *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 112, 373, 379, 396, 399, 402, 470; *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 162, 181, 337, 348, 370; *TA*, vol. 4, pp. 198, 407. Repair: *TA*, vol. 2, p. 383; *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 192, 338, 370; *TA*, vol. 4, pp. 27-8, 318, 322, 339. Purchase: *ER*, vol. 8, pp. 548, 630; *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 276, 384; *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 35, 43; *TA*, vol. 3, p. 275.

> containing five pieces and borders, and each piece having an image of a grand lady and small children and the above said images having gold, and all of the said chamber containing 200 square ells, by the ell of the said town of Arras, the which chamber my said duke said to take and buy from the said Jehan Renout, in the month of March, the year 1412, at the price of 16 *sols parisis*, royal money, for each ell, and to deliver them to Sir John Bothwell, knight of the kingdom of Scotland, to present them from my said duke to the duke of Albany; for this […] 200 francs.[95]

Albany had by 1413 been governor of Scotland on behalf of James I for seven years, the latter having been captured and held hostage at the English court. He had previously played a prominent role at the highest level of Scottish political life as chamberlain, guardian, and lieutenant of Scotland under Robert II and Robert III.[96] He was in possession of great power from an early period, continuing to act as 'a mychty king' at the time of the gift, and his good favour was clearly sought after internationally.[97] The date of the gift is unclear: March 1413 could be the date of purchase or payment rather than its receipt by Albany. With the Treaty of Bourges in May 1412 France conceded the duchy of Aquitaine to Henry IV of England, ushering in a period of relative peace and isolating Burgundy.[98] At such a moment John the Fearless would have wanted to secure Scottish support.[99] The death of Henry IV on 20 March 1413 and the accession of the pro-Burgundian Henry V meant that this assurance was no longer necessary.[100] Yet on 11 April Archibald, earl of Douglas negotiated a treaty with John the Fearless, pledging to provide 4,000 mercenary soldiers in the event that they were required against the English on the continent. In return, John promised to sail to Scotland with 300 men if needed by

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[95] *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 1, pp. 96-7, no. 267.

[96] Steve Boardman, 'Stewart, Robert, first duke of Albany (c.1340-1420)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Karen Hunt, 'The Governorship of Robert Duke of Albany (1406-1420)', in Brown and Tanner (ed.), *Scottish Kingship*, p. 126.

[97] *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, printed on parallel pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS., with the variants of the other texts*, vol. 6, ed. F. J. Amours (Edinburgh and London, 1908), p. 418; Boardman, 'Stewart, Robert, first duke of Albany'.

[98] Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 94-5; Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 81.

[99] Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar had previously aided John the Fearless in his defeat of the rebellious citizens of Liège at the Battle of Othée in 1408: Mair, *History*, bk. 6, ch. 13, p. 363; David Ditchburn, 'Stewart, Alexander, earl of Mar (c.1380–1435)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 55, 260; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 52-3; *French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France*, exh. cat., Royal Scottish Museum, ed. Godfrey Evans (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 18.

[100] Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 215.

Douglas.[101] Though nothing came of the agreement, there was clearly a pressing political and military incentive for the duke of Burgundy to cultivate good favour in Scotland through gift giving. That the tapestries were purchased and presented to Albany in the same period suggests that the pieces were intended to secure the support of the Scottish ruling elite. The high status of Arras tapestry, as recognised internationally by the aristocratic elite of Europe, gave force to the gesture by signifying, through its high cost and fine materials, the importance of a Scottish alliance to Burgundy.

In the context of Scoto-Burgundian diplomacy and gift exchange it is also necessary to consider the significance of the mercantile relationship between Scotland and Flanders, which was inextricably intertwined with the international political situation. Albany had in 1407 despatched an ambassadorial mission to Flanders in order to negotiate a new staple agreement between Scotland and Bruges after a period of piratical hostility and suspended trade. Sir Walter Stewart, sheriff of Perth, William of Lauder, archdeacon of Lothian, John Gill, baillie of Perth, John of Leith, baillie of Edinburgh, and William de Camera, baillie of Aberdeen met with Brugeois officials and concluded a treaty with John the Fearless.[102] Scottish merchants were granted the right to a commissioner to defend their trading rights in Flanders, ‘authorised by us [the duke of Burgundy] and to which we are giving power and authority to pursue, require, seek, and defend the goods of those merchants and subjects’.[103] This measure was considered to be ‘for the common good and evident profit, multiplication, augmentation, and increase of the goods of our country of Flanders’, leading to a grant of £3,000 *parisis* to the Scottish ambassadors.[104] Albany was clearly a valuable ally to the duke of Burgundy and to Flanders, and the

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[101] M. H. Brown, ‘Douglas, Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, and duke of Touraine in the French nobility (c.1369–1424)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 215; Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 260; *French Connections*, p. 19; A. Grant, ‘Acts of Lordship: The Records of Archibald, Fourth Earl of Douglas’, in Brotherstone and Ditchburn (ed.), *Freedom and Authority*, p. 236; MacDonald, ‘Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change’, p. 155.

[102] *CAEB*, vol. 1, pp. 448-51, no. 540; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, app. 14, pp. xvi-xviii.

[103] SAB, Stadscartularium 4, Oude Wittenboek, 1089-1546, Charte de privilèges accordés par le duc Jean-sans-Peur aux marchands d’Écosse (30/4/1407) (no. 540), ff. 183v-184r.

[104] *Ibid.*, f. 183v; *IAVB*, vol. 5, pp. 302-3, n. The sum was equivalent to around £550 Scots: Stevenson, ‘Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries’, pp. 29, 291, table 3.

Gifts were commonly given in the hope of encouraging or maintaining good trade relations. For example, in 1474 Henry van Borselen of Veere in Zeeland sent a lion to James III: Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. xxxi, 20, 22, 28; *TA*, vol. 1, p. 69. In 1508 the authorities of Veere sent several Flemish horses to gift of a tapestry series was a mutually understandable way of reciprocating the favours granted by Albany. The characteristically fine materials and high cost of Arras tapestry were widely recognised as inherently princely commodities used to further political ambition.

The tapestries themselves depicted 'une ymage de femme grande et y auoit des petits enfans' before a *millefleurs* background. *Millefleurs* and *verdures*, floral and leaf patterns, were standard decorative schemes in tapestry. It is not entirely surprising that the gift did not feature historical, biblical, or mythological subject matter, since the diplomatic significance of the series was heavily invested in its origin and associated quality. This provenance represented high status manufacture as part and parcel of southern Low Countries production, as well as the rich aesthetic and sovereign connotations of the splendour of the Burgundian dukes.[105] Thus it was intended to impart the depth of political, military, and commercial ambition of the Scoto-Burgundian alliance, made physical in the magnificent trappings of the aristocratic lifestyle.

The same can be said for the gifts of artillery exchanged by the dukes of Burgundy. Burgundian artillery, alongside that of France, was considered by contemporaries to be the most extensive and technologically advanced.[106] Philip the Bold, on his accession to his Low Countries territories in 1384, inherited considerable gunpowder holdings and manufactories in towns such as Bruges, Damme, Douai, Lille, Orchies, and Sluis.[107] From that point onwards the Burgundian dukes augmented their

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James IV: Patrick Abercromby, *Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation...*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1715), pp. 522-3; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, p. 32. In 1517 Augustijn de Caminade, the town pensionary of Middelburg, journeyed to Scotland to deliver to James V a piece of jewellery from Bruges: Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. 31-2, 38.

[105] The generic subject matter also suggests that the series was produced on speculation. This practice was a common occurrence and was not indicative of low-quality design, materials, or manufacture: Chapter 2, p. 42; Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, p. 20; Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, pp. 121, 125.

[106] Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363-1477* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 57-8; Simon Pepper, 'Artisans, Architects and Aristocrats: Professionalism and Renaissance Military Engineering', in D. J. B. Trim (ed.), *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden, 2003), p. 117; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 323.

For the artillery capacity of France, see Kelly DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology* (Peterborough, ON, 1992), pp. 162-3; Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), p. 143; Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford, 1986), pp. 148-9.

[107] Smith and DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*, p. 57; Guy Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century', *The Connoisseur* 194:781 (March 1977), pp. 190, 196.

artillery at every opportunity, concentrating their collection at their arsenal in Dijon and creating the position of *artilleur* for the construction and testing of guns.[108] Philippe de Commynes described the artillery of Charles the Bold as 'belle et grande selon le temps de lors, et fort grand nombre de charroy'.[109] The number of ducal guns rose exponentially over the course of the fifteenth century. In 1406 John the Fearless owned at least twenty-one bombards, in 1442 Philip the Good had fifty-six, and by 1470 Charles the Bold possessed three hundred.[110] Ducal patronage may have stimulated the export of artillery from the Burgundian territories. For example, Guillaume Maron of Binche, Hainaut sold cannon to the kings of France and England in the 1420s and 1430s.[111]

The arms and artillery industry of Flanders thrived particularly in Bruges, Damme, and Sluis. Outwith Flanders, Brussels, Liège, Mechelen, and Mons were also major centres of production.[112] During the first three quarters of the fifteenth century Bruges and Sluis produced great quantities of wrought iron and bronze artillery and exported it to other towns such as Lille and Namur.[113] In Bruges the armourers were based in and around Wapenmakersstraat, whence much of the weaponry exported to Scotland is likely to have been made or sold.[114] Antwerp, as well as manufacturing its own weaponry, was another great redistribution centre for armaments in the late medieval and early modern periods.[115]

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[108] DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 161-2; Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', p. 190.

[109] Commynes, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2, p. 14. For an alternative view, see Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 129.

[110] Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and Idelphonse Favé, *Études sur le Passé et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie, ouvrage continué à l'aide des notes de l'Empereur*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1862), p. 122; *L'Artillerie des Ducs de Bourgogne d'après les documents conservés aux Archives de la Côte d'Or*, ed. Joseph Garnier (Paris, 1895), pp. 145-8, folio 80; Nicholas Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy, 1364-1477* (Oxford, 1983), p. 17; DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 149; Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', p. 196.

[111] Claude Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes dans les Anciennes Principautés Belges du XIII^me^ à la fin du XV^me^ Siècle* (Paris, 1973), p. 146; Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', p. 190. For the export of artillery to England, see Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, p. 246.

[112] Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', pp. 190, 196.

[113] Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, pp. 120, 141. In 1385 Jean de Vienne, admiral of France, bought firearms and powder at Sluis in preparation for an expedition to aid the Scots against the English: *Inventaires Mobiliers et Extrait des Comptes des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois (1363-1477)*, vol. 2, ed. Bernard Prost and Henri Prost (Paris, 1908-13), pp. 178-9, nos 1178-83. See Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 120; Francisque Michel, *Les Écossais en France, Les Français en Écosse*, vol. 1 (London, 1862), pp. 80-90; Alastair J. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000), p. 87; David H. Caldwell, 'The Scots and Guns', in Andy King and Michael A. Penman (ed.), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 68.

[114] Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 106.

[115] Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, pp. 139, 141

Weaponry was imported from Tournai, Brussels, Milan, and Germany, then exported from Antwerp throughout the Low Countries, Lorraine, England, France, and the Mediterranean.[116]

The suitability of Flemish and Low Countries weaponry as part of aristocratic gift exchange culture lay not only in its technical superiority but also in its currency as a practical tool for the maintenance of military power. Through his relationship with Philip the Good James II was better able to deal with his rivals the Black Douglases. The family had from the reign of David II (1329-71) developed a reputation for knightly prowess and they increasingly cultivated international diplomatic and military connections.[117] As border magnates their power had largely developed in relation to their defence of southern Scotland against the English, and they controlled all three march wardenships by 1400.[118] The Douglases also built up an extraordinarily close relationship with the French crown through their participation in the Hundred Years War. Archibald, earl of Wigtown and son and heir of Archibald, 4th earl of Douglas, aided the French army at the Battle of Baugé in 1421 and was granted the lordship of Dun-le-Roi.[119] In 1424 his father was granted the duchy of Touraine in recognition of his provision of 6,500 Scottish troops to France. Such a grant, to a foreigner unrelated to the French royal house, was unprecedented.[120] The Douglases' continental connections were problematic since they were operating within an international rather than a national framework and were not reliant on the Scottish crown for land and titles.[121] In February 1449 James II hosted at Stirling Castle a lavish tournament connected to negotiations for his marriage to Mary of Guelders.[122] The Burgundian knights Jacques de Lalaing, Simon de Lalaing, and Hervé de Meriadec travelled to Scotland to challenge James, brother of William, 8th earl of Douglas as well as James Douglas of Ralston and John Ross of Hawkhead. In the political climate of James's emergence from his minority rule, the increasingly threatening power of the Black Douglases and the establishment of marital ties with the dukes of Burgundy prompted a demonstration of royal control over chivalric culture via the staging of a tournament. The king exercised ultimate control, halting the combat before the Douglases were defeated by their Burgundian opponents.[123] It was not in the interests of the Burgundians for the Douglases to outshine their king as then the projected alliance would have been of lesser value.[124] Burgundy's aim was to solidify its relationship with James, and later gifts of weaponry to him were perhaps intended to secure his kingship against rivals such as the Douglases. It was all very well for the king to exercise symbolic control over the tournament ritual, but this had to be backed up with real, physical power in the form of state-of-the-art weaponry.

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[116] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[117] The power and influence of the Douglases was eulogised in Richard Holland's *The Buke of the Howlat*, an allegorical poem written in the late 1440s: Richard Holland, *The Buke of the Howlat*, ed. Ralph Hanna (Woodbridge, 2014). See Sally Mapstone, 'Older Scots Literature and the Court', in Thomas Owen Clancy and Murray Pittock (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 1: *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 276.

[118] Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp. 2, 13, 213; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', pp. 161, 169; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 68-70; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 209; Katie Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry: James II and the control of chivalric culture in the 1450s', *JMH* 33 (2007), p. 206; Carol Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), pp. 56-7.

[119] Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 218; Brown, *James I*, p. 23.

[120] *Chron. Bower*, vol. 8, bk. 15, ch. 35, pp. 124-5; *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. 1, ed. Felix J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1877), bk. 10, ch. 28, p. 359; *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. 2, ed. Felix J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1880), bk. 10, ch. 28, p. 270; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp. 220-1; Brown, *James I*, pp. 47-8; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 209; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 213.

[121] Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 210; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 206. For the Black Dinner of 1440, at which William 6th earl of Douglas was executed on charges of treason: Pitscottie, *Historie*, bk. 18, ch. 9, pp. 45-6; Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne, a present nomme Engleterre*,

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ed. William Hardy and Edward L. C. P. Hardy (London, 1884), p. 214; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp. 260-1; McGladdery, *James II*, p. 30; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 182; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', p. 176; Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 98-9.

For James II's murder of William 8th earl of Douglas in 1452: 'The Auchinleck Chronicle', p. 265; Pitscottie, *Historie*, bk. 18, ch. 20, pp. 93-4; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp. 293-4; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 114-7; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', pp. 180-1; Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 134-7; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 211.

[122] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 28, pp. 148-53; 'Livre des faits du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalaing', in *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 8, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1866), chs 42-4, pp. 164-79; Georges Chastellain, 'Histoire du bon chevalier Mesire Jacques de Lalain frère et compagnon de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or', in *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 33-4; *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maître d'Hotel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, vol. 2, ed. Henri Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (Paris, 1884), ch. 17, pp. 104-9; 'The Auchinleck Chronicle', p. 270; *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie, from the Ancient Manuscript in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh*, ed. W. B. D. D. Turnbull (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 238; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', pp. 181-3; Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, WI, 1991), p. 173; Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', pp. 55-6, 59; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', pp. 207-10; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, pp. 72-6; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 75-7; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 276; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 45; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 148-9; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 163; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 176; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens, 1034-1714* (East Linton, 2003), p. 59.

However, the tournament and the subsequent marriage may have been unconnected: Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 210.

[123] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 28, pp. 152-3; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 187; Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p. 56.

[124] Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 187.

On 3 July 1449 James II married Mary, daughter of Duke Arnold of Guelders and great-niece of Philip the Good. At the outset of his majority rule, he looked to France and Burgundy for an alliance that would secure his position as a European ruler of rank. Although there was no suitable French or Burgundian bride available, the Treaty of Brussels of 1 April consolidated Scotland's alliance with those territories, as well as Guelders and Brittany, through marriage with Mary.[125] Negotiations had been ongoing since the autumn of 1448, when Philip the Good hosted banquets for Scottish ambassadors.[126] To celebrate the marriage a 'brilliant tourney' was held at Bruges, in which Jacques de Lalaing won the honours and was watched from the Craenenburg House on the Markt by 'de conynghinne van Scotland'.[127] On her departure Mary was accompanied by James's sister Mary, her husband Wolfaert van Borselen, and Isabelle de Lalaing, sister of Jacques.[128] Philip the Good provided a substantial cash dowry of 60,000 crowns, equivalent to around £20,000.[129] He also supplied James with a vast assemblage of weapons, armour, and associated paraphernalia, taken to Scotland in five of the galleys which escorted Mary.[130] These pieces were at the forefront of mid-fifteenth century manufacture, many of them originating in the southern Low Countries. Contained within the shipment were 126 steel crossbows, 36 windlasses used to span the bowstrings, and 40,000 crossbow bolts of varying capacity for speed and power.[131] These crossbows were at the vanguard of late medieval military technology. Great numbers of Genoese crossbows were sold in the Low Countries in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, though they were also manufactured in Mechelen. The trigger and lock mechanism was more powerful and less likely to fail than that of wooden crossbows, so steel bows were acquired in great numbers by Philip the Good in the 1430s and 1440s.[132] Steel-bowed crossbows were more powerful and reliable than the composite or wooden bows used until then.[133] The use of steel was considered by Burgundian soldier, diplomat, and chronicler Olivier de la Marche to be ‘the more noble thing than gold, silver, lead and iron, for [with] that of steel, as the more noble metal, we make armour and trappings, including the greatest in the world’.[134] The 428 lances with stops and points were intended for use by cavalry since infantry lances were not equipped with stops to prevent the weapon from impaling the victim.[135] Lances were typically composed of a wooden haft of around 3.5 to 4.2 metres in length and with an iron or steel triangular head. These were produced for the Burgundian army in Low Countries towns such as Bruges and Mechelen.[136] The dowry also included 649 sallets, the most common form of helmet in fifteenth century north-west and central Europe. This helmet had a close-fitting top, a narrow eye slit, and an extensive neck piece.[137] Other armour in the dowry included 146 brigandines, a type of body armour, fifty of which were lined with black fustian, 130 pavises, a type of shield, and eighty-one gisarmes, a staff weapon used by infantry soldiers.[138] Such armour was produced in Germany and Italy as well as the Burgundian territories, so it is unknown where the pieces in the dowry came from.[139] As for gunpowder weaponry, the dowry contained twenty-two iron veuglaires along with sixty-four chambers and four hundred stones for them, forty-six iron culverins, and five barrels of powder for both the veuglaires and culverins.[140] Veuglaires are classified as medium sized guns but in reality they could vary from 1.22 to 1.83 metres in length and from 48 to 3,684 kilograms in weight. These were used both in sieges and battles.[141] Culverins were the smallest type of gun, with lengths of between 15 and 122 centimetres and weights ranging from 6 to 23 kilograms. They were used primarily on the battlefield.[142] From this type of gun evolved the modern handgun, although it is not known whether those in the weapons dowry were handheld or of the larger mounted variety.[143]

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[125] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 23, pp. 175-83; *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 2, ch. 17, pp. 117-8; 'The Auchinleck Chronicle', pp. 274-5; *Chron. Bower*, vol. 9, p. 141; Pitscottie, *Historie*, bk. 18, ch. 12, pp. 58-9; *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*, p. 238; Downie, *She is but a Woman*, pp. 66, 72-4, 79; Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy', pp. 60-3; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', pp. 183-4; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 74-5, 77-9; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 185; Downie, 'Queenship in Late Medieval Scotland', p. 233; Downie, 'And they lived happily ever after?', p. 132; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 44-6; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 111; Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 78-9; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 114; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and Europe', p. 113; Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, pp. 57-61; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. 21-2; Downie, "La voie quelle menace tenir", p. 175; Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, pp. 253, 257.

[126] Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 183; McGladdery, *James II*, p. 75.

[127] *IAVB*, vol. 5, p. 498, no. 1101; *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 2, ch. 18, pp. 123-9; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 173; McGladdery, *James II*, p. 78; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 183.

[128] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 33, p. 176; *CDS*, vol. 4, p. 248, nos 1225-6; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 184; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 77, 80; Margaret Scott, 'A Burgundian Visit to Scotland in 1449', *Costume* 21 (1987), p. 16; Downie, *She is but a Woman*, p. 66; Barrow, 'Scottish princesses go abroad', p. 186; MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change', p. 157; Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, pp. 59-60.

[129] Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 180.

[130] Appendix 5; DeVries, 'A 15th-century weapons dowry', p. 23. Galleys: *L'Artillerie des Ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 130-1; *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 33, pp. 176-7.

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[131] DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, p. 23.

[132] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, p. 93; Gaier, *L’Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 138; Wilson, ‘The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy’, p. 195; DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, pp. 25-6; Charles Brusten, *L’Armée Bourguignonne de 1465 à 1468* (Brussels, 1955), pp. 95-6.

[133] DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, pp. 25-7; Wilson, ‘Arms and Weapons of Burgundy’, p. 195.

[134] ‘Des surnoms attribués à l’Empereur Maximilian d’Austriche et à l’archeduc Philippe, comte de Flandres, son fils’, in *Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche, Maître d’Hotel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, vol. 3, ed. Henri Beaune and J. d’Arbaumont (Paris, 1885), bk. 2, ch. 16, p. 313.

[135] DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, pp. 23, 25-6.

[136] Wilson, ‘The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy’, p. 195; Gaier, *L’Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 138; Brusten, *L’Armée Bourguignonne*, pp. 88-9.

[137] DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, pp. 23-4; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 326.

[138] DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, pp. 23-4, 26; Brusten, *L’Armée Bourguignonne*, pp. 83-4, 90.

In the years following the Guelders marriage the Douglases continued to cultivate their international connections. In 1450 William, 8th earl of Douglas travelled to Rome to celebrate the papal jubilee. On 12 October he and a group of adherents including his brother James were guests of Philip the Good at Lille, where a feast was held in Douglas's honour.[144] James Douglas also participated in a *pas d'armes* against Jacques de Lalaing near Chalon-sur-Saône: a year-long spectacle called the *Fontaine aux Pleurs* at which Lalaing challenged all comers.[145] William was well-received in Rome in January 1451, Pope Nicholas V proclaiming him to be 'ultra omnes peregrinos'.[146] The augmentation of James II's artillery holdings with first class pieces from Flanders and the southern Low Countries made a discernible impact on his effective exercise of royal power. Military prowess was an essential aspect of the proper practice of leadership and the most effective and prestigious weaponry was required to achieve this.[147] The final destruction of the Black Douglases was only achieved once James deployed his artillery, consolidating his own power and making him a more valuable ally to Burgundy. In the years after the death of the 8th earl, James, 9th earl of Douglas moved to strengthen his position by fortifying his castles. At his forfeiture in June 1455 he was held to have undertaken 'treasonous munitions and fortifications of the towers and fortalices of Threave, Douglas, Strathaven and Abercorn'.[148] Threave Castle in Galloway is thought to have the earliest known artillery work in Scotland, composed of a curtain wall around the tower house with a continuous external batter to protect against cannon fire.[149] These measures, together with Douglas's request for help from Henry VI of England, prompted James to apply the force of his gunpowder weaponry against the Douglas fortifications, destroying Abercorn after a month-long siege and then securing the surrender of Threave after three months.[150] The Auchinleck Chronicler recorded that James II 'kest doune the castell of inverawyn [Inveravon] […] and passit to lanerik and to douglas and syne brynt all douglasdale and all awendale and all the lord hamilton's lands'.[151] Despite the fact that Threave was taken through negotiation rather than bombardment, successful negotiation no doubt depended on the threat of destruction by artillery.[152]

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[139] Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', p. 190; Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy*, pp. 28-9; Belozerskaya, 'Critical Mass', pp. 170-3.

[140] DeVries, 'A 15th-century weapons dowry', p. 23.

[141] DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 152; Kelly DeVries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500: Studies in Military History and Technology* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2002), p. 292; DeVries, 'A 15th-century weapons dowry', p. 27; Brusten, *L'Armée Bourguignonne*, pp. 104-5; Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy*, p. 18.

[142] DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 154; DeVries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe*, p. 292; DeVries, 'A 15th-century weapons dowry', p. 27; Brusten, *L'Armée Bourguignonne*, pp. 107-8; Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy*, p. 19-20.

[143] DeVries, 'A 15th-century weapons dowry', pp. 27-8.

[144] *CDS*, vol. 4, p. 249, no. 1229; McGladdery, *James II*, p. 99; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 287; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 208; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 72; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 47. Douglas also visited the courts of Charles VII of France and Henry VI of England during his travels: Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 287; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', pp. 187-8; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 208.

[145] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 40, pp. 264-73; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 76, 99; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 183; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 149; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 164; Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p. 58.

Graeme Small doubts Douglas's presence at the tournament: Small, 'The Scottish Court in the Fifteenth Century', p. 473.

[146] *ER*, vol. 5, p. lxxxv: extract from John Law's early sixteenth century *De Cronicis Scotorum brevia*, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi.

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[147] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 21; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 129-60.

[148] *RPS*, 1455/6/6; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 151, 156, 158; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 196; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', p. 182; Christopher J. Tabraham and George L. Good, 'The Artillery Fortification at Threave Castle, Galloway', in David H. Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 70.

[149] Tabraham and Good, 'The Artillery Fortification at Threave Castle', pp. 57-61, 63-4. For the dating of the wall, see pp. 67-8. See also Christopher J. Tabraham, 'The Scottish Medieval Towerhouse as Lordly Residence in the Light of Recent Excavations', *PSAS* 118 (1988), p. 271; Geoffrey Stell, 'Late Medieval Defences in Scotland', in Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications*, p. 47; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', p. 167.

[150] Alliance with England: *RPS*, 1455/6/6; *CDS*, vol. 4, p. 259, no. 1272; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 152, 155-7; McGladdery, 'James II (1437-1460)', p. 196; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', p. 185; Tabraham and Good, 'The Artillery Fortification at Threave Castle', p. 70; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p. 308.

Siege of Abercorn: Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp. 306-7; McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 153-4; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', pp. 184-5.

Siege of Threave: Tabraham and Good, 'The Artillery Fortification at Threave Castle', p. 70; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, pp. 308, 312-3; Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 212; McGladdery, 'The Black Douglases', p. 185.

[151] 'The Auchinleck Chronicle', pp. 266-7.

There are several potential motivating factors for the duke of Burgundy to give gifts of Low Countries weaponry to James II. Firstly, as outlined in the treaty of marriage, Scotland was obliged to defend militarily the interests of Burgundy, Brittany, and Guelders.[153] Therefore it was imperative that the Scottish crown had the military resources to act against a common enemy if the need should arise. Since the 1435 Treaty of Arras France and Burgundy had been steadfastly anti-English, making a militarily powerful Scotland an even more advantageous prospect.[154] By implication, prior to 1449 the Scottish crown's firearm holdings were not sufficiently advanced.[155] Guns are not known to have been manufactured in Scotland until 1473, when the *Treasurer's Accounts* of James III show a payment towards the repair of the Blackfriars' priory in Edinburgh.[156] Yet there is earlier evidence of gun usage in Scotland in Jean Froissart's account of Scots using cannons against Stirling Castle in 1341.[157] Also, payments were made in the 1380s to artillery workers, gunners, and gun keepers at Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, for saltpetre and sulphur, and for 'uno instrumento dicto gun'.[158] The records are relatively quiet on Scottish gun usage between the 1380s and the reign of James I: an absence that has not yet been adequately explained.[159]

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[152] *ER*, vol. 6, pp. 199-200; Tabraham and Good, 'The Artillery Fortification at Threave Castle', p. 70.

In 1457 John of Dunbar, previously in charge of the artillery work at Threave Castle, was sent to Flanders by the crown to purchase materials related to guns: iron, saltpetre, sulphur, ropes, and cables, as well as arrows: *ER*, vol. 6, pp. 308-10.

[153] Downie, *She is but a Woman*, pp. 72-4; Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy', pp. 63; Ditchburn, 'Rituals, Space and the Marriage of James II', p. 183; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 111; Stevenson, 'Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries', pp. 78-9.

[154] Norman A. T. Macdougall, 'Foreign Relations: England and France', in Jennifer M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 102; Claude Gaier and Claude Blair, 'The Origin of Mons Meg', *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 5 (1965-7), p. 427.

[155] The earliest extant inventory of Scottish gun holdings is from 1566: *Wardrobe Inventories*, pp. 165-77.

[156] *TA*, vol. 1, p. 65; David H. Caldwell, 'Royal Patronage of Arms and Armour in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications*, pp. 74-5.

[157] *Froissart's Chronicles*, ed. and trans. John Jolliffe (London, 2001), p. 115.

[158] *ER*, vol. 3, pp. 87, 117-8, 659-60, 665, 667, 671-2, 676, 683, 687, 693; Caldwell, 'The Scots and Guns', pp. 64, 68-9.

[159] Caldwell, 'The Scots and Guns', pp. 69, 72.

In 1457 Philip followed the weapons dowry with the gift of two great wrought iron bombards, one of which was Mons Meg.[160] Mons was manufactured in the town of the same name in 1449 by Jehan Cambier, a successful master of artillery production who was paid the sum of £1,536 2s. *groot*.[161] In 1457 Philip had bought, from Brugeois merchant Jehan van de Velde, the other bombard, weighing 4,070 kilograms, 'pour icelle envoier avec autres parties d'artillerie au roy d'Escosse, pour soy en aidier à ses affaires'.[162] The two bombards were transported along with sixty-one stone cannonballs and gunpowder from Sluis to Arnemuiden then to Veere in Zeeland, whence the collection of artillery was shipped to Scotland in May 1457.[163] That the two bombards were accompanied by fifty men-at-arms who were to remain in Scotland for six weeks upon arrival suggests a hostile Anglo-Scottish relationship and the risk of piracy or attack.[164]

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[160] *ER*, vol. 6, pp. 386-7: 'duos bumbardos missos a duce Burgundie'. Mons Meg is now at Edinburgh Castle (HES, XIX.13), whereas the other bombard is no longer known to be extant. See Gaier and Blair, 'The Origin of Mons Meg', pp. 425-52, pls. 108-9 (see app. 1, pp. 428-31 for the original documents); Finlayson, 'Mons Meg', pp. 124-6; J. Hewitt, 'Mons Meg, the Ancient Bombard at Edinburgh Castle', *The Archaeological Journal* 10 (1853), pp. 25-32; Armand de Behault de Dornon, *Le Canon d'Edimbourg 'Mons Meg' (XV^{e} Siècle)* (Mons, 1894); Robert B. K. Stevenson, 'The Return of Mons Meg from London', in Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications*, pp. 419-441, figs. 233-4; Smith and DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*, pp. 120-2, 262, 266; Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, pp. 120-1, 145, 171, 262; McGladdery, *James II*, p. 201; Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p. 142; Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', p. 196, ill. 13; Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy', p. 67; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 126; Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, p. 65; R. Smith, 'HM Tower Armouries: Wrought Iron Cannon Project', *The Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society* 19:2 (1985), pp. 193-5; Robert D. Smith, 'Artillery and the Hundred Years War: Myth and Interpretation', in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (ed.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 158.

[161] Gaier and Blair, 'The Origin of Mons Meg', pp. 426, 428-9.

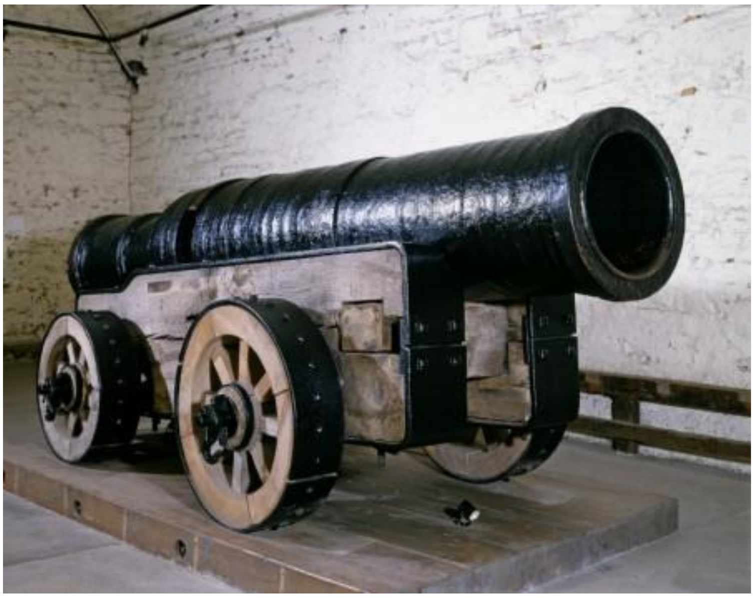
[162] *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 429.

Bronze is thought to have been favoured after the early fifteenth century due to its greater durability and accuracy and lighter weight. James III was given 'modern French guns of metal [bronze]' by Louis XI of France: 'The Protonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, to Ferdinand and Isabella', no. 210, p. 174. See DeVries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe*, p. 293; Iain MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places of Strength in the Lothians and the East Border, 1513-1542', in Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications*, p. 98; DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 154-5; David H. Caldwell, 'The Royal Scottish Gun Foundry in the Sixteenth Century', in Anne O'Connor and D. V. Clarke (ed.), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five: Studies presented to R. B. K. Stevenson, Former Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 427; Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', pp. 196-7.

However, wrought iron guns were still being used well into the sixteenth century, for example on Henry VIII's Mary Rose: Smith, 'Artillery and the Hundred Years War', p. 152.

[163] Gaier and Blair, 'The Origin of Mons Meg', pp. 426-31.

[164] *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 431.



Mons Meg, Edinburgh Castle, © Crown Copyright HES. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Claude Gaier hypothesised that the dukes of Burgundy gave such pieces of artillery to foreign rulers to promote the manufacture and export of the more industrially advanced Low Countries. This is held to be particularly true in the case of Scotland where, he rather disdainfully argued, James II was still in 1460 using the bombard named *The Lion* which his father had imported from Flanders thirty years earlier.[165] This bombard was imported by James I in 1430, with the following inscription in gold lettering:

> For the illustrious James, worthy prince of the Scots.
> Magnificent king, when I sound off, I reduce castles.
> I was made at his order; therefore I am called 'Lion'.[166]

The Lion may have been of similar design to guns owned by Philip the Good, the muzzles of which resembled lions' heads.[167] There might indeed have been an underlying commercial aspect to the gift of the weapons dowry, Mons Meg, and the other bombard. 'Most historians would agree that, in Philip the Good's case, far more was given up – in terms of land and wealth – than was acquired by him' through dynastic alliances.[168] As pointed out in Chapter 2, one of the duties of rulers was to encourage and facilitate advantageous trading conditions for the benefit of the realm. It was clearly advantageous to the Burgundian dukes to tie together their militaristic and mercantile aims, articulated through the language of Flemish material culture. 'Gifts, and the spirit of reciprocity, sociability, and spontaneity in which they are typically exchanged, usually are starkly opposed to the profit-oriented, self-centred, and calculated spirit that fires the circulation of commodities.'[169] Yet, 'practice never ceases to conform to economic calculation even when it gives every appearance of disinterestedness by departing from the logic of interested calculation […] and playing for stakes that are non-material and not easily quantified.'[170] Favourable trade relations between Scotland and the Burgundian territories in this period may have encouraged James II to acquire arms and armour there, but this was by no means a one-sided relationship and there were clearly diplomatic, defensive, and economic benefits to be had by the dukes of Burgundy, or they would not have pursued so consistently the favour of the kings of Scotland. These gifts of artillery consolidated a pre-existing relationship between the two parties as well as symbolising the Burgundian ambition for the maintenance of strong ties. To properly convey this message, the gifts exchanged between them required the rank and high standing inherent in Flemish manufactures.

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[165] Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 171. However, *The Lion* may in fact have been lost to the English alongside his other bombards at the unsuccessful siege of Roxburgh in 1436, to which James I took 'nobilibus magnis machinis, tam cannalibus quam fundalibus artillariis': *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. 1, bk. 11, ch. 7, p. 380; *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. 2, bk. 11, ch. 7, p. 287. In preparation James had imported from Flanders 'bumbardis, ingeniis, et aliis instrumentis et apparatibus bellicis' at a cost of £590 8s. 2d.: *ER*, vol. 4, p. 677; 678-9.

[166] *Chron. Bower*, vol. 8, bk. 16, ch. 16, pp. 263-5; Mair, *History*, bk. 6, ch. 13, pp. 360-1; Caldwell, 'The Scots and Guns', p. 70; Brown, *James I*, p. 115; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, p. 178; Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 171; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 126.

[167] Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 171; Caldwell, 'The Scots and Guns', p. 70.

The association between Flemish objects as a form of symbolic currency common to the elite of late medieval Europe and their presentation at royal marriages continued into the sixteenth century. James IV gave to Margaret Tudor, on the occasion of their marriage in 1503, a lavishly illuminated book of hours produced in Flanders.[171] The marriage finalised the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between Scotland and England, concluded the previous year. Despite the paltry dowry of £35,000 offered by

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[168] Smith and DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*, p. 120.
[169] Appadurai, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', p. 11.
[170] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, p. 177.
[171] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897. For secondary reading, see Chapter 2, p. 34, n. 49.

Henry VII, James gained proximity to the English throne through his new wife who was second in the line of succession by the time of the marriage.[172] Henry benefitted by association with the dynastically stable Scottish royal house, which possessed a longevity and status on the European stage unmatched by that of England.[173] The marriage ceremony at Holyrood Abbey functioned as an assertion of James's superior rank, expressed through the common cultural currency of Flemish goods. The presentation of this luxurious book of hours was an appropriate addition to the royal entry into Edinburgh, the feasting and tournaments, and the extravagant expenditure of the event.[174]

The book's cachet was inextricably tied up with its distinctively Flemish illuminations. It was produced during Flanders' characteristic period of illusionism, naturalism, and luxury, during which the region was the most prestigious centre of manuscript production in Europe. Typical features included borders, initials, and miniatures decorated realistically with flowers, insects, jewels, and textiles. *Trompe l'oeil* effects were utilised extensively to create such depictions in the subjects' actual size, casting painted shadows.

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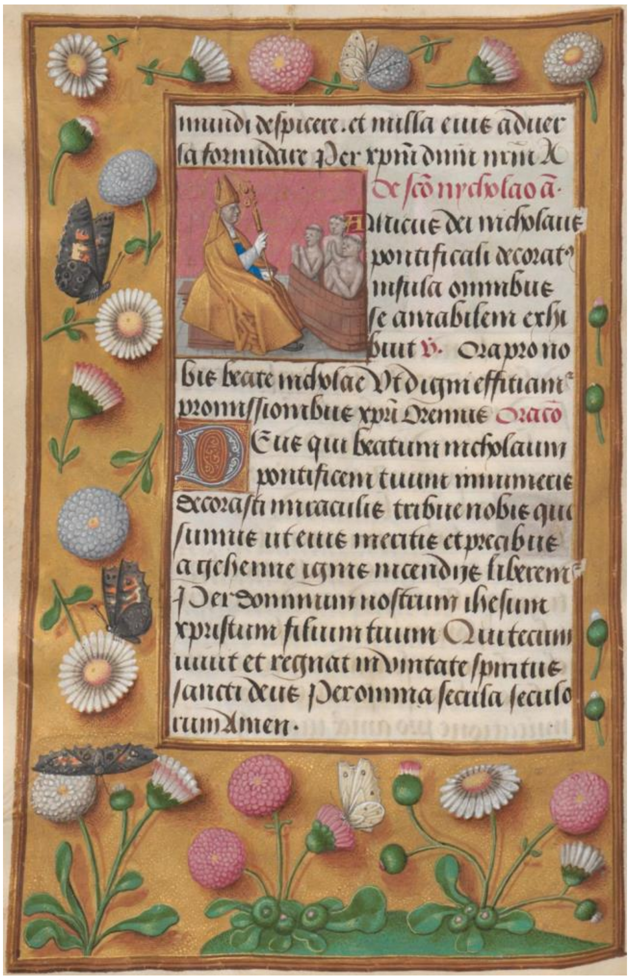
[172] Norman Macdougall, 'The Political Context of the Perpetual Peace (1502)', *The Forth Naturalist and Historian* 25 (2002), p. 71; Norman MacDougall, *James IV* (East Linton, 1997), p. 155; Katie Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics: undercurrents of antagonism in Tudor-Stewart relations, c.1490-c.1513', *Historical Research* 86:234 (November 2013), pp. 601-2; Barrow, "The Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a grett tame Hart", p. 70; Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, pp. 85-6.

[173] Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', pp. 601-3; Jenny Wormald, 'Thorns in the Flesh: English Kings and Uncooperative Scottish Rulers, 1460-1549', in G. W. Bernard and S. J. Gunn (ed.), *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays presented to C. S. L. Davies* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 68, 70.

[174] Young, *Fyancells*, pp. 289, 291, 294-6, 298-9; Barrow, "The Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a grett tame Hart", pp. 65-84; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 91-122. The ritualised spectacle of the 1503 marriage is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, pp. 110-8.

It is thought that the book was not presented at the time of the marriage due to its absence from the *Treasurer's Accounts*, *Halyburton's Ledger*, and John Young's account, and the lack of Scottish feast days in the calendar: Barnes, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', p. 85. However, these absences are equally true in 1507, on the birth of James and Margaret's first son, which is the alternative date posited by Barnes.



James IV Book of Hours, © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, f. 51v (detail).

The highly specialised techniques employed by Flemish illuminators meant that their sumptuously illustrated work was sought after by ruling elites and ecclesiastics even in France and Italy, which both had their own well-developed illumination workshops.[175] Such was the success of Flemish manuscript workshops that their output has been compared to that of the Flemish Primitives: panel painters such as Jan van Eyck and Hugo van der Goes who mastered the vivid yet realistic use of oils in the mid-fifteenth century.[176] The miniatures in James IV's book of hours were executed by artists including Simon Bening and Gerard Horenbout of the Ghent-Bruges school. Bening (c.1483-1561), like his father Alexander, specialised in manuscript illumination though he also practiced panel painting. From 1500 he belonged to the Bruges image makers' guild of St Luke and from 1508 the book makers' guild of St John the Evangelist, but he continued to live in Ghent. He developed landscape depiction in Flemish art, depicting topographical details and weather conditions in great detail. He is also known for his use of vivid colours, particularly reds and blues, and fleck-like brushwork.[177] Bening received commissions from elite patrons including Portuguese royalty Infante Dom Fernando, Mencía de Mendoza, and Catherine of Austria, queen of John III.[178] Sixteenth century Italian art writer Giorgio Vasari described Bening's work as 'eccellenti'.[179] Gerard Horenbout (c.1465-1540/1) was active in tapestry design, panel painting, and town planning as well as manuscript illumination. He joined the Ghent painters' guild in 1487, also working in Bruges and Antwerp. From 1515 to 1522 he was the court painter of Margaret of Austria at Mechelen. He moved to England in c.1525 and entered the service of Henry VIII. His style is characterised by dynamism, plasticity, and a rich colour palette.[180]

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[175] See Ernesto Milano, Paula Di Pietro Lombardi and Anna Rosa Venturi Barbolini, *Biblioteca Estense, Modena* (Florence, 1987), pp. 186, 189-90, figs. cxxxv-cxxxix; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 233.
Illumination in the Flemish style was widely imitated, including in Scotland: see Appendix 1.

[176] Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 495; Cardon, 'The Portfolio of a Bruges Miniaturist', p. 351.

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[177] Ainsworth, 'Was Simon Bening a Panel Painter?', pp. 1-25; Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 171-7; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 422, 429; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 9, 37, 447-8; Alain Arnould and Jean Michel Massing, *Splendours of Flanders*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 13 July – 19 September 1993 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 94, 134; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', p. 251; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', p. 96; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 27; Hulin De Loo, 'Comment J'ai Retrouvé Horenbaut', pp. 15-6.

Alexander Bening originated in Scotland. His works include the *Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae* and the Tournament Book, both for Lodewijk van Gruuthuse: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Mss, néerl. 1 and MS fr. 2693. See Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, pp. 157-8; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', pp. 95-6; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', p. 251; Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 106; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 194; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 54; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', p. 204; Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', p. 97; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 427; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 171; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 19; W. H. James Weale, 'Simon Bennink, Miniaturist', *The Burlington Magazine* 8:35 (February 1906), p. 355-; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 37; HulinDe Loo, 'Comment J'ai Retrouvé Horenbaut', pp. 6, 15.

For artists named Binning or Bening in sixteenth century Edinburgh, see *Painters in Scotland*, ed. Apted and Hannabuss, pp. 26-30.

[178] Sandra Hindman, Mirella Levi D'Ancona, Pia Palladino and Maria Francesca Saffiotti, *Illuminations in the Robert Lehman Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1997), p. 98.

[179] *Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, ed Architettori, scritte da Giorgio Vasari, Pittore Aretino*, vol. 7, ed. G. C. Sansoni (Florence, 1881), p. 587.

[180] Calkins, 'Gerard Horenbout and his Associates', pp. 52, 65; Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, pp. 161-7; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 427-9; Lyle, 'The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV', p. 52; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 6, 129-30, 427; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', pp. 256-7; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 27; Hulin De Loo, 'Comment J'ai Retrouvé Horenbaut', pp. 3-21.

Bening and Horenbout collaborated on several other manuscripts including the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary and the Grimani Breviary.[181]

The efficacy of the book of hours as a tool for the articulation of political and cultural ambition was directly tied to its origin in Flanders: the European centre for the production of luxuriously illuminated manuscripts. The region's prestige in this regard was well-established among the international aristocratic elite. In England Flemish manuscripts had been particularly sought after by the crown since the fifteenth century. Edward IV's large collection was traditionally thought to have been influenced by his relationships with his sister Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, and Anglo-Burgundian nobleman Lodewijk van Gruuthuse during Edward's stay in the Low Countries in 1470-1.[182] Margaret patronised some of the finest illuminators of Flanders including Dreux Jean, Simon Marmion, Willem Vrelant, and the Master of Mary of Burgundy.[183] Gruuthuse acted as host to the English king and would have had ample opportunity to display his extensive collection of lavishly illuminated volumes.[184] However, Edward did not acquire most of his Flemish manuscripts until 1479-80, weakening the link with his stay on the continent, and extensive cultural links between Flanders and England in the late medieval period would already have ensured that he was familiar with Flemish artistic production.[185] Margaret Tudor's father Henry VII also recognised Flemish expertise with regard to manuscripts, employing Quintin Poulet of Lille as the first recorded officer of the English royal library from 1492 to 1506, and another Fleming, Giles Duwes, as his successor.[186] Furthermore, on her departure from England Henry gave Margaret a lavishly illuminated Flemish book of hours.[187] A traditional gift for a wealthy woman on the occasion of her marriage, the manuscript also bears typical Flemish motifs including *trompe l'oeil* birds, flowers, and insects. Non-royal English patrons, too, purchased great quantities of Flemish-produced manuscripts.[188]

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[181] Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Ms. lat. I 99. See Ainsworth, 'Was Simon Bening a Panel Painter?', p. 7; Hulin De Loo, 'Comment J'ai Retrouvé Horenbaut', pp. 15-6.

[182] George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, vol. 1 (London, 1921), pp. xi-xii.

For Margaret's influence, see Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (Gloucester, 1989), pp. 94, 208; Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, 1977), pp. 31-2.

For Lodewijk's, see Malcolm Vale, 'An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester', in Barron and Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries*, pp. 116-8; Weightman, *Margaret of York*, pp. 94, 208; Warner and Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. xi; Margaret Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', *The Modern Language Review* 66:3 (July 1971), p. 482; Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 264; Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour*, p. 31.

[183] Weightman, *Margaret of York*, p. 207; Thomas Kren, 'The Library of Margaret of York and the Burgundian Court', in Thomas Kren and Roger S. Wieck (ed.), *The Visions of Tondal, from the Library of Margaret of York* (Malibu, 1990), pp. 9-18.

[184] Vale, 'An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron', p, pp. 116-8.

[185] Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'Choosing a Book in Late Fifteenth-Century England and Burgundy', in Barron and Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries*, pp. 79-80; Janet Backhouse, 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 25; J. J. G. Alexander,

The Flemish origin added an extra layer of significance onto what were already highly sought-after status symbols in the late Middle Ages. It was expected that princes and aristocrats would build up extensive collections of books as signs of their learning and cultural *nous*.[189] The dukes of Burgundy were exempla of princely book collecting, expanding their holdings from around 250 volumes under John the Fearless to around 1,000 by the 1467 death of Philip the Good, who employed scribes and illuminators in Flanders, Brabant, and Hainaut.[190] Books of hours had become by the fifteenth century the most popular devotional book for laypeople, laying out a programme of daily religious devotion which included psalms, hymns, and prayers. These were personal objects that could be carried around

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'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (ed.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), p. 153.

[186] Poulet: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII*, vol. 1, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1914), pp. 378, 455-6; *ibid.*, vol. 2, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1916), pp. 208, 280. Duwes: *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere in England*, vol. 1, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1862), p. 74, no. 513; *ibid.*, vol. 7, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1883), pp. 175, 355, nos 419 (pt. 11), 923.

See Janet Backhouse, 'Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and Members of his Immediate Family', in Benjamin Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 175-6; Backhouse, 'Founders of the Royal Library', pp. 32-3, 35; Alexander, 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons', pp. 153-4; Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour*, pp. 32, 36-40.

[187] Hours of Henry VII, Chatsworth House. See *Treasures from Chatsworth: The Devonshire Inheritance, organised and circulated by the International Exhibitions Foundation, 1979-1980*, ed. Anthony Blunt (Washington, 1979), p. 65, no. 132; Bawcutt, "My bright buke", p. 21; Backhouse, 'Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII', pp. 183-4; Alexander, 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons', p. 154; De Kesel, 'Heritage and Innovation in Flemish Book Illumination', p. 125.

[188] Edmund Colledge, 'South Netherlands Books of Hours Made for England', *Scriptorium: Revue Internationale des Études Relatives aux Manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies* 32 (1978), pp. 55-7; Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries', p. 16; Alexander, 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons', pp. 159-6.

[189] Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, pp. 172-3; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Choosing a Book in Late Fifteenth-Century England and Burgundy', p. 79.

[190] Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 234; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, pp. 171-2, 190; Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, p. 167; Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), pp. xxxiii-xlix; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Choosing a Book in Late Fifteenth-Century England and Burgundy', p. 62.

the home or to church and were designed to be read and contemplated privately. Lavishly illuminated versions were produced in Flanders for the aristocracy and wealthy townspeople.[191] The status of highly worked, expensive prayer books as fashionable accessories had developed to such a degree by the late fourteenth century that French poet Eustache Deschamps satirised the desire among women in particular for these luxury goods:

> Heures me fault de Nostre Dame,
> Si comme il appartient a fame
> Venue de noble paraige,
> Qui soient de soutil ouvraige
> D'or et d'azur, riches et cointes,
> Bien ordonnées et bien pointes,
> De fin drap d'or tresbien couvertes;
> Et quant elles seront ouvertes,
> Deux fermaulx d'or qui fermeront.[192]

As highly decorative showpieces, books of hours were part of an elite culture of display and conspicuous consumption, in addition to their function as aids to private devotion.[193]

The prestige associated with Flemish manuscripts remained into the sixteenth century despite the advent of printing around 1450. Printing presses were established at Aalst and Bruges in Flanders by 1473, and it was in Bruges that Colard Mansion and William Caxton developed their skills.[194]

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[191] Duffy, 'Elite and Popular Religion', pp. 141-2, 144-5, 151, 157-8; Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in Judith M. Bennett, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (ed.), *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1989), pp. 146-7; L. M. J. Delaissé, 'The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book', in Ursula E. McCracken, Lillian M. C. Randall and Richard H. Randall (ed.), *Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 203, 205; Adelaide Bennett, 'Making Literate Lay Women Visible: Text and Image in French and Flemish Books of Hours, 1220-1320', in Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (ed.), *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces* (Woodbridge, 2012), p, 129; Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in Roger Chartier (ed.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3: *Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1989), p. 237; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, p. 191; Andrea Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1530: Experience, Authority, Resistance* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 30-1; Calkins, 'Gerard Horenbout and his Associates', p. 50; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 27; Barnes, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', p. 85.

[192] 'Des charges qui en mariage', in *Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, vol. 9, pp. 45-6, ll. 1311-9.

[193] 'In the treasuries of princes and nobles, objects of art accumulated so as to form collections. No longer serving for practical use, they were admired as articles of luxury and of curiosity; thus the taste for art was born which the Renaissance was to develop consciously.': Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 224.

[194] Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 344; Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries*, pp. 105-6; Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, p. 169; Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries', p. 19; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 9; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, pp. 218-9.

However, it was Antwerp that emerged as the major centre of printing in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[195] Scottish consumers purchased books printed in Antwerp and other Low Countries centres through conservator Andrew Halyburton, and books printed in Antwerp, Brussels, and Leuven and owned by Archbishop William Scheves of St Andrews survive.[196] During the period of James and Margaret's book of hours, illuminators benefited from continued demand for luxurious illustration by ornamenting printed texts with hand-painted images, initials, and marginal decoration, painted into books or inserted as separate sheets. Also, printed books were for a significant time produced with the same format, type, layout, abbreviations, and bindings as manuscripts and were sometimes printed on vellum rather than on paper, showing that manuscripts maintained their high status well after the introduction of printing.[197] Furthermore, Flemish manuscript illumination flourished and reached a peak of realism, illusion, and vivid colour in the very period that printing took off in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This goes some way to explaining why printing did not develop in Flanders, the centre of luxurious manuscript illumination, in the same way that it did elsewhere in the Low Countries.[198] The transition from a predominant use of primary colours on a plain parchment ground in the 1450s and 1460s to a more realistic use of colour and shadow on a coloured ground by the 1470s is one example of developing illumination in Flanders in this period.[199]

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[195] Alastair Mann, 'The Book Trade and Public Policy in Early Modern Scotland, c.1500-c.1720' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1997), pp. 122-3; Herman Pleij, 'Printing as a Long-Term Revolution', in Wijsman (ed.), *Books in Transition*, p. 290; Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 344; Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants*, p. 220.

[196] *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 6-7, 100-3, 254, 273; St Andrews University Library, *Catalogue of Incunabula* (Edinburgh, 1956), pp. 81, 83-4, 86-7, nos 121, 130-1, 133-5. For Scheves' books printed in Strasbourg, Cologne, Nuremberg, Pavia, and Basel, see pp. 12, 16, 18, 23, 51, 60, nos 4, 10, 14-5, 27, 78, 91.

Lotte Hellinga, taking a sample of 1,000 printed books with early Scottish and English ownership, has shown that only 11.6% of the total were printed in the Low Countries: Lotte Hellinga, 'Importation of Books Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c.1520', in Sandra Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 210, 221-2, app. 1, fig. 7.1. However, she does not break this data down into Scottish- and English-owned books.

[197] Marieke van Delft, 'Illustrations in Early Printed Books and Manuscript Illumination: The Case of a Dutch Book of Hours Printed by Wolfgang Hopyl in Paris in 1500', in Wijsman (ed.), *Books in Transition*, pp. 134, 137; De Kesel, 'Heritage and Innovation in Flemish Book Illumination', pp. 93-4; Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 488-9; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 64; Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, pp. 168-9; Duffy, 'Elite and Popular Religion', p. 148; Thorp, *The Glory of the Page*, p. 18; E. R. Chamberlin, *Everyday Life in Renaissance Times* (London, 1967), p. 166.

[198] Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century*, pp. 419, 487-8; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 223.

[199] De Kesel, 'Heritage and Innovation in Flemish Book Illumination', pp. 98, n. 17, 100, 102.

As printed books made the written word available to a greater proportion of society, beautifully illuminated vellum pages maintained an aura of exclusivity and luxury which only the wealthy could afford, reinforcing social distinctions.[200] The textual content of costly, hand-painted books of hours was no different to that of cheap printed texts, yet the lavish illumination and potential for personalisation inherent in Flemish manuscripts made them desirable as status symbols and therefore highly appropriate as gifts.[201]

James and Margaret's book of hours contains Marian imagery generic to such manuscripts and appropriate for a marital gift, such as full-page illuminations of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Presentation.[202]

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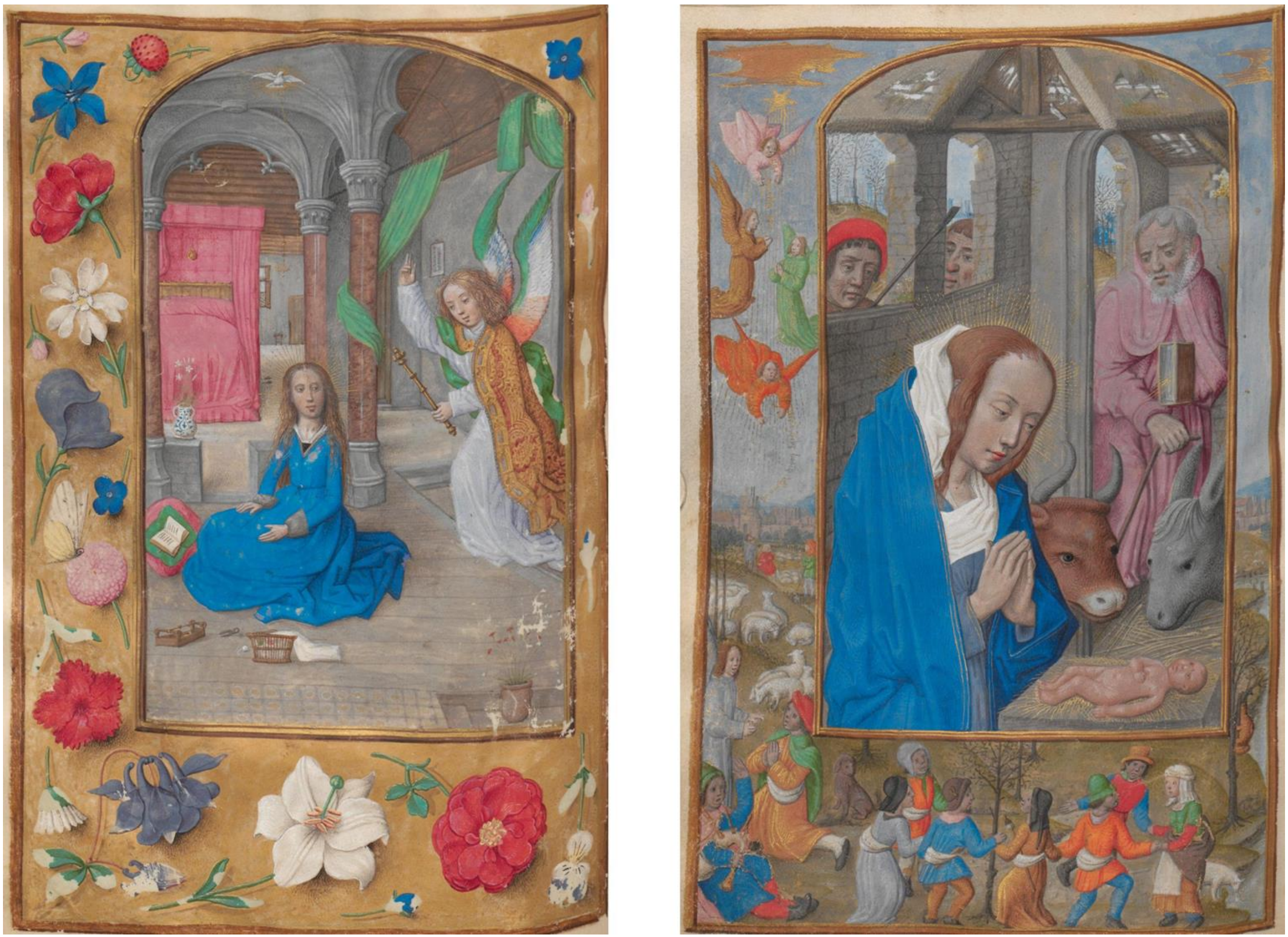
[200] Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 172.

[201] Hanno Wijsman, 'Introduction: A Prince and the Books of his Time', in Wijsman (ed.), *Books in Transition*, p. 4; Pleij, 'Printing as a Long-Term Revolution', p. 290.

[202] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, ff. 59v, 73v, 86v, 98v.



James IV Book of Hours, © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, ff. 59v, 86v: *Annunciation* and *Nativity* (detail).

These images, as well as the borders of flowers, fruit, insects, and jewels, are intricately illuminated in typical Flemish style, with a high degree of realism attained through the use of bold colours and gold accents. There is also a great deal of personalisation in the illumination, marrying the highly sought-after artistic output of the Ghent-Bruges school with James IV's diplomatic and political ambitions. Most notable are the full-page illuminations of James's arms surrounded by the joint arms of James and Margaret, their initials, motto, and representative thistles and daisies, James presented to an altarpiece depicting Christ and St Andrew by St James, and Margaret presented to the Virgin and Child by a male saint.[203] As a showpiece text the book of hours symbolised the cultural sophistication of the Scottish crown by means of a language which both parties could understand: that of wealth, grandeur, and familiarity with prestigious Flemish artists Simon Bening and Gerard Horenbout. By emphasising his close mercantile and artistic links with Flanders, and simultaneously expressing his royal status as king of Scotland, James was utilising a Renaissance court culture of display that was inextricably linked to the most luxurious objects of the day. Suzanne Lyle, summing up the power of such an object, wrote that it 'shows James, in the competitive language of power, to be a skilful rhetorician.'[204]

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[203] *Ibid.*, ff. 14v, 24v, 243v. Throughout are representations of James and Margaret's initials, mottoes, arms, and representative flowers. See Chapter 2, p. 34, n. 51; Lyle, 'The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV', pp. 32-3. For the portraits of James and Margaret, see ff. 24v, 234v.

In the aristocratic exchange culture of late medieval Europe, Flemish luxury objects were considered the elite gift *par excellence* and the most prestigious tools for the communication of aristocratic *largesse*, piety, and military, dynastic, and cultural identity. The widely recognisable aesthetic of Flemish art pieces, from the highest quality tapestries to the Ghent-Bruges style of manuscripts, ensured that these objects constituted a common cultural currency for the achievement of a wide array of objectives. The exchange of Flemish manufactures was the catalyst for the establishment, maintenance, and renewal of relationships by virtue of the internationally recognised prestige of and fashion for the artistic output of the region, and Scottish elites fully participated in and understood this universal transactional culture.

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[204] Lyle, 'The Patronage and Production of the Book of Hours of James IV', p. 131.

Chapter 4: *Princely Splendour in the Public Sphere*

Elite identity was acted out through performances: deliberately communicative public displays that used visual and material as well as rhetorical resources to convey splendour, power, and lineage.[1] In this chapter the paraphernalia of ritual is discussed in the context of its Flemish origin and what that meant to contemporary aristocrats. This entails a re-examination, through the lens of Flemish material culture, of the symbolic meanings of the rituals of personal adornment, marriage, tournament, and war. As the pinnacle of material luxury, Flemish objects enhanced the political and diplomatic meanings inherent in the rituals of the Scottish court. Acting as a kind of stage set, these objects were essential to protagonists' expressions of ambition, policy, and power, as well as the proper display of traditional princely virtues. In fact, this chapter will argue that Flemish objects were part of a 'standardisation of expectations' and were elements of which princely courts were expected to be constituted. They were part of a cultural code, conformity to which was necessary to convey princely taste and magnificence and to delineate the ceremonial space in which princely authority was demonstrated.[2]

It is necessary to incorporate anthropological work on the uses of ritual in politics, which will inform and contextualise the present study on elite ritual in late medieval Scotland. Ritual, or 'action wrapped in a web of symbolism', was the means by which beliefs were acquired, reinforced, and changed, and by which authority was invested, personified, and institutionalised.[3] David Kertzer writes that, '[r]ather little that is political involves the use of direct force, and, though material resources are crucial to the political process, even their distribution and use are largely shaped through symbolic means.'[4] Thus power relationships cannot be divorced from symbolic action.[5] Ritual aided the expression of power through symbolism, and for that purpose it required paraphernalia:

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[1] Crane, *The Performance of Self* pp. 1, 3.

[2] Juliusz Chrościcki, 'Ceremonial Space', in Allan Ellenius (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford, 1998), p. 193.

[3] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, pp. 9, 24, 153. See Abner Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society* (London, 1974), p. 78.

> More effective rituals use material things, and the more costly the ritual trappings, the stronger we can assume the intention to fix the meanings to be. Goods, in this perspective, are ritual adjuncts; consumption is a ritual process whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events.[6]

The use of costly objects imported from Flanders by the Scottish crown was conspicuous consumption of status symbols on a grand scale.[7] This paraphernalia will be discussed in the context of its Flemish origin and how the public element of elite ritual was essential to the proper deployment of the luxury manufactures of Flanders.

Two interpretations of 'public' will be combined here. The term can be applied to anything pertaining to the state and to the monarch, with a power both emanating from, and ostensibly designed to benefit, the people as a whole. Alternatively, it can refer to objects and events which were openly visible to all and often available for use or ownership by all.[8] Claire Hawes points out that there is often an artificial distinction made in scholarship between 'public' and 'private' political authority, with public or royal authority characterised as being formal, centralised, and professionalised while private or aristocratic authority is seen as being informal, local, and more personalised.[9] Contrary to this distinction, royal power could be publicly displayed and performed in a way that was both sleekly choreographed and formal, as well as incorporating elements personal to the protagonists such as their own political ambition.[10] This chapter will examine how royal power was exercised by means of luxury

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[4] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, p. 2.

[5] Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man*, p. 13.

[6] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, 'The Uses of Goods', in Lee (ed.), *The Consumer Society Reader*, p. 79.

[7] Veblen, 'Conspicuous Consumption', pp. 31-47; Douglas and Isherwood, 'The Uses of Goods', p. 81; Kelly, 'Culture as Commodity', pp. 347-8.

[8] Georges Duby, 'Private Power, Public Power', in Duby (ed.), *A History of Private Life*, vol. 2, pp. 4-5.

[9] Claire Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority in Later Fifteenth-Century Scotland' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2015), pp. 78-9.

[10] Personal ambition and dynastic pride could be more important in monarchs' political decision-making than abstract notions such as the creation of spheres of international influence: Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy*, p. 3; Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca and London, 1996), p. 13.

Flemish objects wielded in deeply symbolic public ceremony and ritual. It will concentrate primarily on the reign of James IV, considered by scholars to be one of the most successful Stewart monarchs. It is argued here that his familiarity with Flemish material culture was an important facet of his adherence to expected princely behaviour.

Although public acts were designed to be seen and interpreted by audiences, they were often restricted to the highly exclusive environment of the court. The medieval castle has been likened to a stage setting within which the nobility played out ceremonies formative to their identities such as the daily raising and lowering of the gate, the gathering for dinner in the hall, and the regular holding of court. Matthew Johnson has further noted that, '[a]s the identities of the protagonists changed, so did the meanings of the physical structures, even where their form remained the same.'[11] The same could be said of elite material culture as a whole, not solely the architectural structures to which Johnson refers. The stage or theatre comparison can be taken further still. Stephen Orgel, documenting the rise of the permanent theatre in Renaissance England, writes that prior to this development 'the concept of theatre had included no sense of *place*. A theatre was not a building, it was a group of actors and an audience; the theatre was any place in which they chose to perform. When the play was over, the hall or courtyard or banqueting room ceased to be a theatre.'[12] It can be argued that accordingly any environment in which the aristocratic elite of Scotland played out their court ceremony was a theatre. Much has been made of the connection between elite ritual and the idea of performance, with identity described as a socially enacted 'role', maintained through continual reactivation and reiteration, and situated at the boundary between self and social group.[13]

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[11] Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London and New York, 2002), pp. 3, 12-3 (quote on p. 3). The symbolism of castle space and its contribution to the creation of social hierarchies has been explored elsewhere: Leonie V. Hicks, 'Magnificent entrances and undignified exits: chronicling the symbolism of castle space in Normandy', *JMH* 35:1 (2009), pp. 52-69.

[12] Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), p. 2.

[13] Monica L. Smith, 'Inconspicuous Consumption: Non-Display Goods and Identity Formation', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14:4 (2007), pp. 414, 416; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 3; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', p. 23; Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man*, p. 82.

The ruler, perceived as the personification of stately power, was expected to physically and materially express that power through dress, surroundings, and public events. Referring to the ceremonial of the dukes of Guelders, Gerard Nijsten writes that, 'political actions had to be forceful as well as convincing and elegant', since forms of culture played a pivotal role in the determination of power relations.[14] The splendid ceremonies of the dukes of Burgundy, too, 'served no other purpose than to make a conspicuous display of the power and dignity of the ruler before the eyes of foreigners and the local population, his rivals, and his subjects.'[15] This corresponded to wider European thought, with the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli advising in 1513 that ostentation was essential for the production and dissemination of elite authority:

> Everyone can see what you appear to be, whereas few have direct experience of what you really are; and those few will not dare to challenge the popular view, sustained as it is by the majesty of the ruler's position. […] For the common people are impressed by appearances and results. Everywhere the common people are the vast majority, and the [discerning] few are isolated when the majority and the government are at one.[16]

The culture of princely display was also promoted in contemporary Scottish literature by writers John Ireland, Gilbert Hay, and Walter Bower, the latter of which recorded the following advice to kings:

> in order that the king may be distinguished from others, he must have distinctive apparel, which is decent and does him honour above others. For just as the king's honour lies in his giving justice and judgement, so the king's handsome and noble appearance brings honour to the ordinary people.[17]

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[14] Gerard Nijsten, 'The Duke and His Towns: The Power of Ceremonies, Feasts, and Public Amusement in the Duchy of Guelders (East Netherlands) in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (ed.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis and London, 1994), pp. 237, 246.

[15] Werner Paravicini, 'The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?', in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (ed.), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), p. 75.

[16] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge, 1988), ch. 18, p. 63.

[17] *Chron. Bower*, vol. 5, bk. 10, ch. 7, p. 311. See Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 7, p. 137; Hay, *Governaunce*, pp. 92-3.

Such advice connected a regal appearance with the maintenance of good government, aligning with European ideals of the display of power and authority through material goods and the desirability of a high degree of splendour and magnificence.[18]

The extent to which contemporaries truly understood the symbolism and allegory contained within the material culture of display is an issue that requires further exploration. John Adamson has questioned the 'functionalist' and 'propagandist' approach of historians who view objects as conduits for the propagation of coded symbols and political messages, designed to persuade a public audience of the power of the monarchy. Instead, he points out that court culture and art may have been quite devoid of symbolic substance, with images merely nodding towards historical or mythological themes rather than being explicit depictions of political and diplomatic intentions.[19] Yet it was the arcane and esoteric nature of much of elite material culture that conferred on it and its owners their high status. By restricting understanding to a select few with the necessary cultural competence, namely the noble, the literate, and the wealthy, Flemish objects such as tapestries and armaments retained and bolstered their own artistic and theoretical value.[20]

This chapter will look first at the evidence for Flemish jewellery worn by Scottish elites and how personal adornment symbolised social and cultural status.[21] The Flemish origin of objects of apparel, implying expertise in manufacturing skills such as stone cutting and cloth dyeing, was inextricably tied up with the value attached to them as signs of princely taste and virtue. The inherent value of precious metals, jewels, and luxury textiles functioned as a carrier of complex messages relating to social rank, differentiation, and hierarchy.[22] In this way the power of the state was personified in the body of the prince in the most literal way.[23] As symbols of elite status, it was necessary that such luxuries should contrast with the clothing worn by the lower ranking sections of society. Late medieval changes in the Scottish economy and societal structure, as elsewhere in Europe, brought about increasingly restrictive legislation regarding the wearing of certain fabrics, furs, and jewellery in the fifteenth century.[24] The rise of the merchant class in the increasingly wealthy and politically powerful burghs, combined with an economic downturn from the late fourteenth century, created an atmosphere of aristocratic unease and a greater desire for social status to be clearly visible in people's outward appearances.[25] An act of parliament of 1471 referred to 'the great poverty of the realm [and] the great expense and cost caused by the importing of silk into the realm', connecting the poor economic situation to the visual differentiation between knights, minstrels, heralds – those associated with court culture – and the rest of society.[26]

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[18] Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy*, pp. 25, 172; James Lindow, 'Splendour', in Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis (ed.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 306-7.

[19] John Adamson, 'The Making of the *Ancien Régime* Court, 1500-1700', in John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the* Ancien Régime*, 1500-1750* (London, 1999), pp. 10, 27, 34, 37-8. He cites Ellenius (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*; Peter Burke, *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy, 1420-1540* (London, 1972); and Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton, 1987) as works which overstate the symbolic meaning of objects.

[20] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Introduction to *Distinction*', in Lee (ed.), *The Consumer Society Reader*, p. 85.

[21] The wearing of Flemish fabrics is discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 60-7, with Appendices 3-4 detailing royal purchases of Bruges satin and Lille cloth, while Appendix 7 details other Flemish fabrics.

Linking material enforcement of the social order with the common good of a wider community suggests a moral dimension to the conspicuous consumption of luxury goods. As discussed in Chapter 2, the maintenance of good international trade relations was considered to be for the benefit of the realm as a whole. By the early twelfth century there was perceived to be a connection between foreign trade, material sophistication, and the good governance of the realm. In the *Life* of St Margaret by Bishop Turgot of St Andrews, he praised her promotion of international trade and the adoption of 'new costumes of different fashions' by members of the royal court. 'All this the queen did, not because the honours of the world delighted her, but because duty compelled her to discharge what the kingly dignity required.'[27] Furthermore, in the mid-fifteenth century Gilbert Hay advised that the ruler 'suld ever have maist notable and fairest and rychest and strangeast and best fassound anournementis, sa that he suld appere abone and before all otheris in knaulage of dignitee'.[28] Consequently it can be argued that kings of Scotland were expected to display their country's good trade relations with the great entrepôt of Flanders as a symbol of their good governance of the realm, as well as being a tool for hierarchical distinction. The idea of the common good could thus be manipulated to justify and encourage princely magnificence, recalling in the work of Gilbert Hay the Aristotelian link between financial profit and group benefit.[29]

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[22] Roach and Eicher, 'The Language of Personal Adornment', pp. 7, 9, 12; Braunstein, 'Toward Intimacy', p. 574; Désirée Koslin, 'Value-Added Stuffs and Shifts in Meaning: An Overview and Case Study of Medieval Textile Paradigms', in Koslin and Snyder (ed.), *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress*, p. 236.

[23] Michael Walzer, 'On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought', *Political Science Quarterly* 82:2 (June 1967), p. 194; Kurt Johannesson, 'The Portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre', in Ellenius (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, p. 11.

[24] *RPS*, 1430/12-14, 1458/3/14, 1471/5/7.

[25] Lythe, 'Economic Life', pp. 71, 81-2; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 72.

[26] *RPS*, 1471/5/7. The act ostensibly aimed to retain coinage within Scotland rather than sending it abroad.

The desire for social differentiation was exemplified in John Ireland's *Mirror of Wisdom*, in which he set out, through an analogy to the body, the correct ordering of the social hierarchy and the physical material corresponding to each estate of society.[30] The king was represented by the head of gold, the nobility by the chest and arms of silver, the clergy by the torso and thighs of brass, and burgesses and labourers by the legs and feet of iron and clay:

> And þus we haue four principale partis in the realme The king þat is þe heid of gold quharin is soue/rane autorite þe nobilite and cheualry quhar þar is fortitud and strenth / to distroy aduersite and defend þe realme Clergy to instruk and gif lycht to þe laiff be werray prudence And burgessis and the pepil / that sustenis the laif be temporaunce.[31]

Certain virtues were associated in Ireland's mind with certain materials, and these in turn were symbolic of the different segments of society.[32] It was expected, then, that royalty and aristocracy should dress and present themselves in a manner appropriate to their station. Fine fabrics and precious jewels were not simply conspicuous signs of wealth and noble status but enforced the social order through visual means. Clothing and personal adornment were therefore some of the most literal media through which elites expressed their power, by displaying it on their very person. 'More than any other material product, clothing plays a symbolic role in mediating the relationship between nature, man, and his sociocultural environment. In dressing up, man addresses himself, his fellows, and his world.'[33]

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[27] *Life of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland, by Turgot, Bishop of St Andrews*, trans. William Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh, 1884), pp. 40-1.

[28] Hay, *Governaunce*, p. 92.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 95; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', pp. 59, 62.

[30] Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 7, pp. xxxvi, 157-9.

[31] *Ibid.*, bk. 7, p. 158.

[32] For the body politic, see Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan (ed.) *Medieval Political Theory – A Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100-1400* (London, 1993); Dumolyn, 'Justice, Equity and the Common Good', pp. 12-3.

The late medieval Scottish crown possessed vast amounts of precious jewellery, as shown in the 1488 inventory of Edinburgh Castle's treasury and jewel house.[34] It records dozens of pieces of golden jewellery owned by James III and Margaret of Denmark, much of it encrusted with precious stones and pearls such as 'a collere of rubeis set with threis of perle contenand xxx perlis and xv rubeis with ane hinger, a diamant and a grete perle'.[35] However, there is little evidence that Flemish jewellery was particularly prized, perhaps due to the predominance of Parisian work.[36] There are exceptions: in 1436 James I imported from Flanders a golden collar with gems and pearls, a necklace with a diamond, a golden chain, and one hundred and twenty pearls.[37] In Andrew Halyburton's accounts there are references to jewellery imported into Scotland: 'a lytyll ryng with torkes', 'a ryng with ruby', and 'a ryng with a saffer' for Robert Wells, later archdeacon of St Andrews.[38] Flemish jewellers had a degree of renown as *diamantslypers* or diamond cutters, and those of Bruges in particular were patronised by the dukes of Burgundy.[39] However, there is substantial evidence that much of the jewellery trade was carried out on an *ad hoc* basis. As with other luxury products sold in Bruges, jewellery could be found at the *pandt* fair from 1482 and on Philipstockstraat: an area associated with the goldsmithing trade.

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[33] Ronald A. Schwarz, 'Uncovering the Secret Vice: Toward an Anthropology of Clothing', in Cordwell and Schwarz (ed.), *Fabrics of Culture*, p. 31. See Roach and Eicher, 'The Language of Personal Adornment' in Cordwell and Schwarz (ed.), *Fabrics of Culture*, p. 12; Peter Burke, 'Renaissance Jewels in their Social Setting', in Jill Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence: Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1500-1630, 15th October 1980 – 1st February 1981*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1980), p. 9; Grahame Clark, *Symbols of Excellence: Precious Materials as Expressions of Status* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 11.

[34] *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 79-87. This was compiled after James III's defeat at Sauchieburn to which he would have taken much of his moveable wealth to fund, so the inventory records only a fraction of his pre-1488 holdings.

[35] *TA*, vol. 1, p. 84.

[36] R. W. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History* (London, 1978), esp. ch. 10.

[37] Appendix 7, no. 16; *ER*, vol. 4, pp. 679-80.

[38] *Halyburton's Ledger*, p. 12.

[39] Evans, *A History of Jewellery*, p. 68; Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, pp. 16, 43, 61; Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 238. Flemish jewellery was also exported to England: Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp. 239-40.

This is supported by the scarcity of documentary evidence for the acquisition of jewellery by Scots, suggesting that spontaneous purchase was common. In 1504 a Robert Bertoun was paid for 'ane ymage of gold for ane bonet, and ane ring of gold', bought for James IV while passing through St Andrews to Rome.[40]

The precious stones used in medieval jewellery were sourced from Africa, Arabia, India, and Iran, and, after 1492, the New World.[41] Yet contemporary records appear unconcerned with these exotic origins, in apparent contradiction of the idea that jewels conspicuously displayed expanding Renaissance horizons.[42] Medieval literature presented the idea that precious stones conveyed certain magical and supernatural properties to their wearers. The foremost authority on this was Bishop Marbode of Rennes, who in the late eleventh century compiled a lapidary outlining the properties of jewels. Diamonds, for example, were believed to confer invincibility and the ability to ward off poison.[43] It is unclear to what extent the elites of late medieval Scotland believed in such superstition, but it can be argued that precious jewels did possess symbolism regarding the proper appearance of the prince and their good governance of the realm. The possession and display of wealth was effective when achieved through jewellery and precious metal, which could be melted down and used for payment. Additionally, it signalled the productive maintenance of healthy international trade relations, beneficial to the realm as a whole, again linking to Flanders as Scotland's principal trading partner.

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[40] *TA*, vol. 2, p. 240.

[41] E. A. Jobbins, 'Sources of Gemstones in the Renaissance', in Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, pp. 12, 15-9; Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery*, pp. 16, 18, 20; Ian Wardropper, 'Between Art and Nature: Jewellery in the Renaissance' *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 25: 2 (2000), p. 11; Diana Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain, 1066-1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary and Artistic Survey* (Wilby, 1994), pp. 79-80; Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, p. 58.

[42] Wardropper, 'Between Art and Nature', p. 11.

[43] *Marbode of Rennes' (1035-1123) De lapidibus*, ed. John M. Riddle (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 35-6. See *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, vol. 1, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 10-2; *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also a Book of the Marvels of the World*, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford, 1973), pp. 25-49; Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, pp. 11, 96-7; Clark, *Symbols of Excellence*, p. 84; A. G. Somers Cocks, 'The Status and Making of Jewellery, 1500-1630', in Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 4; Burke, 'Renaissance Jewels in their Social Setting', p. 8; Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery*, pp. 16, 28.

It was important for the kings of Scotland to impress the international elite with whom they competed through great expenditure in the creation of political and dynastic alliances, military power, and prestige. The combination of international diplomacy and visual display makes royal marriage celebrations the ideal frame within which to examine the use of Flemish material culture. Examining the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor on 8 August 1503, the following section will consider the ritualistic nature of the marriage and its intended impact on the select group of guests and participants.[44] The pomp and ceremony of the rituals were deeply laden with political and dynastic meaning, the importance of which was clear to contemporaries.[45]

Many of the furnishings and ornaments for the marriage celebrations were imported from Flanders by James's factors Jerome Frescobaldi and James Merchamestoun. The latter purchased in Flanders the following, amounting to £703 14 s.: 'sex stopes, vj flacatis, viij cases pecis, in ilk case vj pecis with ane covir, xxiiij platis, xxiiij dishes, xxiiij salsaris of silver quhit, vj goblatis with ane covir ovirgilt, certane cheris of estait, and certane othir gere'.[46] Collections of gold and silver plate were a typical element in the Renaissance prince's arsenal of splendour as signs of their wealth and aesthetic taste, cultural awareness, and ability to command the finest materials for their table.[47] These objects were not necessarily for eating but were primarily for display on a construction known as a dresser, buffet, or cupboard.[48] At the 1468 wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in Bruges, for example, a buffet hung with tapestry bearing the ducal coat of arms stood in the centre of the banqueting hall. On it were arranged large silver vessels with gem-studded golden vessels above and a precious cup crowning the arrangement: 'une riche couppe garnye de pierrerie'.[49] The public element of such spectacle is reinforced by Georges Chastellain who, describing the 1461 coronation of Louis XI in Paris, noted the multitudes of people who went to the Maison d'Artois to see Philip the Good's plate collection: 'many various people came, not to dine, but to see the state and the magnificence of the event'.[50] This included,

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[44] On their royal entry into Edinburgh 'a varey fayr Torney' was conducted, judged by the king. Also staged were representations of the judgement of Paris and the Annunciation. Much of the display contained symbolism related to the hunt, with James appearing to Margaret among a hunting party and presenting her with the gift of a hart: Young, *Fyancells*, pp. 283, 288-9.

[45] Barrow, "The Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a grett tame Hart", pp. 71, 74-5.

[46] *TA*, vol. 2, p. 241: 'six pitchers, six flagons, eight cases of cups, in each case six cups with one cover, twenty-four plates, twenty-four dishes, twenty-four saucers of white silver, six goblets with a cover overgilt, certain chairs of estate, and certain other gear.'

[47] See the collection of gilded plate and tableware owned by James III: *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 82-3.

[48] Michael Pearce, 'Approaches to Household Inventories and Household Furnishing, 1500-1650', *Architectural Heritage* 26:1 (2015), p. 80; Pearce, 'Vanished Comforts', p. 72; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 68.

> a dresser made in the manner of a round castle, twelve levels high, full of golden vessels, namely pots and flagons of diverse fashions, ascending to […] as much as six thousand marks of gilded silver, which were, at the highest end, gold embellished with rich stones of marvellous price.[51]

This is the sort of culture of display within which we should view James IV's Flemish collection of plate and its purpose at his wedding celebrations. John Young, Somerset Herald noted how during the feasting there were displayed 'riche Dreffor[s]', both in the king's hall and the queen's.[52] These dressers may have been designed to hold and display the rich collection of Flemish metalwork imported by James, clearly considered central to the proper celebration of the marriage. A dresser being used in this way can be seen in a miniature by Loyset Liédet depicting Charles the Bold receiving a translation of *Les faiz du grant Alexandre*. The dresser stands to Charles' left as he sits beneath a rich blue canopy. The image encompasses the importance of many luxurious materials in the deployment of princely power: brightly dyed fabrics, glittering jewellery, fine furniture, and shining plate.

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[49] *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 3, bk. 2, ch. 4, pp. 119-20; Anna Somers Cocks, 'The Myth of 'Burgundian' Goldsmithing and the Function of Plate at the Burgundian Court', *The Connoisseur* 194:781 (March 1977), pp. 183-4.

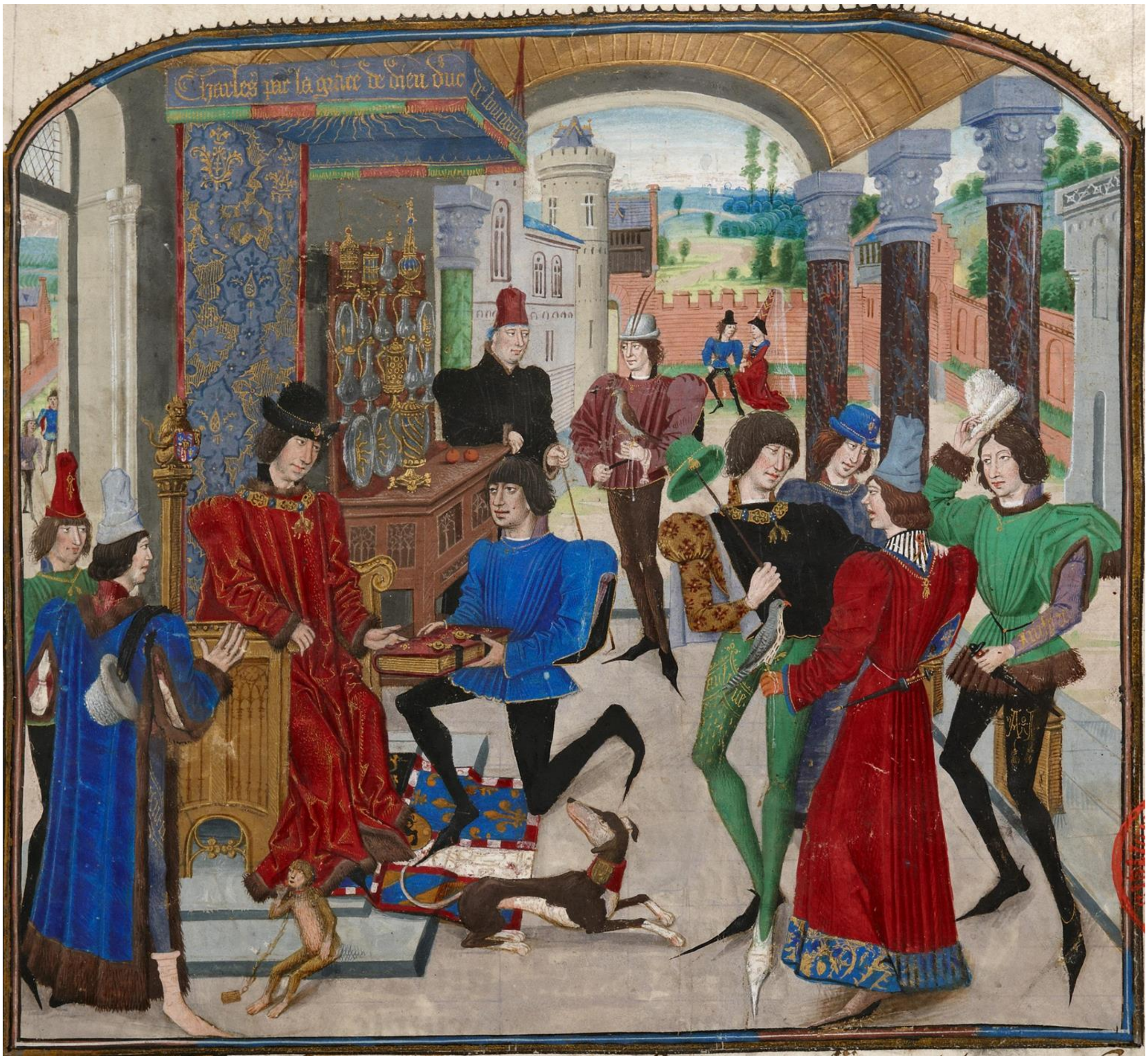
[50] *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 4: *Chronique 1461-1464*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1864), bk. 6, pt. 1, ch. 39, p. 139.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40. Chastellain was the official chronicler of Philip the Good, appointed in 1454 to glorify the Burgundian ducal house. He noted that Philip possessed 'la vertu de magnificence merveilleuse, et en toutes choses qui estoient grandes et scrutileuses en fruit, là veilloit-il': *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 5: *Chronique 1464, 1466-1468, 1470*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1864), p. 245. See Graeme Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 91, 93, 176.

Five years previously Philip had staged an exposition of his treasury which included some 30,000 marks or around 7,350 kilograms of metal plate: *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 3: *Chronique 1454-1458*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1864), p. 92; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 151; Van Uytven, 'Splendour or Wealth', p. 112. When Czech traveller Leo Rozmital visited Philip's court in 1465-6, he noted tables and cabinets of gold and silver vessels: *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, 1465-1467*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Letts (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 27-8.

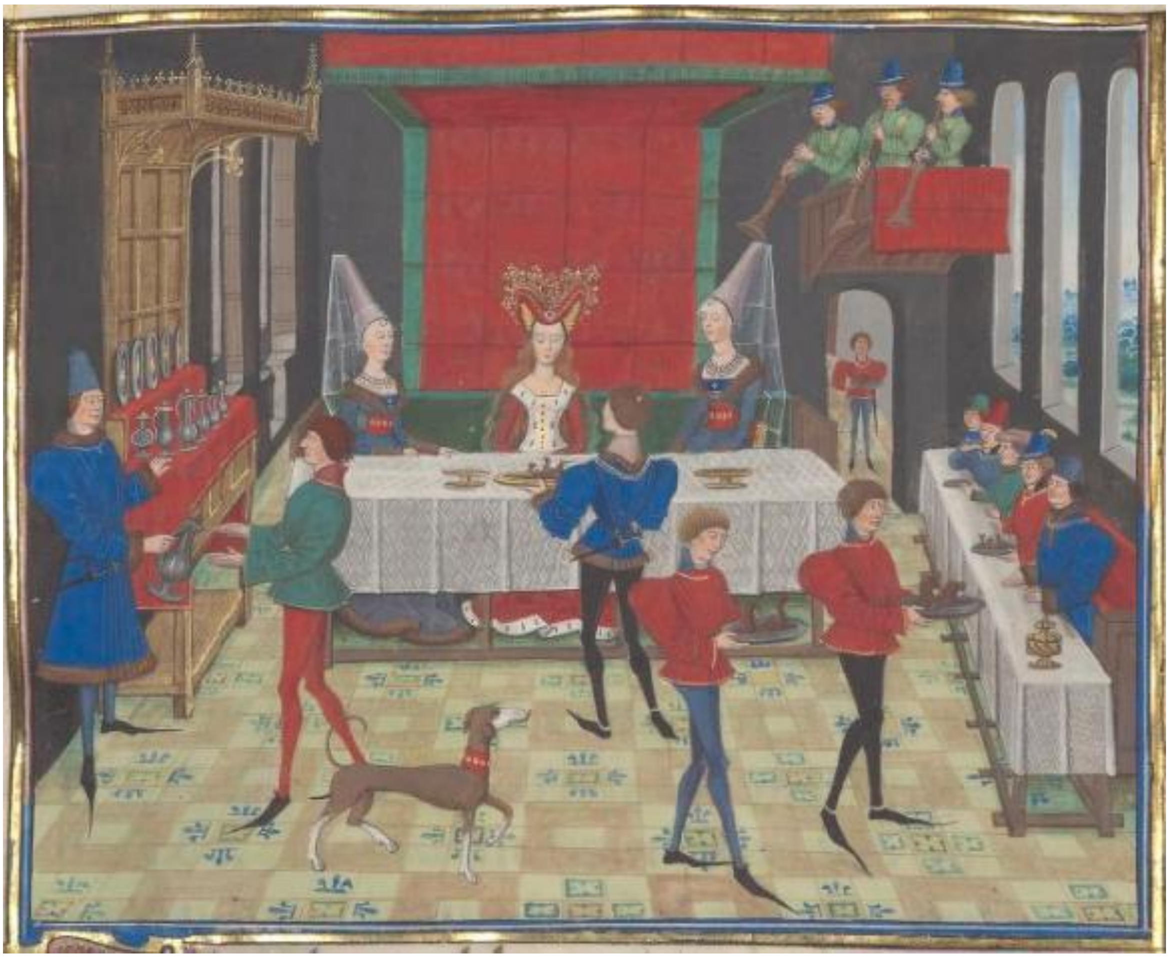
Other examples of events at which fine plate was displayed were the 1430 marriage of Philip the Good of Burgundy and Isabella of Portugal, and the 1454 Feast of the Pheasant at Lille, at which the plate contained fine crystals and precious stones: *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre, Seigneur de Saint-Remy*, ed. F. Morand (Paris, 1881), p. 160; *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 2, p. 137.

[52] Young, *Fyancells*, pp. 295-6. In August 1503 a 'copburd of glasses' was transported from Stirling to Holyrood Abbey: *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 383, 390. This may have been one of the dressers used at the marriage feast. My thanks to Lucy Dean for these references.


Charles par la grace de dieu duc
de bourgo

Quintus Curtius Rufus, trans. Vasque de Lucena, *Histoires du grant Alexandre de Macedone*, c.1468-79, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS f.22.547, f. 1r (detail).

Another image of a dresser employed at a feast is that of a wedding banquet in the *Histoire de Renaud de Montauban*, a popular *chanson de geste* centred around the exploits of four knightly brothers:



Histoire de Regnault de Montauban, Bruges, 1468-70, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Arsenal, MS 5073, f. 148r (detail).

The display of gold and silver plate had become an essential element in the standardisation of expectations: the ritual, ceremonial, and material elements of which princely courts were expected to be constituted and which were *de rigueur* in court culture.[53] Flanders was known as the centre of a prestigious metalworking industry. John the Fearless of Burgundy favoured Bruges for his purchases, although other Low Countries regions also produced fine metalwork.[54] In the 1320s the Scottish crown purchased twenty-three silver cups, two ewers, and two mitres from Thomas Charteris, 'in partibus transmarinis', in preparation for the marriage of the future David II to Joan, sister of Edward III of England.[55] These purchases were concordant with the large sums of money spent on fine fabrics and exotic food for the occasion, in an act of display that presented the wealth and power of the Scottish crown to its English allies.[56] Andrew Halyburton exported silver chalices and goblets from the Low Countries for his elite clients including James, duke of Ross.[57] Continental, specifically Flemish, tableware clearly retained its luxury status into the early sixteenth century, as shown by its use at James IV's marriage. It is also significant that the plate was displayed in a similar manner to that customary for the dukes of Burgundy, the trendsetters of northern Europe, since as well as acquiring luxurious Flemish objects a ruler 'must know how to consume them in a seemly manner.'[58] Scottish practice was therefore in line with that of one of the most sophisticated princely courts. As well as having an aesthetic function there was an element of princely duty in such splendour, harking back to the tying together of good governance and the display of Flemish luxuries. 'Followers were intended to be reassured by the display [of the hall] that their masters would fulfil social obligations towards them.'[59] The display of gold and silver plate was not mere exhibitionism for its own sake but served a moral purpose. It reassured onlookers that the ruler had the financial means to properly govern and defend their realm and that they had the cultural insight to acquire fine plate which symbolised Scotland's mercantile and artistic links to Flanders, the region of northern Europe with the most sought-after luxury manufactures. This was conspicuous consumption on a grand scale, inviting favourable comparison with James's competitors, in this case the English crown.[60]

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[53] Adamson, 'The Making of the *Ancien Régime* Court', p. 14, dates this phenomenon to the years between roughly 1500 and 1700.
[54] Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, 'Gold and Silver', in Fliegel and Jugie (ed.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, p. 131.
[55] *ER*, vol. 1, p. 235; A. A. M. Duncan, 'Charteris, Sir Thomas (d. 1346)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

Flemish furniture was also mentioned in the payment account for the precious metal plate. James IV ordered via Jerome Frescobaldi five chairs of estate.[61] One of the chairs was to be covered in cloth of gold, another in black velvet, and the remaining three in green velvet.[62] The chairs were made in Bruges and were to be decorated with ironwork, brasswork, leather, fringes, and ribbons. Young recorded the use of two chairs at the marriage ceremony in Holyrood Abbey:

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[56] *ER*, vol. 1, pp. cxiii-cxv, pp. 149-50; John Barbour, *The Bruce*, (ed.) A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 744-7; Dean, 'Projecting Dynastic Majesty', pp. 39-41; Lucinda Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings, and Processions: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c.1214-c.1603' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2013), pp. 233-5.

[57] *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 160, 184, 218, 249-51. When James I imported the aforementioned collection of jewellery from Flanders in 1436, he also purchased a golden saltcellar encrusted with pearls: Appendix 7, no. 16; *ER*, vol. 4, p. 680.

[58] Veblen, 'Conspicuous Consumption', p. 34.

[59] Pearce, 'Approaches to Household Inventories and Household Furnishing', p. 79.

[60] It is unknown what became of the plate displayed in 1503. In a Florentine context, the Signoria displayed the town's wealth to its guests by giving them the plate used at dinner: Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca and London, 1991), p. 324. My thanks to David Ditchburn for this reference.

[61] Appendix 8.

> After ther Orayfons doon, and laftyng the Letany, wich was fonge and faid by the Arch Byfchop, the Kynge withdrew himfelf to his Travers, of Blew and Red fraunged, wich ftod on the Left Syde, and ther fetted himfelf in a ryche Chayre. In fuch wys, the Qwene into her awne Travers of Black, wich was on the Right Side, and fatt downe in a ryche Chayre alfo.[63]

The traverse, a screen or curtain enclosing a private space, marked the royal couple off from their guests and proclaimed their exalted status. The use of the traverse to conceal, elevate, and sacralise the royal person was another element in the standardisation of expectations. The practice was performed during religious services including coronations at the Burgundian, Castilian, English, and papal courts.[64] It is likely that the rich chairs mentioned by Young were among those ordered from Flanders, considering the huge sum of £173 16s. 3d. spent on materials, manufacture, packing, and transport. Flemish luxury products demonstrably had an important role in the display of James IV’s cultural and economic strength at his marriage celebrations.

The paraphernalia of princely power also included tapestries from Flanders and the wider southern Low Countries region. The high quality and reputation of Flemish tapestries and their suitability as tools for the communication of elite status has been discussed in Chapter 3. Their fine materials, craftsmanship, and resulting great expense meant that they became part of the standardisation of expectations at the marriages of the European royal and aristocratic elite. The dukes of Burgundy employed vast quantities of tapestries at their own marriages to communicate their wealth, power, and taste. Philip the Good transported fifteen cartloads of tapestries from Dijon and Lille to Bruges for his marriage to Isabella of Portugal in 1430, and at the 1468 marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York the hall of the ducal palace at Bruges was decorated with tapestries of gold, silver, and silk thread depicting Jason and the Golden Fleece.[65] Such was the splendour of the display that Burgundian courtier Olivier de la Marche noted that, 'ne croys pas que l'on ait veu si grant et si riche tapisserie ensemble.'[66]

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[62] Margaret owned ‘ane chere of gold’ in December 1503, suggesting that she was seated in the chair of cloth of gold while James was seated in that of black velvet: *TA*, vol. 2, p. 238.

[63] Young, *Fyancells*, p. 294. In 1503 were purchased ‘lj elne taffeti to be ane trevis to the King’ and ‘lx elne taffeti, rede, grene, and blew, to be ane othir trevis’: *TA*, vol. 2, p. 213.

[64] Paravicini, ‘The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy’, p. 88; Adamson, ‘The Making of the *Ancien Régime* Court’, p. 29; Amy L. Juhala, ‘The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2000), p. 209.

In this light the Flemish pieces on show at James and Margaret's marriage can be viewed as one element of competitive display. John Young reported that on Margaret's entry into Edinburgh the town was decorated with tapestries: 'The Towne of Edenbourgh was in many Places haunged with Tappiffery, the Howfes and Wyndowes war full of Lordes, Ladyes, Gentylwomen, and Gentylmen'.[67] The queen's great chamber at Holyrood, in which sat 'many Nobles and Knyghts', contained tapestry hangings representing 'the Ystory of Troy Towne'. In the king's chamber were tapestries depicting the story of Hercules, 'togeder with other Ystorys'.[68] These may have been the same tapestries transported in seven carriages from Stirling to Edinburgh for 'the cummyng of the Quene'.[69] The hanging of tapestries was clearly an essential element in the proper portrayal of James's cultural *nous* and prestige.

The Trojan tapestry set is thought to have been manufactured according to the initial drawings retained by tapestry merchant Pasquier Grenier of Tournai after he provided the first tapestry set to Charles the Bold.[70] These sets were also owned by such European rulers as Charles VIII of France, Ferdinand I of Naples, and Matthias I of Hungary, and emerged during a period of intense courtly interest in the Trojan epic, evident in literature such as the Burgundian Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des*

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[65] Philip the Good: Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 56; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 177. Charles the Bold: *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 3, bk. 2, ch. 4, pp. 118-9; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 174.

[66] *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 3, bk. 2, ch. 4, p. 118.

[67] Young, *Fyancells*, p. 291.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-6. See *Wardrobe Inventories*, pp. 50-1, 103-4; *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France: Catalogues of the Jewels, Dresses, Furniture, Books, and Paintings of Mary Queen of Scots, 1556-1569*, ed. Joseph Robertson (Edinburgh, 1863), p. 39, nos 81, 88, for what might be the same Trojan and Herculean tapestries.

[69] *TA*, vol. 2, p. 379. Tapestries had also been prepared at Linlithgow and Stirling Palaces for the arrival of the 'Inglismennis' in May of 1503: *ibid.*, p. 373.

[70] See Chapter 3, p. 75, n. 86.

Histoires Troyennes.[71] The Herculean tapestries were also Flemish, having been brought to Scotland by James's factor in Flanders, James Homyll, in 1503.[72] In the late medieval period European rulers built up large collections of Flemish tapestry as part of their arsenals of splendour. In England the royal collection expanded from seven pieces of arras in 1377 to fifty pieces in 1399 and almost a hundred in 1422.[73] By 1539, the earliest year for which there is a comprehensive inventory for the Scottish crown, James V owned one hundred and sixty-one pieces of tapestry, thirty-seven of which he had acquired in February 1538 when he sent a servant 'to pas in Flanderis for bringing of certane tapistre'.[74]

That Flemish tapestries were utilised in order to present a princely spectacle for James IV's guests is important. The Flemish origin added an element of cultural and aesthetic sophistication to the presentation of what were inherently militaristic, chivalric themes. The bright colours, gold and silver thread, contemporary costume, and life-size scale of late medieval tapestries made them 'propagandistic' objects for the furtherance of political and diplomatic ambitions.[75] Elites were thus able to perceive tapestries as representations of contemporary Europe, confirming the view of thirteenth century French philosopher Richard de Fournival: 'when one sees a story painted, whether a story of Troy or of some other thing, one sees the deeds of the brave men who were there in past times as if they were present'.[76] Chivalric heroes such as Hercules, regarded across Europe as exempla for the aristocracy to emulate, presented a statement of intent regarding James IV's own martial prowess and chivalric renown. By employing the Trojan legend in particular, James was reclaiming an origin myth used by the English to support their claim to overlordship of the British Isles. The ancient Britons had traditionally descended from Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas, a hero of the Trojan War. It had been claimed that, because England was the realm of Brutus's eldest son, English kings were superior to those of Scotland.[77] By reclaiming the Trojan legend through the medium of Flemish tapestry, James IV was solidifying his own status as monarch of a culturally rich, independent Scotland, as well as drawing attention to the greater stability of the Stewart dynasty and its superiority over that of the newly-established Tudors.[78] Many other European rulers claimed Trojan descent in order to lend themselves and their dynasties antiquity and legitimacy, meaning that James was operating within a thoroughly continental pattern.[79] He was also asserting his status as a successor to the culturally pre-eminent dukes of Burgundy: arbiters of taste in northern Europe and the rulers under whom the most prestigious tapestry workshops of the Northern Renaissance flourished.

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[71] For ownership of Trojan tapestries, see Asselberghs, 'Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes de la Guerre de Troie', pp. 162-72; Geneviève Souchal, 'Charles VIII et la Tenture de la Guerre de Troie', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art: Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis* 39 (1970), pp. 185-9; Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, pp. 116, 125; Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence', p. 42; McKendrick, 'Edward IV: An English Royal Collector of Netherlandish Tapestry', p. 521; McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England', p. 44; Belozerskaya, 'Critical Mass', p. 165.

For the Trojan epic, see Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française*, pp. 171-6; Myriam Cheyns-Condé, 'L'Épopée Troyenne dans la 'Librairie' Ducale Bourguignonne au XVe Siècle', in Jean-Marie Cauchies (ed.), *À la Cour de Bourgogne: Le Duc, Son Entourage, Son Train* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 85-7; Asselberghs, 'Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes de la Guerre de Troie', pp. 157-61.

[72] *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 214.

[73] McKendrick, 'Tapestries from the Low Countries in England', p. 49.

[74] NRS, E 35/1, ff. 24r-24v; *Wardrobe Inventories*, pp. 49-51; *TA*, vol. 7, p. 17.

[75] Katherine Anne Wilson, 'Political Tapestries of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, Dukes of Burgundy', in Emily Jane Anderson, Jill Farquhar and John Richards (ed.), *Visible Exports / Imports: New Research on Medieval and Renaissance European Art and Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012), p. 145; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 'Portable Propaganda: Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold', *Art Journal* 48:2 (1989), pp. 123-9; Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, pp. 95, 102-3; Belozerskaya, 'Critical Mass', pp. 161-3; Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, pp. 30-1; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 53.

[76] *Li Bestiaires d'Amours di Maistre Richart de Fornival e li Response du Bestiaire*, ed. Cesare Segre (Milan and Naples, 1957), p. 5. See Allan Ellenius, 'Introduction: Visual Representations of the State as Propaganda and Legitimation',

Evidently there was a strong link between art objects and the demonstration of princely authority, combining material splendour and military prowess. It was necessary for a ruler to have cultural capital, made manifest in luxuries imported from Flanders, in order to properly communicate their power. As with royal marital ritual, the tournament was a stage on which to convey princely

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p. 3, and Friedrich Polleroß, 'From the *exemplum virtutis* to the Apotheosis: Hercules as an Identification Figure in Portraiture: An Example of the Adoption of Classical Forms of Representation', in Ellenius (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, pp. 37-62.

[77] Roger A. Mason, ''Scotching the Brut': The Early History of Britain', in Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited*, p. 51; Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 62-3; Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', p. 609; Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1997), p. 44.

The myth was related by Walter Bower and later rejected by John Mair: *Chron. Bower*, vol. 1, bk. 2, chs 5-6, pp. 177-9; Mair, *History*, bk. 1, ch. 9, pp. 50-3; bk. 5, ch. 17, p. 287.

[78] It could be argued that references in Scottish literature to Robert I as the Tenth Worthy, completing the series of the nine chivalric heroes who embodied the knightly qualities of prowess, loyalty, and generosity, were continued in physical form by the display of chivalric tapestries. By situating himself in the physical presence of representations of the heroes of Troy, James IV was not only harking back to one of several origin legends of the Scottish people, but expressing his status as heir to Robert Bruce, Scotland's great historical hero against English aggression. See *Chron. Bower*, vol. 7, bk. 13, ch. 14, p. 47.

[79] Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, p. 116; Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, p. 74. Maximilian I claimed descent from Hector of Troy on his triumphal arch, discussed below, pp. 133-4.

ambition. The dukes of Burgundy held tournaments of 'une splendeur sans égale', and the kings of Scotland were fully tuned in to this continental culture of chivalric display.[80] In this arena Flemish material culture was deployed by James IV as a sign of his wealth and cultural sophistication and to cement his standing as the leader of the Scottish chivalric community. Historians have written on the declining relevance and purpose of the tournament in late medieval western Europe. The rise of gunpowder weaponry, the developing professionalisation of the soldiery, and the increasingly ritualistic and decorative elements of the tourney have been highlighted as signs of its significance being solely reserved to the ceremonial life of the aristocratic elite.[81] It has been noted that,

> even as the military […] values of the knight declined, his outward pageantries grew ever more splendid, the shadow increasing as the substance lessened. The social splendour of the knight was displayed at the tourney, the war-game which was once his training ground and was now his stage.[82]

The physical danger to the knight was lessened through the increasing use of blunted weapons and barriers to divide the lists in the joust. Maurice Keen wrote that jousting developed from a skill into an art, with theatre and décor filling the space left by the declining relevance of martial activity.[83] However, while chivalry and the tournament may have been increasingly divorced from the reality of warfare, they remained entirely bound up with the reality of politics, diplomacy, and the propagation of power in the public sphere. While Keen acknowledged the decreasing applicability of the tournament to realistic warfare, he simultaneously recognised that exhibition and ritual were central to the acting out and perpetuation of social obligations and relationships.[84] More recent scholarship echoes this viewpoint: 'If it was a game, it was a very serious one: people took up the attitudes associated with chivalry not just as part of a charade, but as part of their whole outlook on life.'[85] Looking at late medieval Scotland in particular, chivalry was 'not simply […] one facet of elite culture, but […] integral to the conduct of politics as both a contested aspect of crown-noble relations and an important plank of the exercise of late-medieval royal authority.'[86] It is with this in mind that the following section will examine the theatricality and ostentation inherent in the tournaments of late medieval Scotland and the ways in which the display of royal chivalric power was tied up with the display of high quality material goods from Flanders.

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[80] Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française*, p. 104.

[81] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 205-6; Chamberlin, *Everyday Life in Renaissance Times*, pp. 35, 49; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, p. 190; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 192-4; Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p. 46.

[82] Chamberlin, *Everyday Life in Renaissance Times*, p. 49.

[83] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 206.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 216. See Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 9-12.

Tournaments were strongly associated with great diplomatic events. For example, James IV held a great tournament in which he himself participated for the marriage in 1496 of his cousin Catherine Gordon to Perkin Warbeck, the pretender to the throne of England known in Scotland as 'Prince Richard of In[gland]'.[87] As well as an opportunity for the king to display his wealth and martial prowess on an international stage, such events were opportunities for him to establish himself as leader of the Scottish chivalric community, both identifying with his leading subjects, for whom the cult of honour was central to their way of life, and extending his authority over them.[88] In David Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo*, the idea of good governance was explicitly tied up with James IV's success in the tiltyard:

> And, of his courte, throuch Europe sprang the fame
> Off lustie lordis and lufesum ladyis ying,
> Tryumphand tornayis, justyng, and knichtly game,

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[85] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 27.

[86] Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', p. 214. Furthermore, '[i]t is perhaps a measure of the importance of chivalry to contemporary expectations of kingship that the most unpopular Stewart monarch of the period – James III – was also the one who betrayed the least interest in chivalric pursuits. Jousts and tournaments were occasions of lavish pageantry when the crown's role as the fount of honour could be displayed in highly theatrical and occasionally bloody public performances.': Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy?', p. 267.

[87] *TA*, vol. 1, p. 263. Warbeck was in Scotland from November 1495 to July 1497: David Dunlop, 'The 'Masked Comedian': Perkin Warbeck's Adventures in Scotland and England from 1495 to 1497', *SHR* 70:190, pt. 2 (October 1991), pp. 99, 120; Wormald, 'Thorns in the Flesh', p. 65; Ian Arthurson, 'The King's Voyage into Scotland: The War that Never Was', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 3-4; R. L. Mackie, *King James IV of Scotland: A Brief Survey of His Life and Times* (Edinburgh and London, 1958), pp. 79-80.

The tournament: *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 257, 262-4; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, pp. 82-99; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 176; Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', p. 59; Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 122-3; Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', p. 604.

[88] Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry', pp. 197-214; Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy?', p. 268.

> With all pastyme accordyng for one kyng.
> He wes the glore of princelie governyng.[89]

The spectacular tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, staged in June 1507 and in May 1508, is a prime example of the use of Flemish luxury objects for the propagation of royal power in the highly ritualised sphere of aristocratic martial display.[90] Much of the symbolism surrounding the tournament was related to themes of renewal and regeneration. The first tournament was held in Edinburgh just a few months after the birth of a short-lived prince to James IV and Margaret Tudor, and the event was possibly intended to celebrate the arrival of an heir to the throne. The stage set included a Tree of Esperance or 'hope' bearing 'feuïlles de plaifance, la fleur de nobleffe, & le fruit d'honneur', and made up of 'xxxvij peris', 'ij^{c} platis to be leifis', 'xviij dosan of leifis […] and sex dosan flouris', the tree and the fruit being symbols of new life and regeneration.[91] At the bottom of the tree there were five crowns of white, grey, green, purple, and gold, each being topped with the names of the Wild Knight, the Black Lady, and other knights and ladies.[92] There was also a 'gret heich pailȝoun' and one 'small pailȝoun', the former decorated with green and white taffeta from London and the latter with taffeta from Flanders.[93] Flemish taffeta was used to fashion 'the cote armouris and banaris for pailȝoun and the field'.[94] One hundred and sixty ells of Flemish taffeta was imported for the event, in white, yellow, purple, green, and grey, costing £88 in total.[95]

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[89] 'The Testament of the Papyngo', ll. 500-4, in *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems*, ed. J. H. Williams (Glasgow, 2000), p. 75.

[90] Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 225-64; Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', pp. 606-613; Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, pp. 28, 53, 94-7, 187; Edington, 'The Tournament in Medieval Scotland', pp. 60-1; Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 294-5; MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change', p. 162; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 177-9.

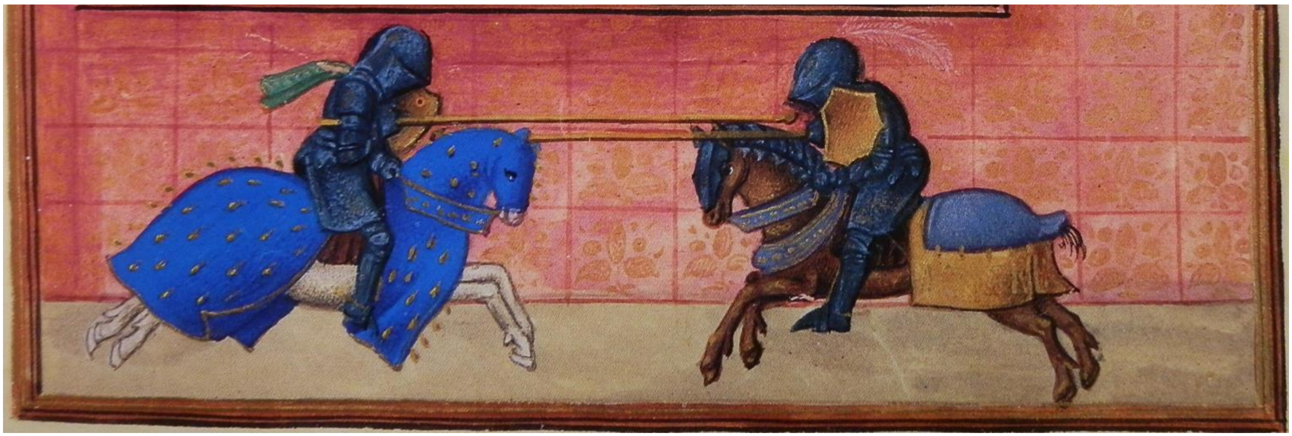
[91] Marc de Vulson, *La Science Heroiqve, Traitant de la Noblesse, et de l'Origine des Armes...*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1669), p. 492; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 230; *TA*, vol. 3, p. 394.

[92] De Vulson, *La Science Heroiqve*, p. 492; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 227-8.

[93] *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 256-7, 259-60. Flemish thread and rope were also used in the construction of at least one pavilion: *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 256, 260.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 256.



James IV Book of Hours, © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, f. 38r (detail).

The pavilion or arming tent of the late medieval tournament was central to the conduct of the ritual and appears to have been a visible element of such events. Picard chronicler Mathieu d'Escouchy recorded the 1449 tournament at Stirling Castle at which Jacques de Lalaing challenged James Douglas to combat *à oultrance*.[96] After paying their respects to James II 'en la manière accoustumée', the competing knights retired to their pavilions to arm. This being done, a trumpet sounded three times and the knights, bearing their weapons, emerged and 'commencèrent à marcher vers leurs adversaires très vigoureusement'.[97] Thus the pavilions, draped in Flemish fabrics, functioned as stage sets for the entrance and departure of the competing knights.

Silk fabrics such as taffeta were not manufactured in Flanders until the late fifteenth century, until that point being imported from Italy and Spain, whose own supplies were often augmented by raw materials from Spain, China, and Asia Minor. It was imperative that in 1507 and 1508 the most sumptuous fabrics were displayed to the elite guests, and these were best sourced from Flanders. The purchases made for the tournaments are concordant with the numerous imports of silk textiles from Flanders made during the reigns of James IV and his predecessors, including taffeta, satin, damask, velvet, and cloth of gold and silver.[98] In 1507 the Black Lady was clothed in a gown of damask 'flourit with gold' and embellished with yellow and green Flemish taffeta, while her two ladies wore green and yellow gowns of Flemish taffeta.[99] She was enthroned on a 'chair triumphale' of Flemish taffeta adorned with taffeta 'flouris and panises', continuing the theme of growth and plenty.[100] In 1508, around the time of the second tournament, Jerome Frescobaldi purchased in Flanders a great deal of cloth of gold amounting to 81.75 ells in total.[101] Some was fashioned into clothing for the king and queen; for example, 'vj elne of fyne clath of gold of the steik of quhilk the Kingis goun wes maid'.[102] The splendour of the tournament, including the adornment of the protagonists and the pavilions in luxurious Flemish fabric, showcased the knightly prestige, wealth, and cultural sophistication of James IV, visibly tying his reign to the traditional princely qualities of prowess and open-handedness. It also tied in to the maintenance of good international trade relations as an aspect of princely virtue, since the 'rychess […] multiplyit bathe to the king and to commoun' were publicly displayed, albeit to an exclusive audience.[103] In preparation for the 1507 tournament the French knight Antoine d'Arces was sent to France with illuminated articles proclaiming the event and inviting international participation; and the second tournament was held in honour of Sir Bernard Stewart, seigneur d'Aubigny, whose family prestige had been established through service to the kings of France.[104] Present were 'money gentilmen out of ingland france and denmark', providing the necessary international audience for James's diplomatic and chivalric posturing.[105]

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[96] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 28, pp. 148-9. See Chapter 2, pp. 81-2.

[97] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, vol. 1, ch. 28, pp. 150-1.

[98] Appendix 7, nos 15-6, 18-23, 26, 28, 30-1, 33-6, 38. James II bought cloth of gold and silver from Flanders around the time of his sister Mary's 1444 marriage to Wolfaert van Borselen and his own 1449 marriage to Mary of Guelders: Appendix 7, nos 18, 21; *ER*, vol. 5, pp. 148, 273-4, 309, 344-5, 436-7, 498. In the mid-fifteenth century such textiles are likely to have been imported into Flanders from elsewhere rather than manufactured there.

The tournament also featured wild men: a common feature of late medieval and early modern court culture.[106] James IV himself participated:

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[99] *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 259-60.

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 260.

[101] Appendix 7, nos 35-6, 38; *TA*, vol. 4, pp. 20, 27, 31.

[102] Appendix 7, no. 38; *TA*, vol. 4, p. 31.

[103] Haye, *Governaunce*, p. 95.

[104] *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 365, 372; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 177-8; Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 254-5; Macdougall, 'The Political Context of the Perpetual Peace', p. 75.

[105] Pitscottie, *Historie*, p. 242.

[106] A 1510 tournament of Henry VIII of England imitated that of James IV by featuring 'certayne men appareiled like wilde men, or woodhouses, their boddies, heddes, faces, handes and legges, covered with grene Silke flosshed': Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 235; Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', p. 614. For the wild man as a symbol of violence, irrationality, and 'non-civilisation', see Timothy Husband and Gloria

> This summer, the king, baith on fute and horse, bot in persone of a stranger, prouoiket to the singular combat mony […] [H]e wald be called a knycht of King Arthuris brocht vp in the wodis; his luk and gret grace in vanquissing his ennimis, his wicht spirit in onsetting, wil testifie mony a combat with sindrie french men, and men of diuerse natiounis.[107]

The Arthurian element was significant in that it incorporated a chivalric legend traditionally associated with the English crown and its pretensions to pan-British sovereignty.[108] By appropriating Arthurian symbolism into a tournament celebrating the birth of a male heir, James highlighted the fact that the long-established Stewart dynasty might soon threaten that of the relatively unstable Henry VII, who by 1507 had only one surviving son.[109] James's enthusiastic participation in tournaments signified his distinction from the more wary English king, who could not afford to risk his life in chivalric pursuits while his succession was not guaranteed by a second male heir.[110] It also distinguished James from his own father James III, whose disinterest in chivalric pursuits diminished his role as the central figure in the national honour culture.[111] There was thus a tying together of good kingship, exhibitionism, and Flemish material culture. Contrasting with the sophistication and civility of the Renaissance court, constituted as it was of the finest Flemish fabrics and furnishings, the wild man represented themes of savagery, barbarism, and the untamed. These were fitting associations considering James's recent success in subduing such elements in Scottish society, namely the supposed wildness of the Highlands and Islands. With the forfeiture of Torquil MacLeod in 1506 and the imprisonment of Donald Dubh

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Gilmore-House, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1980), pp. 1-8.

[107] *The Historie of Scotland Wrytten first in Latin by the Most Reuerend and Worthy Jhone Leslie Bishop of Rosse and Translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple*, vol. 2, ed. E. G. Cody and William Murison (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 128. See Pitscottie, *Historie*, pp. 242-4.

[108] The Arthurian legend was interpreted by Scottish writers John of Fordun, Andrew of Wyntoun, Walter Bower, John Mair, and Hector Boece: Elizabeth H. Hanna, 'Arthur and the Scots: Narratives, Nations, and Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2015), pp. 1-2.

[109] Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', pp. 605, 607, 609, 613. James and Margaret also named their second son Arthur, and James IV was compared to Arthur after his death, as 'one who shall never come back [but] was yet looked for': Mair, *History*, bk. 2, ch. 6, pp. 84-5.

As with the Trojan tapestries, James was re-appropriating a myth normally used to further English ambitions. However, Arthur had European appeal as one of the Nine Worthies, and continental elites also held Arthurian-themed events, such as the *pas d'armes* of the future Louis XII of France in 1493: Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 204.

[110] Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', pp. 613-4.

[111] Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy?', pp. 267-8.

MacDonald in 1507, many of the troublesome elements of the western Scottish nobility had been defeated by the crown.[112] Although James himself spoke Gaelic or 'the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands', it was imperative that he subdue those elements which contradicted his standing as a cultured and militarily powerful Renaissance prince with full command over his realm.[113] The inclusion of the wild men can be read as an attempt to co-opt and neutralise this potential threat to mainstream aristocratic culture, vividly contrasted with the splendour of James's court, itself constituted of the most highly sought-after Flemish material culture.

The theme of otherness continued with the Black Lady, symbolic of exoticism and foreignness.[114] It is possible that she was intended to represent Queen Margaret. Taking into account the theme of regeneration, the Tree of Esperance, the subjugation of the 'wild men', and the symbolic nod towards a Franco-Scottish alliance, it can be argued that the Black Lady was intended to represent the incorporation of the English princess into the Scottish diplomatic fold as yet another symbol of James IV's mastery of both domestic and international politics. Thus, Margaret and the Black Lady became material symbols themselves: luxury commodities displayed at public events in order to proclaim the political, cultural, and economic power of the monarch. James's absorption of the Gaelic-speaking west of Scotland into his sphere of control and of Margaret Tudor into the Scottish royal house were materially symbolised through the deployment of Flemish luxury objects, held in the highest regard by the aristocratic participants and spectators.[115] By employing great swathes of Flemish fabric in the tournament, one of the most ostentatious and visually excessive rituals known to the elite,

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[112] Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 239; Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 175-91; Mackie, *King James IV*, pp. 194-7; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 546. Spanish ambassador Don Pedro de Ayala noted in 1498 that, '[n]one of the former Kings have succeeded in bringing the people into such subjection as the present King.': 'The Protonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, to Ferdinand and Isabella', no. 210, p. 173; 'Don Pedro de Ayala (1498)', in *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 46.

[113] 'The Protonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, to Ferdinand and Isabella', no. 210, p. 169; 'Don Pedro de Ayala (1498)', p. 39.

[114] She may have been a black slave brought to Scotland by Leith pirates the Barton brothers, or a white woman whose face had been painted black: Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 250, 256. There were black women, known as Elen and Margaret More, present at James's court: *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 465, 468-9; vol. 3, pp. 114, 155, 172, 175, 182, 310-1, 321-2, 336, 361, 371, 387; vol. 4, pp. 232, 324, 339, 401, 404, 434, 436; *ER*, vol. 12, pp. 374-5.

[115] For the visible incorporation of women into their marital families, see Hughes, 'Regulating Women's Fashion', pp. 140-1.

James was asserting his ability to command the best quality products and incorporating them into his ceremonial statement of diplomatic, martial, and chivalric dominance.

Many of the elements of princely magnificence, virtue, and martial prowess were evidently tightly linked, and this manifested itself in the maintenance of sumptuous material surroundings from Flanders. The concluding section of this chapter will look at the royal use of Flemish objects related to military strength, namely gunpowder weapons, to project an image of martial and technological power. It will chart the changing fashions in European armaments, how these were reflected in Scottish usage, and the ways in which these practical items were co-opted into the wider arsenal of Flemish display goods. Flemish objects related to military strength were vital to the propagation of Scottish monarchical power in the late medieval period. Military and chivalric prowess was considered to be characteristic of the noble and kingly state, and prerequisite for the proper governance of the realm:

> [Þ]e noblis fra þar ȝoutheid / suld haue wse and exercicioune in pane and laubour and in thingis pertenand to wer baith in reding of corniclis and experiens of chevalry and deidis of armes The caus and ressoune of þis is / for and the noblis in þar ȝoutheid be nurist our tendirlie þai will nocht be disposit eftirwert to susteyne þe gret laubour and pane in deidis of armes and þe sciens and craft / þat þai suld wse / þai suld begyn to leir in þar tendyr age þis doctrine was kepit in all peple and nacioun þat vsit cheualry.[116]

Central to the necessity for Flemish objects in the propagation of princely power was the position of Flemish armaments manufactories at the peak of the northern European scale in terms of both quality and quantity, as outlined in Chapter 3.

The strong display and pageantry aspect of Flemish munitions within Scottish court culture can be seen in the example of Mons Meg, the great wrought iron bombard over four metres in length given by Philip the Good to James II in 1457. The technology for large bombards was developed in the late fourteenth century when cannon of great calibre were highly desirable as weapons in siege warfare. Capable of firing cannonballs as heavy as 386 kilograms, bombards reached their peak around the turn of the fifteenth century.[117] Although effective in siege warfare, they had several disadvantages which made them of little use on the battlefield. Their great size, up to 5.2 metres in length and 16,400 kilograms in weight, made them difficult to transport and liable to bogging down, the firing process was lengthy due to the necessity of preparing cannonballs and gunpowder on site and of cooling down the gun before reloading, and they were prone to fracture or even explosion, as James II found out to his cost when he was killed by an exploding cannon at his siege of Roxburgh in 1460.[118]

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[116] Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 7, p. 139.

By the time of Mons' arrival in Scotland in the mid-fifteenth century the large bombard was nearing the end of its useful life as an effective artillery weapon and much smaller, more practical guns had been developed, some of them hand-held.[119] Heavy artillery weaponry became a medium for princely display by the Scottish crown, since the practical purpose of bombards decreased and their impact was primarily aesthetic. Mons thus became a symbol of the military ambition of the Scottish crown as well as its strong links with the political and cultural centre of Burgundy. In July 1497 she departed from Edinburgh Castle on the way to James IV's siege of Norham Castle in northern England. The enterprise was ostensibly in aid of Perkin Warbeck and his claim to be the Yorkist heir to the English throne. It also offered James an opportunity to destabilise the rule of Henry VII both at home and abroad, since a weak English king would be an undesirable ally to international rulers such as Spain.[120] In return for successful Scottish military support Warbeck promised James the long-contested town of Berwick and the sum of 50,000 marks.[121] Accompanying James to Norham were huge numbers of oxen, horses, carts, and guns:

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[117] The heaviest known bombard, made for John the Fearless in Brussels in 1409-11, weighed thirty-five tons: Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 262.

[118] DeVries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe*, pp. 121-2, 286, 289, 293; DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 145, 148-50; Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, pp. 262-3; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 129-30; Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy*, p. 18; Brusten, *L'Armée Bourguignonne*, pp. 103-4; Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p. 145; Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970), p. 197; *The Burgundian Booty and Works of Burgundian Court Art, Historisches Museum Bern, May –September 1969*, ed. H. Matile (Bern, 1969), p. 98.
For the death of James II, see McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 202, 272; DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 160; DeVries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe*, p. 136.

[119] Smaller and more easily manoeuvrable weapons were capable of firing at a higher frequency. Medium guns (veuglaires, crapadeaux, mortars, bombardelles, courtaux, falcons, and serpentines) and smaller guns (culverins) varied greatly in size from 15 centimetres to 1.8 metres, and from 6 kilograms to 3,500 kilograms: DeVries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe*, pp. 121-2, 286, 293; DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 148-9; Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p. 145; Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy*, pp. 18-20.

[120] Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 130-2; Dunlop, 'The 'Masked Comedian'', pp. 103, 121-3; Arthurson, 'The King's Voyage into Scotland', p. 4; Macdougall, 'The Political Context of the Perpetual Peace', pp. 72-3; David Caldwell, 'How well Prepared was James IV to Fight by Land and Sea in 1513?', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* 14 (2013), pp. 49-50; Mackie, *King James IV*, pp. 83-8.

> Item, to the menstralis that playit before Mons doune the gait, xiiij s. […]
> Item, giffin for xiij stane of irne, to mak grath to Mons new cradill, and gavilokkis to gra with hir; for ilk stane xxviij d.; summa xxx s. iiij d.[122]
> Item, the xxix day of Julij, giffin to vij wrichtis for tua dayis and a half that maid Mons cradil; to ilk man on the day xvj d.; summa xxiij s. iiij d. […]
> Item, giffin for viij elne of cammas to be Mons clath to couir hir; for ilk elne xiiij d.; summa ix s. iiij d.
> Item, for sowing of it, iiij d. […]
> Item, giffin to Schir Thomas Gabreth, for paynting of Mons clath, xiiij s.[123]

The 'Mons clath' was painted by Sir Thomas Galbraith, the clerk of Stirling's Chapel Royal who later illuminated the ratification of James IV's and Margaret Tudor's 1502 marriage contract.[124] This, together with the employment of minstrels to escort the cannon 'doune the gait', exemplifies the status of Flemish munitions as showpieces to be publicly employed in the exhibition of princely power. The minstrels would have been visually splendid, as James IV dressed his musicians in fine Bruges satin and Lille cloth. These were high status fabrics imported from Flanders, the prestige of which was associated with the region's strong mercantile and cultural identity.[125] The same can be said for the reputation of Flemish guns in Scotland. They acted as status symbols and were intended to impress

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Warbeck was for a time supported by Margaret of York, dowager duchess of Burgundy, Maximilian of Austria, and Duke Philip the Fair of Burgundy: Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 117; Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', p. 603; Weightman, *Margaret of York*, pp. 150-5, 169-77, 183, 186; Arthurson, 'The King's Voyage into Scotland', pp. 3-4; Mackie, *King James IV*, p. 67.

The venture ended in failure for James. He attempted once more to take Norham in 1513, finally succeeding, but died soon after at the Battle of Flodden: Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 247-8, 273-6; Norman Macdougall, 'The Kingship of James IV of Scotland: 'The Glory of All Princely Governing'?', in Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited*, p. 34; Wormald, 'Thorns in the Flesh', pp. 62, 71; Macdougall, 'The Political Context of the Perpetual Peace', p. 79; Caldwell, 'How well Prepared was James IV?', pp. 65-3; MacIvor, 'Artillery and Major Places of Strength', p. 99.

[121] Dunlop, 'The 'Masked Comedian'', p. 107. A mark was two thirds of a pound, but it is unclear whether Scottish or English currency was meant.

[122] The new mount constructed for the cannon was typical of the period since siege artillery was set upon and transported by wheeled carriages which also held ammunition and gunpowder. Often, they also protected their operators with adjoining shields, and cushions at the backs of guns absorbed the recoil on firing: DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 158.

[123] *TA*, vol. 1, pp. 348-9, 351; Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 138; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 174; Macdougall, 'The Kingship of James IV', pp. 33-4; Stevenson, 'The Return of Mons Meg from London', p. 437.

[124] *Painters in Scotland*, ed. Apted and Hannabus, pp. 40-1; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 31.

[125] *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 108, 306-7, 323; *TA*, vol. 4, pp. 56, 262, 429. See Chapter 3, pp. 60-7; Appendices 3-4.

upon onlookers the princely qualities of their owners: the maintenance of good commercial and diplomatic relations as well as the proper governance and defence of the realm. Spanish diplomat Don Pedro de Ayala recorded of James IV's landholding elite that, '[t]here is much emulation among them as to who shall be best equipped, and they are very ostentatious and pride themselves very much in this respect.'[126] As in the tournament, in war too the king was required to elevate himself above his nobility and to take control of the display of the paraphernalia of good governance. 'In order to rule legitimately those in authority had to ensure that their actions became common knowledge', and this was achieved through material culture.[127]

This was public display on a grand scale. Unlike other examples of elite display, the ritual conducted and the objects deployed were visible to the common townspeople. However, this may not have been the intention of the ceremonial departure. Adamson, writing about the period of 1500 to 1700, has argued that while courtly expectations were heavily influenced by the classical ideal of *fama* or the longevity of name and reputation, the courting of popular opinion was held in disdain by aristocratic elites.[128] This is supported by Eustache Deschamps' ballad, *Comment les Roys et les Princes ne doivent estre communs ne familiers avec leurs subgiez, et les causes pourquoy*, which said that princes should be wary of excessive public spectacle on feast days and at other celebrations since this would cause overfamiliarity and a decline in obedience.[129] Similarly Gilbert Hay advised that,

> it efferis nocht till a prince and namely till a king tobe our familiare, na have our mekle hantyng na communicacioun with his lauly subjectis […]; for our mekle syk hamelynes engenderis lychtlines and vilipensioun of princis, and nurisis and engenderis dispite and lesse honour.[130]

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[126] 'The Protonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, to Ferdinand and Isabella', p. 174; 'Don Pedro de Ayala (1498)', p. 48.

[127] Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', p. 139.

[128] Adamson, 'The Making of the *Ancien Régime* Court', p. 34.

[129] *Poésies Morales et Historiques d'Eustache Deschamps, Écuyer, Huissier d'Armes des Rois Charles V et Charles VI, Chatelain de Fismes et Bailli de Senlis* (Paris, 1832), pp. 4-5. See Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, p. 31. Burgundian chroniclers rarely included townspeople in their descriptions of public ceremony, even when held in urban spaces: Peter Arnade, 'City, State, and Public Ritual in the Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39:3 (April 1997), p. 306.

[130] Hay, *Governaunce*, p. 93.

What mattered was the opinion of one's peers, not that of the populace at large. Indeed, much of the symbolism of the art of war was inextricably tied up with exclusively aristocratic notions of chivalric honour, as seen by the example of James I's importation in 1430 of the Flemish bombard, *The Lion*.[131] The zoomorphism of the bombard as a lion held great significance for an aristocratic elite immersed in the moral codes of chivalry and heraldry, which emphasised the knightly qualities associated with particular animals. The lion, known as the 'king of bestes', was 'in all perellis […] rycht glorius and richt vaillant' and epitomised the bravery and prowess expected of the knightly class.[132] Therefore it was a fitting symbol of the military strength of the monarchy, not only in the name of the bombard but also in the royal arms of Scotland, the lion being suitable to represent only those who were 'hardy, vaillant, stark and assurit'.[133]

Such overt displays of military might and chivalric prestige were aimed primarily at the aristocratic elite, both national and international, rather than at the common people of Scotland. However, the effect achieved on both elite and non-elite onlookers would undoubtedly have been a powerful impression of regal authority. Authority, 'the belief that a person has the right to exercise influence over others' behaviour, is itself an abstraction, and people can conceive of who has authority and who does not only through symbols and rituals'.[134] The symbols and rituals bound up with the projection of princely authority took advantage of every possible medium associated with the proper conduct of a European ruler. What links them is the pervasive and vigorous belief that physical might and cultural sophistication were inextricably connected. All that was used in the display of princely power should also have been aesthetically beautiful, and this dynamic drove the kings of Scotland to look to Flemish manufactures in the public proclamation of their power. There was also a strong undertone of good governance in the display of symbols associated with the defence of the realm and the fulfilment of healthy international trade relations.

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[131] *Chron. Bower*, vol. 8, bk. 16, ch. 16, pp. 263-5; Mair, *History*, bk. 6, ch. 13, pp. 360-1.

[132] *Deidis of Armorie*, vol. 1, p. 20. See L. A. J. R. Houwen, 'Lions Without Villainy: Moralisations in a Heraldic Bestiary', in Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone and Kenneth Simpson (ed.), *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, University of Strathclyde, 1993* (East Linton, 2001), pp. 249-66; *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, p. 55.

[133] *Deidis of Armorie*, vol. 1, p. 20.

[134] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, p. 24.

There is a clear case to be made for artillery and other weaponry to be seen as art objects capable of exerting cultural power on their audiences. Charles the Bold, for example, possessed a sword inlaid with seven diamonds, seven rubies, and fifteen pearls.[135] James IV owned a highly decorative sword 'covered with a Scabard of Pourple Velvett, wich was written apon with Perles, *God my Defende*. The lyke on the Pommell, and the Croffe, with the Chap alfo.'[136] The material link between splendour and authority was explored by John Ireland, who alluded to the king as 'þe heid of gold quharin is soue/rane autorite'.[137] His vision of good governance was contained within the image of a sword, symbolic of the king's duty to uphold justice and to govern virtuously and piously:

> [I]n it ar stanis of wertu cleir hard and of gret dignite þat signifyis & betakyn/nis þe gret wisdome and prudens / þat suld be in a king and prince to gowerne his realme and pepill / and as to þe clernes brychtnes and schynyng of þame þai signi/fy gret thingis and wertuus Thai precius stanis ar hard and of gret force / þat signifyis þe gret wertu force and strenth / þat þe king suld haue our all þe laif in the ministracioun of iustice and defens of his pepill And the vthir noble wertuis includit in þai precius stanis signifyis and betakynnis þe noble wertuis that kingis has had in tyme befor / and þat þai suld haue / euir exersand þar noble office and dignite considerand þat þai ar þe louetennandis of god and ihesu to gowerne wertuislye his pepil.[138]

There was a clear connection between the virtues associated with precious stones and those of good kingship, exemplified by the sword as the symbol of justice. This association between military paraphernalia and the decorative luxury of jewellery can be seen in the records of James IV, who employed goldsmith Matthew Auchlek to provide him with 'tua batall axes, tua gluffis of plait, tua vant platis, tua spere hedis, tua suordis, tua targis of gold', and had his handguns and powder horns embellished with silver.[139] In 1511 he purchased ‘sex gilt dagaris, foure furneist dagaris, foure turnyng swerdis, foure dusson of wirrellis with diamontis’.[140] Scottish practice was in line with continental fashion, specifically that of Burgundy: the arbiters of taste in late medieval northern Europe.

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[135] Gaier, *L'Industrie et le Commerce des Armes*, p. 81; Wilson, 'The Arms and Weapons of Burgundy', p. 193; Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, p. 143.
[136] Young, *Fyancells*, p. 287.
[137] Ireland, *Meroure*, p. 158.
[138] *Ibid.*, bk. 7, pp. 159-60.

In this context it can also be argued that Mons was a showpiece, the aesthetic function of which was to visually represent the conformity of the Scottish crown to a cultural code which promoted the princely virtues of justice, military strength, and the ability to demonstrate wealth and taste through public spectacle.[141] The embellishment of the bombard with a painted cloth and a troupe of minstrels reinforces its position as an *objet d’art*. There is evidence that in 1501 Mons was painted red.[142] Other large bombards received the same treatment, which served as a protective coating against the environment, including Dulle Griet, also known as *De Roode Duyvel* and cast by Jehan Cambier.[143] Despite the practical function of the paint, the colour red had great heraldic significance as a symbol of nobility and military prowess: ‘it is said þat nan / suld ber þat colour bot he war noble, mychti, and hardy; / and it is a noble vertu quhen a noble-man of noble / lignage is in batell and has hardynes pruffit in him / sua þat he may be worthi to ber þis noble colour’.[144] The type of ‘Renaissance monarchy’ practised by James IV and his contemporaries, then, was not constituted merely of patronage of the arts at the expense of more meaningful political business, but involved the inextricable intertwining of magnificence and the idea of good and effective governance, best achieved with the recognisably high status manufactures of Flanders.[145]

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[139] *TA*, vol. 4, p. 137: ‘two battle axes, two plate [armour] gloves, two vambraces [plate armour for the forearm], two spearheads, two swords, two targes [shields] of gold’.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 272. ‘Wirrellis’ or virals were rings placed around guns to prevent splitting: http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/viral. For further examples of gilded weaponry, see those purchased for the tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady: *TA*, vol. 3, pp. 255, 259, 396.

[141] See Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy*, pp. 25, 172, for the interlinking of princely qualities.

[142] *TA*, vol. 2, p. 25; David H. Caldwell, ‘Postscript: Mons Meg’s Original Carriage and the Carvings of Artillery in Edinburgh Castle’, in Stevenson, ‘The Return of Mons Meg from London’, p. 437; Smith and DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*, p. 242.

[143] Finlayson, ‘Mons Meg’, p. 124; DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, p. 161.

[144] *Deidis of Armorie*, vol. 1, p. 11.

[145] Mason, ‘Renaissance Monarchy?’, pp. 255-6; Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy*, pp. 2, 25, 172; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 176.

Having examined many of the rituals and ceremonies central to late medieval Scottish court culture, it is clear that not only did the rulers of that period invest heavily in Flemish status symbols to communicate their political power and social rank, but also that the Flemish origin of those objects was essential to elite expressions of ambition and identity. As the pinnacle of northern European material luxury, the Flemish textiles, metalwork, and other objects under discussion in this chapter functioned together in the kings of Scots' arsenal of display, underpinning what can be termed 'a rich iconography of authority'.[146] Flemish objects conveyed status not necessarily because they were the most costly, but because they signified the engagement of the Scottish elite in the common cultural currency of late medieval Europe and thus illustrated taste.[147] Public performance and conspicuous consumption, rather than being frivolity devoid of any great political meaning, were effective means of communicating and validating princely power.[148] The characterisation of James IV as a 'Renaissance prince' and his reign as an 'aureate age' owes much to the vast amounts of money and energy that he expended in securing the finest Flemish material culture for his courtly ritual.[149] This links back to the idea that royal power was capable of being publicly performed in a manner that was both sophisticated and choreographed as well as being representative of the personal ambition of the ruler. James IV's international standing as a Renaissance prince, bolstered, as this chapter shows, by his procurement of elite Flemish objects, is exemplified by the triumphal arch of Albrecht Dürer, printed for Emperor Maximilian I in 1515. James was represented on the Portal of Nobility alongside eleven contemporary kings and their coats of arms, signifying his international renown and prestige.[150]

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[146] Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 182.

[147] Kelly, 'Culture as Commodity', pp. 347-8; Roger S. Mason, *Conspicuous Consumption: A Study of Exceptional Consumer Behaviour* (Farnborough, 1981), pp. 109-10.

[148] Most notably, Johan Huizinga saw the ritual and display of the Burgundian ducal court as spectacular but essentially meaningless: Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 206-21. For a rebuttal see Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, pp. 2-3; Arnade, 'City, State, and Public Ritual', pp. 301. 303-4.

[149] Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 303-4, 309-10; Hepburn, 'The Household of James IV', pp. 22-3; Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy?', pp. 255, 267-8; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, ch. 18; J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1996), p. 5.

[150] Larry Silver, 'Paper Pageants: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I', in Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (ed.), *"All the world's a stage ...": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, pt. 1: *Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft* (University Park, PA, 1990), pp. 293-4; Wormald, 'Thorns in the Flesh', p.

The cultural richness of his court was constituted of such elements as an internationally renowned navy, lavish endowment of Stirling's Chapel Royal, a rich literary and musical scene, and Scotland's first printing press.[151] It also included, as part of the standardisation of courtly expectations, extensive material splendour from Flanders to proclaim his princely virtues and good governance: defence of the realm, chivalric leadership, and familiarity with the most sophisticated and culturally prestigious material culture.

69; Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics', p. 617; MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change', pp. 170-1.

[151] Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 146, 218, 223-43; Macdougall, 'The Kingship of James IV', p. 33; Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy?', pp. 265-6; Norman Macdougall, '"The greattest scheip that ewer saillit in Ingland or France": James IV's "Great Michael', in Norman Macdougall (ed.), *Scotland and War, AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 36-57; Caldwell, 'How well Prepared was James IV?', pp. 50-8; Wormald, 'Thorns in the Flesh', pp. 69-70; MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland', pp. 152-3; MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change', pp. 156-7; Roderick Lyall, 'The Court as a Cultural Centre', in Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited*, pp. 36-7, 45-7; Macdougall, 'The Political Context of the Perpetual Peace', p. 77; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 112-4, 159.

Chapter 5: ***The Art of Devotion***

This chapter will examine the impact in Scottish churches of imported Flemish furniture, its imitation by Scottish artisans, and the emergence in Scotland of the Brugeois cult of the Holy Blood. The use of Flemish or Flemish-inspired objects as screens, maintaining both physical and ideological boundaries between clerical and burghal elites and the remainder of the population, will be considered in the context of accepted social hierarchy. The prestige associated with Flemish manufactured goods has been laid out in detail in previous chapters; here the focus will be on such objects as altarpieces and choir screens and stalls. As outlined in Chapter 2, a recognisably Flemish aesthetic in art objects was made possible by high demand and the proliferation of models and patterns to meet that demand. In a religious context, the Flemish aesthetic was appropriated and manipulated to maintain a society that was 'stratified, and rightly stratified.'[1] Contemporary thought and literature supported the idea of a divinely ordained society composed of distinct but mutually dependent parts. John Ireland wrote that the correct ordering of the social hierarchy involved the assignment of certain virtues and responsibilities to each part. The clergy were 'to instruk and gif lycht to þe laiff be werray prudence', while the burgess class 'sustenis the laif be temporaunce'.[2] The material projection of the authority and prestige of these groups in relation to Flemish material culture will be under discussion here.

Ireland wrote that the clergy were set apart from 'the common people' due to the dignity and responsibility of their office:

> [Þ]ocht thir sacramentis be necessar to all cristin pepill / ȝit the honour dignite power / and office of ministracioun of þame is nocht grauntit na gevin to all / bot to certane persounis / and it liftis þame in a gre of dignite and autorite abone þame / þat has nocht sic power […] Richtsua the kyrkmen þat ha power and autorite to minister þir sacramentis þat caus spiritual generacioun suld gretlie be honorit abone the commone pepil.[3]

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[1] Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval Urban History and the History of Political Thought', *Urban History* 9 (1982), p. 21.

[2] Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 7, p. 158.

[3] *Ibid.*, bk. 6, pp. 79-80.

The administration of the sacraments, essential to the spiritual wellbeing of the community, was entrusted to a select few. They included baptism, marriage, the anointing of the sick, and the absolution of penitent sinners, which were essential rites which reduced the time spent in purgatory after death. Priests were also qualified to grant indulgences and to perform burial rites.[4] Additionally, they had the exclusive right to conduct masses. These were held throughout the day until high mass, which included musical accompaniment by the organ and singing by the chaplains of both the choir and the nave.[5] These rites were held to benefit the members of their respective parishes as a single Christian community or *corpus christianum*, contributing to the common good of society.[6]

Burghal elites also had a responsibility to uphold the common good. The concepts of the common good and the *res publica* in the context of the town have been considered extensively by late medieval historians.[7] Cicero defined the common good as encompassing the measure, the legitimisation, the obligation, and the limit of governors' legal and political actions, and although this notion was later adopted by the writers of mirrors for princes targeted towards the aristocracy, such discourse could also be found among the ruling elites of the towns.[8] The burgesses of royal burghs, those occupying a certain amount of land and holding trading privileges, held a monopoly over international trade. This was considered to be for the benefit of the realm as a whole and the economic sustenance of the country through the export of wool, woolfells, and hides, and the import of a wide variety of manufactures. These privileges and responsibilities belonged to members of merchant guilds, which had exclusive rights to deal in goods in their respective burghs and surrounding areas.[9] These guilds were designed to protect the livelihoods of their members through the regulation of standards and prices and the maintenance of trading monopolies, but they also served religious, charitable, and social functions and they had formed in thirteen burghs by 1400.[10] Regardless of the mercantile, legal, financial or other motivations of the burgh government, the common good could be invoked to justify any number of ideas or actions pertaining to the privileged few.[11] The guild system was therefore a tool for the legitimisation of social hierarchy as espoused in contemporary literature.[12] Although burghal rights were granted in common to the residents of the burghs, burgesses typically made up a very small proportion of the urban population. In Dunfermline in 1500, of a population of around 1,100 people, only 140 to 150 of those were burgesses; and in the fifteenth century, only eighteen surnames featured in the town's records as burgh officers.[13] From this group were appointed the aldermen, provosts, and baillies who governed the town 'cum consensu et assensu totius communitatis dicti burgi', meaning, in reality, the burgesses.[14] The rest of the burgh population was mostly made up of journeymen craftspeople, servants, and the unskilled. The town government was therefore one of oligarchy and plutocracy.[15]

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[4] McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland', pp. 106-7, 110-2; Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480-1560* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 21, 25, 64, 76, 78-9; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 14-34, 45-50, 54-6.

[5] McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland', p. 99.

[6] E. Patricia Dennison, 'Power and its Possessors: The medieval burgh revisited', *Review of Scottish Culture* 18 (2006), p. 4.

[7] Claire Hawes, 'The Urban Community in Fifteenth-Century Scotland: Language, Law and Political Practice', *Urban History* (2016), pp. 12-4; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', pp. 58-62; Roger A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 91-2; Antony Black, 'The Individual and Society', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 596; E. Igor Mineo, 'Cose in comune e bene comune: L'ideologia della comunità in Italia nel tardo medioevo', in Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet and Andrea Zorzi (ed.), *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries* (Rome, 2011), pp. 39-67.

[8] M. Tulli Ciceronis, *De Re Publica, De Legibus, Cato Maior de Senectute, Laelius de Amicitia*, ed. J. G. F. Powell (Oxford, 2006), bk. 1, sections 39-41, pp. 28-9; Cicero, *De Re Publica: Selections*, ed. James E. G. Zetzel (Cambridge, 1995), bk. 1, sections 39-41, p. 53.

See Dumolyn, 'Justice, Equity and the Common Good', p. 4; Jan Dumolyn, 'Urban Ideologies in Later Medieval Flanders: Towards an Analytical Framework', in Gamberini, Genet and Zorzi (ed.), *The Languages of Political Society*, pp. 76-7; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', pp. 58-9.

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[9] Confirmed by a 1364 charter of David II: *Burghs Convention Recs*, vol. 1, pp. 538-41.

[10] Elizabeth L. Ewan, 'The Community of the Burgh in the Fourteenth Century', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, p. 233; Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 135; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 160; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', p. 49. See also Antony Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (London, 1984), p. 8; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 100-1; James D. Marwick, *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts: A Sketch of the History of Burgess-ship, Guild Brotherhood, and Membership of Crafts in the City* (Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 25-35.

[11] Hawes, 'The Urban Community in Fifteenth-Century Scotland'; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', pp. 50, 59, 62, 162; Eberlin, 'Mechanisms of Foreign Trade', pp. 116-8.

[12] Black, 'The Individual and Society', p. 593.

[13] E. Patricia Dennison, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (published as Elizabeth P. D. Torrie), p. 246; Dennison, 'Power and its Possessors', p. 10. See Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, p. 103.

[14] *Abdn Counc.*, p. 374; Ewan, 'The Community of the Burgh', pp. 228, 231-2; Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, pp. 41-50; Dennison, 'Power and its Possessors', p. 11; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, p. 263; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', p. 48; Marwick, *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, pp. 18-22.

[15] The rule of towns by a socially privileged elite, in contrast to proclaimed notions of community, has also been noted in England: David Harris Sacks, 'Celebrating Authority in Bristol, 1475-1640', in Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E.

There was a strong relationship between mercantile, religious, and communal interests. For example, the Dunfermline guild court chose their market day 'for plesaur of God Allmichti' as well as for the 'commone profyt of the said burgh'.[16] A 1405 act of parliament empowered the Court of the Four Burghs, Edinburgh, Lanark, Linlithgow, and Stirling, 'to traite ordaine and determe vpon all things concerning the vtilitie of the common well of all the Kings Burghs their liberties and Court'.[17] Thus the 'common weal' of the urban population was set down in law as a thing to be protected. In the fifteenth century western Europe was badly affected by depopulation, popular unrest, war, and general economic decline, and Scotland seemed to suffer from the collapse of the Flemish textile industry to which much of its wool exports had been directed.[18] Merchants became increasingly concerned with protecting their monopoly on diminishing overseas trade while the growing power of the crafts, which began to incorporate in the late fifteenth century, encouraged merchant-dominated burgh councils to tighten their grip on urban government.[19] In 1469 parliament stated that new burgh councils and officers were no longer to be elected but were to be chosen by the previous ones, 'because of the great disturbance and contention each year […] through the multitude and clamour of common simple

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Weissman (ed.), *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark, 1989), p. 190; Reynolds, 'Medieval Urban History and the History of Political Thought', p. 18.

[16] *The Gild Court Book of Dunfermline, 1433-1595*, ed. Elizabeth P. D. Torrie (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 18-9.

[17] *Burghs Convention Recs*, vol. 1, pp. vi, 502. Another act was passed in 1487 empowering the Four Burghs 'to discuss and consider the welfare of the merchants, the good order and statute for the common profit of burghs and to provide compensation for damage and injury sustained within burghs': *RPS*, 1487/10/21.

[18] See Chapter 1, pp. 3-4.

[19] Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, pp. 85-6; Ewan, 'Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 135; Michael Lynch, 'The Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns, 1450-1600', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, p. 266; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South', pp. 197, 202; Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda*, p. 161; Lythe, 'Economic life', p. 71.

In the late fifteenth century craft guilds started to be recognised as institutions distinct from merchant guilds, forming incorporations with monopolies over production of their respective goods. They also provided professional training via apprenticeships, regulated wages and prices, and controlled standards: *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, vol. 1: *1403-1528*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1869), pp. 26-34, 47-9, 54-8; Marwick, *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, pp. 47-9; E. Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds: A History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades* (Aberdeen, 1887), p. 308; David Murray, *Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland, as Illustrated in the History of Glasgow and of Some Neighbouring Burghs*, vol. 1 (Glasgow, 1924), pp. 344-7; Lynch, 'The Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns', p. 261.

This was ostensibly a time of competing burgh factions: an oligarchic ruling elite facing the increasing authority of emerging craft guilds. However, merchant guilds aimed to preserve the privileges of both merchants and craftspeople against encroachments from non-members: Ewan, 'The Burgesses of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', pp. 132-3; Ewan, 'The Community of the Burgh', pp. 233, 236; E. Patricia Dennison, 'Living in medieval Dunfermline', in Richard Fawcett (ed.), *Royal Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 16; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', pp. 68-9.

persons'.[20] Although burgh privileges were granted in common to 'the community of the burgh', equality and unity were not major features of burgh life and government.[21] At play were multiple competing levels of urban society, with sharp divisions upheld particularly between guild members and non-members.

However, the communal nature of burgh life was enhanced by Scottish towns' uni-parochial status. Unlike in other European towns, parish and burgh boundaries in Scotland were for the most part coterminous, tying residents together both in a devotional sense and a mercantile one.[22] Parish churches acted as foci for their wider communities, and in the fifteenth century this sense of parochial community prompted extensive investment by parishioners in the fabric and furnishings of their churches.[23] By combining ecclesiastical and burghal contexts in an examination of the symbolism of Flemish material culture on an urban stage, a new perspective can be formed regarding the use of objects to solidify social status. Just as royal and aristocratic elites visually communicated their rank, privileges, and responsibilities, so too did clerics and burgesses cement their own status through ceremony, ritual, and performance. Using the inner structure of the church as a platform, the maintenance of the burghal community's spiritual and economic wellbeing, conforming to the idea of the common good, was displayed using objects associated with Flanders. The spiritual and governing authority of the elites required repeated maintenance and confirmation in order to ensure that that authority was legitimised and publicly recognised, creating what has been termed 'common knowledge'.[24] It is therefore essential that the ritual and ceremonial usage of Flemish objects, the high prestige of which has been established in the contexts of consumer culture, gift exchange, and princely splendour, also be examined within the context of the Church. This was the institutional locus for the coming together of the medieval population and a common platform which made visible to all the social hierarchy as symbolised in material culture.[25]

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[20] The councils were required to include representatives from each craft of the town, to 'have a voice in the said election of officers': *RPS*, 1469/19.

[21] Elizabeth Ewan, 'An Urban Community: The Crafts in Thirteenth-Century Aberdeen', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (ed.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 156; Ewan, 'The Community of the Burgh', p. 228.

[22] Paris had over forty parish churches, Norwich forty-six, and London almost a hundred, while Edinburgh had only two, St Giles' and St Cuthbert's, and every other Scottish town had one: Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 85-6. See also E. Patricia Dennison, 'Power to the people? The myth of the medieval burgh community', in Sally Foster, Allan Macinnes and Ranald MacInnes (ed.), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow, 1998), pp. 112-3; Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell, 'Introduction', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, p. 11.

[23] Geoffrey Stell, 'Urban Buildings', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, pp. 64-7; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 88-90; Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture*, pp. 185-215; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: An Introduction*, p. 55; Geoffrey Stell, 'Architecture: The Changing Needs of Society', in Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 167-9.

The interiors of late medieval churches were physically subdivided to a much greater extent than is perhaps recognised by modern observers. This is in part due to the poor survival of pre-Reformation church furniture and modern notions of equality and openness. The evidence strongly shows that the church environment of Scotland was as lavishly furnished as that elsewhere. Sir David Lindsay wrote in 1554:

> Behald, in euery kirk and queir
> Throuch Christindome, in burgh and land,
> Imageis maid with mennis hand, […]
> To quhome we Communnis, on our kneis,
> Doith wyrschip all thir Ymagereis.[26]

As well as being aesthetically beautiful, these furnishings performed a physical function in dividing clergy from laity and elite from ordinary. The primary division was enforced by the choir screen between the chancel and the nave. The chancel contained the high altar and choir at the east end of the church, where the clergy performed the daily singing of the Divine Office of psalms, scripture, readings, hymns, and prayers. The nave accommodated the laypeople at the west end. Side chapels in the nave could be screened off for the exclusive use of the families or corporations by which they were patronised.[27] Altarpieces, pillars, and textiles worked alongside choir screens to identify areas as more sacred and to control physical access to them.

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[24] Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', ch. 1, pp. 17-46; Michael Suk-Young Chwe, *Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge* (Princeton, 2001), p. 3.

For the upholding of power and social systems through repeated public ritual, see Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', pp. 20-1, 23, 162; Chwe, *Rational Ritual*, p. 4; Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man*, p. 82.

[25] However, it is essential to acknowledge that only around five to ten per cent of the Scottish population lived in towns: Gemmill and Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland*, pp. 9-10; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 1, 4; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 61.

[26] 'Off Imageis vsit amang Cristin men', in *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, vol. 1: *Text of the Poems*, ed. Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh and London, 1931), pp. 267-8.

The significance of Flemish church furnishings was inextricably connected to the artistic and mercantile reputation of the southern Low Countries region, and devotional paraphernalia associated with Flanders carried a great deal of weight regarding the maintenance of the social hierarchy. For the successful manifestation of elitism and exclusivity, both the material and the ideological connection with the artistic and economic hub of Flanders, and the legitimacy conferred on these objects by their religious affiliation, were consequential factors. Devotional ritual proclaimed rank, wealth, and accepted social hierarchy through the construction of physical barriers, the symbolic meaning of which was enhanced by their Flemish association.

The symbolism embedded in these barriers was inextricably connected to the ritual of the mass, which was conducted at the high altar. After the singing of psalms and hymns and the reading of epistles and gospels, the bread and wine of the eucharist were consecrated and transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ before being received by the congregation.[28] Medieval and early modern clerics and theologians emphasised the communal element of this ritual. John Ireland wrote in the late fifteenth century that, 'be the wertu of þis sacrament the persoune is vnit w^{t} ihesu'.[29] In 1552 Archbishop John Hamilton of St Andrews asserted that,

> it is callit the Communioun, for be worthi ressaving of this sacrament, al trew christin men and wemen are joynit all togidder amang thame self as spiritual memberis of ane body, and also ar joynit all togidder to our salviour Christ, heid of the same mistik bodye.[30]

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[27] Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 283, 288; McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland', p. 99; Rachel Dressler, 'Sculptural Representation and Spacial Appropriation in a Medieval Chantry Chapel', in Gertsman and Stevenson (ed.), *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture*, p. 219; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 41; Jacqueline E. Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches', *The Art Bulletin* 82:4 (December 2000), p. 626.

[28] Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 6, pp. 19-28; Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, pp. 67-70; John Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present* 100 (August 1983), p. 32; Norman Tanner, *The Church in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2008), p. 90; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 165; Black, 'The Individual and Society', pp. 592-3.

[29] Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 6, p. 19. See Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution', p. 50; Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1979), p. 82.

[30] *The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1552*, ed. Thomas Graves Law (Oxford, 1884), p. 203.

Yet the laity were obligated to receive the eucharist only once a year, at Easter, and were not permitted to enter the chancel unless they were knights, barons, or founders of churches.[31] Also, the view of the high altar by ordinary laypeople would have been blocked by choir screens delineating the boundary between chancel and nave, rendering the mass invisible.[32]

In order to reconcile these two apparently oppositional points Jacqueline Jung, using examples from Germany and France, argues that the modern perception of choir screens as inherently divisive and prohibitive to lay participation is misguided.[33] Instead she argues that choir screens, and by implication other church furniture such as winged altarpieces and curtains, should be appreciated for their ability to communicate with and integrate the laity into the ceremony of the Church.[34] Jung points to documentary evidence of a lay presence in the chancel. The 1423 Synod of Angers prohibited

> each and every person, most especially laypeople, married men and women, to presume to take their places in the chancel of the church while the Divine Offices are being celebrated […]; to sit or remain continually at the altar at which a Mass is to be celebrated while [other] Masses are being celebrated; to meet or linger next to or in front of the same [altar], placing themselves between the singers and that altar.[35]

This suggests that such practice was common in churches.[36] Also, and perhaps more importantly for this study of material culture as a tool of hierarchical enforcement, Jung notes the capacity of choir screens for public communication. Acting as a focal point for those in attendance, the screen could be used as a platform for the reading of scriptures and proclamations or the playing of music, as well as the presentation of sculptural or painted visual messages intended to encourage devotional understanding and moral behaviour.[37] This view, that choir screens were not antithetical to social unity and lay participation but were designed as tools for integration, is supported in related contexts. In late medieval Scotland the elevation of the eucharist, signalled by the ringing of a bell, might be viewed through the doorway to the chancel, prompting a sense of involvement among the laity.[38] Additionally, material and documentary evidence relating to Netherlandish altarpieces strongly suggests that they were intended to be seen from both short- and long-range. On one hand, the intricate detail of the carving and painting would have invited close viewing when approaching the altar to take communion.[39] On the other, the scenes depicted on altarpieces were typically on a large enough scale to be seen from a distance, and in some cases patrons specifically requested a high degree of visibility.[40] Therefore, there was a connection between the use of church furniture and the direction of the public gaze towards the most sacred area of the church. The visual element of worship was clearly important, as expressed by late medieval Scottish poet and Observant Franciscan William of Touris. In his *Contemplacioun of Synnaris* he implied that spiritual understanding was akin to the ability to see:

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[31] 'Synodal Statutes of the Diocese of Aberdeen, XIIIth Century', in *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559, Being a Translation of Concilia Scotiae: Ecclesiae Scoticanae Statuta tam Provincialia quam Synodalia quae Supersunt*, ed. David Patrick (Edinburgh, 1907), pp. 33, 48, nos 58, 93; *Concilia Scotiae: Ecclesiae Scoticanae Statuta tam Provincialia quam Synodalia quae Supersunt, MCCXXV-MDLIX*, vol. 2, ed. Joseph Robertson (Edinburgh, 1866), pp. 32, 46, nos 58, 93; Tanner, *The Church in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 79, 90; Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p. 70; McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland', p. 99; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, p. 258.

[32] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 8, 78; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', in McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, p. 74; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 159.

[33] She cites the following scholarship as examples of this view: Dorothy Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame of Paris and Its Role in the Fourteenth-Century Choir* (New York, 1977); Willibald Sauerländer, 'Integration: A Closed or Open Proposal?', in Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush and Peter Draper (ed.), *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 3-18; Willibald Sauerländer, 'Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres, and Naumburg', in Raguin, Brush and Draper (ed.), *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, pp. 153-66. See Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier', p. 622.

[34] Jacqueline E. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200-1400* (Cambridge, 2013); Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier', pp. 622-57.

[35] Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1717), p. 526, no. 9.

[36] Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier', p. 628; Jung, *The Gothic Screen*, p. 68.

> And, as weill apperis into þis first figo*u*r
> The sone, þe mone, and sternis to o*u*r sy*ch*t
> Ar neir all closit intill ane clude obscure,
> Marit in mirknes quhilk sumtyme blumyt ly*ch*t,
> Sa now all staitis of grace laik*is* þe ly*ch*t
> Baith spirituall, temporall, & men of religioun,
> The day of vertu is turnit into ny*ch*t,

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[37] Jung, *The Gothic Screen*, pp. 5-6, 55, 57, 59; Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier', pp. 624, 646-7.

[38] Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 93-5. See Dressler, 'Sculptural Representation and Spacial Appropriation', p. 235.

[39] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 8.

[40] In 1550 the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft commissioned a high altarpiece from Jan van Scorel. The painted figures on the shutters were to be large enough to be visible from underneath the organ of the church: 'Catalogue', in *Jan van Scorel d'Utrecht: Retables et Tableaux de Son Atelier vers 1540, Documents, Examen Scientifique*, Musée Central, Utrecht, 5 mars – 1 mai 1977, Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, 18 mai – 17 juillet 1977, trans. J. R. J. Van Asperen de Boer and M. Faries (Utrecht, 1977), p. 62, no. 6.

Throw syne are blindit, and warldly abusioun.[41]

Having established the importance of church furniture to the involvement of the ordinary laity in religious ceremony, this chapter will now concentrate on the significance of the furniture's Flemish origin. The best-known example of a Flemish altarpiece in Scotland is Hugo van der Goes' Trinity Altarpiece of the late 1470s.[42] It once adorned Edinburgh's Holy Trinity collegiate church, founded by Mary of Guelders in 1462. Van der Goes was a master of the Ghent painters' guild of St Luke and had been employed by both Charles the Bold and wealthy Florentine merchant Tommaso Portinari.[43] Described as 'one of the most renowned painters to be found in the region', he excelled in the naturalistic depiction of light and colour and the individualistic treatment of portraiture.[44] The wings depict, on the exterior panels, the Holy Trinity on the left and, on the right, Edward Bonkil, donor of the altarpiece and first provost of the college, to be 'set over the [other eight prebendaries] in pre-eminence, honour, and dignity'.[45] On the interior panels are portraits of James III with the future James IV presented to the lost central image by St Andrew, and Margaret of Denmark presented by St George. The central panel is thought to have been a polychrome wooden carving or panel painting of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin and Child, or the coronation of the Virgin.[46]

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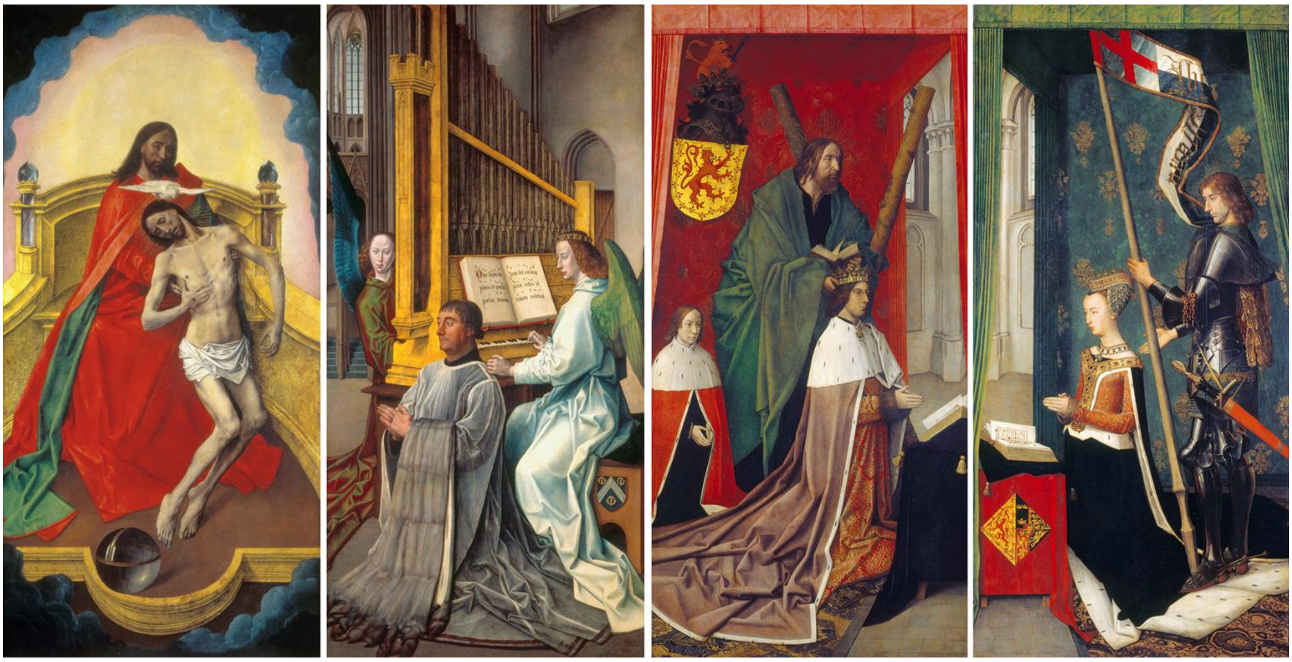
[41] *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose from MS. Arundel 285 and MS. Harleian 6919*, ed. J. A. W. Bennett (Edinburgh and London, 1955), p. 64 (see also p. 65). William Dunbar expressed a similar sentiment, likening Heaven to a 'palice of lycht' and Hell to a 'pitt obscure': William Dunbar, 'None May Assure in this Warld', in *The Complete Works*, ed. John Conlee (Kalamazoo, 2004), p. 54, l. 68.

[42] NGS, acc. no. NG 1772. See Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*; Tolley, 'Hugo van der Goes's Altarpiece for Trinity College Church', pp. 213-31, pls. 33a-d; Lorne Campbell, 'Edward Bonkil: A Scottish Patron of Hugo van der Goes', *The Burlington Magazine* 126:974 (May 1984), pp. 265-74; Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes* (Antwerp, 1998), pp. 302-25; Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*, pp. 89-96; H. A. Gruber, H. A. Dillon and F. L. Mawdesley, *Exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart, Under the Patronage of Her Majesty the Queen, The New Gallery, Regent Street, 1889* (London, 1889), pp. 10-2, no. 8; *International Exhibition, Glasgow, 1901: Official Catalogue of the Scottish History and Archaeology Section* (Glasgow, 1901), p. 15, nos 61-2; *A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Old Masters in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund: Grafton Galleries, 1911*, ed. Roger E. Fry and Maurice W. Brockwell (London, 1911), pp. 120-2, nos 218-21, pls. 77-80; Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', pp. 94-5, figs. 4-7; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', pp. 91-4; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 85-8; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', pp. 41-3, ills. 39-41; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 36; James Holloway, 'Scotland's Artistic Links with Europe', in Kaplan (ed.), *Scotland Creates*, p. 61, fig. 4.1; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, pp. 254-5; John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, David Walker and Christopher Wilson, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth, 1984), pp. 36, 172; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, p. 3; MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland', p. 160; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', pp. 202-3; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 18; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 335-6, figs. 467-9; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', pp. 244-5; Jessica Buskirk, 'Hugo van der Goes's Adoration of the Shepherds: Between Ascetic Idealism and Urban Networks in Late Medieval Flanders', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 6:1 (Winter 2014), pp. 21-2, para. 55-6; Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park, PA, 2012), p. 121; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, pp. 35-9; Small, 'The Scottish Court in the Fifteenth Century', p. 465; Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, p. 55; Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, pp. 74-5. The apse of the Holy Trinity church has been reconstructed at Chalmers Close, Edinburgh.

[43] Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 330-1; Cyriel Stroo, Pascale Syfer-d'Olne, Anne Dubois and Roel Slachmuylders, *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 2: *The Dirk Bouts, Petrus Christus, Hans Memling and Hugo van der Goes Groups* (Brussels, 1999), pp. 217-8; Jones, *Van Eyck to Gossaert*, p. 84; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', pp. 235-8; Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, p. 238; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 51; Buskirk, 'Hugo van der Goes's Adoration of the Shepherds', pp. 11-2, para. 28-9.

[44] Stroo, Syfer-d'Olne, Dubois and Slachmuylders, *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 2, p. 217; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', p. 235.



Hugo van der Goes, *Trinity Altarpiece*, c.1478-9, National Galleries Scotland, Edinburgh, acc. no. NG 1772, Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016.

It has been argued on very little evidence that the faces of James and Margaret were painted by an inferior Scottish artist on account of their poor quality relative to the rest of the painting. In Scotland, it is thought, there was better evidence for their appearances.[47] However, this makes little sense. If the faces had been painted by someone who had seen the king and queen, they would not be 'weak' and 'lifeless' but would be more lifelike. They may have been painted by one of Van der Goes's *hulperen* or workshop assistants.[48] In any case the realism of Bonkil's face, with its ruddy colour and folds of skin around the jaw, strongly suggests that his portrait was painted from life.[49] Several personal connections offer potential routes through which he placed the commission for the altarpiece. An Alexander Bonkil, burgess of Bruges, is thought to have been Edward's brother.[50] This Alexander received on behalf of Charles the Bold an ambassador from Scotland and acted as ambassador to James III.[51] It is possible that Edward made the transaction with Van der Goes through Alexander. It has also been posited that Anselm Adornes, the Brugeois diplomat and councillor to James III, could have facilitated the commission.[52]

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[45] *Charters and Documents relating to the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity, and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, AD 1460-1661*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 18.

[46] Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 49; Tolley, 'Hugo van der Goes's Altarpiece for Trinity College Church', p. 222; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', p. 42; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', p. 202; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 18.

[47] Tolley, 'Hugo van der Goes's Altarpiece for Trinity College Church', p. 214; Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', pp. 94-5; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', p. 203; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 336.

It is instructive to compare the Trinity Altarpiece with the Portinari Altarpiece painted by Van der Goes between 1473 and 1476.[53] It was commissioned by Tommaso Portinari: a merchant, manager of the Medici bank in Bruges, and counsellor to Charles the Bold.[54] It arrived at the church of Sant'Egidio in Florence from Bruges in 1483, although it was possibly commissioned for the Portinari family chapel in Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges.[55] By comparing the dimensions of the Portinari Altarpiece with those of a roughly contemporary altarpiece painted by Leuven painter Dieric Bouts, Jessica Buskirk has calculated that Portinari would have paid Van der Goes about 3,500 Flemish groats for the commission: equivalent to 350 times the average daily wage for a Brugeois stonemason.[56] With the total dimensions of the Portinari Altarpiece being 148,258 centimetres squared, and those of the Trinity Altarpiece, including the lost central panel, being 122,406 centimetres squared, the latter is around 82.6% the size of the former. If the price paid by Bonkil was equivalent to that paid by Portinari, the Trinity Altarpiece would have cost around 2,890 Flemish groats or the average daily wage of 289 stonemasons. Although this is not a precise figure, considering that costs could vary depending on such factors as materials, timescale, level of detail, and the specific iconography requested, it does give an idea of the great expense put by Bonkil into the Trinity Altarpiece and its desirability as a status symbol.

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[48] He had assistants by 1469: Stroo, Syfer-d'Olne, Dubois and Slachmuylders, *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 2, p. 217.

[49] Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 50; Campbell, 'Edward Bonkil: A Scottish Patron of Hugo van der Goes', p. 272; Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', pp. 94-5; Macmillan, 'Early Modern Art', p. 203; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 336; Holloway, 'Scotland's Artistic Links with Europe', p. 61. This is made more likely considering that there are no known references to Bonkil in the Scottish documentary record between March 1473 and July 1476. Campbell, 'Edward Bonkil: A Scottish Patron of Hugo van der Goes', p. 273.

[50] Campbell, 'Edward Bonkil: A Scottish Patron of Hugo van der Goes', p. 272; Tolley, 'Hugo van der Goes's Altarpiece for Trinity College Church', p. 226; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', p. 92; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 335; Holloway, 'Scotland's Artistic Links with Europe', p. 61; Buskirk, 'Hugo van der Goes's Adoration of the Shepherds', p. 21, para. 55. However, it has been pointed out that Bonkil was not an unusual name in Scotland: Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 51.

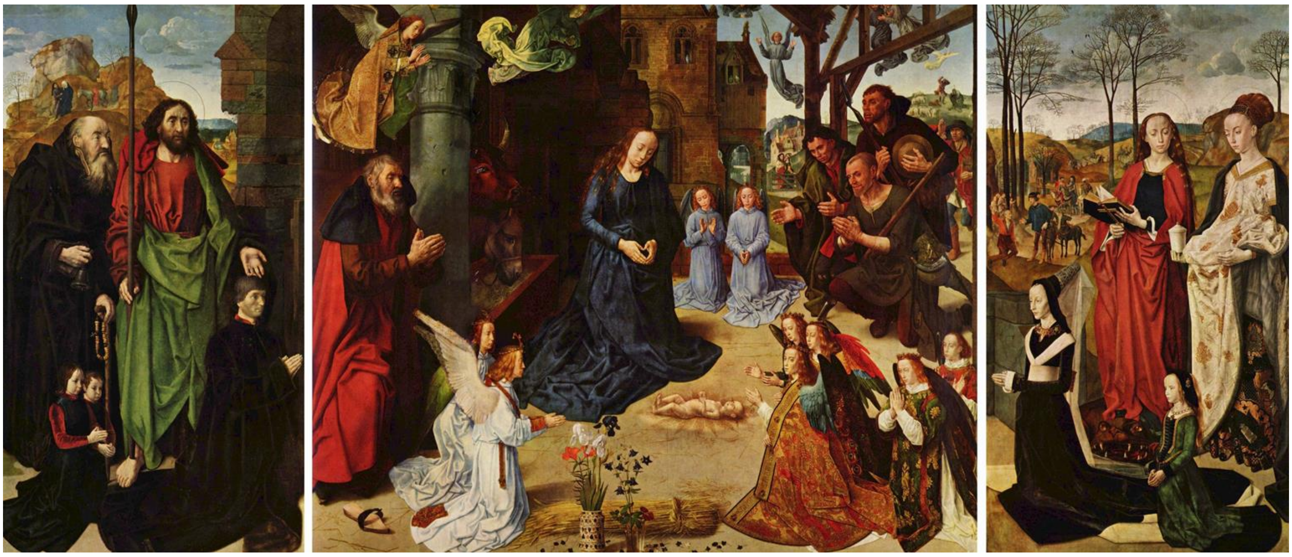
[51] Alexander Bonkil received Alexander Napier at Bruges in April 1469: Thierry de Limburg Stirum, 'Anselm Adornes, ou un Voyager Brugeois au XV^{e} Siècle', *Messager des Sciences Historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie de Belgique* (Ghent, 1881), pp. 11-2; and took letters from Bruges to Scotland in 1471-2: *IAVB*, vol. 6, p. 33, no. 1111. See Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 51; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', p. 92; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', p. 41.

[52] Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, pp. 52, 54.

[53] Portinari Altarpiece, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. See Dhanens, *Hugo van der Goes*, pp. 250-301; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 60-1, 133, pl. 63; Buskirk, 'Hugo van der Goes's Adoration of the Shepherds', pp. 1-40, figs. 1, 3-6, 8; Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*, pp. 96-110; Diane Wolfthal, 'Florentine Bankers, Flemish Friars, and the Patronage of the Portinari Altarpiece', in Alexander-Skipnes (ed.), *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy*, pp. 1-21, figs. 3-4a; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, pp. 9-10, 12, fig. 9; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', pp. 236-7; Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, pp. 268-9; Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence', p. 46; De Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges*, p. 22.

[54] Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 258-9.

[55] Buskirk, 'Hugo van der Goes's Adoration of the Shepherds', p. 20, para. 52.



Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, c.1473-6, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Additionally, for both altarpieces Van der Goes employed typically and recognisably Flemish painting techniques. Just as Portinari, his family, and the religious figures are dressed in lavish, realistically rendered velvets and brocades, so too are the fabrics in the Trinity Altarpiece depicted with a high degree of verisimilitude, with their realistic textures and folds as well as their rich colour palette.[57] Flemish artists were particularly renowned for their skilful depiction of luxury textiles, as noted by Florentine art theorist Antonfrancesco Doni:

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[56] *Ibid.*, p. 18, para. 49.

> The grace and technique of velvets or other silken draperies, as well as the draping of cloths and veils […], for a diligent method of colouring, above all other masters it is the Flemings who paint them well, in such a way that they make them appear most naturalistic: such that one is deceived by their fictive brocades or cloths.[58]

An important factor in the prestige of the Trinity Altarpiece was its link to the commercial and artistic hub of Flanders. This connects to the developing consumer agency of the fifteenth century, outlined in Chapter 2, and the use of objects to express familiarity with both Burgundian court culture and Flemish mercantile culture.[59] Since Bonkil had family based in Flanders, the altarpiece can be interpreted as an expression of his own personal status in line with similar commissions made by members of the clerical, bureaucratic, and courtly urban elite, and it 'staked a social and political claim as well as serving as a testament of religious devotion.'[60] Also, there was a growing trend in religious art for donors to be represented in an 'increasingly audacious' manner, on the same scale as and in close proximity to holy figures and royalty, emphasising their unique contribution to the church and making clearly visible their social position and status.[61] For this to be effective there had to be employed a recognisably Flemish style of painting and this centred on the realistic depiction of luxury settings. By the mid-1430s Flemish artists had developed a format in which the figures were no longer separated into self-contained panels but were depicted as part of a single pictorial field to create a unified whole.[62]

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[57] Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, p. 10; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 60-1; Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 107, no. 111.

[58] Antonfrancesco Doni, *Disegno, partito in pivragio, namenti, ne quali si tratta della scoltvra et pittvra; de colori, de getti, de modegli, con molte cofe appartenenti a queft'arti: & fi termina lano biltà dell'una et dell'altra profefsione, con historie, essempi, et festenze, & nel fine alcune lettere che trattano della medefima materia* (Ferrara, 1549), f. 15r.

[59] Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 61, 69, 210.

[60] Buskirk, 'Hugo van der Goes's Adoration of the Shepherds', p. 21, para. 56. See pp. 18-23, para. 47-61.

[61] Corine Schleif, 'Kneeling on the Threshold: Donors Negotiating Realms Betwixt and Between', in Gertsman and Stevenson (ed.), *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture*, p. 201. See also p. 203; Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs*, pp. 1-2; Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 5, 42; Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 29.

[62] Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 23-4, 193; Paul M. Laporte, 'Architecture to Painting in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 12:4 (December 1953), pp. 9-11.

This can be seen in the portraits of James and Margaret, who are shown praying towards the central image from within curtained and ceiled structures appropriate to those of high rank when attending mass. The viewer is privileged to see through the opened curtains into the private sphere of elite devotion; however, the curtains also function as a framing device to distance the onlooker from the painted scene.[63] This verisimilitude was desirable in the fifteenth century as part of the devotional trend towards greater emotional identification with the suffering of Christ and other biblical figures. There was a juxtaposition, unique to Flemish painting, of the realism and immediacy achieved through highly sophisticated painting techniques and the maintenance of social hierarchy through both real and imagined framing devices. The competing narratives inherent in Flemish altarpieces were employed by Scottish patrons to represent the ambivalent nature of urban religious culture, which exhibited communal focus on the central point of the high altar by means of a material culture which was financially and culturally exclusive. The imagery contained within those altarpieces was ‘one of the supreme European achievements and legacies’ of the fifteenth century, with Flanders emerging as a ‘Great Power in European painting’.[64]

Such artistic splendour was achieved in part due to the development by Flemish artists of oil painting. The technique was by no means unknown prior to the fifteenth century, but it was in Flanders that it was refined to produce the dazzlingly rich colour effects for which the region became known.[65] Jan van Eyck (d.1441) in particular developed glazes mixed in linseed oil and perfected the painting technique. Oil was superior to tempera in that it was slow to dry and so allowed the application of finely layered glazes and pigments to produce deep, translucent colours, textures, and shadow effects. Flemish artists became known for their ability to manipulate design and spatial illusion to achieve mimetic qualities, and their techniques became collectively known as the *ars nova*.[66] The Flemish ability to manipulate light and colour was highly prized all over Europe, with artists and artworks exported to fulfil high demand among royal, aristocratic, clerical, and bureaucratic elites.[67] The realism of Flemish painting was further achieved through the development from the 1420s of the three-quarters view in portraiture: a more naturalistic alternative to the profile view that remained popular among Italian artists until later in the fifteenth century.[68]

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[63] Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 67.

[64] Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 11; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 20.

[65] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 151-3; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 2, 25, 35.

[66] Jones, *Van Eyck to Gossaert*, pp. 9-11; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 87-9, 96; Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, pp. 58, 61; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 14-5; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 69-70, 151-3; Cyriel Stroo and Pascale Syfer-d’Olne, *The Flemish Primitives*, vol. 1: *The Master of Flémalle*

This realistic and naturalistic phase of Flemish art coincided with the movement towards *devoto* or private meditative devotion. The lifelike style of religious images was intended to prompt compassion towards Christ and an intense spiritual and emotional response, through the veristic depiction of details such as blood and tears.[69] Fourteenth century theologian Ludolph of Saxony wrote that meditation on the Passion should move worshippers to tearful compassion and that they should stretch out their hands, raise their eyes to the crucifix, strike their breasts, make genuflections, and

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and Rogier van der Weyden Groups (Brussels, 1996), p. 17; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, pp. 239-40; Marks, Scott, Gasson, Thomson and Vainker, *The Burrell Collection*, p. 138; Marrow, 'Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art', p. 158.

[67] For Flemish painting in Italy: Michael Baxandall, 'Bartolomaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the De Viris Illustribus', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), pp. 102-5; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*; Parma, 'Genoa-Bruges: The Art Market and Cultural Exchange', pp. 79-80, 83-90, 92; Rohlmann, 'Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence', pp. 39-67; Paula Nuttall, 'Jan van Eyck's Paintings in Italy', in Susan Foister, Sue Jones and Delphine Cool (ed.), *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 169-82; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 1-2, 308; Paula Nuttall, 'Decorum, Devotion, and Dramatic Expression: Early Netherlandish Painting in Renaissance Italy', in Francis Ames-Laewis and Anka Bednarek (ed.), *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art: Papers delivered at the Annual Conference of the Association of Art Historians, London, April 1991* (London, 1992), p. 70; Bert W. Meijer, 'Introduction', in Schmidt, Van der Sman, Vecchi and Van Waadenoijen (ed.), *Italy and the Low Countries – Artistic Relations*, pp. 7-8; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', pp. 232-3; Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, pp. 268-9; Lorne Campbell, 'Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Burlington Magazine* 123:941 (August 1981), pp. 467-73.

For England: Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries', pp. 16-7; Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour*, ch. 3, pp. 41-71; C. A. J. Armstrong, 'The Golden Age of Burgundy: Dukes that Outdid Kings', in A. G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (London, 1977), p. 56.

[68] Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 81, 84, 86; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1, p. 171; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 210, 217; Van Calster, (ed.), *Imperial Treasures*, p. 24-5, 27.

[69] Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, p. 231; Nuttall, 'Decorum, Devotion, and Dramatic Expression', pp. 72-4; Henk van Os, Eugène Honé, Hans Nieuwdorp and Bernhard Ridderbos, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam and London, 1994), esp. pp. 52, 54; Marrow, 'Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art', pp. 154-5; Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, pp. 58-9; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', pp. 28, 37; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), p. 53. For a reconsideration of the association of pictorial naturalism with emotional directness, see Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2002), p. 145.

scourge themselves until they produce a plenteous stream of tears.[70] His work was influential in Scotland, where Walter Kennedy (c.1455-c.1518) cited in his poem *The Passioun of Christ* Ludolph's influence on Christocentric worship.[71] *Devoto* was so associated with Flemish art that Italian poet Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547) reportedly stated that, 'Flemish painting seems to me more devout than that in the Italian manner', and fifteenth century humanist and antiquarian Ciriaco d'Ancona described the work of Rogier van der Weyden as 'pientissimo' or 'most pious'.[72]

The realism of Flemish altarpieces was enhanced by their depiction of framing devices such as screens, curtains, doors, and windows. As discussed, Van der Goes employed spatial effects in the Trinity Altarpiece by situating his subjects within curtained structures and manipulated perspective to show the architectural features of the church in the background. Flemish altarpieces depicted spatially unified settings in a single pictorial field, the effect of which was enhanced by the physical structure of the frame: typically, a central painted or carved panel called a *caisse* or *corpus* flanked by painted wings. In carved altarpieces, the caisse would be constituted of multi-figured narrative scenes which were gilded, polychromed, and surrounded by elaborate tracery decoration.[73] Positioned above the sacred site of the altar, the altarpiece visualised and focussed attention on the rite of the mass. Christ was present both in iconographical form, in the altarpiece, and in physical form, in the bread and wine. The wings were opened only on special holidays, when the priest would raise the eucharist before the altarpiece.[74] Its function gave the altarpiece an almost mystical property. 'Set above the altar table, the painting is transformed by the ceremony over which it visually presides: the celebration of the mass. Its own authority as an image is enhanced and validated by its presence at the elevation of the host.'[75] This mystical quality was reinforced by the physical structure. Despite the practical functions of the wings as vessels for religious imagery and as protectors of the central panel, they also had an ideological purpose. Wings acted as boundaries between the inside and the outside of the altarpiece, and by implication between the holy, or the hidden and the protected, and the unholy.[76] This was ideologically incompatible with the purpose of the mass, 'that þe haly pepil be coniunyt and vnyt w^t god and ihesu þar souuerane lord and king / and als ilk ane of the cristin pepil w^t wthir'.[77]

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[70] Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Christi*, ed. A.-C. Bolard *et al.* (Paris and Rome, 1865), pars 11, cap. 58, p. 601, cited in Marrow, 'Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art', p. 155. See Glenn Ehrstine, 'Passion Spectatorship between Private and Public Devotion', in Gertsman and Stevenson (ed.), *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture*, p. 312; Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*, pp. 146-7.

[71] *The Poems of Walter Kennedy*, ed. Nicole Meier (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 24, l. 196; *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose*, p. 13, l. 196. See Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt, *The* Vita Christi *of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, 1944), pp. 73-4.

[72] Francisco de Hollanda, *Four Dialogues on Painting*, trans. Aubrey F. G. Bell (Oxford and London, 1928), pp. 15; F. Scalamonti, 'Commentario premesso alla Vita di Ciriaco Anconitano', in *Le Antichità Picene dell'Abate Patrizio Camerinese*, vol. 15, ed. Giuseppe Colucci (Fermo, 1792), p. cxliv.

[73] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 1; Theodor Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain, 1400 to 1500*, trans. Elaine and William Robson Scott (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 93, 156; Marks, Scott, Gasson, Thomson and Vainker, *The Burrell Collection*), p. 95.

[74] Kim Woods, 'The Netherlandish carved altarpiece c.1500: type and function', in Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (ed.), *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 86; Martin Kemp, 'Introduction: The altarpiece in the Renaissance: a taxonomic approach', in Humfrey and Kemp (ed.), *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, p. 1; Jacobs,

Altarpieces from Flanders and the southern Low Countries had a certain cachet among international consumers. In the fifteenth century manufacture exploded in densely urbanised areas in Flanders such as Bruges, Courtrai, Geraardsbergen, Ghent, and Oudenaarde, as well as in Brabant, Hainaut, and other southern Low Countries areas.[78] Antonio de Beatis visited the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb altarpiece by Hubert and Jan van Eyck in Ghent and declared that it has been painted 'in oils with such perfection and truth to life both as to the proportions and colouring of the parts of the body and to the use of light and shade that one has no hesitation in saying that this is the finest painting in Christendom.'[79] Painted and sculpted Flemish altarpieces and their creators were in high demand all over Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[80] As with many other southern

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Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, pp. 17-8, 96; Jones, *Van Eyck to Gossaert*, p. 16; Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 67; Wernick, 'The work of art as gift and commodity', pp. 177-8; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p. 54.

[75] David Rosand, "*Divinità di cosa dipinta*': pictorial structure and the legibility of the altarpiece', in Humfrey and Kemp (ed.), *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, p. 146.

[76] Jacobs, *Opening Doors*, pp. 1, 4, 9-10.

[77] Ireland, *Meroure*, bk. 6, p. 19.

[78] Brabant: Antwerp, Brussels, Diest, Leuven, Mechelen; Hainaut: Ath, Mons; as well as Cambrai, Dinant, Liège, Limburg, Maastricht, Marche-en-Famenne, Namur, and Tournai. See Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 8; Jacobs, *Opening Doors*, p. 119.

[79] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, p. 96. Jan van Eyck was regarded internationally as the leading painter of the fifteenth century: Baxandall, 'Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting', pp. 102-3; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, pp. 2, 34; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, pp. 87-9; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 239; Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', p. 190.

[80] England: Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries', pp. 16-7; Andrew Martindale, 'The Ashwellthorpe Triptych', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 107-23; K. B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling* (Oxford, 1971), pt. 1, pp. 1-15; Pamela Tudor-

Netherlandish objects imported into Scotland, it is not always possible to give altarpieces the precise appellation of ‘Flemish’, as for the most part the free movement of artisans and the standardisation of the region’s aesthetic means that such objects are often indistinguishable from those of other contiguous areas. However, it can be argued that Flanders, rather than Brabant, Hainaut, or any other Low Countries region, possessed the greatest prestige among international consumers due to its status as the mercantile capital of northern Europe as well as a great artistic and manufacturing centre.

There are several documentary references to now lost altarpieces imported from Flanders to Scotland.[81] In 1508 David Fourous, burgess of Haddington, purchased in Flanders for Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld ‘ane tabirnacle to my Lordis altar in Dounde’.[82] Costing a total of £30 18s., it was intended for the parish church of St Mary’s where Brown had founded an altar and chaplaincy dedicated to St Mary and the Three Kings.[83] It is likely to have featured Marian imagery to correspond with the dedication of the church, and so was perhaps purchased on the open market in Flanders. The

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Craig, *Richard III* (Ipswich, 1977), p. 26, no. 49, pl. 24; R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King’s Works*, vol. 2: *The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), p. 601.

Iberia: Claire Dumortier, ‘Retables sculptés anversois dans la péninsule Ibérique’, in Hans Nieuwdorp (ed.), *Antwerpse Retabels, 15de-16de eeuw*, vol. 2: *Essays* (Antwerp, 1993), pp. 111-3; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 10; Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain*, pp. 142-3, 150, 155; Dhanens, ‘Sculpture and Painting before 1800’, p. 259; Reinaldo dos Santos, *A Escultura em Portugal*, vol. 2: *Séculos XVI a XVII* (Lisbon, 1950), pp. 19-21, pls. xix-xx.

Scandinavia: Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain*, pp. 94, 155; Johnny Roosval, ‘Retables d’origine néerlandaise dans les pays nordiques’, *Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 3 (1933), pp. 136-58; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 10.

Flemish altarpieces were also exported to Germany, France, Poland, and Italy: Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 10; Robert Didier, ‘Expansion artistique et relations économiques des pays-bas méridionaux au moyen âge’, *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique: Bulletin* 4 (1961), pp. 61-4; Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain*, p. 137.

[81] Abbot Finlay McFaid (1439-84) imported an altarpiece from Flanders for Fearn Abbey, Ross-shire, in the late fifteenth century: *Ane Breve Cronicle of the Earlis of Ross*, p. 17; *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 436; *The Calendar of Fearn*, pp. 31, 91; McRoberts, ‘The furnishings of the sanctuary’, p. 35; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 22.

Some sandstone carvings of the Annunciation and Circumcision (MUSA, acc. nos HC1115, HC1116, HC1117), formerly in the collegiate church of St Salvator in St Andrews, have been identified as remnants of an altarpiece. They have been thought to resemble examples from Courtrai and Tournai: James S. Richardson, ‘Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Medieval Date in Scotland’, *PSAS* 62 (1927-28), pp. 202-3, 215-6. However, Richard Fawcett is unconvinced by Richardson’s comparison and points to uncertainty over the carvings having been part of an altarpiece at all: pers. comm.

[82] *Dunk. Rent.*, pp. xl, 2; Alexander Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, a prima sedis fundatione, ad annum M.D.XV.*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, 1831), p. 45; McRoberts, ‘Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts’, pp. 91-2; McRoberts, ‘The furnishings of the sanctuary’, p. 35; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 22; Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, pp. 53-4; Higgitt, ‘Art and the Church Before the Reformation’, p. 36.

[83] *Dunk. Rent.*, p. 311.

repetition of standard formats and imagery practiced by Flemish artisans meant that it was easy for international merchants such as Fourous to make purchases for their clients furnished only with such fundamental specifics as the required dimensions, price, and dedication.[84] These altarpieces would be imported to Scotland in parts and reassembled on arrival.[85] Two altarpieces were also imported from Flanders for Pluscarden Abbey in Moray in 1508.[86] Robert Innes of Rothnakenzie, John Dunbar, alderman of Forres, and Alexander Catour, burgess of Elgin were credited with 'þe help making and putting of twa tabirnaclez in þe said abbay That is to say ane to þe hie alter and ane oþer to our lady alter to þe making in flandris'.[87] The reference to 'þe making' of the altarpieces suggests that, rather than being produced on speculation, these examples were made on commission for the abbey.

By December 1439 a William Knox of Edinburgh owned 'a gilded altarpiece with sculptures' made by Janne van Battele of Mechelen, which he had purchased in Antwerp. He then pledged it as security, along with other items, for a debt owed to a Wouter Michiels.[88] Knox is likely to have traded in large quantities with the Low Countries considering that the altarpiece remained in Antwerp while other objects were exported to Scotland, also suggesting that there were further examples of altarpieces exported for which no documentary record remains.[89] These examples can be situated within wider artistic and commercial trends in the southern Low Countries. Research undertaken on the period 1436 to 1524, within which the known Scottish examples were bought, shows that generally there was little difference in price between speculatively produced and commissioned altarpieces, nor between painted and sculpted examples.[90] Furthermore, surviving carved altarpieces from the southern Low Countries are overwhelmingly narrative in subject matter, generally depicting scenes from the bible.[91] The majority were also decorated in polychrome. In the early fifteenth century the colour range was relatively limited, but the painting of carved altarpieces developed alongside that of painted panels, and translucent layers of paint and textural techniques were applied.[92] If Knox's altarpiece conformed to these general trends, then there was demand in Scotland for brightly coloured, highly visible altarpieces. The colour and gold used in polychrome carved altarpieces were purposely visual tools to mark off the ritual space of the high altar in an easily graspable way.[93]

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[84] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 19, 231-2; Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain*, p. 93.

[85] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 160.

[86] Macphail, *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn*, app. HH, p. 236; McRoberts, 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', p. 92; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', p. 35; Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 53; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 36.

[87] Macphail, *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn*, app. HH, p. 236.

[88] Gustaaf Asaert, 'Documenten voor de geschiedenis van de beeldhouwkunst te Antwerpen in de XVe eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* (1972), p. 48, no. 6: 'een vergulden tafele metten beelden als hij t'Antwerpen gecocht heeft yegens Janne van Battele, van Mechelen'; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, pp. 155-6; Jacobs, 'The Marketing and Standardisation of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces', p. 212; Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels*, p. 53.

Another legal document tells how in 1506 a Scottish merchant ordered an altarpiece from carver Gillis van der Sluys of Antwerp, who then failed to deliver it. The middleman Dierick Proudekin supplied the Scot with an alternative altarpiece: Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Schepenregisters, 129, ff. 8v, 138r-138v, cited in Jan van der Stock, 'De organisatie van het beeldsnijders – en schildersatelier te Antwerpen: Documenten 1480-1530', in Nieuwdorp (ed.), *Antwerpse Retabels*, vol. 2, p. 50; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 203.

[89] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 156, n.

This model is applicable to other types of church furniture, to which Flemish-style motifs were applied in order to visually affirm the high status of the Church and its patrons. At the church of Fowlis Easter near Dundee, established in 1453 by Sir Andrew Gray of Fowlis, there survives the most complete set of church furniture from medieval Scotland. Gray married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Wemyss, in 1418. He served both James I and James II, accompanying the latter's sisters Margaret, Eleanor, and Joanna to France for marriage, and was created Lord Gray of Fowlis by July 1445.[94] The arms of the Gray and Wemyss families, as well as the royal arms, are present in much of the decorative scheme of the church.[95] This venture was clearly intended to physically situate the rising star of the Gray family within the context of royal service and divine favour via the artistic currency of Flanders, which emerged in the fifteenth century as a prime means through which international elites materially communicated their status. The surviving paintings of Fowlis Easter may indicate the extensive and lavish decoration of the church. They include an altarpiece depicting Christ as St Salvator, Virgin and Child, and saints, as well as eleven panels of SS Catherine of Alexandria, Matthias, Thomas, Simon, and John the Evangelist, Christ, and Peter, Anthony, James the Lesser, Paul, and Ninian.[96] A panel painting of the Crucifixion was originally situated on the west front of the rood screen, facing the nave.[97]

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[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 200-1, 255. Sculpted, speculative altarpieces ranged from £6 to £15 in Flemish money, with most between £9 and £12: over a year's salary for an Antwerp labourer. However, some commissioned altarpieces were more expensive than £15, with some costing over £100. Painted, commissioned altarpieces could cost as little as £9 to £15, and it is assumed that speculative ones would cost around the same. See Gustaaf Asaert, 'Antwerpse retabels – economische aspecten', in Nieuwdorp (ed.), *Antwerpse Retabels*, vol. 2, p. 19.

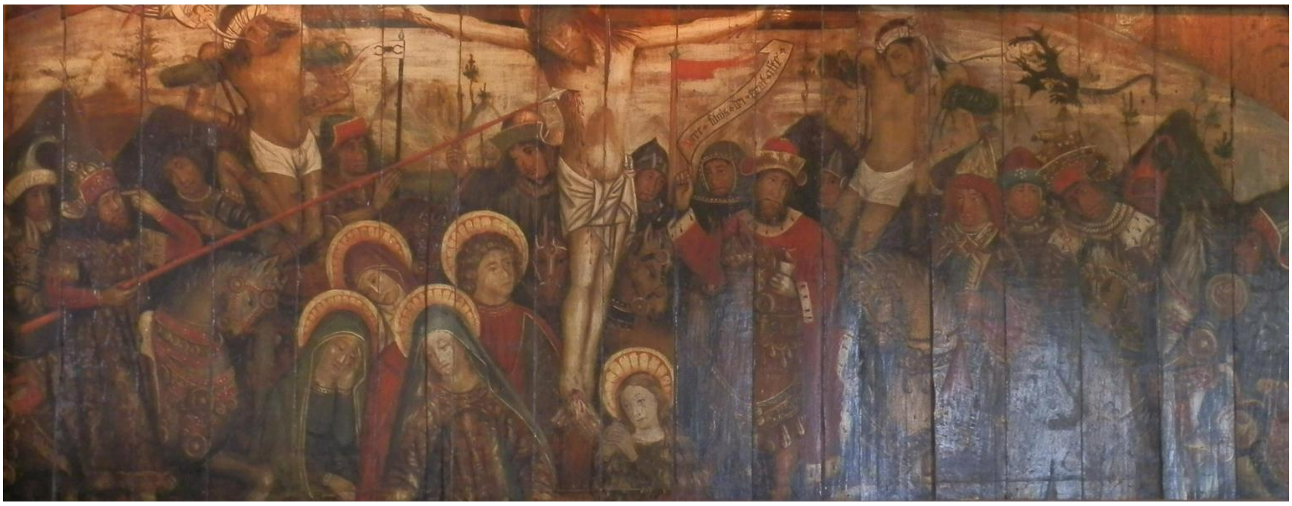
[91] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 47. The narrativity of carved altarpieces can be contrasted with the iconography and non-narrativity of painted examples, which did not integrate their figures into scenes or events: pp. 47, 252-3.

[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-2, 85.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[94] Michael A. Penman, 'Gray, Andrew, first Lord Gray (b. c.1390, d. in or before 1470)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Arthur B. Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter, with illustrations of the mediæval paintings in the original colours* (Dundee, 1933), pp. 20-1.

[95] Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter*, pp. 31-3, 42-3, 61, pls. v, ix, xiii; John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Dundee and Angus* (New Haven and London, 2012), pp. 11, 485-6.



Crucifixion panel, St Marnoch's parish church, Fowlis Easter.

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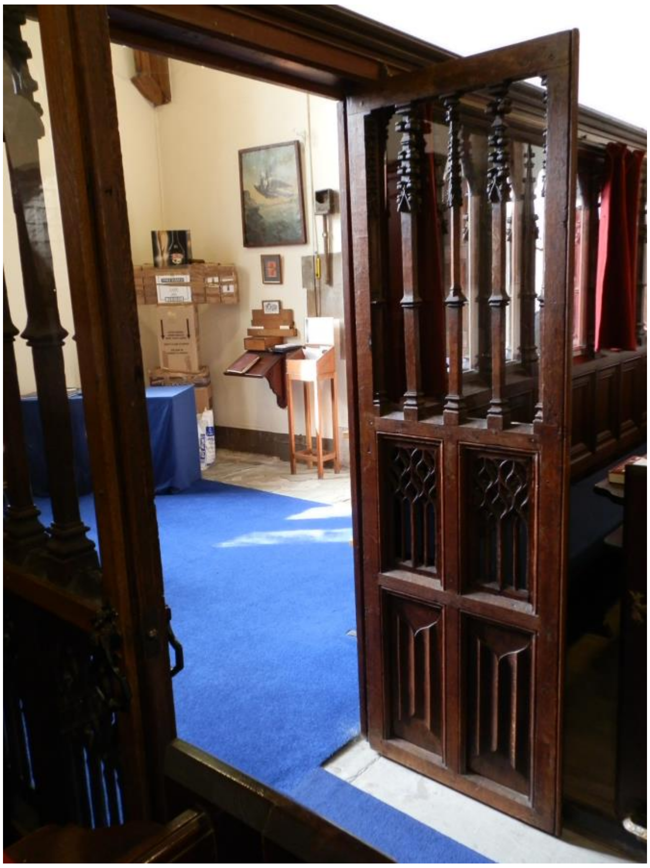
[96] Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter*, pp. 20-70; David McRoberts, 'The Fifteenth-Century Altarpiece of Fowlis Easter Church', in O'Connor and Clarke (ed.), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five*, pp. 384-9, 392-3; M. R. Apted and W. Norman Robertson, 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' *PSAS* 95 (1961-2), pp. 273-5, pls. 33-43, 46-8; Ian C. Hannah, 'Screens and lofts in Scottish churches', *PSAS* 70 (1935-36), pp. 196-7, 181-2; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, pp. 292-3, fig. 4.61; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 88; A. A. MacDonald, 'Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Scotland', in A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos and R. M. Schlusemann (ed.), *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture* (Groningen, 1998), p. 110; Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Dundee and Angus*, pp. 11, 485-8; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', pp. 36-9, ills. 32-4, 37; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 41, fig. 2.16; Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, pp. 31-2; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, pp. 39-43.

[97] W. G. Constable, *Exhibition of British Primitive Paintings (from the Twelfth to the early Sixteenth Century), With some related Illuminated Manuscripts, Figure Embroidery, and Alabaster Carvings; Royal Academy of Arts, London, October & November 1923* (London, 1923), pp. 37-8, no. 42; Apted and Robertson, 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter', p. 273, pls. 33-7; David McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the nave', in Holmes (ed.), *Lost Interiors*, pp. 108-9, ill. 100; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, p. 293, fig. 4.62; Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter*, pl. xii; James Stuart, *Historical Sketches of the Church & Parish of Fowlis Easter: Routes from Dundee* (Dundee, 1865), pp. 74-9; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 88-9; Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, pp. 31-2, pl. 18; MacDonald, 'Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Scotland', p. 110; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, pp. 39-41.

The character of the painting, with its crowded figures and vivid colouring, has been described as Flemish, specifically in the manner of the Van Eyck school.[98] Ian Hannah characterises it thus due to its being 'very fine', 'wonderfully vivid', and 'exceedingly striking'; while Duncan Macmillan says the painting 'is Flemish in manner, though not in execution', due to its being 'earthy' and 'crude'.[99] However, they do not offer any firm evidence for a Flemish influence, and the fact that the quality of painting is considered high does not necessitate a foreign explanation. Late medieval Scotland was not a cultural void but had a resident population of artists and artisans.

Of greater relevance to the maintenance of the social order through the high-status aesthetic of Flanders is the wooden carving of the choir screen. The doors are extant, giving a glimpse of what was once a large dividing structure between chancel and nave.



Choir screen door, St Marnoch's parish church, Fowlis Easter.

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[98] Stuart, *Historical Sketches of the Church & Parish of Fowlis Easter*, p. 84; Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 32; Hannah, 'Screens and lofts in Scottish churches', p. 197; Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Dundee and Angus*, p. 488; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, p. 42-3.

[99] Hannah, 'Screens and lofts in Scottish churches', p. 197; Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 32. Robert Brydall characterises the work as being of the Bruges school due to its 'very excellent and refined drawing': Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, pp. 42-3.

They bear delicate linenfold panelling at the bottom, blind traceried arcading in the middle, and crocketted pinnacles at the top in a typically Flemish style also seen in the choir screen of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, discussed below.[100] Linenfold panelling resembling folded parchment was a typical feature of carved furniture from Ghent in particular, where there was an especially strong tradition of finely sculpted church fittings.[101] Antonio de Beatis commented on the woodwork he saw while travelling in Flanders:

> They use oak for panelling and mouldings in rooms, for doors and windows and whatever else is made of wood. It is tawny coloured and modelled in folds, like camlet; it is hard and lends itself well to carving. […] And indeed in Flanders, as in Upper Germany they carve stone and wood most skilfully. But [oak] is not worked anywhere else so well as it is in Flanders.[102]

The splendour of the carving supports Jung's position on the function of choir screens and other church furniture as tools to draw the eye towards the high altar. In order for such objects to have a visual impact a high degree of intricate decoration was crucial. The choir screen reduced the visibility of the eucharistic ritual, contrary to the Church's declaration that the consecrated host should be seen by all.[103] The increasingly elaborate decoration of the choir screen in the late medieval period was concurrent with the increasing mystification of religious ritual. Just as the 1423 synod attempted to restrict lay access to the chancel, choir screens played a significant role in the physical separation of clergy and laity.[104] Therefore the Flemish aesthetic marked the cultural taste of Gray, but also acted as a physical reminder of his patronage of the church and consequent access to the chancel. The intricacy and naturalism of Flemish-style carving was an effective apparatus with which to achieve this.

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[100] The doors are now part of a late nineteenth century screen separating the vestibule from the body of the church. See Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, p. 292, fig. 4.60; Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter*, pl. x.

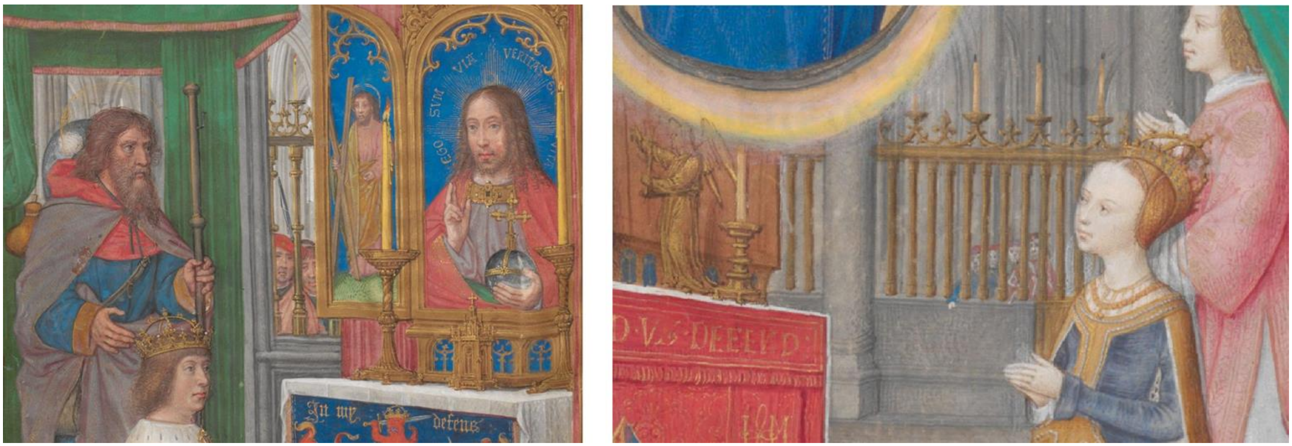
[101] Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', p. 339; Dhanens, 'Sculpture and Painting before 1800', p. 226.

[102] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis*, pp. 98-9.

[103] Jung, *The Gothic Screen*, p. 73; Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier', p. 627.

[104] Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 169; James Galbraith, 'The Middle Ages', in Duncan B. Forrester and Douglas M. Murray (ed.), *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 19-20; Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 83-4.

The increasing elaboration of church furniture therefore corresponded to wider religious practice. Visual representations of the mass concentrated on the elite elements of religious ceremony, as one would expect considering the concentration of artistic patronage in the hands of the wealthy. In the images of James IV and Margaret Tudor at prayer in their book of hours they are shown in private, curtained spaces reserved for their own use. The ordinary people are held back by railings, eager to catch a glimpse of the king and queen, and in Margaret's case one person even stretches a hand through the barrier.



James IV Book of Hours, © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897, ff. 24v, 243v (detail).

This shielding of the ceremony from public view accords with a representation in another book of hours produced by the Ghent-Bruges school, in which the clergy carry out the mass within the wings of an altarpiece.[105] To their left are a pair of lay worshippers while in the background the remainder of the laity are cordoned off by railings. Their ability to see the interior panels of the altarpiece and the eucharistic paraphernalia is severely restricted.

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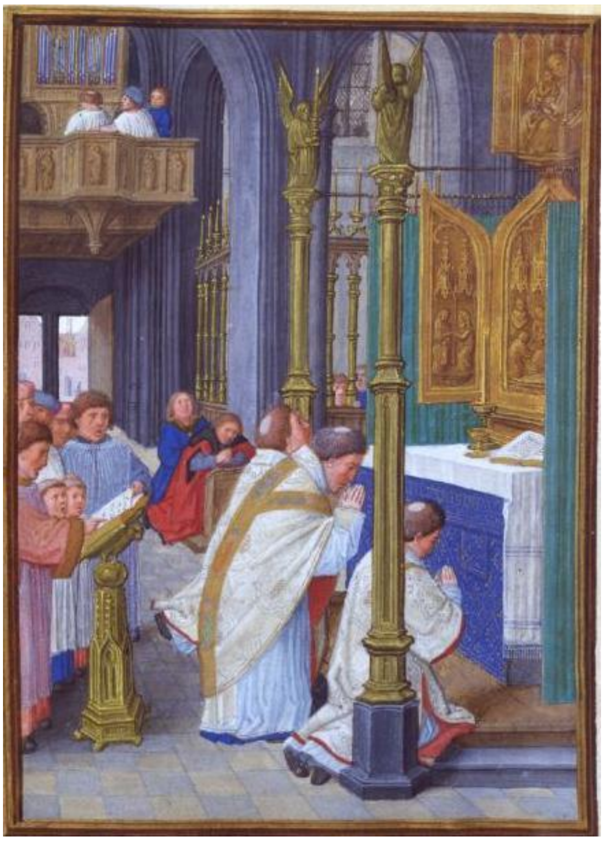
[105] L. M. J. Delaissé, James Marrow and John de Wit, *The James A. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (London and Fribourg, 1977), pp. 562-95, no. 26, fig. 28.



Book of hours, c.1525, Waddesdon Manor, acc. no. 3018, f. 154v (detail),
Mike Fear © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.

The second image also shows the brass pillars commonly erected around high altars from the fifteenth century. Typically their tops were decorated with statutes of angels or candelabra, and they were used to support the riddel curtains which further shielded the altar from view during Lent.[106] The use of brass pillars was common in the Low Countries, originating with the 'pillars of bronze' in King Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem.[107] Known examples in Scotland include those at St Salvator's Chapel, St Andrews, at King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, and at the goldsmiths' altar in St Giles' parish church, Edinburgh.[108] The function of these objects was to focus attention on the site of the high altar. Brass pillars were one element in the communal visual culture of the church, alongside altarpieces and choir screens, but they were also part of another common material culture in late medieval Europe which drew patrons to Flanders for the appropriate furnishings for their churches. The high status associated with Flemish and other southern Low Countries metalwork has been discussed in previous chapters.[109] In 1498 Archdeacon Robert Wells of St Andrews purchased via Andrews Halyburton '24 pyllaris off brass, the quhilk weit 592 li., ilk li. cost 4½ gl. Som of thir pillaris, 11 li. 2 s.'[110] In some cases it is also known that the riddel curtains were imported from Flanders. In September 1494 the abbot of Holyrood, travelling to Rome via Bruges, purchased 'in foro […] brugensi' four blue curtains for the high altar.[111] Such objects reminded churchgoers of the sacredness of the mass by its visual inaccessibility and recalled the exclusivity, material wealth, and cultural sophistication of the donors and of the Church as an institution.

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[106] *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 42, pt. 34; Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, p. 2; Kim Wilford Woods, 'Netherlandish Carved Wooden Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries in Britain' (unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1988), p. 82, cited with author's permission; Alessandro Nova, 'Hangings, Curtains, and Shutters of Sixteenth-Century Lombard Altarpieces', in Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (ed.), *Italian Altarpieces, 1250-1550: Function and Design* (Oxford, 1994), p. 186.

[107] Kings 7:15-16. See McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the sanctuary', pp. 52-3, ill. 52.

[108] *St Salvator College*, pp. 126, 163: 'four gret pillaris with four angelis with takynnys of the passioun befor the he alter of bras fessynnyt with gret gaddis of yrne'; *King's College*, pp. 9, 32: four brass columns with angels bearing the

This chapter will move on to a case study of Flemish and Flemish-influenced church furniture in Aberdeen, comprised in the late medieval period of the two burghs of Old and New Aberdeen. This example is particularly insightful due to the almost exceptional survival of an altarpiece, choir stalls, and choir screens in King's College Chapel and in St Nicholas' parish church. This allows the juxtaposition and comparison of two seemingly distinct social groups: that of the chancellor, keeper of the privy seal, and bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone, and that of the burgesses and ordinary townspeople of New Aberdeen. By employing a Flemish aesthetic to distinguish the sacred space of

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Instruments of the Passion; *Edinburgh Goldsmiths' Minutes*, p. 20, no. A2: 'the yle was maid closs with the stallyes and tymber wark and the brasin pallaris wes sent to Flanders for'.

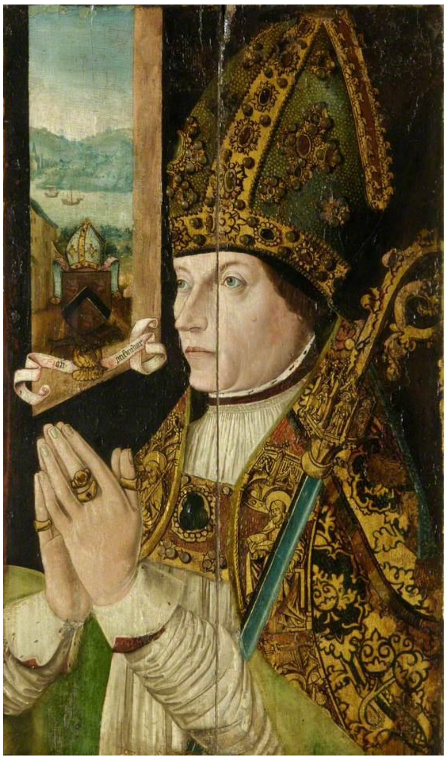
[109] Chapter 2, pp. 44-6, 52-6; Chapter 4, pp. 108-14. See Taburet-Delahaye, 'Gold and Silver', p. 131; Marti, Borchert and Keck (ed.), *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, p. 208; Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, p. 70; Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 105; Duverger, 'The Applied Arts before 1800', pp. 324-6; Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries*, p. 87.

[110] *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. 160, 249; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', in McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, p. 82; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', *IR*, p. 114. That there was a period of a year between the order of the pillars in February 1499 and their delivery in February 1500, and the reference to 'the man that maid the pillaris off bras', suggests that they were commissioned rather than purchased on the open market.

[111] *Holyrood Ordinale*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii, 216.

the chancel, both groups were solidifying their own elite status by associating themselves, firstly, with the ritual and ceremony of the mass, and secondly, with the cultural capital of Flanders.

King's College was founded by Elphinstone and was confirmed in its foundation by Pope Alexander VI in 1495.[112] The university was partially funded by James IV. It had faculties of theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and the liberal arts, and Hector Boece acted as the first principal of the institution.[113] The chapel and its choir were used by the college's clerical staff as well as by the staff and students of the university.[114] At the high altar, within four large curtains bearing the arms of James IV and of Elphinstone, was an altarpiece depicting on one surviving panel from c.1500 Bishop Elphinstone in his bishop's cope and mitre and holding a crozier.[115]



Elphinstone panel, Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen, acc. no. 30005.

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[112] *King's College*, pp. 136-45, 154-87; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, p. 300.

[113] Leslie J. Macfarlane, 'Elphinstone, William (1431–1514)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

[114] *King's College*, p. 229.

[115] Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen, acc. no. 30005. See Campbell and Dick, 'The Portrait of Bishop Elphinstone', pp. 98-108, figs. 7.1-7.5; Davidson and Stevenson, 'Bishop Elphinstone', pp. 11-2; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, pp. 334-5; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, p. 256; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 118; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, p. 11, no. 16; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 95, 152; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 41, fig. 2.17; Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, p. 55. For the curtains, see *King's College*, pp. 17, 40. The curtains would have been suspended from four brass riddel posts: pp. 9, 32. Elphinstone's arms were also visible on the carpet before the high altar and on the cushions of the church: pp. 17, 40.

Since the king founded the college and his arms appeared on the riddel curtains, it is likely that the opposite panel bore his portrait. The founders' portraits would have been positioned either side of a central painted or carved image, probably of the Virgin considering the chapel's dedication to St Mary in the Nativity.[116] The painting has been attributed to a Flemish artist or one familiar with Flemish techniques. These can be seen in the individualistic treatment of the face with thin paint and sparing use of highlights, scoring in the paint to create the fur trim on the cope, and the use of glazing colours over the gold leaf, also on the cope.[117] The achievement of a naturalistic, sweeping landscape and the richly textured and coloured vestments are additional signs of Flemish painting technique. Furthermore, the original background of a red curtain, as suggested by traces of a red underlayer, was a typical Flemish framing device which was also used for the Trinity Altarpiece.[118] Elphinstone was in Bruges in Easter 1495, en route to Rome, consecrating the chrism at the church of St Walburg on Holy Thursday and pontificating at the Easter Vigil, and he may have made contact with a Flemish artist while there.[119] Alternatively, painter Willem Wallinc of Bruges was in Scotland working for Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld from 1505 to 1515, and he might have been recommended by Brown to Elphinstone.[120] However, it has recently been suggested that the painter of the panel was the 'Piers the painter' present in Scotland from 1505 to 1508, provided to James IV by Andrew Halyburton.[121] Piers, thought to have been Peeken Bovelant of Antwerp who was an apprentice to Goswin van der Weyden, would have painted Elphinstone on arrival in Scotland before going on to work for the crown.[122] It would make sense for Elphinstone to patronise the same Flemish artist as James IV, considering his high status and their dual patronage of the college. Also, the Flemish aesthetic was part of a northern European cultural code, the high quality of which was manifest in the naturalism and vividness of its painting, enhancing the ritual with which it was associated. In a religious context, this emphasised the proximity to the high altar and thus to God of the clergy and patrons of the church. The exclusivity of the space was reinforced by ordinary laypeople having little or no visual access to it:

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[116] Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, p. 334.

[117] Campbell and Dick, 'The Portrait of Bishop Elphinstone', pp. 105-6.

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[119] Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, p. 232; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 53.

[120] *Dunk. Rent*, pp. 18, 22-3, 50, 80, 91, 99, 120-1, 125-6, 129-30, 132, 137, 139, 141, 148, 151, 203, 236, 238, 270, 272. See SAB, Oud Archief, 314:1, Beeldenmakers, Inschrijvingen – Registers, 1450-1799, bk. 1, f. 66r; Apted and Hannabuss (ed.), *Painters in Scotland*, pp. 97-8; Campbell, 'Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters', pp. 95-6; Campbell and Dick, 'The Portrait of Bishop Elphinstone', pp. 102-3.

[121] Katie Stevenson, 'Cultural Kindred: Sharing Tastes and Talents in Early Renaissance Scotland and Flanders', *Scotland and the Flemish People* conference paper, University of St Andrews, 17 June 2016 (publication forthcoming). See *TA*, vol. 3, pp. li, xci, 162, 171, 173, 325, 341, 350, 384-5, 393, 402, 404; *TA*, vol. 4, pp. 22, 58, 66, 87-8, 90, 113-4, 134, 136, 138; *Painters in Scotland*, ed. Apted and Hannabuss, pp. 70-2.

[122] Stevenson, 'Cultural Kindred'.

> A good bishop – he who left his diocese enriched, more noteworthy than he found it – would have his name remembered for all time, by the dignitaries of his cathedral, the members of his university, the tourists of later centuries. How far his parishioners felt themselves enriched by the new university or additional aisle is a very different question.[123]

The connection between the intricate working of Flemish objects and their status as symbols of visual and social exclusivity brought about the concentration of Flemish and Flemish-influenced material culture at the chancel and high altar. At King's College Elphinstone capitalised on the supremacy of Flemish manufacture to enforce the status of his chapel. Its wooden choir stalls and canopies were constructed in the early 1500s.[124] The fifty-two stalls were described by Boece in 1521 as 'fine carved work [...] made with wonderful art'.[125] The side panels, seat backs, stall ends, canopies, and misericord undersides are richly carved with foliage, vine leaves, grapes, oak leaves, acorns, roses, and thistles, in both blind and openwork tracery typical of Flemish production. The linenfold, blind fenestrated, and flamboyant tracery is characteristic of the Low Countries, inviting comparison with contemporary woodwork at Bruges, Brussels, Leuven, Bolsward, Haarlem, Breda, and 's-Hertogenbosch.[126] Some of the misericords bear carvings of a crown, thistles, and bishop's mitre, indicating the patronage of James IV and Elphinstone.

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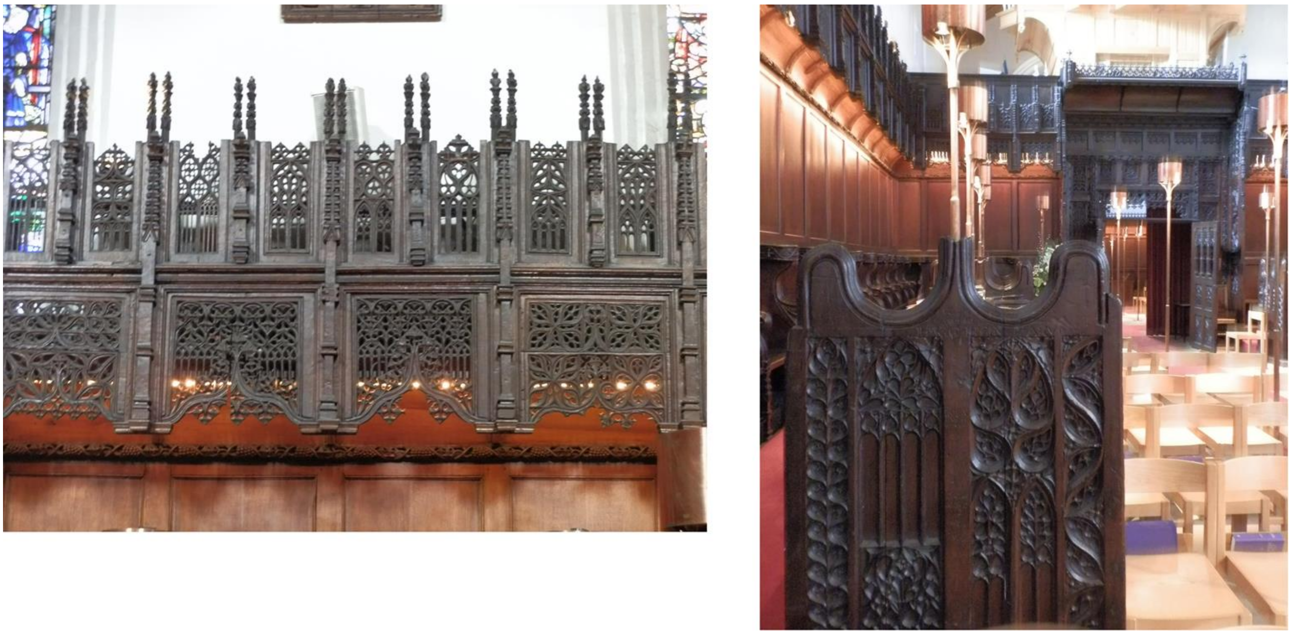
[123] Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, p. 82.

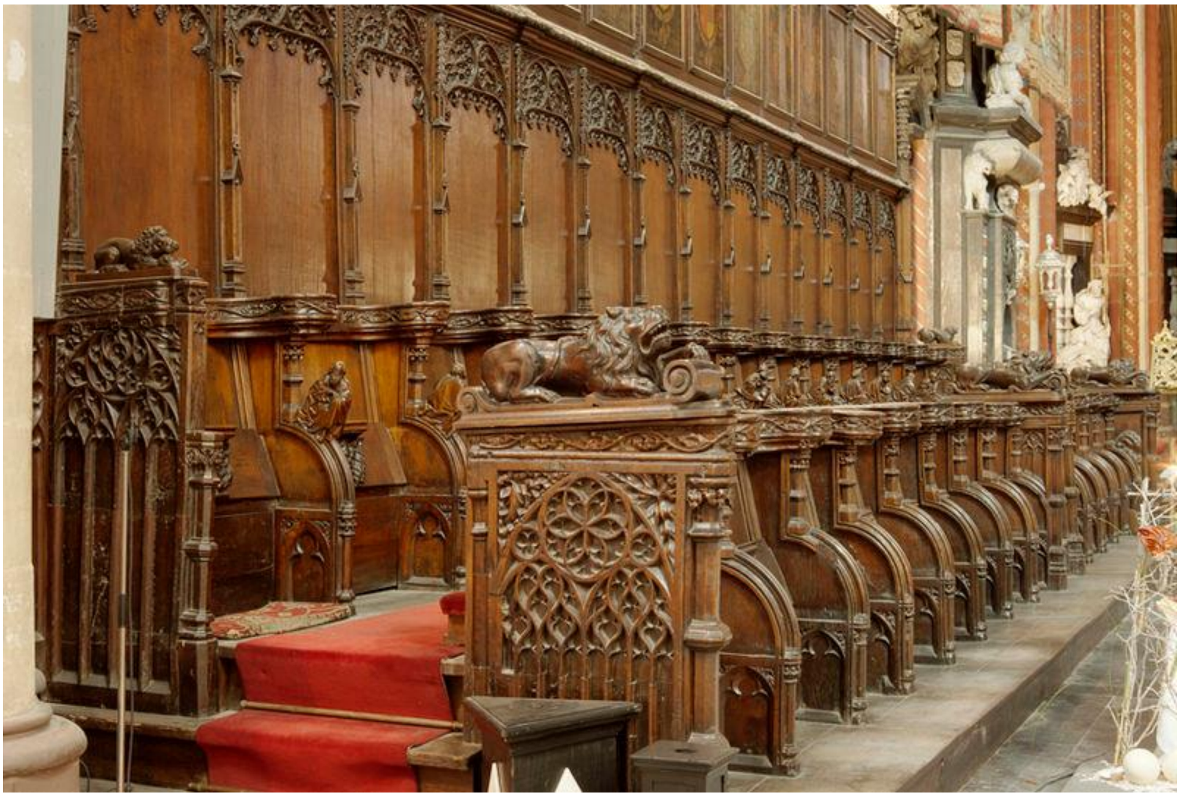
[124] Sallyanne Simpson, 'The Choir Stalls and Rood Screen', in Geddes (ed.), *King's College Chapel*, pp. 74-97, figs. 6.1-6.8, 6.12; *King's College*, p. 75; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the nave', p. 109, ill. 101; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the choir', pp. 72-3, ills. 66-7; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, pp. 284-5 291-2, figs. 4.51-2, 4.59; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, pp. 333-4; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 47; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 41, figs. 2.18, 2.18a; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, pp. 51-2.

[125] *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. James Moir (Aberdeen, 1894), p. 94.

[126] Gaunt, *Flemish Cities: Their History and Art*, p. 80, fig. 46; Simpson, 'The Choir Stalls and Rood Screen', pp. 83-4; William Kelly, 'Carved oak from St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen', *PSAS* 68 (1933-4), p. 364; Macfarlane, *William*



Choir stall canopies, north side, and choir stall end, south side, at King's College Chapel, Aberdeen.



Choir stalls, Sint-Salvatorskathedraal, Bruges, courtesy of PMRMaeyaert via Wikimedia Commons.

Elphinstone, pp. 333-4. On their 1503 marriage James IV gave Margaret Tudor a panelled oak chest bearing flamboyant tracery and their initials joined in a love knot (NMS, IL.2015.10, on loan from a private collection). The use of native wood and large pegs typical of Scottish construction suggest a Scottish origin: Aidan Harrison, 'A Small Scottish Chest', *Regional Furniture: The Journal of the Regional Furniture Society* 26 (2012), pp. 6-7, 12-3. However, the style of the tracery, with linenfold panelling similar to that at King's College Chapel and Fowlis Easter, suggests that the maker of the chest was operating within a cultural sphere influenced by Flemish motifs.

There has been some discussion on the origins of John Fendour, the wright thought to have been responsible for the woodwork on the basis of its similarity to known work of his at St Nicholas', Aberdeen. The Flemish Gothic style of the carving has been attributed to his potential Low Countries background.[127] It is possible that the choir stalls were manufactured in the Low Countries and transported to Aberdeen, as was the case with the Melrose stalls. Alternatively, they could have been made locally by a Fleming or by a Scot familiar with Flemish woodwork. Yet several points render immaterial the question of Fendour's origin. Firstly, as this thesis and the many primary and secondary sources cited within it have shown, the Flemish aesthetic was extremely popular among Scottish elites in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Flemish panel painting, illumination, metalwork, fabrics, and other objects were imported in quantity, in some cases imitated, and were used to express cultural awareness and sophistication. Thus, it is not inconceivable that a Scottish wright absorbed these influences and was inspired to create woodwork bearing distinctly Flemish motifs. Secondly, the use of workshop models or *patronen* was widespread in Low Countries craft workshops, as seen in Chapter 2. It was not unusual or representative of lesser quality workmanship for tracery carvers to purchase prefabricated designs from artists. This may have been how the design for the stalls ended up in Aberdeen. Lastly, Fendour is known to have spent several years in Scotland working for various elite patrons including Bishop George Brown at Dunkeld Cathedral, Bishop Elphinstone, again, at Aberdeen Cathedral, and James IV at Falkland Palace.[128] He was therefore a resident of Scotland, and his origin pales into insignificance when his work is looked at in the context of elite, visual ceremony. The Late Gothic scheme utilised for the King's College choir stalls, incorporating the distinctively ornamental tracery motifs of Flanders, highlighted the sacred space of the chancel and affirmed the privilege of those whose status authorised them to enter that space.

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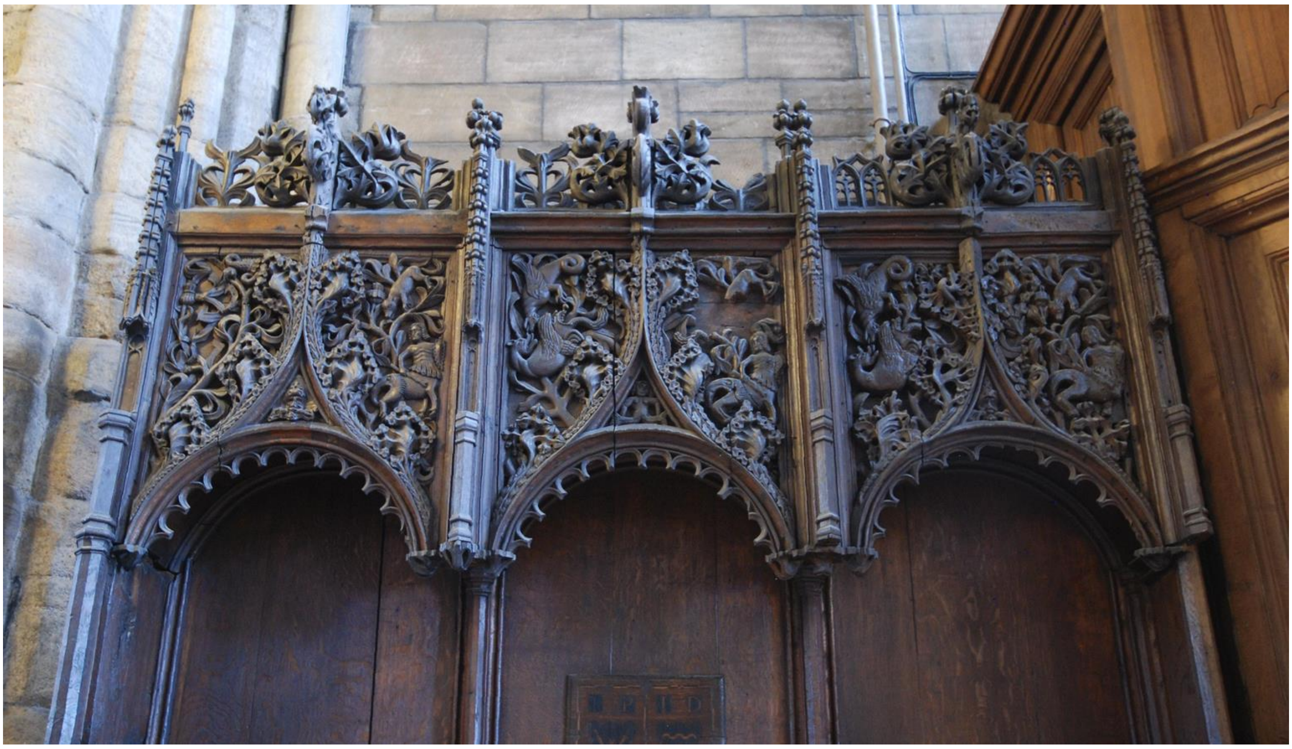
[127] Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 64; R. Fawcett, 'Late Gothic Architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the Influence of the Low Countries', *PSAS* 112 (1982), p. 477-96; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, p. 7, no. 2; Kelly, 'Carved Oak from St Nicholas' Church', p. 364.

[128] *Dunk. Rent.*, pp. 82, 110, 213, 216, 218; *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*, vol. 1, ed. D. Littlejohn (Aberdeen, 1904), pp. 102-4; *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 89, 273, 275.

Another example of Flemish style stalls can be seen at Dunblane Cathedral where in c.1500 Bishop James Chisholm had canopied choir stalls and a choir screen, sixteen of which survive, erected.[129]



Dunblane Cathedral, choir stall canopies, courtesy of Ewing Wallace, Dunblane Cathedral Secretary.

They are similar to those of King's College in that they bear intricate carvings of floral, branch, and fruit motifs, delicately detailed canopies of unmistakably Gothic character, and misericords with motifs such as a bishop's mitre and the monogram IHS. The canopies are thought to be of later date than the stalls due to their greater intricacy, which has in turn led to the opinion that they are 'of a foreign style, more polished and deeper than is usual in Britain […] the canopies are of French or Flemish origin.'[130] Again, such an origin is unproven and it is more appropriate to consider the stalls as a part of the common cultural currency which associated the intricacy of Flemish design with the high status of the chancel.

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[129] James Hutchison Cockburn, 'The Ochiltree Stalls and other medieval carvings in Dunblane Cathedral', *The Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* 8:3 (1960), pp. 91-109; James Hutchison Cockburn, 'The Ochiltree Stalls and other medieval carvings in Dunblane Cathedral, part II', *The Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* 8:4 (1961), pp. 142-5; James Hutchison Cockburn, *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church* (Edinburgh and London, 1959), pp. 191-2, pls. 7-8; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, pp. 286-8, fig. 4.54; James S. Richardson, 'Unrecorded Scottish Wood Carvings', *PSAS* 60 (1925-6), p. 384; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the choir', p. 69, ills. 61-3; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 47; D. McGibbon and T. Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland: From the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1896), pp. 104-5; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, p. 3; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, p. 52.

[130] Cockburn, 'The Ochiltree Stalls and other medieval carvings in Dunblane Cathedral, part II', p. 145.

The same phenomenon has been identified in the early sixteenth century Low Countries where government buildings, guild halls, and churches were furnished in this fashion as badges of elite function and identity.[131] They did not send any particular message but focussed attention on the wealth and cultural awareness of their patrons. An equivalent use of visual foci for the expression of prestige can be seen in the example of St Nicholas' parish church in New Aberdeen. There too was a suite of Flemish-style woodwork, crafted by Fendour. He was commissioned by the burgh council of Aberdeen in April 1495 to make 'the ruff and tymmir of the queyr', and in December 1507 to 'finally end and complet the xxxiiij stallis in thar queir, with the spiris and the chanslar dur'.[132] The choir stalls accommodated chaplains and singers employed by the burgh council as well as altarists, choristers, and clerks funded by both corporate and private patrons.[133] From the extant fabric it is clear that they were very similar in design to those of King's College, with features such as intricately carved blind tracery and floral and foliage motifs.

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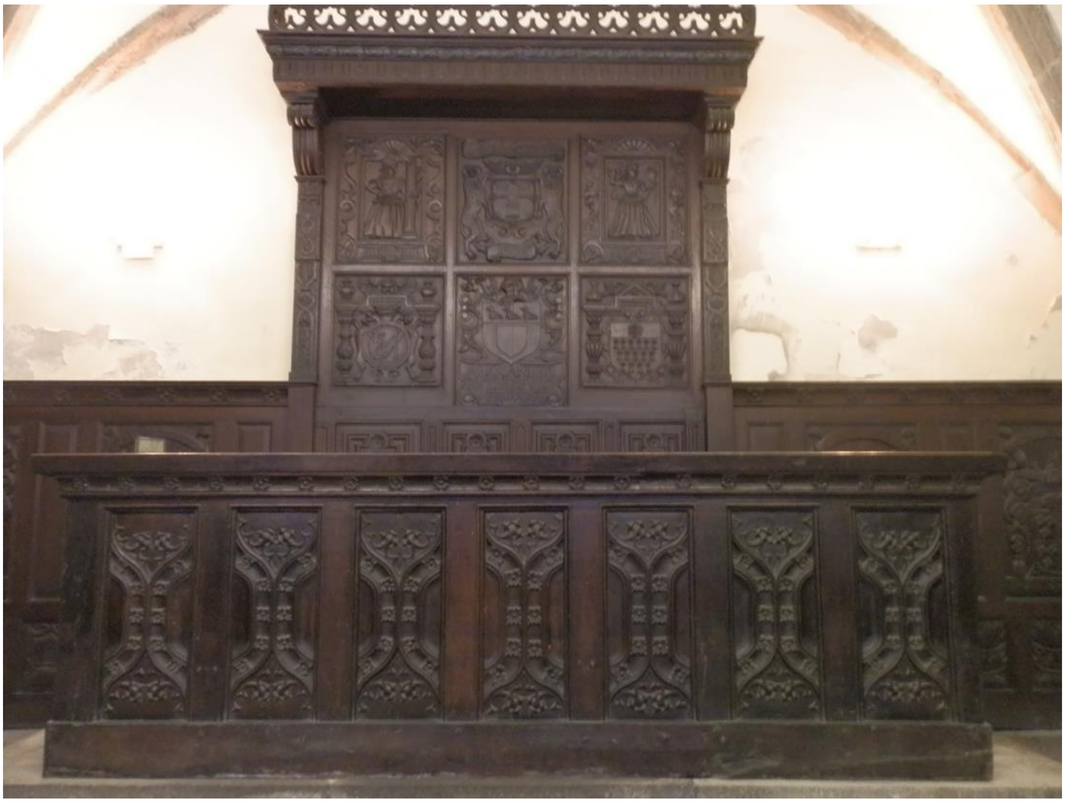
[131] Ethan Matt Kavaler, 'Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament', *The Art Bulletin* 82:2 (June 2000), pp. 226-51.

[132] *Abdn Counc.*, pp. 56-7, 77-8; *St Nich. Cart.*, vol. 2, p. 346; Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', p. 53-5, 57, pl. 6; Simpson, 'The Choir Stalls and Rood Screen', p. 89, figs. 6.13-6.14; E. Patricia Dennison and Judith Stones, *Historic Aberdeen: The Archaeological Implications of Development* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 61; Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings*, pp. 285-6, fig. 4.52; Kelly, 'Carved oak from St Nicholas' Church', pp. 355-6, 358-9; McRoberts, 'Introductory observations and some general features of decoration', pp. 13-4, ill. 12; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the choir', pp. 71-2, ill. 65; McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the nave', p. 110.

The stalls have been broken up and survive in parts at NMS (acc. nos H.KL 105, H.KL 106 A-E, H.KL 107 A-B, H.KL 108 A-D), St Mary's Chapel in St Nicholas' Kirk, and Trinity Hall, Aberdeen.

[133] Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', pp. 85-6; McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland', p. 97.



Fragment of Fendour woodwork incorporated into desk, St Mary's Chapel,
St Nicholas' Parish Church, Aberdeen.

Fendour's fee was loaned by forty-five men of Aberdeen who came together to finance the project, proclaiming materially their identity as members of the urban community.[134] Not only did the Flemish Gothic style of the woodwork express the wealth and continental connections of the burgh council, which held a monopoly over international trade, but it gave visual focus to the space around the high altar and to the clergy appointed by the burgesses of the town.

There was a clear link between elite urban identity, international trade, and the expression of high secular status through the provisioning of devotional sites with the conspicuously intricate and naturalistic material culture of Flanders. This aesthetic had currency in the highly visual culture of the late medieval period through its ability to draw the eye towards important ceremonial sites and to proclaim the privilege of those who occupied them. This phenomenon can be recognised not just in material culture but also in ideological trends, used to maintain social boundaries in Scottish burghs. Guilds did this through the performance of religious processions and pageants and the patronage of altars, which had proliferated to such an extent by 1560 that St Giles' parish church in Edinburgh had at least forty altars while St Nicholas' in Aberdeen had at least thirty.[135] Guild altars, ostensibly foci of communal devotion, functioned as platforms from which burghal elites expressed their exclusive, private status by referring to their right to trade internationally with the mercantile and artistic centre of Flanders. This was done through the adoption of the Flanders-based Holy Blood cult.

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[134] *Abdn Counc.*, pp. 56-7.

The cult had grown enormously in popularity in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries along with other Christocentric and Mariological feasts. Centred in Bruges, it was celebrated annually on 3 May and inaugurated the thirty-day-long May fair. This was an occasion for international merchants to buy and sell a wide variety of goods from the surrounding region, uniting religious and mercantile interests.[136] The Holy Blood procession of Bruges often lasted an entire day, beginning with music and singing at midnight. The fifty-four craft guilds of Bruges were summoned to take their places in the procession by the ringing of bells at ten o'clock in the morning. They bore candles, crosses, flags, and badges of honour and were accompanied by musicians. At noon the high clergy, city magistrate, and members of the confraternity assembled at the Heilig-Bloedbasiliek on the Burg where the relic began its procession around the town in or on a *fierter* carried by two bishops.[137] These were preceded by other clergy and followed by participants bearing crosses, banners, and candles as well as the mayor of the town. Next were actors performing mystery plays based on biblical stories, and finally there was a multitude of people from Bruges and the surrounding area. Once the Holy Blood was returned to the Burg it was kissed by the principal ecclesiastical and civil participants then the people at large were allowed to worship the relic. 'It was often late into the night before the Holy Blood could be put back in its usual resting place.'[138]

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[135] George Hay, 'The late medieval development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh', *PSAS* 107 (1975-6), p. 254; Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', pp. 9, 33. See also Dennison, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', p. 255; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 104-5; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 25.

[136] Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 72-3; Andrew Brown, 'Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders in the Later Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review* 112:446 (April 1997), pp. 281-5; James M. Murray, 'The Liturgy of the Count's Advent in Bruges, from Galbert to Van Eyck', in Hanawalt and Reyerson (ed.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, pp. 142, 144.

[137] A fierter could be either a reliquary or a stretcher on which a relic was transported: www.gtb.inl.nl.

Devotion to the Holy Blood is thought to have entered Scotland via trading links with the Low Countries.[139] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many Scottish burghs, primarily east coast towns with international trade links, venerated the Holy Blood through a proliferation of confraternities, altars, plays, and processions associated with merchant guilds.[140] There was a connection between Scottish mercantile interests and the Holy Blood cult which deserves further attention. In 1521, for example, the merchants of Aberdeen delivered some money to one Andrew Craufurd, 'as he þat was lottit to pas to þe halybluid in douchpand and þe said schippar allegit þat þe said gud[is] suld pas one his bodyune to fland[ris] and þar furneis a p[er]sone to pas þe said pilgroumag'.[141] The Bruges procession was attended by bishops from Scotland, England, and Ireland as well as other international areas including Italy and Spain. They appear to have shown more interest in the Bruges procession than did bishops from dioceses closer to Bruges, particularly in the mid-fifteenth century when clerical guests from the British Isles were more numerous than those from France.[142] Lieve Ecker attributes the grandeur of the ceremony first and foremost to the bishops who flocked to Bruges from faraway places. However, the foreign character was not reflected in the lower clergy such as the abbots; these came primarily from the surrounding area.[143] When John de Crannach, bishop of Brechin attended in 1442, his fellow guests were the bishops of Tournai and Sarepta, the provost of Sint Donaas, the abbots of Sint Vaast in Arras, Sint-Winoksbergen, Oudenburg, Sint Andries in Bruges, Ten Duinen, Ter Doest, Ligny, Eeckhoutte in Bruges, Zoetendaal in Veere, and the prior general of the Augustinian order.[144] Crannach returned the following year, and additional Scottish bishops known to have attended are James Kennedy of St Andrews in 1451 and Thomas Spens of Aberdeen in 1463 and 1477.[145] While such guests might have transported the cult to Scotland, it is also possible that Scottish merchants present for the Bruges fair acted as unrecorded spectators. The procession of clerics and burghers around the city walls, the use of bells, candles, and trumpets, and the display of the Holy Blood relic became linked to Brugeois civic identity and autonomy.[146] This suggests that the devotional aspect of merchant guild membership was inextricably tied up with secular, international aspects of Scottish urban life, and was off limits to those non-merchants barred from international trade.

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[138] Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', pp. 24-6.

[139] David Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts thesis' and patterns of sanctity in late medieval Scotland', in Boardman and Williamson (ed.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary*, p. 179; Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages', p. 54; Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', p. 117; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 103; David McRoberts, 'The furnishings of the nave', p. 125; Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 105; *Perth Guild Bk*, p. v; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 75, 102, 104; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 156.

Alexandra Johnston has drawn parallels between English merchants' attendance at Low Countries fairs and the staging of Netherlandish-influenced civic drama: Alexandra F. Johnston, 'Traders and Playmakers: English Guildsmen and the Low Countries', in Barron and Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries*, pp. 99-100, 108.

[140] Aberdeen: *Abdn Counc.*, p. 395; Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', p. 118; *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 1, pp. 333-4; *Abdn Reg.*, vol. 2, p. 196. Dumfries: *RMS*, vol. 2, p. 641, no. 3010. Dundee: *Burgh Laws of Dundee, with the History, Statutes & Proceedings of the Guild of Merchants and Fraternities of Craftsmen*, ed. Alex J. Wordeen (London, 1870), pp. 93-4. Dunfermline: *The Dunfermline Burgh Records*, ed. E. Beveridge (Edinburgh, 1917), pp. 125, 160, 275; Dennison, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', p. 256; *The Gild Court Book of Dunfermline*, p. 35. Dunkeld: *Dunk. Rent.*, p. 239. Edinburgh: *RMS*, vol. 3, pp. 110, 597-8, 627, nos 491, 2600, 2713. Glasgow: *Munimenta Almae Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its foundation till 1727*, vol. 1, ed. C. Innes (Glasgow, 1854), p. 21. Haddington: *RMS*, vol. 3, p. 385, no. 1735. Inverkeithing: *RMS*, vol. 2, p. 336, no. 1596. Lanark: *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, with charters and documents relating to the burgh, A.D. 1150-1722*, ed. Robert Renwick (Glasgow, 1893), p. 8. Montrose: *RMS*, vol. 2, pp. 249-50, no. 1146. Perth: *Perth Guild Bk*, p. v; Robert Scott Fittis, *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, to the Period of the Reformation* (Edinburgh and Perth, 1885), pp. 302, 316, 318, 320. St Andrews: W. E. K. Rankin, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, St Andrews, Pre-Reformation, with Appendices* (Edinburgh and London, 1955), pp. 62-4. Stirling: *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1519-1666, with appendix, A.D. 1295-1666*, ed. Robert Renwick (Glasgow, 1887), pp. 13-4; David B. Morris, *The Stirling Merchant Gild and Life of John Cowane, Founder of Cowane's Hospital in Stirling* (Stirling, 1919), pp. 132-3.

See Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', pp. 104-5; Fraser, 'The Later Mediaeval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', p. 117; David McRoberts, *The Fetternear Banner: A Scottish Medieval Religious Banner* (Glasgow, 1958), pp. 16-7; David McRoberts, 'The Fetternear Banner', *IR* 7 (1956), p. 77; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, p. 101; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 156; Hay, 'The late medieval development of the High Kirk of St Giles', p. 251.

[141] Aberdeen City Archives, CA/1/1/10, f. 389r.

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[142] Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', pp. 34, 149, 159; app. 2: 'Nomenclatuur en bespreking van de hoogwaardigheidsbekleders die deel namen aan de H. Bloedprocessie, 1442-1576'.

[143] Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', p. 159.

[144] SAB, Chapelle du St Sang, Cortèges, 1442, f. 2r; Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', app. 2, p. 87. Crannach may have been passing through Bruges on a diplomatic mission as he is known to have acted as envoy to James I, to the papacy and to France. See D. E. R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 120-1.

[145] John de Crannach, bishop of Brechin, 1443: SAB, Chapelle du St Sang, Cortèges, 1442, f 2r; Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', app. 2, pp. 88-9. Attended alongside the bishop of Marchiennes, the provosts of Sint Donaas, Sint Andries, and Onze Lieve Vrouw in Bruges, and the abbots of St Adriaan in Geraardsbergen, Ten Duinen, Ter Doest in Middelburg, Veurne, Valenciennes, and Eeckhoutte.

James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, 1451: SAB, Chapelle du St Sang, Cortèges, 1442, f. 4r; Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', app. 2, p. 94. Attended alongside the abbots of Sint Andries in Bruges, Ter Doest in Middelburg, Eeckhoutte, and Zoetendaal, and the provost of Onze Lieve Vrouw in Bruges.

Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, 1463: SAB, Chapelle du St Sang, Cortèges, 1442, f. 6r; Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', app. 2, pp. 100-1. Attended alongside the bishops of Tournai, St Asaph, and Sarepta, the abbots of Sint Bavo in Ghent, Sint Andries in Bruges, Ten Duinen, Clairmarais, Ter Doest, Boudelo, Veurne, Zonnebeke, Eeckhoutte, Valenciennes, and Zoetendaal, the provincial superior of the French Carmelites, and the deacon of Sint Donaas in Bruges.

Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, 1477: SAB Chapelle du St Sang, Cortèges, 1442, f. 9r; Ecker, 'De H. Bloedprocessie te Brugge', app. 2, p. 106. Attended alongside the bishops of Tournai and Sarepta, the abbots of Sint-Winoksbergen, Sint Andries in Bruges, Ten Duinen, and Eeckhoutte, and the deacon of Sint Donaas in Bruges.

The connection between local identity, international trade, and familiarity with Flemish devotional culture is shown in the organisation of communal urban worship in Edinburgh according to the model of Bruges. When the guild of masons and wrights were given their altar in St Giles' by the town council on 15 Oct 1475, they were allotted their proper place in processions according to the custom of Bruges: 'the saidis twa craftismen sall caus and haue thair placis and rowmes in all generale processiouns lyk as thai haf in the towne of Bruges or siclyk gud townes.'[147] The communal aspect of Holy Blood devotion in particular is identifiable in a guild court statute of 1504 which tells of the duties required of guild members in relation to communal worship of the Holy Blood:

> it is statute and ordand be the dene of gild and brethir, for the solompnizatione of the Haly Blud mess, that all gild brethir within the burgh conwene and forgather ilk Tursday in the yeir at ix houris befor nowne quhan thai heris the bellis ring, to the said mess and follow the Eucrist throw the kyrk and heir the said mess. And ilk of the forsaidis gild brethir that cummis nocht to the said mess or does in the contrair heirof, with he have a racionabill excus or ellis at he be licent be the dene of gild, sall pay for ilk day to the Haly Blud licht, a penny.[148]

Fines were levied on guild members who dared to break the mercantile or industrial rules of the burgh, with the proceeds going towards the Holy Blood cult. Offences punishable in this way included the conduct of trade outwith the burgh except at certain markets and fairs, the purchase of merchandise on Sundays or other festival days, allowing non-burgesses to act as merchants, and non-attendance of the weekly Holy Blood mass.[149] Group unity was clearly an important aspect of guild devotion to the Holy

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[146] This was also connected to the increasing domination of the town by civic authorities. The Burg, the site of the Holy Blood chapel and previous site of the comital palace, was from 1384 dominated by the new *stadhuis*: Brown, 'Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders', pp. 281-2, 285, n. 2.

[147] *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, vol. 1, p. 32; 'Notices of St Giles' in Burgh Records', in J. Cameron Lees, *St Giles', Edinburgh: Church, College, and Cathedral, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh and London, 1889), p. 337.

[148] *Perth Guild Bk*, p. 103, no. 261.

[149] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3, 104, nos 243, 261; pp. 151-2, no. 342; p. 239, no. 450; p. 103, no. 261.

Blood. A 1542 guild statute ordaining the selection of two 'compositoris' to bring together the money owed to the Holy Blood altar was agreed by 'the dene of gild and merchands beand togidder convenit *in ane voce*'.[150]

Unity and community, then, were important aspects of elite burgh governance. As pointed out by John Bossy, however, 'brotherhood […] entailed otherhood', and the otherhood of the ordinary burgh population was delineated and made visual on the common ground of religious practice.[151] To achieve this, the material culture of guild piety functioned in the same way as choir screens and other church furniture: it divided space and social groups while simultaneously uniting spectators in witnessing the ritual and creating common knowledge of the merchant guilds' unique status.[152] High status became known through publicly enacted ceremony, and visuality was a significant component of this. By processing through the burgh in honour of the Holy Blood, merchant guilds affirmed their trade links with Flanders and with a thoroughly international devotional climate. The only surviving religious banner from pre-Reformation Scotland, known as the Fetternear Banner, was part of the paraphernalia of this ritual and was used as a status symbol by the urban elites of Edinburgh.[153]

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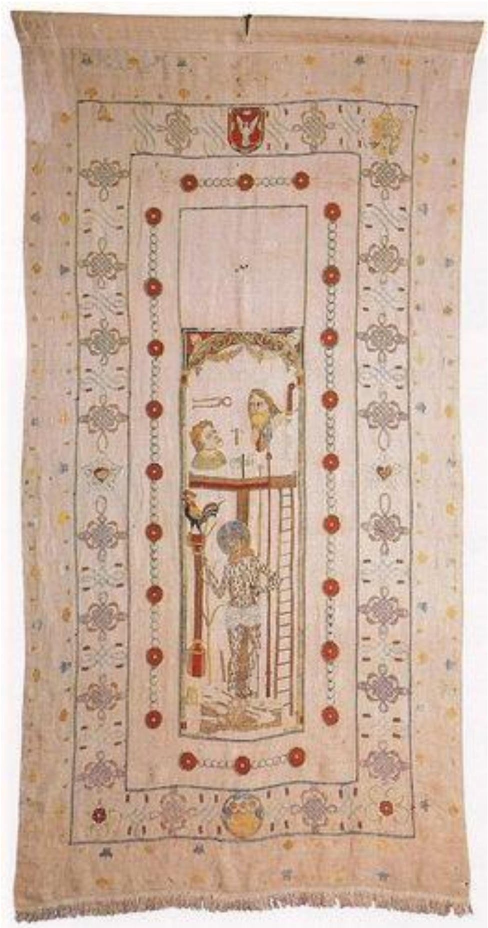
[150] *Ibid., 1452-1601*, p. 151, no. 342. My italicisation.

[151] Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p. 62, borrowing a phrase from Benjamin Nelson, *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1969).

[152] Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier', p. 630.

[153] NMS, acc. no. H.LF 23. See McRoberts, *The Fetternear Banner*, figs. 1-6; McRoberts, 'The Fetternear Banner', pp. 69-86; R. Oddy, 'The Fetternear Banner', in O'Connor and Clarke (ed.), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five*, pp. 416-26; Margaret H. Swain, *Historical Needlework: A Study of Influences in Scotland and Northern England* (London, 1970), pp. 9-10; Charles Carter, 'The *Arma Christi* in Scotland', *PSAS* 90 (1956-57), p. 125; McRoberts, 'The contents of the sacristy', p. 152, ill. 145; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, pp. 9-10, no. 12; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, pp. 60, 62; MacDonald, 'Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Scotland', p. 111; Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts thesis'', p. 178; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, p. 75; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 39, fig. 2.14; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 154, pl. 23; Hay, 'The late medieval development of the High Kirk of St Giles', p. 215.



Fetternear Banner, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, acc. no. H.LF 23.

It was made for the merchant guild’s confraternity of the Holy Blood in the early sixteenth century and depicts Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Surrounding him are the *Arma Christi*, which grew in popularity as symbols of Christ’s humanity during the late Middle Ages, particularly in the Low Countries. Such Passion imagery was, like the Holy Blood cult, particularly prevalent on the east coast of Scotland.[154]

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[154] MacDonald, ‘Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Scotland’, pp. 109-13; Carter, ‘The *Arma Christi* in Scotland’, pp. 116-7, 125, 127; McRoberts, *The Fetternear Banner*, pp. 15-6; Ditchburn, ‘The ‘McRoberts thesis’’, p. 179; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, pp. 74-5; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, pp. 151-4; Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*, pp. 144-9.

The growing trend for Passion devotion also gave rise to extensive literature on the subject, e.g., William of Touris’ *Contemplacioun of Synnaris*: ‘And quha sa likis till awoid all vice, / And haue of grace and vertu aboundance, / Suld beir in mynd þis michty sacrafice / Off Cristis passioun, be reuthfull remembrance / Off disgeist glaidnes, maist soue*r*ane sufficience. / That grane of grace glitterand sa glorius / It is cheif medicyne, contrar all mischance, / And of oure souerte þe said moist sauouris.’ *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose*, p. 124, ll. 897-904.

The banner bears the coat of arms of Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, who was a provost of St Giles’ Kirk from 1503 to c.1521. At the bottom is the coat of arms of the Graham family, which may be explained by burgess and furrier Alexander Graham’s position as one of four ‘Kirkmaisteris of the confrary and altare of the Haly Blude within the said burgh of Edinburgh’ in 1522: *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh: A Series of Charters and Original Documents connected with the Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, M.CCC.XLIV.-M.D.LXVII.*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 213-6. Graham became a burgess in 1517: *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren, 1406-1700*, ed. Charles B. Boog Watson (Edinburgh, 1929), p. 213. See McRoberts, *The Fetternear Banner*, pp. 21-3; McRoberts, ‘The Fetternear Banner’, p. 82.

The banner might have been displayed in Holy Blood processions around Edinburgh. However, considering its composition of fine linen and thread, outdoor display would have risked considerable damage.[155] Two aspects show that, even if it was designed for indoor use, there was still a highly public dimension to it. Firstly, the sheer size of it, 188 by 96 centimetres, strongly suggests that it was intended to be seen from some distance away, like the polychromed altarpieces discussed in this chapter. Secondly the stitching techniques have produced a double-sided effect, enabling the banner to be viewed from both front and back.[156] Even if not designed to be taken around the town, it is likely that it would have been paraded through the interior of St Giles' and perhaps around the churchyard in a manner similar to that depicted in the below image.[157] Since in Corpus Christi processions proximity to the eucharist signified high status, it is likely that in Holy Blood processions the office holders of the merchant guild would process at the rear of the group, behind ordinary members and before the banner.[158] It may have also functioned as a type of altarpiece at the Holy Blood altar.[159]

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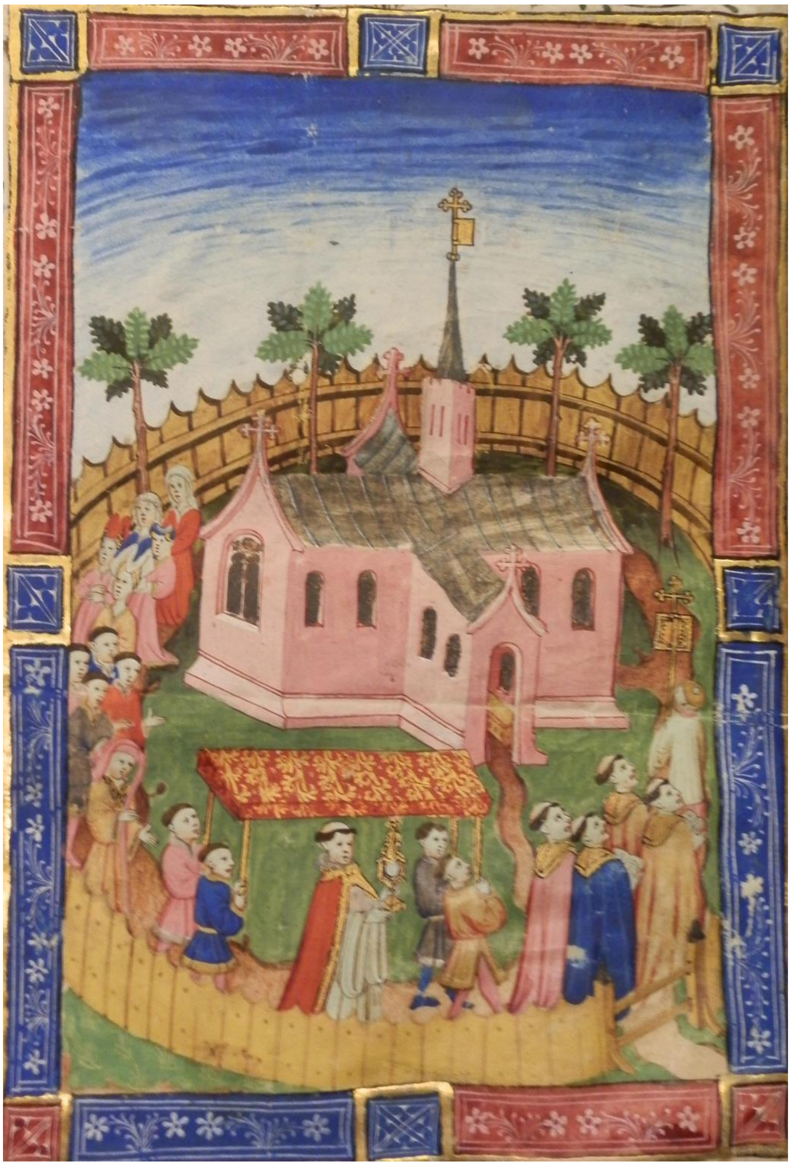
[155] Oddy, 'The Fetternear Banner', pp. 416, 423, 425.

[156] McRoberts, *The Fetternear Banner*, p. 6; Oddy, 'The Fetternear Banner', pp. 416, 419.

[157] NLS, Adv. MS 18.1.7, f. 149v. See *Treasures from Scottish Libraries: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, 3 July – 1 August 1964*, ed. L. G. Heywood and E. F. D. Roberts (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 11, no. 29; *Trésors des Bibliothèques d'Écosse: Bibliothèque Albert I^{er} – Bruxelles, 2 Février – 6 Avril 1963*, ed. L. G. Heywood and E. F. D. Roberts (Brussels, 1963), pp. 19-20, no. 33.

[158] *Abdn Counc.*, pp. 450-1; Dennison, 'Power and its Possessors', p. 4; Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, p. 111; Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 160.

[159] A practice known in Italy: Kemp, 'Introduction: The altarpiece in the Renaissance', p. 14.



Nicholas Love, *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv. MS 18.1.7, f. 149v (detail).

The case of the Holy Blood devotion in Scotland is an example of cultural recontextualisation. What could be termed a Flemish or an international cult was transferred and absorbed by merchant guild members and given a uniquely urban dimension, supporting the argument made by David Ditchburn that local and international venerations often operated in parallel rather than in strict dichotomy.[160] The power of the banner lay in its multivocality and ability to 'stand *ambiguously* for a multiplicity of meanings'.[161] For members of the confraternity, it represented international trade and high status in burgh government. For ordinary spectators, it symbolised the devotion to the body and blood of Christ which was enacted in the ritual of the mass and was common to the whole Christian community.[162] Although the act of processing through the town brought sacred objects into the midst of the laity, guild ritual was inextricably tied up with the construction and maintenance of social relations and this centred around the use of objects and the creation of material identities.[163] Visual tools which alluded to merchant guilds' associations with Flanders were exploited to underpin a distinctly private ethos of elite burghal power and hierarchy. Such religious processions

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[160] Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts thesis'', pp. 192-3.

[161] Gervase Rosser, 'Myth, Image and Social Process in the English Medieval Town', *Urban History* 23:1 (May 1996), p. 25. See Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man*, p. 23.

> were not signalling homogeneity or equality, but medieval society knew many instances of hierarchies that were, in theory, supposed to combine to form a harmonious whole. Most fundamentally, this was found in the system of the 'three estates', where those who pray, those who fight, and those who work were theoretically to function in mutually beneficial ways in order to create a smoothly running society.[164]

This chapter intends to show that Flemish and Flemish-inspired church furniture was a powerful tool in the late Middle Ages in Scotland: a period which saw the delineation and reinforcement of accepted social hierarchy through the common visual language of religious ceremony. There was a clear link between mercantile, religious, and communal interests, and Flemish material culture acted as a counterpart to this. Wealthy patrons and Church authorities focussed the attention of the laity on the chancel, symbolic of their temporal and spiritual authority, by employing a distinctly Flemish aesthetic. This included the veristic depiction of light, colour, and texture in paint, the use of polychromy and gilding on skilfully carved altarpieces, and the intricate application of linenfold, floral, and other motifs to choir stalls and screens. The sophisticated decoration of what were physical, and in effect, social boundaries ensured that high rank was communicated effectively. The popularity of the Holy Blood cult among Scottish merchant guilds is another strand of this hierarchy maintenance, as it too capitalised on associations with Flanders to assert dominance in burghal society. To conclude, it can be argued that devotional ritual, instead of being a truly communal act in which unity was emphasised, was a means of upholding authority to a collective audience, and of which the visual impact of Flemish material culture was a significant element.

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[162] Thus, processions could be said to benefit the whole of society and to affirm community and solidarity: Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, p. 101.

[163] Dennison, 'Power to the people?', p. 113.

[164] Cowan, *Death, Life, and Religious Change*, p. 112.

Conclusions

One of the principal aims of this thesis has been to tread new ground in the study of social status and its materialisation in late medieval Scotland. It has done so by pulling together very many small fragments of information from chronicle and diary accounts, administrative, economic, and burghal records, poetry, imagery, and – most importantly of all – the objects themselves. By combining these sources, it has been possible to build up a picture of Scoto-Flemish culture and exchange and to challenge the enduring orthodoxy, particularly among those scholars unfamiliar with Scottish history, that a lack of a comprehensive source base precludes a favourable impression of Scotland's material environment and, by extension, its standing on the European stage. Past historians have not necessarily been wrong to see the fifteenth century as a period of transition for an increasingly outward-looking Scotland, but their focus on diplomacy and marital alliances has led them to overlook the significant artefactual, art historical, and archaeological evidence and its considerable role in the formation of culture. This is perhaps partly due to the intractable nature of that evidence, necessitating, in this thesis, a scavenger approach comprising the drawing together of diverse pieces of evidence in order to illuminate otherwise murky areas of the medieval mindset regarding material culture. This approach has demonstrated its applicability to many other facets of 'missing' material culture, both in Scotland and internationally.

Beyond all of this, it is clear from the evidence presented here that, despite its poor survival, late medieval Scotland possessed a rich and vibrant material culture comparable with that of other European polities. It is by no means claimed that Scotland's royal court, churches, and burghs were furnished with the same splendour as their Burgundian counterparts, but that Scottish consumers were, like those of France, Italy, and Spain, part of a wider international culture which attached status and prestige to Flemish objects. If imitation took place, it did so as part of a common European mindset which did not equate it with unoriginality or inferiority but with the achievement of a universal standard of luxury, inextricably connected to the high technological and artistic calibre of Flemish production. This is particularly evident in Chapter 2's study of Scoto-Flemish consumer practice, in which the conscious duplication of motifs, the creation of a broadly uniform aesthetic in art objects, and acquisition in bulk and on speculation have prompted a re-evaluation of the very culture of value. These production and marketing processes highlight the significant degree of agency exercised by consumers and the impact that international demand, including that of Scotland, had on the Flemish industrial and mercantile infrastructure.

Flemish objects clearly and demonstrably acted as status symbols in elite ritual. Their prestige among contemporaries was not precisely defined geographically in such a way that is useful for a study of the material culture of the medieval county. Accordingly, this thesis has at times stepped outside those boundaries and considered objects from such regions as Artois, Brabant, and Hainaut. For these southern Low Countries areas Flanders functioned, and still functions, as a *pars pro toto*. For the historian the conceptual amalgamation of these culturally similar areas into a relatively cohesive whole has its benefits, particularly when one considers that contemporaries did not seem to have given excessive thought when acquiring their luxuries to the changing borders of the Burgundian and imperial territories. Furthermore, for much of the fifteenth century its commercial and artistic importance meant that Flanders appears to have been the central artistic body around which other regions orbited. This began to change around the turn of the sixteenth century when Antwerp developed into a powerful mercantile centre and Brussels emerged as a capital of the Burgundian dukes and their imperial successors.

The high status of Flemish illumination, panel painting, woodwork, metalwork, tapestries, and textiles is not elucidated in the surviving written record of Scotland. This has necessitated a new approach incorporating the processes and rituals of exchange and the employment of Flemish objects at significant ceremonial events, both secular and religious. This thesis has accordingly examined elite rituals including gift exchange, marriage, military and chivalric pursuits, and religious devotion. It has also shown that material trends were driven not only by the crown but were influenced by a wider consumer society including townspeople, ecclesiastics, and merchants. Such practices, when examined comprehensively, point to an understanding among Scottish elites of the prestige communicated by the *de luxe* aesthetic of Flanders. This aesthetic was recognisably Flemish due to the development in that region of artistic and industrial structures which facilitated the continuous production of objects and motifs in high demand among elite consumers. This prompts the question of choice and availability: did elites consciously opt for Flemish manufactures, or were they simply in the greatest supply? The evidence suggests a combination of both. Scottish commercial diplomacy in the fifteenth century was undeniably geared towards the maintenance of Flemish and Low Countries trade networks, and the choice of Flemish luxuries to communicate political, military, cultural, and religious power speaks volumes about their perceived impact. While medieval Scotland was admittedly lacking in luxury industries, the fact that regions such as England and Italy also sought to import Flemish manufacturers and techniques shows that Scotland was by no means a cultural outlier in the European scene.

Flemish material culture is the lens through which the visual environment of late medieval Scotland has been explored in this thesis. By concentrating on a specific category of object, it has been demonstrated that Scottish aristocratic, ecclesiastic, and burghal elites were fully *au courant* with the most highly regarded and sought-after luxury manufactures in western Europe. This has entailed comparison with other regions, their respective elites' perception of Flemish artistic and industrial output, and the use of Flemish objects in international ceremony. The pan-European reputation of these objects was at once region-specific and multinational: the concentration of skilled artisans and international merchants in the county, and the demand generated for luxury goods, made Flanders' material culture a symbol of European sophistication as a whole. Consequently, the high volume and status of Flemish luxuries in Scotland was in fact the reification of the international outlook and cosmopolitan sophistication of Scottish elites.

Appendix 1: *Scottish Imitation of Flemish Illumination*

East Lothian Book of Hours
Date: c.1450
Location: NAL, MSL/1902/1695

A book of hours in the Sarum Use. It is believed to have been written and illuminated in Scotland due to the contents of the calendar and litany as well as the muddy palette, unpolished details, and relatively poor application of burnished gold. The ornament is heavily influenced by Low Countries production. The compositions and initial and border decoration echo Flemish examples, while the larger initials with bulbous floral designs recall Dutch work.[1]

Culross Psalter
Date: fifteenth century
Owner: Culross Abbey
Location: NLS, Adv. MS 18.8.11

A psalter made for Abbot Richard Marshall of Culross Abbey (d.1470). The borders contain congested tendrils, leaves, flowers, and birds against an unpainted background in a style typical of Flemish illumination prior to c.1470. Julian Luxford considers it a remote possibility that the psalter was imported considering that Culross is known to have been a centre of monastic book production.[2]

Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykyl of Scotland*
Date: late fifteenth century
Owner: George Barclay of Achrody
Location: British Library, London, Royal MS 17 D XX

Verse chronicle written by Andrew of Wyntoun, a canon regular of St Andrews Augustinian priory and prior of St Serf's Inch, Loch Leven. He wrote the book for Sir John Wemyss of Reres, constable of St Andrews Castle, between 1383 and 1400. The border decoration of flowers, leaves, thistles, and gold accents (f. 1r) is considered to be imitative of Flemish work.[3]

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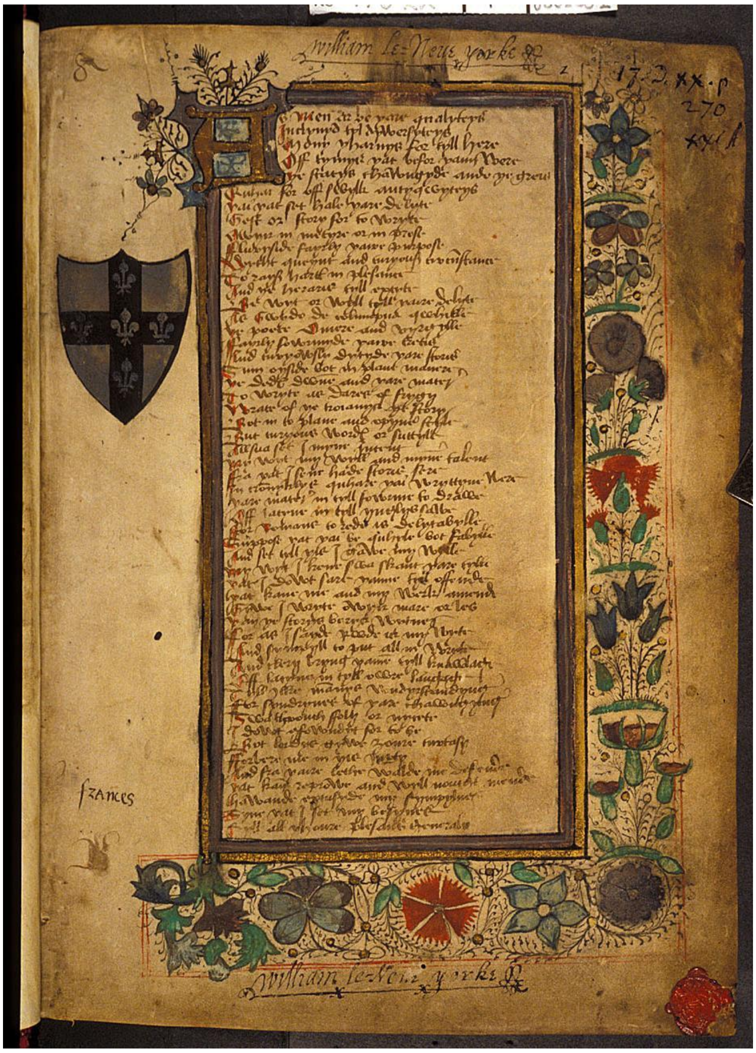
[1] Watson, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A catalogue of works in the National Art Library*, vol. 1, pp. 285-7; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 159, no. 75; McRoberts, *Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 9, no. 45; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 1, p. 383.

[2] W. K. Dickson, 'Notes on the Culross Psalter in the Advocates' Library', *PSAS* 51 (1916-7), pp. 208-13; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 162, no. 88; McRoberts, *Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, pp. 11-2, no. 60; Julian Luxford, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts: The Patronage and Production of Illuminated Books in Late Medieval Scotland', in Geddes (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the Dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray*, p. 194; Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'The Arbuthnott Book of Hours: Book Production and Religious Culture in Late Medieval Scotland', in Geddes (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the Dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray*, p. 230; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, p. 12, no. 20.

[3] Warner and Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, vol. 2, pp. 256-7.



Andrew of Wyntoun, *Orygynale Cronykyl of Scotland*, c.1475-1500,
British Library, London, Royal MS 17 D XX, f. 1r.

Arbuthnott Hours
Date: c.1471
Owner: Mariota Scrymgeour
Location: Paisley Museum and Art Galleries

A book of hours written by James Sibbald, priest of St Ternan's church in Arbuthnott. Robert, 12th laird of Arbuthnott and his wife Mariota Scrymgeour founded the Lady Chapel of the church. The text follows the Sarum Use. The calendar and litany contain many Scottish saints, with particular emphasis on St Ternan. The feminine endings of the prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intermerata* (ff. 75v, 76r) indicate ownership by Mariota. The book contains a miniature of St Ternan (f. 7v). The miniatures and borders of the Hours, Psalter, and Missal are considered to be of Franco-Flemish influence. The borders contain typically Flemish tendril, floral, and fruit motifs.[4]

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[4] Luxford, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts', pp. 183-211, figs. 9, 11; William MacGillivray, 'Notices of the Arbuthnott Missal, Psalter, and Office of the Blessed Virgin', *PSAS* 26 (1891-2), pp. 91-3; Hennessy, 'The Arbuthnott Book of Hours', pp. 212-38, figs. 1, 9; James M. Shewan, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts: The Missal, Prayer Book and Psalter', *The Deeside Field* 19 (1987), pp. 159, 163, figs. 8-9; *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott: Missale Secundum Usum Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ in Scotia*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Burntisland, 1864), pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', pp. 163-4; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 12, no. 68; Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 4, pp. 4-6;

Arbuthnott Psalter
Date: 1483
Owner: Robert, 12th laird of Arbuthnott
Location: Paisley Museum and Art Galleries

A psalter written by James Sibbald for Robert, 12th laird of Arbuthnott. A devotional book for personal use. It was transferred in 1506 to St Ternan's church.[5]

Arbuthnott Missal
Date: 1492
Owner: St Ternan's church, Arbuthnott
Location: Paisley Museum and Art Galleries

A missal for liturgical use, following the Sarum Use, written by James Sibbald and commissioned by Robert Arbuthnott. It contains a full-page miniature of St Ternan (f. 98v) in the position where the Crucifixion is usually depicted, facing the canon page. The serenity of the face and illusionism of the surroundings is characteristic of fifteenth century Flemish painting. Also, the Trinitarian *Pietà* (f. 126r) motif was popularised by Flemish artists in the first half of the fifteenth century.[6]

Kinloss Psalter
Date: c.1500
Owner: Kinloss Abbey
Location: NAL, MSL/1902/1693

A psalter written and illuminated in Scotland, possibly for Kinloss Abbey, Morayshire. The litany, containing SS Bernard and Robert (ff. 144v-147r), suggests a Cistercian connection, and northern Scotland is suggested by the inclusion of SS Adomnán, Ninian, and Jerome, the latter of which had an important cult at Kinloss. The illumination, particularly that depicting David playing the harp (f. 1r),

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Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 78; *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art & Industry, Glasgow (1911): Palace of History, Catalogue of Exhibits*, ed. James Craig Annan (Glasgow, 1911), pp. 1059-60, no. 4; George Neilson, 'Early Literary Manuscripts', in James Paton (ed.), *Scottish History & Life* (Glasgow, 1902), pp. 266-7; W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS. of the Middle Ages preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland* (Hildesheim, 1967), p. 61, no. 714; *Trésors des Bibliothèques d'Écosse: Bibliothèque Albert Ier – Bruxelles, 2 Février – 6 Avril 1963*, ed. L. G. Heywood and E. F. D. Roberts (Brussels, 1963), p. 20, no. 34; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 29; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', pp. 37-8, fig. 2.13.

[5] Luxford, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts', pp. 183-211; MacGillivray, 'Notices of the Arbuthnott missal, psalter, and office of the Blessed Virgin', pp. 90-1; Shewan, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts', p. 163; *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 164; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 12, no. 69; Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 4, p. 2; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 78; *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art & Industry*, p. 1060, no. 5; Neilson, 'Early Literary Manuscripts', pp. 266-7; Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, p. 61, no. 714; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 29.

[6] *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott*; Luxford, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts', pp. 183-211, figs. 7-8; MacGillivray, 'Notices of the Arbuthnott missal, psalter, and office of the Blessed Virgin', pp. 89–90; Shewan, 'The Arbuthnott Manuscripts', p. 159, figs. 7, 10; Andrew C. Baird, 'The Arbuthnott Missal and its Home', in Thomson, Townend, Philip and Tocher (ed.), *The North-East: The Land and its People*, pp. 77-85; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 164; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 13, no. 72; Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 4, pp. 3-4; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 78; *Renaissance Decorative Arts*, pp. 11-2, no. 18; Thomas, *Glory and Honour*, p. 82; *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art & Industry*, p. 1058, no. 3; Neilson, 'Early Literary Manuscripts', pp. 266-7; Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, p. 61, no. 714; *Trésors des Bibliothèques d'Écosse*, pp. 21-2, no. 36; MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 29; Higgitt, 'Art and the Church Before the Reformation', p. 44, fig. 2.20.

follows Flemish models, as does the ornament of illusionistic flowers and berries. It is also known as the Boswell or Auchinleck Psalter.[7]

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[7] Watson, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A catalogue of works in the National Art Library*, vol. 2, pp. 775-7; Holmes, ‘Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments’, p. 169; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 12, no. 63; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 1, p. 383; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 80.

Appendix 2: *Southern Low Countries Bells in Scotland*

St Giles’ parish church, Edinburgh
1460, not extant
Maker: Guelders workshop
Inscription: HONORABILES VIRI BURGENSES VILLÆ DE EDINBURCH, IN SCOTIA, HANC CAMPANAM FIERI FECERUNT, ANNO DNI. M.CCCC.LVV. JOHS ET WILHELMUS HOERHEN ME FECERUNT; IPSAMQUE CAMPANAM GYELIS VOCARI VOLUERUNT. DEFUNCTOS PLANGO: VIVOS VOCO: FULMINA FRANGO.[1]

Fearn Abbey
1506, extant
Maker: Willem van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: IC.BEN.GHEGOTEN INT IAER MDVI[2]

St John’s parish church, Perth
1506, extant
Maker: Peter Waghevens, Mechelen
Inscription: + iohannes baptifta vocor ego [flower] vox clamantis in deferto [fleur-de-lys] mechline petrus waghevens me fo’mavit [fleur-de-lys] fit benedictus qui cuncta creavit . M . CCCCC . VI[3]

Eddleston parish church
1507, extant
Maker: Willem van den Ghein, Mechelen[4]

St Triduana’s church, Kinnellar
1612, extant
Maker: Peter van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: PEETER VANDEN GHEIN HEFT MY GHEGOTEN MCCCCCCXII[5]

St Kessog’s church, Comrie
1518, extant
Maker: Willem van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: X IC BEN GHEGOTEN INT IAER ONS HEEREN MCCCCCXVIII[6]

King’s College Chapel, Aberdeen
1519, not extant
Maker: George Waghevens, Mechelen

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[1] Lees, *St Giles’, Edinburgh*, p. 96; *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, p. xix; George Hunter MacThomas Thoms, ‘The Bells of St Giles’, Edinburgh, with a notice of the missing bells of the chapel of Holyrood House’, *PSAS* 18 (1883-4), p. 95; Cowan, Death, *Life, and Religious Change*, p. 1.

[2] Andrew Jervise, *Epitaphs & Inscriptions from Burial Grounds & Old Buildings in the North-Eaft of Scotland, with Hiftorical, Biographical, Genealogical, and Antiquarian Notes* (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 268; Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, p. 454.

[3] R. W. M. Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire: St John’s Kirk, Perth’, *PSAS* 124 (1994), pp. 525, 527-30, ills. 1-9; McRoberts, ‘The furnishings of the nave’, p. 131.

[4] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, p. 454.

[5] F. C. Eeles and Ranald W. M. Clouston, ‘The Church and Other Bells of Aberdeenshire’, *PSAS* 91 (1957-58), p. 86.

[6] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, pp. 469-70.

Inscription: Vocor Gabriel cantate domino canticum novum bene psallite ei in vociferatione per me Georgium Waghevens anno dni MDXIX[7]

King’s College Chapel, Aberdeen
1519, not extant
Maker: George Waghevens, Mechelen
Inscription: Ecce anuntio vobis gaudium quod erit omni populo per me Georgium Waghevens MDXIX[8]

King’s College Chapel, Aberdeen
1519, not extant
Maker: George Waghevens, Mechelen
Inscription: Cantate domino canticum novum bene psallite ei in vociferatione per me Georgium Waghevens anno dni MDXIX[9]

Amulree parish church
1519, extant
Maker: Willem van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: IC BEN GHEGOTEN INT IAER ONS HEEREN MCCCCCXI[10]

Cruden parish church
1519, extant
Inscription: + derr * ooplieder * scheue * uhe * borice * scelle * intio * vc * 8o * xv^{c}xix .[11]

Crail collegiate church
1520, extant
Maker: Van den Ghein workshop, Mechelen[12]

St John’s parish church, Perth
1520, not extant
Maker: George Waghevens, Mechelen[13]

Dunning parish church
1526, extant
Maker: Willem van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: . BEN . GHEGOTEN . INT . IAER . ONS . HEEREN . M . C . C . C . C . C . XXVI .[14]

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[7] *King’s College*, pp. 5-6, 22, 45, 69; Jane Geddes, ‘The Bells’, in Geddes (ed.), *King’s College Chapel*, pp. 109-11; F. C. Eeles and Ranald W. M. Clouston, ‘The Church and Other Bells of Aberdeenshire, part III’, *PSAS* 94 (1960-1), pp. 287, 292.

[8] *King’s College*, pp. 5-6, 22, 45, 69; Geddes, ‘The Bells’, pp. 109-11; Eeles and Clouston, ‘The Church and Other Bells of Aberdeenshire, part III’, pp. 287, 292.

[9] *King’s College*, pp. 5-6, 22, 45, 69; Geddes, ‘The Bells’, pp. 109-11; Eeles and Clouston, ‘The Church and Other Bells of Aberdeenshire, part III’, pp. 287, 292.

[10] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, pp. 459-60, ills. 3-4.

[11] F. C. Eeles, ‘Ecclesiastical Remains at Cruden and St Fergus, Aberdeenshire’, *PSAS* 47 (1912-13), pp. 479-80; F. C. Eeles and Ranald W. M. Clouston, ‘The Church and Other Bells of Aberdeenshire, part II’, *PSAS* 90 (1956-57), p. 143.

[12] R. G. Cant, ‘The Medieval Kirk of Crail’, in O’Connor and Clarke (ed.), *From the Stone Age to the ’Forty-Five*, p. 381; RCAHMS, *Tolbooths and Townhouses: Civic Architecture in Scotland to 1833* (Edinburgh, 1996), p. 22.

[13] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire: St John’s Kirk, Perth’, p. 525.

[14] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, p. 479.

St John’s parish church, Perth
1526, five of seven extant
Maker: Willem van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: X IC BEN GHEGOTEN INT IAER MCCCCCXXVI[15]

Iona Abbey
1540, extant
Maker: Peter van den Ghein, Mechelen[16]

Cessnock Castle, formerly St Peter’s parish church, Galston
1546, extant
Maker: Peter van den Ghein, Mechelen
Inscription: PEETER VANDEN GHEIN HEFT MI GHEGOTEN INT IAER MD LXXXXVI[17]

Glasgow tolbooth
1554, extant
Maker: Jacob Waghevens, Mechelen
Inscription: KATHELINA BEN GHEGOTEN VAN IACOP WAGHEVENS INT IAER ONS HEEREN MCCCCCLIIII[18]

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[15] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire: St John’s Kirk, Perth’, pp. 525-6, 534-6; Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, p. 454; McRoberts, ‘The furnishings of the nave’, p. 131.

[16] Clouston, ‘The Bells of Perthshire’, p. 470.

[17] Ranald W. M. Clouston, ‘The Church Bells of Ayrshire’, *The Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Collection*, 2nd series, 1 (1947-9), pp. 225, 249.

[18] *Tolbooths and Townhouses*, p. 22.

Appendix 3: *Bruges Satin distributed to the Royal Household, 1503-13*

No.	Date	Recipient	Entry	Reference
1	1503	James Jaclen the younger, of the queen's chamber	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to him, ilk elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 310.
2	1503	John Terres, yeoman of the stable	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to him, the elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 311.
3	Dec 1503	Lokke Lindesay Rook	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to him, ilk elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 317.
4	Dec 1503	Dande Ker, henchman	Item, for ij elne half ane quartar pirnit Birge satin to his doublat, ilk elne x s.; summa xxj s. iij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 317.
5	Aug 1504	John Cockburn de Scotia, henchman	Item, for ane maid doublat of Birge satin to him, vij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 323.
6	Dec 1504	Jacob Edmanstoun, keeper of the king's dogs	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to his doublat, xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 326.
7	Dec 1504	Sir Thomas Norray, jester	Item, for ane maid doublat of Birge satin to him, xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 330.
8	September 1505	Sir Thomas Norray, jester	Item, for iij elne Birge satin to ane doublat to Nornee; ilk elne x s.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 100.
9	Dec 1505	Jacob Edmanstoun, keeper of the king's dogs	Item, for tua elne and ane half Birge satin to his doublat; ilk elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 106.
10	Dec 1505	Riche Bailȝee, keeper of the king's horses	Item, for ij elne j quartar Birge satin to his doublat; ilk elne x s.; summa xxij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 106.
11	Dec 1505	Four Italian minstrels	Item, for xj elne ane quartar brochit Birge satin to thair doublatis; ilk elne x s.; summa v li. xij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 108.
12	Dec 1505	The Moorish tabor/drum player	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him, xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 108.
13	Dec 1505	Sir Thomas Norray, jester	Item, for xv ½ elne ȝallow Birge satin to ane goun to Nornee, ilk elne x s.; summa vij li. xv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 109.

14	Feb 1506	Guilliam, tabor/drum player	Item, for ij elne iji quartaris Birge satin to Guilliam; ilk elne x s.; summa xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 112.
15	May 1506	The lapidary	Item, for iij elne Birge satin to the lapidair; ilk elne x s.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 114.
16	May 1506	John Drummond, wright, and John, mason	Item, iij elne iij quartaris Birge satin, iij elne fustian and cammes, to ane doublat to John Drummond, wricht, siclike as Johne Masoun, and making of it, xxxvj s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 114.
17	Dec 1506	Jacob Edmanstoun, keeper of the king's dogs	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to him; ilk elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 304.
18	Dec 1506	Rook	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him; the elne x s.; summa xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 305.
19	Dec 1506	Squire of Cleisch	Item, for iij elne Birge satin to him; ilk elne x s.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 306.
20	Dec 1506	Four Italian minstrels	Item, for xj elne j quartar Birge satin, to be four doublatis to thaim; ilk elne x s.; summa v li. xij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, pp. 306-7.
21	Dec 1506	The French knight's tabor/drum player	Item, for ane doublat of Birge satin to him maid, lynit with fustian, xxxiij s. iij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 307.
22	Dec 1506	Sir Thomas Norray, jester	Item, for xv elne blew Birge satin to ane goun to Norne; ilk elne x s.; summa vij li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 307.
23	Dec 1506	Sir Thomas Norray, jester	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris grene Birge satin to his doublat; ilk elne x s.; summa xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 308.
24	Dec 1506	John Drummond, wright	Item, for ij elne ij quartaris Birge satin to him, xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 312.
25	Dec 1506	John, mason	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him, xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 312.
26	Jan 1507	The French knight, and the boy whom he left behind	Item, for j doublat of Birge satin maid to him, xxix s. xj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 314.
27	15 Mar 1507	James Stewart, Earl of Moray and Robert, Lord Lyle	tua doublatis of Birge satin, maid in Sanctandrois to the Erle of Murray and Lord Lile, xxxviij s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 316.
28	Mar 1507	Campbell, usher of the chamber	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to him; the elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 317.

29	Mar 1507	The French boy	Item, for ij elne j quartar Birge satin to his doublat; the elne x s.; summa xxij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 317.
30	Mar 1507	David Crawford, of the queen’s chamber	Item, for iij elne Birge satin to David Craufurd; ilk elne x s.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 318.
31	May 1507	Campbell and mantand Adam, footmen to the queen	Item, for v elne j quartar Birge satin to that doublatis; ilk elne x s.; summa lij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 321.
32	Aug 1507	Five French minstrels	Item, for xiiij elne Birge satin to thir five doublatis; ilk elne x s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 323.
33	Jan 1508	Margaret Tudor	Item, for vj elne Birge satin, deliverit to the Quene; ilk elne x s.; summa iij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 30.
34	Nov 1507	Sir Alexander Makculloch	Item, to Alexander Makcullo, be the Kingis command, thre elne Birge satin; ilk elne x s.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 51.
35	Nov 1507	Andrew Bertoun, mariner	Item, for lx quhit Birge to ane cote of wellus, quhilk wes lynyt with leopardis and giffin to Andro Bertoun; ilk pece xij d.; summa iij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 51.
36	Dec 1507	Martin the Spaniard, henchman	Item, for iiij elne rede Birge satin and iiij elne ȝallow Birge satin to be ane cote to Martin the Spanzart; ilk elne x s.; summa iiij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 53.
37	Dec 1507	Watte Strivelin	Item, for ij elne j quartar Birge satin to his doublat; the elne x s.; summa xxij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 54.
38	Dec 1507	Jacob Edmonstoun, keeper of the king’s dogs	Item, for ij ½ elne Birge satin to him; ilk elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 54.
39	Dec 1507	Four Italian minstrels and John Forest	Item, for xiiij elne Birge satin to thir five doublatis; ilk elne x s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 56.
40	Dec 1507	Five French minstrels	Item, for xiiij elne Birge satin to thir doublatis; ilk elne x s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 56.
41	Dec 1507	Sir Thomas Norray, jester	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to his doublat; the elne x s.; summa xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 57.
42	Dec 1507	John Drummond, wright	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him; ilk elne x s.; summa xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 58.
43	Dec 1507	John, mason	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him, xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 58.
44	Dec 1507	Thomas Wallas, lapidary	Item, for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him; ilk elne x s.; summa xxvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 59.

45	Dec 1507	Campbell and mandtand Adam, footmen to the queen	Item, for v elne Birge satin to thaim; ilk elne x s.; summa l s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 59.
46	May 1508	Campbell and mantand Adam, footmen to the queen	Item, for v ½ elne grene Birge satin ta be tua doublatis to mantand Adam and Cambell; ilk elne xj s.; summa iij li. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 64.
47	May 1508	The Black Lady's maids	Item, for xij ½ elne Birge satin to be tua gownis to the blak ladyis madinnis; ilk elne x s.; summa vj li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 64.
48	May 1508	The Black Lady's maids	Item, the xxv day of Maij, for xx ½ elne of Birge satin, rede and ʒallo, to be v daunsing cotis agane the bancat; ilk elne x s.; summa x li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 64.
49	May 1512	Lady Agnes Musgrave	Item, to lyne the sclewez of the sam goun, iiij ½ elnis Bruge satyne; price elne x s.; summa xlv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 231.
50	May 1512	Lady Agnes Musgrave	Item, deliverit, to be hir ane kirtill, vij elnis blak Burge satyne; price elne x s.; summa iij li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 231.
51	Dec 1511	Turnbull, henchman	Item, to his doublet, ij elnis j quartar Burge satin; price elne x s.; summa xxij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 236.
52	Sep 1511	Johnson, henchman	Item, to his doublet, ij ½ elnis Bruge satin; price elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 237.
53	Dec 1511	Ranald of the Isles	Item, for his doublet, ij ½ elnis Bruge satin; price elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 238.
54	Dec 1511	Donald of the Isles	Item, to his doublet, ij elnis j quartar Bruge satin; price elne x s.; summa xxij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 239.
55	Sep 1511	Alexander Kennedy, henchman	Item, to his doublet, ij elnis j quartar Burge satin; price elne x s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 242.
56	Dec 1511	Simon Graham, lute player	Item, to his doublet, ij elnis j quartar Burge satin; price elne x s.; summa xxij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 242.
57	Dec 1511	Squire of Cleish	Item, to his doublet, iij elnis Bruge satyne; price elne x s.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 259.
58	Feb 1512	Mantand Adam, footman to the queen	Item, to be thame tua doubletis, v ½ elnis Bruge satyne; price elne x s.; summa lv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 262.
59	Easter 1512	Finlay, lackey	Item, agane Pasche, to be Finlay, allocay, ane doublete, ij elnis iij quartaris tanne satyne and Burge satyne; price elne xj s.; summa xxx s. iij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 262.
60	Dec 1511	Reoch of the wine cellar	Item, to his doublet, ij ½ elnis Bruge satin; price xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 266.

61	Oct 1512	Finlay and the Frenchman, lackeys	Item, to Finlay and the Franche man allocais v ½ elnis Bruge sating, to be thame twa doublettis; price elne xj s.; summa iij li. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 369.
62	Dec 1512	William, yeoman in the king’s chamber	Item, for iij elnis grene Birge satyne to his doublat, ilk elne xiij s. iiij d.; summa xl s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 429.
63	Dec 1512	Simon, lute player	Item, for ij elne j quarter Birge satyne to his doublet, ilk elne xiij s. iiij d.; summa xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 429.
64	20 Apr 1513	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, the xx day of Aprile, for vj elne Birge satyne to be ane kirtill to Margaret Stewart the Kingis dochtir; ilk elne xv s.; summa iiij li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 432.
65	Jul 1513	Squire of Cleish	Item, for thre elnis Birge satyne to him, ilk elne xiiij s.; summa ij li. ij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 436.

Appendix 4: ***Lille Cloth distributed to the Royal Household, 1488-1513***

No.	Date	Recipient	Entry	Reference
1	15 Dec 1488	John Stewart, earl of Mar	again ȝwle, for ij elne and j quartar of grene Ryssillis for a gowne and a coyt, price of the elne, xxxviij s.; summa iiij li. v s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 159.
2	15 Dec 1488	John Stewart, earl of Mar	Item, […] v quartaris of browne Ryssillis for a gowne til him, price of the elne xxxviij s.; summa xlvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 159.
3	Oct 1488	Margaret, daughter of James II	Item, for thre elne of blak Ryssillis, the saim tyme, for a gowne til hir, price of the elne xxxvj s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 162.
4	Nov 1495	James IV	Item, xij ½ ellis of Rissillis grene; price of the ell xl s.; summa xxv li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 219.
5	Nov 1495	James IV	Item, viij ell of Rissillis broune; price of the ell xl s.; summa xvj li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 220.
6	Oct 1494	James IV	Item, fra James Farely, ij ellis of Rissillis blak, to be a coit aboune his jak; price of the ell xl s.; summa iiij l.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 224.
7	Mar 1495	James IV	Item, fra George of Towris, v ellis of Rissillis blak, to be a gogare gowne, price of the ell, xl s.; summa x li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 225.
8	Aug 1495	James IV	Item, v ellis j quarter of Rissillis blak to be the sammyne gowne, gevin be my Lord of Dunfermling.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 227.
9	1494-5	Marion Lindsay	Item, in the first, iij ½ ellis of Rissillis broune […]; price of the ell xxxvj s.; summa v li. xvij s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 230.
10	1494-5	Marion Lindsay	Item, iiij ½ ellis of Rissillis grene […]; price of the ell xxxv s.; summa v li. xvij s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 230.
11	1494-5	Marion Lindsay	Item […] iij ellis of Rissillis broune […]; price of the ell xxxvj s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 230.
12	1494	Sir Robert Lundy of Balgony	vj ellis of Rissillis blak for his gowne and his hois; price of the ell xxxvj s.; summa x li. xvj s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 231.
13	1494	Sir John Tyre, provost of the collegiate church of Methven	iiij ellis of Rissillis blak; price of the ell xxxv s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 232.
14	1494	Friar Cor	Item, gevin to Frere Cor, be ane precept of the Kingis, vj ellis of Rissillis blak; price of the ellen xxxvj s.; summa x li. xvj s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 232.

15	1494	Lord of the Isles	Item, gevin to the Lord Ilis, to his abilȝement again Ȝule, iiij ellis of Rissillis blak; price of the ellen xxxvj s.; summa vij li. iiij s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 233.
16	1494	Lord of the Isles	Item, vj quarteris of Rissillis blak, to be twa pair of hois; price lij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 233.
17	1494	Rory McAlexander, chaplain	Item, gevin to Rore McAlexander, Makcloydis chapellain, iiij ellis of Rissillis blak; price of the ellen xxxv s.; summ vij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 234.
18	23 Aug 1495	Sir Robert Lundy of Balgonie	Item, gevin to Robert Lundy, be the Kingis precept, […] to his mariage clething, and be the Kingis speciale command, iiij ellis of Rissillis blak […]; price of the ell xxxvj s.; summa vij li. iiij s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 234.
19	Aug 1495	Sir Robert Lundy of Balgony	Item, to his hois, iij ½ quarteris of Rissillis blak; price xxx s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 234.
20	Lent 1496	James IV	Item, the first Sonday of Lentirn, coft fra James of Turing, iij ½ ellis of Rissillis blak to be the King ane riding goune; price of the elne xl s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 258.
21	Easter 1496	James IV	Item, agane Pasche, bocht fra James of Turing, vj ½ ellis of Rissillis blak, to be a side goune to the King; price of the ell xl s.; summa xiij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 258.
22	Easter 1496	James IV	Item, coft fra James of Turing, iiij ellis iij quarteris of Rissillis blak, to be the King ane cloke with a double hude; price of the elne xl s.; summa ix li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 259.
23	Easter 1496	James IV	Item, coft fra George Bell, v ½ ellis of Rissillis blak to be the King a goune of the new fassoune to the kne; price of the elne xl s.; summa xj li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 259.
24	Whitsun 1496	James IV	Item, bocht fra James Turing, iiij ½ ellis of Rissillis blak to be the King a riding goune; price of the elne xl s.; summa ix li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 259.
25	Whitsun 1496	James IV	Item, coft fra James of Turing, ij ½ ellis ½ quarter of Rissillis blak; price of the elne xl s.; summa v li. x s. Item, the samyne deliuerit to Jhonne Stele, to be the King ane coite quhen he raid to Sanct Duthois.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 260.
26	Nov 1495	Perkin Warbeck	In the first, bocht fra Thome Cant, iij ½ quarteris of Rissillis blak to be a pare of hois to the Prince; price xxxv s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 263.
27	Nov 1495	Perkin Warbeck	Item, iij ½ quarteris of Rissillis blak till his hois; price xxxv s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 263.

28	Nov 1495	Lawrence the armourer	Item, till his hois, ane ellne of Rissillis blak; price xl s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 264.
29	Nov 1495	Lawrence the armourer	Item, till his hogtoune, ane elne of Rissillis broune; price xl s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 264.
30	Nov 1495	John Stewart, earl of Mar	iiij ellis of Rissillis blak, to be my Lord of Marr a gogar goune of the new fassoune; price of the elne xl s.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 264.
31	Nov 1495	Lady Margaret Forbes	Item, […] iiij ellis of Rissillis broune; price of the elne xl s.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 265.
32	Nov 1495	Daughter of Lady Margaret	vj ellis of Rissillis broune; […]; price of the elne xl s.; summa xij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 265.
33	Nov 1495	Lord of the Isles	iiij ellis of Rissillis blak; price of the elne xl s.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 266.
34	Nov 1495	George Muirhead	Item, to George Murehede, iiij ellis of Rissillis broune, […] for his goune quhen he past to Spanze with the Secretare; price of the elne xl s.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 266.
35	Jul 1497	Catherine Gordon	Item, for ij elne and ane half of Ristlis blak to be hir clokis; for ilk elne xxx s.; summa iij lib. xv s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 343.
36	Dec 1497	James IV	Item, for v elne of Ristlis blak to be ane nycht goun to the King; for ilk elne xxx s.; summa vij li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 1, p. 372.
37	Jan 1502	James IV	Item, for iiij ½ elne Ristlis blak to be ane riding cote to the King; ilk elne xxxij s.; summa vij li. iiij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 34.
38	9 Apr 1500	Janet Kennedy, the king's mistress	Item, the ix day of Aprile, giffin for ane elne Ristlis blak to be hos to the lady, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 40.
39	Oct 1501	Janet Kennedy	Item, for iij ½ elne Ristlis blak to be ane riding goun to the lady agane hir passage to Ternway; ilk elne xxvj s.; summa iiij li. xj s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 42.
40	12 Oct 1502	James IV	Item, the xij day of October, for ane elne Ristlis blak to be hos to the King, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 197.
41	Nov 1502	James IV	Item, for ane elne Ristlis blak to be hose to the King, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 199.
42	18 Feb 1503	James IV	Item, the xviij day of Februar, for vij elne Ristlis blak rycht gude to ane goun to the King, ilk elne xxxv s; summa xij li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 201.
43	Apr 1503	James IV	Item, for v elne Ristlis blak to be ane cloke to the King, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 204.
44	15 Jan 1504	James IV	Item, the xv day of Januar, for vij ½ elne Ristlis blak to be ane dule goun with ane hude to the	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 223.

			King, eftir the dede of the Archbeschop of Sanctandrois, ilk elne xxx s.; summa xj li. v s.	
45	Jan 1504	James IV	Item, for iiij ½ elne Ristlis blak to be ane riding goun for dule to the King the said tyme, ilk elne xxx s.; summa v li. xv s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 223.
46	18 Jun 1503	James IV	Item, the xviij day of Junij, for iij ½ elne Ristlis blak to be ane riding cloke to the King, ilk elne xxviij s.; summa iiij li. xviij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 231.
47	3 Jan 1504	James IV	Item, the thrid day of Januar, for iiij elne Ristlis broun to be ane cloke to the King, ilk elne xxviij s.; summa v li. xij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 239.
48	18 Dec 1502	Janet Kennedy	iiij ½ elne Ristlis blak to the lady, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 295.
49	24 Feb 1503	James Stewart, earl of Moray, the king’s son	vj quartaris Ristlis broun to ane cote to the Erle of Murray, the elne xxiiij s.; summa xxxvj s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 296.
50	30 Mar 1503	Janet Kennedy	iij quartaris Ristlis broun, to ane cote to the ȝongest barne, xx s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 297.
51	7 Oct 1503	James Stewart, earl of Moray and Robert, lord Lyle	iiij elne Ristlis blak to be cotis or gownis to the Erle of Murray and Lord Lile, ilk elne xxvij s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 298.
52	Feb 1503	Janet Kennedy	Item, for iij ½ elne Ristlis blak to the lady in Elquho, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 304.
53	1503	Shaw, master cook	Hose of Ristlis black.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 308.
54	1503	Robert Douglas of the wine cellar	Item, for iij quartaris [Rislys] blak to his hos, xx s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 308.
55	1503	John of Kirkwood	Item, for iij ½ quartaris Rislys blak to his hos, xxiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 309.
56	1503	Thomas Boswell, henchman, and Peter Sinclair, Master of the King’s Wardrobe	Item, for vij quartaris Rislis blak, to be hos to Bosuel and Sinclair, ilk elne xxvij s. viij d.; summa xl s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 310.
57	1503	William Douglas, master of the bread house	Item, for v elne Rislis broun to William Douglas of Moffet, maister of the brede hous, ilk elne xxviij s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 311.

58	18 Oct 1503	Thomas Boswell, henchman, and Peter Sinclair, Master of the King’s Wardrobe	x elne Rislis blak to be ane goun to Thomas Bosuell and ane goun to Pate Sinclair, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa xiij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 315.
59	1503	Thomas Boswell, henchman, and Peter Sinclair, Master of the King’s Wardrobe	Item, for ij pair maid hos of Rislis blak to thaim, xlvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 315.
60	16 Nov 1503	Robert, lord Lyle	Item, the xvj day of November, for vij quartaris Rislis blak to be ane goun to Lord Lile, xlvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 315.
61	Dec 1503	William Boswell	Item, for vj elne Rislis blak to William Bosuell, be the Kingis command, in recompensatioun of his fee, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 317.
62	8 Feb 1504	James Stewart, earl of Moray, and Robert, lord Lyle	iiij elne Ristlis blak, to be tua gownis to the Erle of Murray and Lord Lile, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 318.
63	30 Sep 1504	James Stewart, earl of Moray, and Robert, lord Lyle	iiij elne i quartar Rislis blak to be tua gownis to the Erle of Murray and Lord Lile, ilk elne xxx s.; summa vj li. vij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 323.
64	Dec 1504	Robert Colville	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Robert Colvile, ilk elne xxxij s.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 325.
65	Dec 1504	Andrew Aytoun	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Andro Aytoun, ilk elne xxviij s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 325.
66	Dec 1504	David Beaton, treasurer	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to David Betoun him self, ilk elne xxxij s.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 325.
67	Dec 1504	Andrew Wood, usher of the chamber	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to Andro Wod, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 325.
68	Dec 1504	James Lamb	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to James Lam, ilk elne xxvij s.; summa vj li. xviij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 326.
69	Dec 1504	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for iij ½ elne Rislis blak, to ane goun to Lady Margret in Hammiltoun, ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 330.
70	Dec 1504	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for ij ½ elne Rislis broun, to be ane goun to hir; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 331.

71	Jan 1505	James Stewart, earl of Moray	Item, for ij ½ elne Ristlis blak, to ane goun to the Erle of Murray iij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 331.
72	Jan 1505	Christopher	Item, for ij ½ elne Ristlis broun, to be ane othir cote to him, ilk elne xxviij s.; summa v li. xij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 332.
73	14 Mar 1505	James IV	Item, the xiiij day of March, for ij elne Rislis clath to be hos to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 35.
74	3 May 1505	James IV	Item, the ferd day of Maii, for iiij ½ elne Rislis broun to be ane cote to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 36.
75	Jun 1505	James IV	Item, for ane elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, xxvij s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 38.
76	Sep 1505	James IV	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King […]; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 41.
77	2 Apr 1506	James IV	Item, the secund day of Aprile, for ane elne Rislis blak to be hos, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 47.
78	Apr 1506	James IV	Item, for vj elne Rislis blak to be ane cote to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 47.
79	Jul 1506	James IV	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 52.
80	Feb 1505	Ninian Blindseill	Item, for iij ½ elne Rislys broun to be ane cote to Niniane Blindseill quhen he passit away; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 92.
81	17 Mar 1505	Mosman, apothecary	v elne Rislis blak to Mosman, potingair, […]; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 93.
82	Mar 1505	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for vij quartaris Ristlis blak to hir kirtill; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa xlvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 93.
83	Apr 1505	Robert, lord Lyle	Item, for ij ½ elne Rislis blak to be ane goun to Lord Lile; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 96.
84	25 Apr 1505	Sir Thomas Galbraith	v elne Rislis broun to Sir Thomas Gabreth; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 96.
85	Jul 1505	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for v elne Ristlis blak to ane goun and ane kirtill and hos to Lady Mergreit, the Kingis dochtir in the Castell of Edinburgh; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 99.
86	Sep 1505	Christopher	Item, for iij ½ elne Rissillis blak to be ane goun to Cristofer; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 100.
87	Sep 1505	William Morham, Englishman	Item, for iiij elne Ristlis blak to William Morhame, Inglisman, be the Kingis command; ilk elne xxvj s. viij [d.]; summa v li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 100.

88	Nov 1505	Christopher	Item, for iij elne j quartar Rislis blak to be ane cote to Cristofer; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 102.
89	26 Nov 1505	The Dutch doctor	Item, the xxvj day of November, for vij elne Rislis broun to be ane goun and ane hude to the Duch doctour; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa xlviij s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 103.
90	Dec 1505	Andrew Aytoun	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Andro Aytoun; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 104.
91	Dec 1505	Andrew Wood, usher of the chamber	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to Andro Wod; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 104.
92	Dec 1505	William Spicehouse	Item, for iiij ½ elnis Rislis broun to William Spicehous; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 104.
93	Dec 1505	James Lamb	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to James Lam; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 104.
94	Dec 1505	Robert Muncreif	Item, for iij quartaris Rislis blak, xv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 105.
95	Dec 1505	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for iij ½ elne Rislis blak to Lady Mergret in Hammiltoun; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 110.
96	Dec 1505	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for ij ½ elne Rislis broun to Lady Mergret in the Castell of Edinburgh, to ane goun; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 110.
97	Feb 1506	Christopher	Item, for v quartaris Rislis blak to tua pair of hos to him; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa xxxiij s. iiij s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 112.
98	Mar 1506	James Stewart, earl of Moray	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to be tua gownis to the Erle of Murray; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 112.
99	3 Jul 1506	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, the thrid day of Julij, for iiij ½ elne satin to be ane kirtill to Lady Margreit in the Castell of Edinburgh; ilk elne xxiij s.; summa v li. iij s. vj d. Item, for ane waut [border] of Rislis broun to it, iij s.	*TA*, vol. 3, pp. 114-5.
100	23 Sep 1506	James IV	Item, the xxiij day of September, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 246.
101	2 Oct 1506	James IV	Item, the secund day of October, for iiij elne j quartar Rislis blak to be ane cloke to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 246.

102	2 Nov 1506	James IV	Item, the secund day of November, for ij elne Rislis blak to be riding hos to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 248.
103	24 Dec 1506	James IV	Item, the xxiiij day of December, for ane elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 249.
104	15 Jan 1507	James IV	Item, the xv day of Januar, for iiij elne j quartar Rislis broun to be ane cloke to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 250.
105	Mar 1507	James IV	Item, for j elne Rislis blak to be tua half pair of hos, to be parti hos with ane pair scarlet, and sa tua pair parti hos, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 252.
106	Mar 1507	James IV	Item, for j elne Rislis blak, to be ane other pair of hos, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA,* vol. 3, p. 252.
107	Apr 1507	James IV	Item, for ane elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, xxviij s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 253.
108	Apr 1507	James IV	Item, for vj elne Rislis blak to be ane cote to the King; ilk elne xx s.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 254.
109	Aug 1507	James IV	Item, for iiij elne iij quartaris Rislis blak to ane cote; ilk elne xx s.; summa iiij li. xv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 263.
110	Aug 1507	James IV	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 263.
111	Oct 1506	Margaret Tudor	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to be vj pare of hos to the Quene; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 265.
112	Nov 1506	Christopher and Andrew Home	Item, for ij pair hos of Rislis clath to Cristofer and Andro Home, xxxj s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 302.
113	3 Dec 1506	Sir Peter Crichton, Master of the Wardrobe	Item, […] agane Ȝule, […], to Schir Petir Crechtoun, Maister of Wardrob, v elne Rislis blak; ilk elne xxviij s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 302.
114	Dec 1506	Andrew Wood, usher of the chamber	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to Andro Wod; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
115	Dec 1506	William Sinclair, usher of the chamber	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to William Sinclair; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
116	Dec 1506	Andrew Aytoun	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Andro Aytoun; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
117	Dec 1506	The master cook	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to the maister cuke; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
118	Dec 1506	James Lamb	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to James Lam, vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.

119	Dec 1506	Thomas Edȝair, tailor	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to Thomas Edȝair, tailzour, vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
120	Dec 1506	Flore Auchmowty	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Flore Auchmowty […]; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
121	Dec 1506	James Stewart, earl of Moray	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to James Stewart in Arbroth, vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 303.
122	Dec 1506	Alexander Elphinstone	Item, for iij quartaris Rislis blak to him, xv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 304.
123	Dec 1506	Christopher and Andrew Home	Item, for v quartaris Rislis blak to be hos to Cristofer and Andro Home; the elne xx s.; summa xxv s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 304.
124	Dec 1506	Janet Kennedy	Item, for iij ½ elne Rislis blak to the ladye in Hammiltoun; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 309.
125	Dec 1506	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for iij elne Rislis blak, to ane goun to hir; the elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 309.
126	Dec 1506	James Stewart, earl of Moray	Item, for vj ½ elne dames to ane goun to the Erle of Murray; ilk elne xxiiij s.; summa vij li. xvj s. Item, for iij elne Rislis blak to lyne the samyn, iiij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 311.
127	Dec 1506	Robert, lord Lyle	Item, for j steik chamlot to Lord Lile to his goun, iiij li. Item, for iij elne Rislis blak to lyne the samyn, iiij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 311.
128	Dec 1506	Andrew Bertoun, mariner	Item, for v elne Rislis broun to Andro Bertoun; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 312.
129	Dec 1506	Jacat Terrell, shipwright	Item, for v elne Rislis broun to Jacat Terrell, schip wricht, vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 312.
130	Dec 1506	Sir William Melville, Master of Works	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Schir William Malvile, maister of werk; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 312.
131	Dec 1506	Wife of Nicholas Abernethy, custumar	Item, for iiij elne Rislis broun, be the Kingis command, to Nicholas Abirnethyis wif; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 313.
132	Jan 1507	Christopher	Item, for ane pair of hos of Rislis blak maid to Cristofer, xv s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 314.
133	Jan 1507	Andrew Home	Item, for ane pair of hos of Rislis blak to Andro Home, xv s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 314.

134	Mar 1507	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to hir cloke, liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 315.
135	Mar 1507	Christopher	Item, for j pair hos of Rislis blak to Cristofer, xvj s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 316.
136	Mar 1507	Alexander Stewart, dean of Dunbar	Item, for vj elne Rislis blak to Alexander Stewart, dene of Dunbar, be the Kingis command; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 318.
137	24 Apr 1507	Christopher	iij elne j quartar Rislis black to be ane cote Cristofer; ilk elne xx s.; summa iij li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 318.
138	Apr 1507	Andrew Home	Item, for iij elne j quartar Rislis blak to ane cote to Andro Home, iij li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 319.
139	May 1507	Christopher	Item, for j pair of hos of Rislis broun to him, xvj s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 319.
140	May 1507	Christopher	Item, for j pair of hos to Cristofer of Rislis broun, xv s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 321.
141	12 Aug 1507	Christopher	iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to be ane goun to Cristofer; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 322.
142	Aug 1507	Christopher and Andrew Home	Item, for j pair hos to him of Rislis blak, xv s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 322.
143	Sep 1507	James IV	Item, iiij ½ elne Rislis blak, to be ane cote to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 13.
144	Nov 1507	James IV	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 15.
145	16 Dec 1507	James IV	Item, the xvj day of December, for ane elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 17.
146	3 Jan 1508	James IV	Item, the thrid day of Januar, for vij elne Rislis blak to be ane gret riding cote; ilk elne xxvj s.; summa ix li. ij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 17.
147	Mar 1508	James IV	Item, for ij elne Rislis blak to be tua pair hos to the King, liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 19.
148	16 Apr 1508	James IV	Item, the xvj day of Aprile, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, lij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 20.
149	Apr 1508	James IV	Item, for ane elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King, xxvj s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 20.
150	28 Apr 1508	James IV	Item, the xxviij day of Aprile, for ij elne Rislis blak to be hos to the King; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 20.
151	21 Jun 1508	James IV	Item, the xxj day of Junij, for ij elne Rislis to be hos to the King, liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 24.

152	20 Oct 1508	Margaret Tudor	Item, the xx day of October, for ij elne j quartar Rislis blak to be hos to the Quene; the elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 28.
153	Mar 1508	Margaret Tudor	Item, for iij ½ elne Rislis broun to the Quene deliverit to Hary Roper; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 31.
154	3 Dec 1507	Sir Peter Crichton, Master of the Wardrobe	agane Ȝule, […] v elne Rislis blak to Schir Petir Crechtoun, maister of wardrob; ilk elne xxviij s.; summa vij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 51.
155	Dec 1507	Andrew Wood, usher of the chamber	Item, for iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to Andro Wod; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 51.
156	Dec 1507	Robert Muncreif	Item, for iij quartaris Rislis blak to him, xv s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 52.
157	Dec 1507	Sir Cristiern	Item, for the half of five quartaris Ris blak to his hos, xvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 52.
158	Dec 1507	Andrew Home	Item, for ane pair blak hos to him of Rislis blak, xix s. ij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 53.
159	Dec 1507	Alexander Kers, Master Cook to the Queen	iiij ½ elne Rislis blak to Alexander Kers, maister cuke to the Quene; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 56.
160	Dec 1507	Sir William Melville, Master of works	Item, for v elne Rislis blak to Schir William Malvile, maister of werk; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 57.
161	Dec 1507	Jacat Terrell, shipwright	Item, for v elne Ris blak to Jacat Terrell, schip wricht; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 57.
162	Dec 1507	James Stewart, earl of Moray	Item, for vj ½ elne dames to be ane goun to the Erle of Murray; ilk elne xxiiij s.; summa vij li. xvj s. Item, for iij elne Rislis blak to the samyn, iiij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 58.
163	Dec 1507	Robert, lord Lyle	Item, for iij elne Rislis blak, iiij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 58.
164	Jan 1508	Margaret Home, daughter of Sir Patrick Home	Item, for iij elne iij quartaris Rislis broun to Mergreit Home, Schir Patrik Homes dochtir; the elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 60.
165	Jan 1508	Margaret Home, daughter of Sir Patrick Home	Item, for ij ½ elne Rislis blak to hir; the elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa iij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 60.
166	Jun 1508	The French gun maker	Item, for v elne Rislis broun to the Franch gunmakar; ilk elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 65.

167	Dec 1507	Andrew Wood	Item, for ane elne Rislis blak, giffin to Andro Wod by his leveray, xxvj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 90.
168	Dec 1511	Margaret Tudor	Item, ressavit ij elnis Rissillis blak to be the Quene hois; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 210.
169	Jun 1512	Margaret Tudor	Item, to hyme for hois to the Quene, tua elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa liij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 214.
170	Dec 1511	Lady Callendar	Item, to be hir ane uthir goune with wyd sclewez, v ½ elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s.; summa vij li. iij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 221.
171	24 Feb 1512	Lady Dudupe	to be hir ane goune bog[ht] v elnis Rissillis broun; price elne xxvj s.; summa vj li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 224.
172	17 Oct 1511	Ellen Stewart	iiij elnis Rissillis blak to be hir ane goune with wyd sclewez; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 225.
173	17 Oct 1511	Isabelle Stewart, daughter of the earl of Atholl	v elnis Rissillis blak, to be hir ane goun with wyd sclewez; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 227.
174	Sep 1511	Lady Angus	to be hir ane goune, vj elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 228.
175	Dec 1511	Margaret Cornwall	Item, to hir agane ȝule, iiij elnis Rissillis blak for hir leveray goune; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa v li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 232.
176	Dec 1511	Christian Ray	Item, to hir agane ȝule, for hir leveray goune, v elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 232.
177	15 Dec 1511	Ellen More	for hir leveray goune agane ȝule, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis broun; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 232.
178	Dec 1511	Sir Peter Crichton, Master of the Wardrobe	Item, to him for his leveray, v elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 249
179	Dec 1511	Robert Colville	Item, to his leveray, v elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxv s.; summa vj li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 249.
180	22 Dec 1511	Master William Dunbar, poet	iiij ½ elnis Rissillis blak for his goune, price elne xxv s., summa, v li. xij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 250.
181	Dec 1511	Master John Chesholme	Item, to Maistr Johne Chesholme for his leveray goune, v ½ elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s.; summa vij li. iij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 250.
182	Dec 1511	Sir Walter Ramsay, Master	Item, to Schir Walter Ramsay, Maister of Werk of the schippis, for his leveray, v elnis Rissillis	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 250.

		of Works of the Ships	blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	
183	Dec 1511	Sir James Inglis, clerk of the king's closet and chaplain to the prince	Item, to Schir James Ynglis for his leveray goune agane Ȝule, v ½ elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 250.
184	Dec 1511	Robert Muncreif	Item, to his hoise, iij quartaris Rissillis broun; price xx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 251.
185	Dec 1511	Andrew Wood, usher of the king's chamber	Item, to Andro Wod, ischcar of the Kingis chaumer, for his Ȝule leveray, vj ½ elnis Rissillis blak to be hyme goune and hoise; price elne xxiiij s.; summa vj li. xvj s.	*TA*, vol. 4, pp. 251-2.
186	Dec 1511	James Stewart, usher of the king's chamber	Item, to James Stewart, ischcar of the uter chaumer dure, for his leveray agane Ȝule, v elnis Rissillis broun; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 252.
187	Dec 1511	James Boswell, usher of the king's chamber	Item, to James Boswill, the tother ischear of the Kingis chaumer dure, for his Ȝule leveray, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, pp. 252-3.
188	Dec 1511	Matthew Campbell, footman	Item, to his hoise, iij quartaris Rissillis blak; price xviij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 253.
189	Dec 1511	Archibald Douglas	Item, for his hois, Rissillis broun, xx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 254.
190	Dec 1511	George Carmichael	Item, to George Carmichele agane Ȝule for his leveray, v ½ elnis Rissillis broun; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 255.
191	Dec 1511	The king's master cook	Item, for his leveray goune agane Ȝule, vj elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa viij li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 256.
192	Dec 1511	The king's master cook	Item, iij quartaris of the said Rissillis for his hoise; price xx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 256.
193	Dec 1511	William Spicehouse	Item, to Willaim Spishouse agane Ȝule, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis blak, to be hyme ane goun; price elne xxiiij s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 256.
194	Dec 1511	James Lamb	Item, to James Lambe, iiij elnis Rissillis blak, to be him ane goune; price elne xxiiij s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 256.
195	Dec 1511	Robin of Douglas, of the wine cellar	Item, to Robin of Douglas, of the vin sellar, for his Ȝule leveray, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis blak, to be him ane goune; price elne xxvj s. viij d.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 256.

196	Dec 1511	Robert Calendar, Constable of Stirling	Item, to Robert Calendar, constable of Striveling, for his Ȝule leveray, vj elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxv s.; summa vij li. x s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 257.
197	Dec 1511	Walter Scott	Item, to his hoise, iij quartaris Rissillis broun, xx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 257.
198	Dec 1511	Thomas Edzar, tailor	Item, to Thome Edzar, for his leveray agane Ȝule, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis blak for his goune and ij ½ elnis weluus for his doublete; summa of baitht xj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 259.
199	Dec 1511	Alexander Wardlaw, lute player	Item, to Alexander Wardlaw, lutar, for his leveray goune, v ½ elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxv s.; summa vj li. xvij s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 262.
200	Dec 1511	William Sinclair, usher of the chamber	Item, to William Sinkler for his leveray goune agane Ȝule, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis blak; price elne xxiiij s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 265.
201	Dec 1511	Robert Spittal, the queen’s tailor	Item, to Robert Spittele, the Quenis tailʒeour, for his Ȝule leveray goune, iiij ½ elnis Rissillis broun; price elne xxiiij s.; summa v li. viij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 265.
202	12 May 1513	James IV	Item, the xij day of Maij, for ane elne of Rissillis blak to be ane pair of hois to the King, xxx s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 422.
203	17 Nov 1512	The prince’s nurse	Item, the xvij day of November, iiij elnis Rissillis broune to be ane goune to the Princis nuris, ilk elne xxx s.; summa vj li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 427.
204	May 1513	Margaret, daughter of James IV	Item, for iij ½ elnis Rissillis blak to be ane goune to Margaret Stewart, the Kingis dochter; ilk elne xxx s.; summa v li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 433.
205	28 May 1513	Agnes Musgraif	Item, the xxviij day of Maij, for v ½ elne Rissillis broune to be ane goune to Agnes Musgraif; ilk elne xxx s.; summa viij li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 434.
206	May 1513	Sir Walter Ramsay, Master of Works	Item, for v ½ elne Rislis blak to Schir Walter Ramsay, Maister of Werk, ilk elne xxx s.; summa viij li. v s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 434.

Appendix 5: ***The Weapons Dowry of Mary of Guelders, 1449***

Cy après s’ensuit l’artillerie qui a esté mise en cinq galées, que M. le duc fist faire à Anvers es annés 1448 et 1449, et lesquelles enmenerent la royne d’Escosse, Marie de Guelders, femme de Jacques II, en Ecosse. Le duc Philippe avait lui-mème négocié ce mariage.

Et premièrement.
Cinquante bringandines couvertes de futaine noire.
Trente-trois garde-bras de mème couleur.
Quatre-vingt-seize bringandines pour galoz.
Item pour les dis galots, 649 salades.
Item 480 espées pour lesdis galots.
Item 126 arbalestes d’acier.
Item 26 martinots nommés baudry à tendre lesdites arbaletes.
Item 428 lances avecques estaisseurilles et rommeignolles.
Item 81 jusarmes.
Item 130 pavais tant gros que petis.
Item 115 casses de viretons contenant trente milliers de vireton.
Item 5,000 de dondainnes et 5,000 de demie dondainnes.
Item dix casses d’arcs, contenant 400 arcs.
Item 17 casses de flesches, containent 800 douzaines.
Item 22 veuglaires de fer et 64 chambres pour lesdiz veuglaires.
Item 46 coulovrines de fer.
Item cinq barilles de poudre tant pour coulovrine que veuglaire.
Item cinq barilles de fil d’Anvers.
Item 16 guindaulx.
Item 400 pierres de veuglaires.
Item 6,000 de chaussetrappes.[1]

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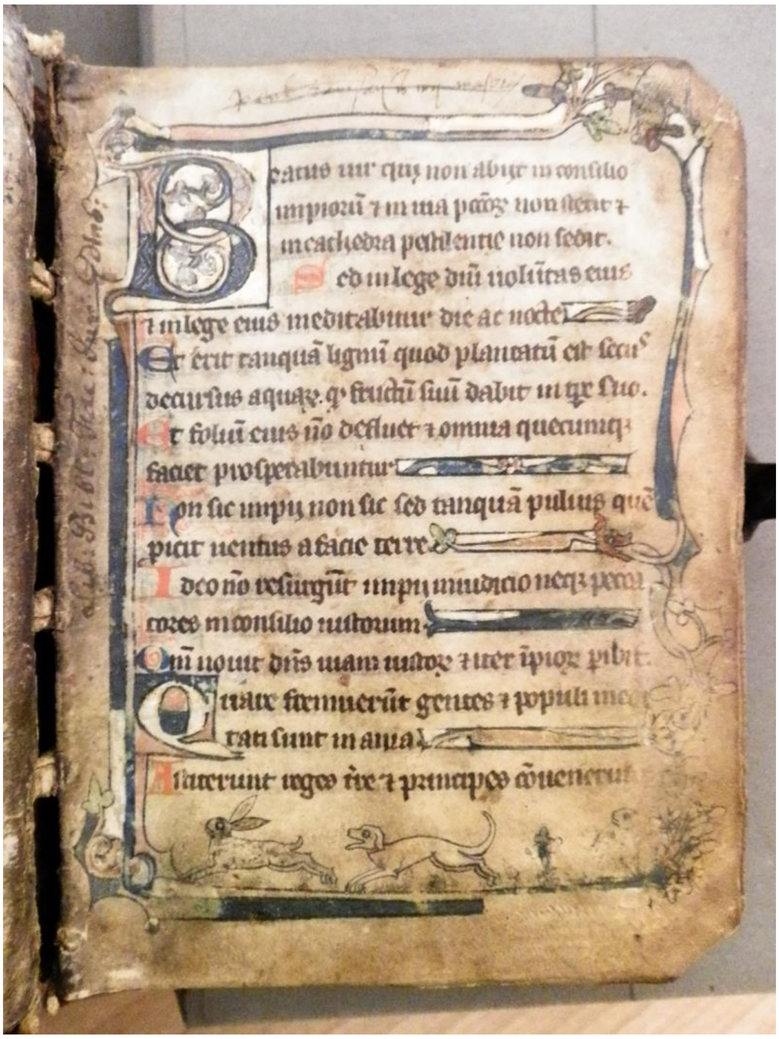
[1] DeVries, ‘A 15th-century weapons dowry’, pp. 23-8.

Appendix 6: *Flemish Manuscripts in Scotland*

Ramsay Psalter
Date: thirteenth century
Owner: Ramsays of Colluthie
Location: NLS, Adv. MS 18.8.8

A psalter produced for use in the area of Saint-Omer. It was later used by the Ramsays of Colluthie, Moonzie, Fife. It bears predominantly blue and red penwork with gold accents, with scrollwork initials and some animal illustrations.[1]



Ramsay Psalter, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv. MS 18.8.8, f. 7r.

Inchmahome Psalter
Date: late thirteenth to early fourteenth century

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[1] Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 142; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 5, no. 17; *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art & Industry*, pp. 462, 1051, nos 5, 3B; Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, p. 54.

Location: NLS, Acc. 12780
An illuminated psalter given to the Augustinian priory of St Colmoc, Inchmahome, Perthshire, in 1506, probably by commendator David Henryson: 'anno milleno cu[m] quince[n]tis noi seno / Ille prior david colmoco me dedit almo. David Prior.' (f. 179v). The litany contains saints associated with Flanders and the diocese of Cambrai. There is copious blue, red, and gold penwork in the initials and borders.[2]

Aberdeen Hours
Date: mid-fifteenth century
Location: NAL, MSL/1902/1694

This book of hours of Roman Use was in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are pre-Reformation Scottish additions. It was written and illuminated in the southern Low Countries. Some of the decoration, for example the diapered background of gold, blue, red, and green (f. 7v), appears old-fashioned, suggesting a peripheral origin in a town such as Antwerp or Bergen-op-Zoom. A prayer in Scots has been added in a fifteenth century book script (ff. 96v-99r), showing that the book was owned by a Scot by that time. An image of St Christopher (f. 41v), probably done in Scotland, was added in the sixteenth century or later.[3]

Book of Hours
Date: fifteenth century
Location: St Paul's Cathedral, London

A book of hours, written in north-east France or French Flanders and later in Scotland, as shown by the additions of 'Iacobus straghan manu mea et non aliena' (f. 14v) and 'AG / From Kirkconnell' on f. 1r. f. 30v bears a full-page miniature of Christ bearing the cross.[4]

Rossdhu Book of Hours
Date: c.1460-70
Owner: St Mary's church, Rossdhu, Argyll & Bute
Location: Auckland Libraries, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Med. MS G.146

A book of hours in the Sarum Use made for Elizabeth Dunbar, wife of Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, diplomat and chamberlain of Scotland. The borders contain typically Flemish leaves, fruit, and flowers in the style of Willem Vrelant, a member of the Bruges guild of book makers. Saints associated with Scotland, such as Kessog and Patrick, have been added to the calendar. The dedication of the church of Rossdhu is also recorded.[5]

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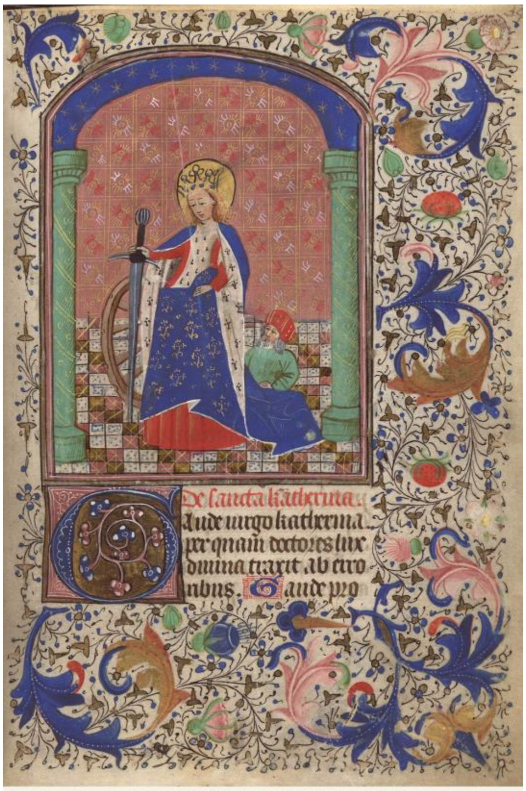
[2] Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 149; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 7, no. 29; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), pp. 104, 271.

[3] For reading see p. 48, n. 101.

[4] Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 1, pp. 260-1, no. 19.

[5] Anne McKim, 'The Rossdhu Book of Hours: Tracing Connections', in Stephanie Hollis and Alexandra Barratt (ed.), *Migrations: Medieval Manuscripts in New Zealand* (Newcastle, 2007), pp. 202-15; Margaret M. Manion, Vera F. Vines and Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in New Zealand Collections* (London, 1989), pp. 61-2, no. 25, figs. 109-11; David M. Taylor, *The Oldest Manuscripts in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1955), pp. 131-7; George Hay and David McRoberts, 'Rossdhu Church and its Book of Hours', *IR* 16:1 (1965), pp. 6-15, pls. 1-3; Higgitt, 'Manuscripts and Libraries in the Diocese of Glasgow', p. 107; Hennessy, 'The Arbuthnott Book of Hours', p. 217.



Saint Katherine, p.39, Rossdhu Book of Hours. Med. MS G.146, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries

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Rossdhu Book of Hours, Auckland Libraries, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Med. MS G.146, p. 39.

St Ninian Book of Hours
Date: c.1460-1480
Location: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 51

Fifteenth century additions of suffrages to SS Ninian, Hugh, Cuthbert, and Armel suggest a northern English or Scottish ownership.[6]

Perth Psalter
Date: late fifteenth century
Owner: St John’s parish church, Perth
Location: NLS, MS 652

An entry in the calendar on 3 September (f. 5r) reads ‘Dedicac[i]o eccl[es]ie de p[er]th’. It was probably for the use of St John’s Church. The Sarum calendar has additions of Scottish saints, some in the original hand but mostly in a sixteenth century cursive hand. The illuminated initials and borders resemble those of fifteenth century Netherlandish work.[7]

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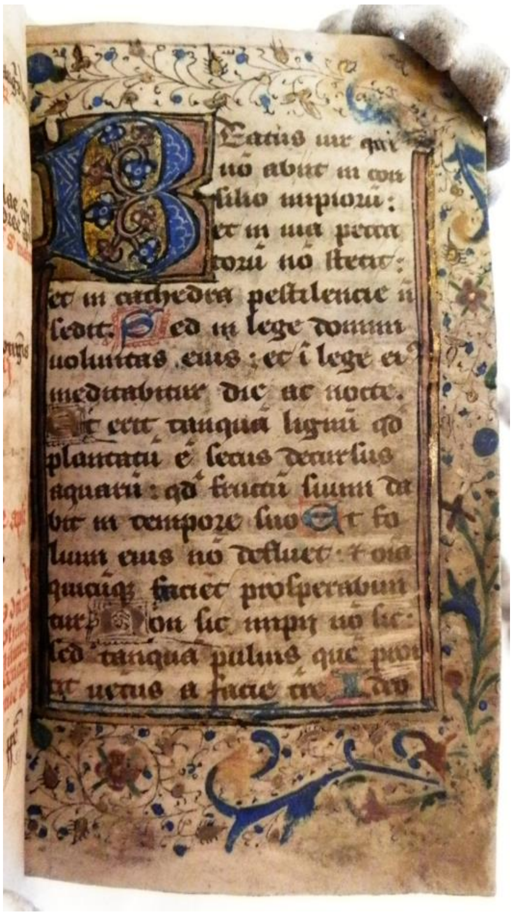
[6] For reading see p. 48, n. 100.

[7] Eeles, ‘The Perth Psalter’, pp. 426-41; Holmes, ‘Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments’, p. 168; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 12, no. 64; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 84; *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art & Industry*, p. 1057, no. 1; Neilson, ‘Early Literary Manuscripts’, p. 267.



Perth Psalter, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS 652, f. 7r.

Dean Brown's Book of Hours
Date: c.1498
Owner: Dean James Brown of Aberdeen
Location: NLS, MS 10270

An illuminated prayer book with psalms, prayers, and office of the dead. Brown stopped in the Low Countries on his return from Rome, where he procured the appointment of James, duke of Ross as Archbishop of St Andrews. It contains a full-page miniature of Brown at prayer (f. 17v) with a patron saint, perhaps St Machar, behind him. Personal references include an elegiac verse in honour of Elizabeth Lauder of the Bass (ff. 152v-153r), an obituary of Elizabeth Lauder (11 June), an obituary of Robert Brown (23 December), and a memorandum on the promotion of the duke of Ross to the see of St Andrews (f. 12v). The litany includes SS Machar, Ninian, Vigean, Columba, and Palladius, and the calendar contains over thirty-five Scottish saints.[8]

Andrew Lundy's Primer
Date: c.1500
Owner: Andrew Lundy
Location: Aberdeen University Library, MS CB/57/5

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[8] For reading, see p. 49, n. 102.

A book of hours made for an Andrew Lundy, likely from Fintray in Aberdeenshire. It contains devotions to saints such as SS Modan and Ninian. The decorated borders comprise realistic flowers representing the naturalism of Flemish illumination.[9]

Hours of Henry VII
Date: c.1500
Owner: Margaret Tudor
Location: Chatsworth House

A Flemish book of hours given to Margaret by her father on her marriage to James IV. It is illuminated with colourful scrollwork and acanthus leaf borders.[10]

Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor
Date: c.1502-3
Owner: Margaret Tudor
Location: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1897

A book of hours given by James IV to Margaret Tudor. It was illuminated by Gerard Horenbout, Simon Bening, and others. Margaret gave the book to her sister Mary: 'Madame I pray your grace / remember on me when ye / loke upon thys boke / your lofing syster / Margaret' (f. 188r).[11]

Book of Hours of Queen Mary
Location: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS lat. 1390

A book of hours of east Flemish workmanship. A seventeenth century inscription states that it formerly belonged to 'Marie d'Ecosse, grandmère de Marie Stuart', who may have been Margaret Tudor or Mary of Guise.[12]

Hours of Our Lady
Date: early sixteenth century
Owner: Iona Nunnery
Location: NLS, MS 16499

A book of hours in the Sarum Use. It was used in England during reign of Henry VIII, and then at the nunnery of Iona c.1550.[13]

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[9] William James Anderson, 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', *IR* 11 (1960), pp. 39-51; Davidson and Stevenson, 'Bishop Elphinstone', pp. 13-4; Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 169, no. 115; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 9, no. 49; Caldwell (ed.), *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*, p. 80; Bawcutt, ''My bright buke', p. 24; Hennessy, 'The Arbuthnott Book of Hours', p. 217, fig. 2.

[10] For reading, see p. 95, n. 187.

[11] For reading, see p. 34, n. 49.

[12] Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', p. 181; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 19, no. 117; Bawcutt, ''My bright buke'', pp. 20–1.

[13] Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments', pp. 170-1; McRoberts, *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments*, p. 21, no. 137; *Scottish Exhibition of Natural History, Art & Industry*, p. 1061, no. 8.

Appendix 7: *Flemish Fabrics in the* Exchequer Rolls *and* Treasurer's Accounts*, 1330-1513*

No.	Date	Recipient	Entry	Reference
1	1330	David II and Queen Joan	quator peciarum panni, pro rege et regina, triginta trium peciarum panni coloris, emptarum ex conuencione facta cum Petro machinarum […] cxxxviij li. ij s. j d. […] viginti vnius peciarum panni radiati, ex conuencione facta cum Pietro machinarum, lv li. xix s. iiij d. […] viginti trium supertunicarum et triginta sex capuciorum de minuto vario, per empcionem Petri machinarum, lv li. xvij s. ij d. ob. […] octo supertunicalium de grosso vario, per Petrum machinarum, ix li. xvj s. […] tresdecim supertunicarum de popir, per Petrum machinarum, ix li. xj s. […] viginti et octo supertunicalium de strandeling, per Petrum machinarum, xij li. x s.[1]	*ER*, vol. 1, p. 342.
2	1330	David II and Queen Joan	quarterviginti sex supertunicarum et viginti quator capuciorum de bugeto albo, per Petrum machinarum, xvij li. xj s. ix d.[2]	*ER*, vol. 1, pp. 342-3.
3	1330	David II and Queen Joan	sexcentum sexaginta quinque vlnarum tele linee, per Petrum machinarum, xx li. xij s. ij d. […] ducentarum viginti duarum vlnarum canubii, per Petrum machinarum, lxviij s. ix d.[3]	*ER*, vol. 1, p. 343.
4	1373	Robert II	sexdecim peciarum panni coloris lati de Ipre, continencium trecentas et quinquaginta septem vlnas cum tribus quartariis, varii precii, cxlv li. x s. v d., de quorum precio onerantur superius, et de eorum expensis inferius respondebit.[4]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 439.
5	1373	Robert II	duarum peciarum panni coloris stricti de Ipre, xij li. xiiij s. ix s.[5]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 439.

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[1] 'four pieces of cloth, for the king and queen, thirty-three pieces of coloured cloth, bought from an agreement made with [Flemish merchant] Peter Machenarum […] £138 2s. 1d. […] twenty-one pieces of striped cloth, from the agreement made with Peter Machenarum, £55 19s. 4d. […] twenty-three supertunics and thirty-six of fur of little variation, bought by Peter Machenarum, £55 17s. 2d. […] eight supertunics of great variation, by Peter Machenarum, £9 16s. […] thirteen supertunics of fur, by Peter Machenarum, £9 11s. […] twenty-eight supertunics of fur, by Peter Machenarum, £7 10s.'

[2] 'eighty-six supertunics and twenty-four hoods of white budge, by Peter Machenarum, £17 11s. 9d.'

[3] 'six hundred and seventy-five ells of linen cloth, by Peter Machenarum, £20 12s. 2d. […] two hundred and twenty-two ells of canvas, by Peter Machenarum, 68s. 9d.'

[4] 'sixteen pieces of wide coloured cloth of Ypres, containing three hundred and fifty-seven ells with three fourths, variously priced, £145 10s. 5d.'

[5] 'two pieces of narrow coloured cloth of Ypres, £12 14s. 9d.'

6	1374	Robert II	xij pecis iiij ulnis et iij quartariis, diuersi coloris, continentibus ij^{c}iij^{xx}xvj vlnas iij quartarios, varii precii, […] j^{c}x li. vij s. vj d.[6]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 465.
7	1374	Robert II	j pecia viij ulnis j quartario, diuersi coloris, continentibus xxxij ulnas j quartarium, varii precii, […] vij li. xix s. viij d.[7]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 465.
8	1374	Robert II	v peciis cum dimidio, j ulna cum dimidia ulna Cortrikys et communis, varii coloris et precii, continentibus cxxiiij ulnas cum dimidio […] xxiij li. ij s. xj d. ob.[8]	*ER*, vol. 2, pp. 465-6.
9	1375	Robert II	ij^{c}v^{xx}xviij vlnis et dimidio late Ypris, diuersi coloris et varii precii, […] cxxxj li. xx s. ij d.[9]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 506.
10	1375	Robert II	xlv ulnis cum dimidio arte Ypris, diuersi coloris et varii precii, […] xj li. xvij s. vj d.[10]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 506.
11	1375	Robert II	cxxiij vlnis panni Cortrikis et communis, diuersi coloris et varii precii, […] xxiij li. xviij s. ij d.[11]	*ER*, vol. 2, pp. 506-7.
12	1377	Robert II	septem peciarum cum dimidio, continencium ciiij^{xx}iiij ulnas iij quartaria panni lati Ypris, varii coloris et precii, iiij^{xx}vij li. xiiij s. ix d.[12]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 546.
13	1377	Robert II	xix ulnis arte Ypris, varii precii, iiij li. xv s.[13]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 546.
14	1377	Robert II	duarum peciarum cum dimidio, continencium lxviij ulnas Cortrikis, xij li. xij s. vj d.[14]	*ER*, vol. 2, p. 547.
15	1436	Joan Beaufort	in ornamento plumarum de hostriche, duobus mantellis pellium dorsorum martrixi, viginti quatuor ulnis, mensure Flandrie, purpurii veluti pro domina regina, precium ulne decem et octo solidi grossorum, […] xliiij li. v s. gr.[15]	*ER*, vol. 4, p. 679.
16	1436	James I	diversis jocalibus transmissis domino regi per compotantem de Flandria, videlicet, colerio aureo cum gemmis et perlis, monile vocato	*ER*, vol. 4, pp. 679-80.

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[6] 'twelve pieces, four ells, and three quarters [of wide cloth of Ypres], of diverse colours, containing two hundred and seventy-six ells and three quarters, of various prices, […] £110 7s. 6d.'

[7] 'one piece, eight ells and a quarter [of narrow/short Ypres cloth], of diverse colours, containing thirty-two ells and a quarter, of various prices, […] £7 19s. 8d.'

[8] 'five and a half pieces, one and a half ells of Courtrai and general cloth, of various colours and prices, containing one hundred and twenty-four and a half […] £23 2s. 11d.'

[9] 'three hundred and thirteen ells and a half of wide Ypres cloth, of diverse colours and various prices, […] £131 20s. 2d.'

[10] 'forty-five and a half ells of narrow/short Ypres cloth, of diverse colours and various prices, […] £11 17s. 6d.'

[11] 'one hundred and twenty-three pieces of Courtrai and general cloth, of diverse colours and various prices, […] £23 18s. 2d.'

[12] 'seven pieces and a half, containing one hundred and eighty-four ells and three quarters of wide cloth of Ypres, of various colours and prices, £87 14s. 9d.'

[13] 'nineteen ells of narrow/short Ypres cloth, of various prices, £4 15s.'

[14] 'two and a half pieces, containing sixty-eight ells of Courtrai cloth, £12 12s. 6d.'

[15] 'for decoration, ostrich feathers, two cloaks of the back fur of martens, twenty-four ells, in Flemish measure, of purple velvet for the queen, the price of the ell eighteen *solidi grossorum*, […] £44 5s. gr.'

			uchio cum diamante, cathena aurea, salerio aureo, cum certis perlis, una pecia veluti blavii coloris, duabus tapetis cum armis domini regis, […] et pro sexcies viginti perlis, precium pecie viginti duo grossi, et octies viginti aliis perlis, precium pecie quatuordecim grossi, […] ij^{c}xix li. iiij s. et iij gr.[16]	
17	1438	James II	quatuor ulnis panni nigri lanei dicti bellartis, captis per computantem de mandato dicti Roberti a Johanne Swyft, post regressum dicti Roberti de Flandria, sub eodem periculo, x li. iiij s.[17]	*ER*, vol. 5, p. 34.
18	1444	James II	per solucionem factam Willelmo Bully, […] pro pannis sericis deauratis ab ipso emptis, in partem solucionis quinquaginta unius librarum grossorum monete Flandrie, […] xiij li. vj s. viij d.[18]	*ER*, vol. 5, p. 148.
19	1447	James II	Et allocate Willelmo Bully, alteri compotancium, in partem solucionis quinquaginta unius librarum grossorum monete Flandrie sibi debitarum pro pannis sericis deauratis ab ipso emptis et receptis, […] xiij li. vj s. viij d.[19]	*ER*, vol. 5, pp. 273-4.
20	1448	James II	Et allocate Willelmo Bully, alteri compotancium, in partem solucionis quinquaginta unius librarum grossorum monete Flandree sibi debitarum pro pannis sericis deauratis ab ipso emptis et receptis, […] liij li. vj s. viij d.[20]	*ER*, vol. 5, p. 309.
21	1449	James II	Et Willelmo Bully, alteri compotancium, in partem solucionis quinquaginta unius librarum grossorum monete Flandree sibi debitarum pro pannis sericis deauratis ab ipso emptis et receptis, […] lxvij li. xiij s. iiij d.[21]	*ER*, vol. 5, pp. 344-5.

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[16] ‘diverse jewels sent to the king through the Flemish account, namely, a golden collar with gems and pearls, a necklace called *uchio* with a diamond, a golden chain, a golden saltcellar, with certain pearls, a piece of blue velvet, two tapestries with the arms of the king, […] and for six times twenty pearls, the price of each twenty-two groats, and eight times twenty other pearls, the price of each forty groats, […] £219 4s. and 3gr.’

[17] ‘four ells of black woollen cloth of the said *bellartis*, take by account of the command of the said Robert to John Swift, after the return of the said Robert of Flanders, under the same danger, £10 4s.’

[18] ‘for payment made to William Bully, […] for silken cloth of gold bought by him, in part payment of fifty-one pound groats in the money of Flanders, […] £13 6s. 8d.’

[19] ‘And given to William Bully, by another account, in part payment of fifty-one pounds groat in the money of Flanders due to him for silken cloth of gold bought and received by him, […] £13 6s. 8d.’

[20] ‘And given to William Bully, by another account, in part payment of fifty-one pounds groat in the money of Flanders due to him for silken cloth of gold bought and received by him, […] £54 6s. 8d.’

[21] ‘And William Bully, by another account, in part payment of fifty-one pounds groat in the money of Flanders due to him for silken cloth of gold bought and received by him, […] £67 13s. 4d.’

22	1451	James II	Et per solucionem factam Willelmo Bully, in partem solucionis summe quinquaginta unius librarum grossorum monete Flandrie sibi debitorum pro pannis sericis, argenteis, et aureis, ab ipso emptis et receptis, […] dicto Willelmo fatente receptum super computum, xiij li. vj s. viij d.[22]	*ER*, vol. 5, pp. 436-7.
23	1452	James II	Et per solucionem factam Willelmo Bully, in partem solucionis summe quinquaginta unius librarum grossorum monete Flandrie sibi debite pro pannis cericis argenteis et aureis ab ipso emptis et receptis, […] dicto Willelmo fatente receptum super compotum, xiij li. vj s. viij d.[23]	*ER*, vol. 5, p. 498.
24	1454	James II	per solucionem factam per eundem Willelmum pro expensis Agnetis de Douglas et servitorum ejusdem per decem et novem septimanas, […] et pro una ulna et una quarta pro panno nigro dicto cortrik empto a Johanne Bigholm pro capucio sibi faciendo, […] xj li. vj s.[24]	*ER*, vol. 5, p. 616.
25	1462	James III	viginti duabus ulnis lanei nigri de Rysillis et Mynnyngis, quatuor ulnis panni gresii de Flandria, una ulna cum dimedia panni veredis Cotrik, tribus ulnis duobus quartis cum dimedio panni subrubei, quinque ulnis panni serici de Damasco tanne, duodecem ulnis et quarteria cum dimedia de satynplane, cum diversis pannis lineis et laneis, harnesiis, aptura vestimentorum, canubio, et aliis diversis minutis expensis […] lxxxxiiij li. xviij s. vij d. ob.[25]	*ER*, vol. 7, pp. 149-50.
26	1465	James III	pro decem ulnis vellus sure vellus carmosy purpure, novemdecim ulnis cum dimidea vellus sure vellus gresii, sex ulnis cum dimidia damasci nigri, quinque ulnis tanny satyng, trisdecim ulnis de le chamlett brunio, duodecim ulnis panni lanei, dimidio granati subrubii, duodecim ulnis panni veridis, que omnia sunt	*ER*, vol. 7, p. 363.

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[22] 'And for payment made to William Bully, in part payment of the sum of fifty-one pounds groat in the money of Flanders due to him for silken cloth, of silver and gold, bought and received by him, […] the said William acknowledged reception of the account, £13 6s. 8d.'

[23] 'And for the payment made to William Bully, in part payment of the sum of fifty-one pounds groat in the money of Flanders due to him for silken cloth of silver and gold bought and received by him, […] the said William acknowledged receipt of the account, £13 6s. 8d.'

[24] 'for payment made by to the same William for the expenses of Agnes Douglas and service of the same for ten and nine weeks, […] and for an ell and a quarter of black cloth called Courtrai bought by John Bigholm for a hood to be made by him, […] £11 6s.'

[25] 'twenty-two ells of black woollen cloth of Lille and Menen, four ells of grey cloth of Flanders, one and a half ells of green Courtrai cloth, three ells, two quarters and a half of reddish cloth, five ells of silken cloth of Damascus tan, twelve ells, a quarter and a half of plain satin, with diverse cloth of linen and wool, harnesses, fitting clothing, canvas, and other diverse small expenses […] £94 18s. 7d.'

			mensure Flandrie, et duobus paribus cultellorum dictorum trunscheoure knyffis, emptis per computantes in Flandria de mandato domini regis as usum ejusdem […] j^{c}xliiij li.[26]	
27	1481	James III	quatuor ulnis et quarta parte nigri panni lanei Flandrie precium ulne triginta sex solidi, sex duodenis albi panni lanei duabus ulnis et tribus quartis precium ulne quatuor solidi, una ulna et tribus quartis de chamlote precium ulne sexdecim solidi, […] xxiiij li.[27]	*ER*, vol. 9, p. 154.
28	1503	James IV	Item, for tua pair schone of wellus, and ane pair of pantonis of wellus, maid in Flandrez, brocht hame be James Homyll, liiij s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 212.
29	May 1503	James IV	Item, the secund day of Maij, payit to Julian, factour to Jerome de Friscobald, Limbard, for this stuf under writin, bocht be him in Flandrez and send hame be the Kingis command;- in the first, for xxxv tymir of ermyng, quhilk cost in Flandrez xxvij s. gret; summa in Flemys monee xlvij li. v s. gret, and payit for ilk li. gret iij li. Scottis: summa in Scottis monee, j^{c}xlj li. xv s.	*TA*, vol. 2, p. 227.
30	Jun 1507	Black Lady	Item, for ij ½ elne ȝallo taffeti to it [ane goun for the blak lady], bocht in Flandrez, and tua and ane half grene taffeti bocht in Flandrez to the bordouring of the samyn.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 259.
31	Jun 1507	Black Lady's ladies	Item, for xj elne of green taffeti of Flandrez to be gownis to hir tua ladyis; and three elne ȝallo taffeti of Flandrez to bordour the samyn.	*TA*, vol. 3, p. 259.
32	Dec 1507	James IV	Item, for ane pund small Birge threid to sew the Kingis jak with, iiij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 16.
33	Mar 1508	James IV	Item, for xvj elne j quartar gray satin to be ane goun to the King; ilk elne xxx s.; summa xxiiij li. vij s. vj. […] Item, for ane bred Flandrez buge to it, v li.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 19.
34	Apr 1508	Margaret Tudor	Item, xviij elne fyne clath of gold to ane goun, send hame be Jerome Friscobald, and the remanent of the said steik giffin to the Quene.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 20.

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[26] 'for ten ells of velvet of crimson purple, nineteen and a half ells of grey velvet, six and a half ells of black cloth of Damascus, five ells of tawny satin, thirteen ells of brown chamlet, twelve ells of woollen cloth, half grain red, twelve ells of green cloth, all of which is in Flemish measures, and two pairs of knives of the said *trunscheoure* knives, bought by account in Flanders by command of the said lord king […] £144.'

[27] 'four ells and a fourth part of black woollen cloth of Flanders, the price of the ell thirty-six *solidi*, six twelves of white woollen cloth two ells and three quarters, the price of the ell four *solidi*, one ell and three quarters of camlet, the price of the ell sixteen *solidi*, […] £24.'

35	Jul 1508	James IV	Item, payit to Jerome Friscobald in Flandrez for ane steik clath of gold send hame to the King, contenand xxxij ½ elne Flemys; ilk elne x li. gret; summa iij^{c}xxv li. gret; and for ilk li. gret giffin liij s. iiij d. Scottis; summa viij^{c}lxvj li. xiij s. iiij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 27.
36	Jul 1508	James IV	Item, payit to the said Jerome for ane steik of claith of gold, contenand xxv elne j quartar Flemys; ilk Flemys elne l s. gret; summa lxiij li. ij s. vj d. gret; and giffin for ilk pun gret liij s. iiij d.; summa l^{c}lxviij li. vj s. viij d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 27.
37	Jul 1508	James IV	Item, payit to Jerome Friscobald for colouris and uncostis of thaim bocht in Flandrez and send hame x li. ix s. x d. gret; and for ilk li. gret iij li. Scottis; summa xxxj li. ix s. vj d.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 27.
38	Apr 1508	Margaret Tudor	Item, the x day of Aprile, deliverit to the Quene, vj elne of fyne clath of gold of the steik of quhilk the Kingis goun wes maid, send hame be Jerome Friscobald.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 31.
39	Oct 1507	James, duke of Rothesay	Item, for half ane pund small Birge threid to the samyn [the Princis clathis], ij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 33.
40	Dec 1511	James IV	Item, for ane Flandris blak hat to the King, xij s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 198.
41	Jan 1512	James IV	Item, the xxiiij day of Januar, to Johne Formane for the Kingis use ane Flandris red hat; price xvj s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 199.
42	Jan 1512	James IV	Item, the sam tyme, ane Flandris blak hat; price ix s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 199.
43	Apr 1512	James IV	Item, to His Grace, xvj pair Flandris gluffis; price ix s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 202.
44	Apr 1512	James IV	Item, the xxij day of Aprile, deliverit to the King ane red Flandris hatt; price xvj s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 203.
45	Jun 1512	James IV	Item, the vij day of Junij, to the King, ane Flandris hatt; price x s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 204.
46	Aug 1512	James IV	Item, the vij day of August, to Johne Formane, for the King ane Flandris hatt; price x s.	*TA*, vol. 4, p. 206.

Appendix 8: ***Chairs of Estate at the Marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor***

Item, payit to him for v cheris of estait, as eftir followis;- in the first, for v elne Flemys of clath of go[l]d to covir ane of the said cheris, ilk elne Flemys xlviij s. gret; summa in Flemys monee xij li., and in Scottis monee, xxxvj li.

Item, for xviij elne Flemys wellus in grayn, to covir other thre cheris, ilk elne Flemys xj s. gret, the some in Flemys monee ix li. xviij s. gret, and in Scottis monee, xxix li. xiiij s.

Item, for vj elne Flemys of blak wellus to covir the fift chere, ilk elne Flemys x s.: summa in Flemys monee iij li. gret, and in Scottis monee, ix li.

Item, for irnwerk to the said five cheris, xl s. gret, in Scottis monee, vj li.

Item, for xvj balles of lattoun gilt to the said cheris, ilk pece vij s. gret; summa in Flemys monee v li. xij s. gret, and in Scottis monee, xvj li. xvj s.

Item, for frenȝeis and ribanis to the said cheris, iiij li. xiiij s. v [d.] gret in Flemys monee, and payit tharfor in Scottis monee, xiiij li. iij s. iij d.

Item, for xx elne iij quartaris braid ribanes to put about the said cheris; of Flemys monee xxxj s. gret, and in Scottis monee, iiij li. xiiij s.

Item, for the fasoun of the said cheris, and for leddir to thaim; of Flemys monee, vj li. xiij s. iiij d., and in Scottis monee, xx li.

Item, to the servandis that maid the said cheris, in wyne and drinksilver, xx [d.] gret, in Scottis monee, v s.

Item, for xxv elne Flemys of cammes to pak thaim in; of Flemys monee, ij s. iij d. gret, in Scottis monee, xviij s. ix d.

Item, to the pakkar that pakkit thaim, and for pakking threid to thaim, in Flemys monee, ij s. ij d. gret, and in Scottis monee, vj s. vj d.

Item, for ane kist to pak thaim, and for cordis to pak thaim with; of Flemys monee xxj s. gret, in Scottis monee, iij li. iij s.

Item, for frenȝeis of gold to hing about the said cheris; in Flemys monee vij li. xvj s. gret, in Scottis monee, xxiij li. viij s.

Item, for carying of thaim fra Bruges to Middilburgh, xxij s. Flemys, in Scottis monee, iij li. vj s.

Item, for thair fraucht in Scotland, iiij li. iiij s.

Item, for xij elne blak gray to covir the said cheris, xiiij s.

Item, for coviring of thaim, v s.

Item, to the man that passit fra Bruges to Middilburgh with the said stuff, v s. xj d. gret, in Scottis monee, xviij s. ix d.[1]

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[1] *TA*, vol. 2, pp. 227-8.

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