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**Conflict, Corpses and Thrissels: Materialising Community and Countering
Crisis in Scotland and its Diaspora, c. 1570 – 1650.**

Volume I: Text

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise, by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

Shauna O'Neill

29 August 2023

Abstract

This thesis examines objects and performances produced by early modern Scottish people, both at home and within diasporic networks, to materialise community in response to past, present and potential crises.

Impending crisis was a near-constant feature of Scottish life. The Reformation of 1560 demanded profound socio-cultural change and, in the following decades, the populace experienced social fracture from ongoing confessional division and civil wars. At the dynastic level, the minority of James VI potentiated political crisis - two of his regents were murdered. In later years, the much-anticipated Union of the Crowns developed new anxieties for the Stuarts as they established their rule south of the border and governed Scotland from a distance. Meantime, political and religious after-shocks from the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots continued to reverberate into the seventeenth century. An attempt by Charles I to promote closer religious union between his kingdoms sparked the Bishops' Wars. Although brief, these conflicts catalysed the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, eventually costing the King his thrones and his head. In a challenge to prevailing art-historical opinion, this thesis proposes that the material-cultural responses Scottish people made to these tumultuous events were both sophisticated and multi-faceted. Indeed, such was their potency that, within the diaspora, emigres continued to draw on Scottish forms, precedents and conceptions of extended kinship. Ubiquitous and flexible, these modes of expression were available to kings and merchants, men and women, Catholics and Protestants, who used them to hybridise the forms they found abroad.

The discussion ranges from funeral processions, tombs and posthumous portraits to banners, stained-glass windows, communion cups and popular print.

Well-known public sites and items drawn from major institutional collections are analysed alongside overlooked material evidence, as well as revenant objects retrieved and reconstructed from primary sources and antiquarian literature. In support, the thesis calls upon various types of contemporary writing: personal letters, epitaphs, broadsides, account books and a spiritual diary. These documents provide insights into the motivations of patrons and reception by viewers, thereby casting light on the influence exerted by Scottish cultural forms at home and in the diaspora. Building on and enriching the socio-political histories of Scottish bonding, themes of extended kinship, community and memorialisation run through the work, parallel to a sustained exploration of the role of mass-production in their propagation.

The thesis opens in Edinburgh, where Chapter One re-examines the memorialisation of the Regent Moray. It argues that, even amidst civil war, and as his murder threatened the future of reform, Moray was sacralised and portrayed as the father of a unified, Protestant nation. Shifting to London and Antwerp, Chapter Two considers delayed memorials for Mary, Queen of Scots, made in reaction to the Union of the Crowns. Demonstrating that portraiture was key to this phase of memory construction, it holds that these portraits referenced Scottish cultural practices and forms. Furthermore, exposure of embedded appeals to disparate social groups supports an argument that patrons manipulated portrayals of the Queen for a variety of political purposes. Chapter Three concentrates on the staple port at Veere, where it builds a picture of enduring Scottish identity in a diasporic community. Contending that the twin concepts of bonding and extended kinship, fundamental to Scottish society, were retained as a reference frame at the port, it demonstrates their materialisation, in support of Covenanter community, as the Second Bishop's War loomed. Finally, Chapter Four returns to the British Isles and

Eikon Basilike, the memorial book of Charles I. It maintains that, drawing on the methods of Scottish propagandists, the book was enabled to materialise Royalist community as a mass-produced relic. In closing, connections to a tradition of posthumous portraiture employed in Scotland support the idea that the book joined Charles to a hagiography of Protestant Stuarts, begun in Edinburgh and extending back to the early years of Reformation.

This thesis relocates Scottish material culture as a vital force in an international network of exchange, demonstrating that ideas and modes of expression, carried out of Scotland with the diaspora, informed sites, images and objects far beyond its borders. Its significance lies in revealing that, even in the face of apparently insurmountable disunity, Scottish material culture retained a great capacity for giving physical form to unifying ideas.

Lay Summary

This thesis examines objects and performances produced by early modern Scottish people, both at home and abroad, to give a physical form to the concept of community in response to past, present and potential crises.

Impending crisis was a near-constant feature of Scottish life. The Reformation of 1560 demanded profound socio-cultural change and, in the following decades, the populace experienced social fracture from ongoing confessional division and civil wars. At the dynastic level, the minority of James VI potentiated political crisis - two of his regents were murdered. In later years, the much-anticipated Union of the Crowns developed new anxieties for the Stuarts as they established their rule south of the border and governed Scotland from a distance. Meantime, political and religious after-shocks from the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots continued to reverberate into the seventeenth century. An attempt by Charles I to promote closer religious union between his kingdoms sparked the Bishops' Wars. Although brief, these conflicts catalysed the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, eventually costing the King his thrones and his head. In a challenge to prevailing art-historical opinion, this thesis proposes that the material-cultural responses Scottish people made to these tumultuous events were both sophisticated and multi-faceted. Indeed, such was their potency that, within the diaspora, emigres continued to draw on Scottish forms, precedents and conceptions of extended kinship. Ubiquitous and flexible, these modes of expression were available to kings and merchants, men and women, Catholics and Protestants, who used them to hybridise the forms they found abroad.

The discussion ranges from funeral processions, tombs and posthumous portraits to banners, stained-glass windows, communion cups and popular print.

Well-known public sites and items drawn from major institutional collections are analysed alongside overlooked material evidence, as well as lost objects retrieved and reconstructed from primary sources and antiquarian literature. In support, the thesis calls upon various types of contemporary writing: personal letters, epitaphs, broadsides, account books and a spiritual diary. These documents provide insights into the motivations of patrons and reception by viewers, thereby casting light on the influence exerted by Scottish cultural forms at home and in the diaspora. Building on and enriching the socio-political histories of Scottish bonding, themes of extended kinship, community and memorialisation run through the work, parallel to a sustained exploration of the role of mass-production in their propagation.

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This thesis relocates Scottish material culture as a vital force in an international network of exchange, demonstrating that ideas and modes of expression, carried out of Scotland with emigres, informed sites, images and objects far beyond its borders. Its significance lies in revealing that, even in the face of apparently insurmountable disunity, Scottish material culture retained a great capacity for giving physical form to unifying ideas.

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Introduction

The *Darnley Jewel* (or *Lennox Jewel*) is a finely wrought tablet jewel, or locket, made of gold, decorated with rubies, emeralds, blue glass and enamel-work, dating from c.1571-8 (Figure 1).¹ Researchers are divided about its purpose, and the intended recipient, but agree that the patron was Scottish - either Margaret Douglas, mother of Henry, lord Darnley, second husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, or Margaret's husband, Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox.² The goldsmith is unknown and the place of manufacture uncertain but, most importantly, there were several artisans capable of producing work of this quality in Edinburgh in the middle sixteenth century.³ The *Jewel* opens as a locket does but also has two movable panels, which expose additional surfaces, invisible on casual inspection, indicating an intent to keep some of its content secret (Figures 2 and 3). The hidden surfaces, much of the inside, and all of the outside, are covered with a wide-ranging iconographic programme, encompassing Virtues, the heraldry of the Douglas and Lennox families and common emblems including the sun in splendour, a skull and bones and a hellmouth, as well as six inscriptions in Scots (Figures 1-5).⁴ Less readily interpreted elements include a woman standing in a pool, a recumbent man, from whose loins a sunflower sprouts, and a crowned man, with sword drawn, grasping a woman by the hair.⁵ Academic study of the *Jewel* began in 1843 with, to date, the greatest progress being made in identification of its component materials

¹ Unknown artist, *Darnley Jewel or Lennox Jewel*, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, Royal Collection Trust, item RCIN 28181. Royal Collection Trust, *The Darnley Jewel or Lennox Jewel*, (London: Royal Collection Trust, undated), < <https://www.rct.uk/collection/28181/the-darnley-jewel-or-lennox-jewel>> . Alison Weir, *The Lost Tudor Princess*, (London: Vintage, 2015), 238.

² Weir, 2015, 238. Royal Collection Trust, *The Darnley Jewel or Lennox Jewel*.

³ Hugh Roberts, *Treasures: The Royal Collection*, (London: Royal Collection Publications and Scala Publishers, 2008), 133.

⁴ Weir, 2015, 238-42.

⁵ Weir, 2015, 238-42.

and the techniques used in its manufacture as well as iconographic analysis.⁶ Nearly two hundred years on, this single object still provokes a torrent of questions about commissioning, meaning and use, prompted by the sophistication of its making and the large, very varied array of symbols it exploits.

It seems surprising therefore that art historical scholarship has tended to dismiss early modern Scotland as too impoverished and unstable to produce much that is worthy of academic attention in the present. Echoing an earlier assessment by Duncan Thomson, Kevin Sharpe voiced the opinion that ‘the arts could hardly flourish’ in a country as poor, and riven by political turmoil, as he found Scotland.⁷ There are two assumptions implicit in Sharpe’s statement: firstly, the idea that art is limited to masterworks by canonical artists; and secondly, the belief that Scottish people could not produce things of cultural significance in times of crisis. The first position was critiqued, in specific relation to early modern Scotland, by Robert Tittler who concluded, ‘These traditional, canonical and narrow approaches will not serve us well here’.⁸ The second is challenged by this thesis. It shows that not only did the people of Scotland command a flexible, sophisticated and evolving material vocabulary, but also that this equipped them to make influential responses to social and political upheaval at the local, national and international level.

The above-noted art historical bias in favour of the canon has significant, unresolved, implications for the wider historiography of British art. Views like Sharpe’s discourage investigation, leaving a field dominated by political and religious

⁶ Roberts, 2008, 133. Weir, 2015, 239-42. Royal Collection Trust, *The Darnley Jewel or Lennox Jewel*.

⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 58-9. Duncan Thomson, *Painting in Scotland 1570 - 1650*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1975), 10.

⁸ ‘Portraiture, Politics and Society’ in Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (eds.), *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), pp.448-69, 448.

historians. Additionally, the diminution of Scottish visual and material culture means that scholars are yet to assess impacts on commissions, made in the diaspora, arising from their patrons' native cultural experiences. Although prominent diasporic figures, such as James VI & I and Charles I, have been recognised for their patronage of art whilst living in England, studies of their commissions and collections have been conducted through an Anglocentric lens.⁹ At minimum, this leaves any Scottish cultural influences overlooked and under-explored. Maximally, it demands the re-examination of the cultural outputs in which Scottish people abroad had a hand. In either case, the fullness of the current understanding of Stuart art, in England and Europe, is laid open to question.

The peripheral location of Scotland in the geographies of the British Isles and Europe cannot be denied but its consignment, by art historians, to an equally peripheral cultural status is unwarranted. This thesis recognises Early Modern Scottish people as skilled manipulators of visual and material culture, restoring Scotland to its rightful place – actively engaged with a dynamic network of European cultural exchange. The work presented here makes substantial strides in addressing kinship, community, translation of the dead and memory as key concepts which were figured and materialised, at home and away, as the people of Scotland, and Scottish emigres, navigated crisis. Examples exposing physical manifestation of these concepts range from the reburial of Mary, Queen of Scots at Westminster Abbey, by James VI & I, to Charles I's, direction of his own remembrance in the book entitled *Eikon Basilike*.¹⁰ As a result, as well as augmenting what is known of England's royal

⁹ See for example Peter Sherlock, 'The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory' in *Journal of British Studies*, Volume 46, No.2, April 2007, pp.263-89.

¹⁰ Gauden and Charles I, *Eikon Basilike, The portraiture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, (1649).

mausoleum this thesis substantially rewrites current understanding of one of the most iconic Stuart printed portraits.

Although cross-border conflict, extensive Reformation iconoclasm, occupation by Oliver Cromwell's army and later nineteenth-century renovations have all contributed to cultural loss, these, and other absences, are not insurmountable barriers to study. Aspiring scholars may meet voids where objects must once have been – for example, very little is known of pre-modern stained glass because what remains is so fragmentary.¹¹ Notwithstanding, measures to reconstruct or infer what is lost have met with success in other areas. Despite very few plays surviving, John J. McGavin has been able to study spectatorship in Scotland by seeking out reports of social performances preserved in documentary sources.¹² Little painted portraiture exists prior to the late sixteenth century, when the work of artists such as Adrian Vanson and Arnold Bronckorst begins to reveal the faces of Scotland's elite.¹³ This is in part due to loss of medieval examples, as well as to the relatively slow uptake of portraiture on panel or canvas by the Scottish nobility. Nevertheless, representations of the self may be distilled from sources other than portrait paintings, including extant architecture and coinage.¹⁴ Approaches like these can help reconstruct losses, characterise people who were not pictured and broaden the view of those who were.

¹¹ Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing*, (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 1997), 14 - 15.

¹² John J. McGavin, 'Spectatorship in Scotland' in Janet H. Williams and J. Derrick McClure, (eds.), *'Fresche Fontanis': Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland'*, (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.287-305, 288.

¹³ National Galleries of Scotland, *Adrian Vanson*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, undated), < <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/artists/adrian-vanson>>. National Portrait Gallery, *Arnold Bronckorst*, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2023), < <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp06731/arnold-bronckorst>>

¹⁴ See, for example Richard Oram and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, (London: Birlinn Limited, 2021). Also, discussion of portraits from James VI currency in Thomson, *Painting in Scotland 1570-1650*, (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1975), pp.30-1.

Gaps also exist in the documentary record. For example, there is a sizeable hole in the Scottish records of state. Having been removed to England during Cromwell's Protectorate, eighty-five hogsheads full of papers were lost at sea as the registers were returned north in 1661.¹⁵ Nevertheless, other substantial sources of documentary evidence exist, in Scotland and elsewhere. A large cache of documents written in Scotland is contained in the State Papers, held by The National Archives at Kew, whilst the Records of the Parliaments of Scotland are available online. The recent digital release of kirk session records, from the collections of National Records of Scotland, has democratised and simplified access to large volumes of primary records from parishes across the country.¹⁶ Reference across different types of this surviving written material may help researchers bridge any gaps they find.

It is almost inevitable, though, that historical sources have been subject to mediation, which may have arisen in a variety of ways. In assemblages such as the State Papers, this can be almost invisible, having occurred as documents were collated and selected for retention. Even sources which have plainly been edited may have been subject to other mediatory events which are less apparent. One such Scottish case is *The History of the Church of Scotland*, by David Calderwood (c.1575-1650). This publication developed in several versions from 1625 onwards, although it was not printed until 1678, almost thirty years after the author's death.¹⁷ By 1614, Calderwood had amassed a large collection of contemporary documents

¹⁵ John Masterton, 29 January 1661, in 'Depositions of witnesses in the trial of John Wemyss for his carriage in bringing home the registers' in Keith M. Brown et al (eds.), *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 2007-2023), A1661/1/49, <https://www.rps.ac.uk/search.php?action=print&id=37740&filename=charlesii_trans&type=trans> .

¹⁶ ScotlandsPeople, *Virtual Volumes Records Released*, (Edinburgh: ScotlandsPeople, 16 March 2021), <<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/article/news-article-virtual-volumes-records-released>> .

¹⁷ David Calderwood in Thomas Thomson (ed.), *The History of the Kirk of Scotland, Volume Second*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing Company, 1843), 513 - 15. Vaughan T. Wells, 'Calderwood, David (c.1575-1650)' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 23 September 2004), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref.odnb/4374>> .

and manuscripts which supported his interpretation of the history – a collection which continued to enlarge over time and was augmented by access to the papers of the prominent reformer, John Knox.¹⁸ Calderwood's material could have included sermon notes made by sixteenth-century audients, since religious note-taking had developed as an expression of piety in Scotland. After attending a service, heads of households were expected to examine their dependents on the content of the preaching.¹⁹ Understandably, this practice facilitated reconstruction of historical religious speech. Notwithstanding, several factors may have affected Calderwood's output, including the accuracy and preferences of the original note-taker and the editor's skill at transcription. Additionally, Calderwood's personal anti-episcopalian stance may have introduced a broad bias into the material selected for inclusion in *The History*.²⁰ The extent of such mediatory effects is difficult to determine in the present and, although they do not preclude the use of sources like this, their potential influence must be borne in mind.

Irrespective of the availability of primary source material and the effects mediators may have exerted on it, the paucity of the secondary art historical literature is discouraging. For example, in the mid twentieth century, whilst describing two sixteenth-century portraits of the murdered dead, which he called 'vendetta paintings', Ellis Waterhouse identified them as a distinctively Scottish form.²¹ Even though one, the *Darnley Memorial*, is a high-quality, Flemish oil painting, to this day

¹⁸ Wells, 'Calderwood, David (c.1575-1650)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Jane Dawson, 'Knox, John' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 3 January 2008, < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/15781>>.

¹⁹ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 24, 42, 318.

²⁰ Wells, 'Calderwood, David (c.1575-1650)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

²¹ Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 - 1790*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962 [1953]), 28-9.

the genre remains largely neglected and poorly understood (Figure 6).²² This *Memorial* depicts the interior of a fictive royal chapel, where an effigy of the murdered lord Darnley lies in state, attended by his parents, brother and infant son, who kneel in prayer, calling out to God for revenge. The most substantial commentary on the image is a 1975 exhibition catalogue entry by Duncan Thomson, then Assistant Keeper at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.²³ Thomson lauds the readily apparent technical accomplishment of the artist, remarking on ‘incredible’ ‘expressive’ portraiture, ‘delicacy of detail’ and ‘flawless’ representation of light.²⁴ In contrast, his cultural analysis, based on accusatory background texts and the vengeful cries of the foreground figures, characterises the picture as ‘near-blasphemous’ and ‘a painful and depressing commentary on the kind of civilization that Scotland had attained in the sixteenth century’.²⁵ In the same catalogue, Thomson dismisses the second of Waterhouse’s examples of the image type, *The Memorial of James Stewart, 2nd Earl of Moray* (Figure 7).²⁶ This life-size portrait of a corpse, appealing ‘GOD REVENGE MY CAVS’, makes a graphic display of the multiple injuries sustained by the so-called ‘Bonnie Earl’, in the course of his 1592 murder. Thomson remarks that the picture ‘seems to owe nothing to any kind of sophisticated pictorial tradition’, on the grounds that ‘[i]t is the work of a decorative or heraldic painter’.²⁷

²² Thomson, 1975, 18-19. Livinus de Vogelaare, *The Memorial of Lord Darnley, 1567*, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, Royal Collection Trust, item RCIN 401230. A second copy, produced contemporaneously by the original artist, is in the collection at Goodwood House. In that version, the infant King James VI wears purple robes.

²³ Thomson, 1975, 18-19. Hugh Scrutton, ‘Foreword’ in Thomson, *Painting in Scotland 1570-1650*, (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1975), p.5, 5

²⁴ Thomson, 1975, 19.

²⁵ Thomson, 1975, 19.

²⁶ Unknown artist, *The Memorial of James Stewart, second earl of Moray, 1592*, private collection.

²⁷ Thomson, 1975, 34.

As well as privileging the canon these opinions reflect the historiography of early modern Scotland at the time that the catalogue was written. Research into Scottish violence, feud and the nature of revenge, which began to be published in the 1980s, and is discussed in more detail shortly, revealed a far more complex and nuanced social picture than a commentator in 1975 would have understood.²⁸ Regardless, the thoughts Thomson expressed have adhered as tenaciously to pictures of this type as the culturally insensitive ‘vendetta painting’ label – to the extent that his words are quoted uncritically, in more recent work by historian Harry Potter, which touches briefly upon the images.²⁹ Although Potter’s description of another example, the *Darnley Banner* (Figure 8) as ‘crude’, and Keith M. Brown’s assessment of the Bonnie Earl’s *Memorial* as ‘graffiti’, serve to convey their production by vernacular artists, these historians also promulgate implicit judgement of the cultural value of the pictures.³⁰ Even Tittler, who has already been noted to advocate for broad, extra-canonical investigation, passes over the paintings very quickly, summing them up with the phrase “the portrait as ‘wanted poster!’”³¹ It is disappointing that the echoes of a few paragraphs of now-superseded analysis have caused these examples of Scottish portraiture, from a time when relatively few portraits are available for study, to become known as vulgar curiosities.

Contemporaries record other examples of images which displayed wounds, and demanded revenge, but these too remain largely overlooked. Graphic depictions

²⁸ See, for example, Jenny Wormald, ‘Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland’, in *Past and Present*, No.87, May 1980, pp. 54-97 and Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573 - 1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2003 [1986]).

²⁹ Harry Potter, *Bloodfeud: the Stewarts & Gordons at War in the age of Mary Queen of Scots*, (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2002). 261.

³⁰ Potter, 2002, 261. Contemporary drawing of the *Darnley Banner*, 1567, ink on paper, The National Archives, London, item SP52/13. Brown, 2003 [1986], 29.

³¹ Thomson, 1975, 18-19. Tittler, 2004, 461.

of wounded corpses, similar to the *Memorial* of the Bonnie Earl, are known to have been paraded as banners, whilst a reported portrait of a murderer, painted in blood, is potentially related.³² Current, in-depth work on their cultural significance is limited to a small case study, by McGavin, discussed in more detail shortly, concerning the complex spectatorship of one such banner, which the earl of Mar reportedly had produced in 1595 for his murdered man, David Forester, killed in the midst of political intrigue.³³ The thinness of the literature is illustrative of the self-defeating cycle which can arise where there is limited scholarly interest in an area. In the absence of a substantial, supportive, art historical corpus, objects like these death portraits acquire the appearance of having been equally rare, and underestimated, in the past, whether that was the case or not. Having received minimal attention, they remain largely detached from their historical context and subject to the prejudices of the present.

Action on the matter begins here - addressing 'vendetta paintings' in depth, identifying three more, including one produced to memorialise Mary, Queen of Scots and another to commemorate Charles I. Development of iconographic links between several examples allows establishment of these images as influential, flexible components of Stuart memorialisation campaigns, produced by members of the diaspora, in England and Europe, as well as in Scotland, and provides a springboard for study of other examples.

More generally, bright prospects for the study of Scottish culture are affirmed by the varied lines of research which have already, or will shortly, produce results on subjects as disparate as fine portraiture and religious objects. A thesis by Fern Insh

³² Brown, 2003 [1986], 29-30.

³³ McGavin, in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, pp.287-305, 295-8.

developed analysis of seventeenth-century Scottish painting and the concurrently evolving art market.³⁴ Meantime, the cultural connections Inch finds between Scotland and Europe are supported by Mary Pryor and John Morrison in their examination of Covenant-era pictures in Aberdeen.³⁵ Carla van de Puttelaar's survey of the Scougall family fleshes out the understanding of seventeenth-century Scottish painting, through an examination of the social context in which these artists, their professional peers and sitters interacted and did business.³⁶ Academic interest stoked by these projects should be further fuelled by forthcoming research from Catriona Murray into renowned portraitist to Charles II, John Michael Wright, who trained under the notable Scottish painter George Jamesone.³⁷ Meantime, material culture will be foregrounded in an upcoming article, covering objects and memory in feuds, by Anna Groundwater, and a thesis looking into post-Reformation religious objects, by Molly Ingham.³⁸

Clearly, the sum of these projects leans towards the seventeenth century and, aside from the forthcoming work by Groundwater and Ingham, tends to favour high-status painting. With its roots planted in the sixteenth century and encompassing performance, memorial sites and print, this thesis offers a worthwhile counterpoint - as well as insight into the broader extent of Scottish cultural patronage. It adds to the activity in the field by exposing unrecognised, far-reaching impacts of Scottish

³⁴ Fern Inch, *An aspirational era?: examining and defining Scottish visual culture 1620-1707*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2014).

³⁵ Mary Ruth Pryor and John Coull Morrison, 'The King's Paintings: Preaching to the Times' in Jane Geddes (ed.), *King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, 1500-2000*, (London: Routledge, 2014), p.23.

³⁶ Carla van de Puttelaar, *Scottish Portraiture 1644-1714: David and John Scougall and their contemporaries*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2021).

³⁷ Catriona Murray, unpublished work in progress, provisionally titled *John Michael Wright and the Art of Invention*.

³⁸ Anna Groundwater, unpublished work in progress, provisionally titled *Bloodfeud in the Scottish Borders: material culture and collective memory*. Molly Ingham, unpublished work in progress, provisionally titled *The Material Culture of Belief in Post-Reformation Scotland, 1560-1750*.

material culture in England and Europe, between c.1570 and 1650. It proposes that Scottish people deployed complex objects, iconographies and performances to respond to past, present and impending crises, whether at home or abroad. A series of case studies presents examples of Scottish royalty, nobles, gentry and merchants producing meaningful objects and performances, with the intent of preventing social fracture, in Scotland, England and the Low Countries. One thread of investigation explores the invocation of kinship and bonding - concepts foundational to Scottish society - by patrons seeking to communicate with disparate social and confessional groups. Sophisticated use of mass media, in providing dispersed communities with objects to treasure, and in developing public discourse, forms a second thread. Meantime, in recognition of violent death as a common cause, or result, of crisis, a third strand explores the translation of these dead to quasi-divine status. Demonstration of methods being exported in the diaspora supports the conclusion that, up to 1650, iconic public, and mass-market, representations of the Stuarts not only drew on Scottish approaches but were also seeded with Scottish iconography and ideas.

The case studies show that Scottish people, including those of the diaspora, were adroit at using material culture to counter the crises they faced. Under stress, and seeking to represent the self, they found ways to reference historical cultural precedents, synthesised them with contemporary local forms, and linked them to social concepts, such as kinship, which had long been foundational to Scottish society. This study reveals how these concepts were mobilised in crisis response, initially to encourage national unity in pursuit of the Regent Moray's assassin and later, in attempts to sustain dispersed confessional and political groups, including Catholics, Covenanters and Royalists. This is achieved by examining a broad cache

of long-neglected objects, both surviving and lost, considering the materiality of propaganda, and re-assessing more well-known objects, performances and spaces from a Scottish perspective. Consequently, the thesis demonstrates that the people of early-modern Scotland commanded a material vocabulary of crisis which was far more sophisticated, flexible and influential than has been recognised to date.

The knowledge gained will provide an underpinning to address crises beyond the scope of this study. Although the brief military career of Covenanter-turned-Royalist, James Graham (1612-50), marquess of Montrose, was remarkable, the treatment of his body and memory is perhaps unparalleled. In life, the marquess was lauded as a successful general by Covenanters and Royalists, in turn.³⁹ However, falling into the hands of the Covenanters he had betrayed, Montrose was later hanged and quartered in Edinburgh, with a volume of his own biography tied around his neck. In a subsequent reversal, following the Restoration, his remains were reassembled for reburial, with great pomp and ceremony, in the city's St. Giles' church, where they still lie, close to those of the Regent Moray.⁴⁰ The case of Montrose offers an opportunity to study varied responses to the crisis of losing an outstanding military leader, within a wider context of conflict, with themes of loyalty, erasure, elevation and rehabilitation figuring large. The findings of this thesis, regarding the manipulation of the dead, and their reputations, by Scottish people, provide a sound basis from which to proceed.

The substantial contribution made by this thesis to the existing body of knowledge lies in building a new, and significant bridge between the material culture

³⁹ Stevenson, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴⁰ Stevenson, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

of Scotland and that of Stuart England and Europe, repositioning Scottish ideas, and ways of communicating them, within a European network of cultural exchange. Additionally, my research retrieves an unrecognised, enduring material-cultural language shared by Scottish people, irrespective of their station, location, confession and gender. It demonstrates that, even in the face of apparently insurmountable disunity, Scottish material culture retained a great capacity for giving physical form to unifying ideas. This introduces an unaccounted-for, resilient, cohesive, Scottish cultural identity into larger discourses of the formation of Great Britain. It also raises questions for the future about the influences this identity may have exerted on cultural expressions of Britishness as they developed after the Union of the Crowns.

Chronology, subjects and objects

A small number of historical figures are key to this study. Their names appear repeatedly since their lives were intertwined and the memorials and other objects they commissioned or inspired are conceptually linked. As such, it is worth taking a moment to outline relevant aspects of their biographies.

Mary Stuart (1542 - 87), was Queen of Scots from her infancy until 1567.⁴¹ Although a devout Catholic, following the Scottish Reformation of 1560, the country she ruled was Protestant, causing her reign to be punctuated by confessional friction between crown, nobility and Kirk.⁴² She contracted a brief and very troubled marriage with Henry Stuart, lord Darnley (1546 - 67), whose religious affiliation is

⁴¹ Julian Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/18248>>.

⁴² Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

remarked to have been 'apt to fluctuate ... perhaps being dictated by a desire to oppose whatever Mary's prevailing policy happened to be'.⁴³ The union produced a son – the future James VI & I (1566 - 1625), who would become Scotland's first Protestant monarch.⁴⁴ Soon after, Mary's reign was cut short when her purported involvement in plotting Darnley's shocking murder, rapidly followed by marriage to one of the alleged killers, provided rebellious nobles with the impetus to oust her.⁴⁵ She surrendered to her rebel lords at the Battle of Carberry Hill (15 June 1567), where a large banner flew in silent accusation of the embattled Queen (Figure 8).⁴⁶ It depicted the infant James, crying out to God for revenge, beside the semi-naked corpse of his murdered father - simultaneously evidencing the crime which had been committed and demanding redress. Currently, this *Darnley Banner* is the earliest known example of the image-type Waterhouse dubbed 'vendetta painting'.⁴⁷

Mary's forced abdication allowed James to be crowned.⁴⁸ A series of regents ruled in his minority, the first being James Stewart (c. 1531 - 70), earl of Moray, an illegitimate son of James V, and Mary's half-brother. Moray held deep religious convictions and, as Scotland's first Protestant head of government, was committed to furthering the reforming agenda. With the country already riven by civil war, his assassination, by a Catholic supporter of Mary, had potential to drive confessional

⁴³ Elaine Finnie Greig, 'Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany, [*known as Lord Darnley*]' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/26473>>.

⁴⁴ Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Greig, 'Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany, [*known as Lord Darnley*]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Wormald, 'James VI and I' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/14592>>.

⁴⁵ Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴⁶ Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Contemporary drawing of the *Darnley Banner*, 1567, The National Archives, London, SP52/13.

⁴⁷ Waterhouse, 1962 [1953]), 28-9.

⁴⁸ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

riffs even deeper and endanger James' kingship.⁴⁹ An intensive memorial campaign for Moray is examined in Chapter One, paying particular attention to a report of a banner, in which a depiction of his wounded corpse was juxtaposed with imagery from the *Darnley Banner*, and also to a tomb, which raised the Regent to quasi-divine status, akin to that of the classical hero Aeneas.

Prior to her eventual beheading for treason, Mary spent almost twenty years in captivity in England, during which she repeatedly plotted to take the English throne.⁵⁰ In the later years of this confinement she retained a small household of Scottish Catholic gentlemen and women.⁵¹ Among them was the lady-in-waiting, Elizabeth Curle (1560 – 1620) who attended the Queen on the scaffold during her botched execution and, with the gift of a portrait miniature, was charged with her posthumous memory.⁵² Elizabeth went into religious exile in the Low Countries, where she and her nephew, the Jesuit priest-in-training, Hippolitus Curle (1591 - 1638), committed themselves to restoring Catholicism to Scotland – a project which had also been dear to Mary's heart.⁵³ Both of the Curles produced portraits of the dead Queen, which are considered in Chapter Two. The *Blairs Memorial* is a very fine, full-length, life-size image, which embedded the iconography and underlying concepts of the *Darnley* and *Moray Banners* into a Flemish noble portrait, whilst the

⁴⁹ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁰ Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵¹ Mark Dilworth, 'Curle, Hippolitus' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/6946>>.

⁵² Marguerite Tassi, 'Martyrdom and Memory: Elizabeth Curle's Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots' in Elizabeth Barret-Graves (ed.), *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.101-32, 107.

⁵³ Tassi, in Barret-Graves, 2013,109.

other, a long-neglected cenotaph, elevated Mary to sainthood, abetted by local stories that it signposted an imagined relic of the dead Queen's decapitated head.⁵⁴

Meantime, having attained his majority, James ruled in Scotland.⁵⁵ Following the death of the Tudor queen, Elizabeth I, in 1603, he achieved what Mary had not, by ascending the English throne. Once installed in London, James needed to secure the Stuarts as an English dynasty, fit to rule, which demanded management of his mother's ghost and her badly tarnished reputation.⁵⁶ To this end, he made cultural interventions, including moving Mary's coffin from its original resting place at Peterborough, to Westminster Abbey.⁵⁷ The journey climaxed in an atmospheric torchlit passage through dark London streets, echoing the translation of a Medieval saint.⁵⁸ At its end, Mary was reburied in a space mirroring a lost Stuart memorial site, which a youthful James had centred on the Regent Moray's Edinburgh tomb. Both the procession and burial space are investigated, alongside the Curles' memorials for Mary, in Chapter Two.

Despite his commitment to Protestantism in Scotland, James was no stranger to disagreements with the Kirk. His belief that religious doctrine and practice, and the body of the Kirk, should be subject to the crown was an ongoing point of contention - a struggle between royal and religious authority which became far more acute during the reign of his son, Charles I (1600 - 49).⁵⁹ In 1637, rioting broke out in Edinburgh

⁵⁴ Unknown artist, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, (known as the *Blairs Memorial*), c.1600, Blairs Museum, Aberdeen, T9103BLRBM. Unknown artist, *Curle-Mowbray cenotaph*, 1620, St. Andrew's Church, Antwerp.

⁵⁵ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁶ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁷ Northampton to Rochester, 10 October 1612, SP 14/71 f.23, ff. 23.

⁵⁸ Northampton to Rochester, 10 October 1612, SP 14/71 f.23, ff. 23.

⁵⁹ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Mark A. Kishlansky and John Morrill, 'Charles I' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/5143>>.

when Charles imposed a new prayerbook, aligned with English Protestant practice. Many of the subjects of his northern realm banded together in signing the Covenant (1638) – a vow to protect distinctively Scottish reformed religion - and the course to the two Bishops' Wars (1639, 40) was set.⁶⁰

Charles' conflict with his northernmost kingdom was of great concern to Scottish émigrés and their families, including the people of the staple port community at Veere in the Netherlands. Although personally invested in the Covenant, and heavily involved in running guns and ammunition to his compatriots, factor, later Conservator, Thomas Cunningham (1604 – 69), nevertheless retained a sense of duty to the King.⁶¹ Worried that war would kill many and topple the crown, he felt compelled to act and addressed Charles with a poem, acrostic and Scottish iconography, presented together on the silk-printed document, *Thrissels Banner*, considered in Chapter Three.⁶² However, Cunningham's mass-produced warning went unheeded, and the King persisted on a military path, embroiling his realms in the devastating Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639 - 53). When it came, the predicted royal downfall was complete, culminating in Charles' execution, at the hands of his Parliamentarian opposition, in 1649.⁶³

In imprisonment before trial and sentencing, Charles had turned attention to managing his future image. This was to be achieved textually and pictorially with a book, eventually entitled *Eikon Basilike* (portrait of the king), and its sophisticated

⁶⁰ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶¹ Victor Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham (1604-1669): Conservator of the Scottish Court at Veere' in D. Dickson, J. Parmentier and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Gent: Academia Press, 2007), pp.39-66, 45-6.

⁶² Thomas Cunningham, *Thrissels Banner*, 1640, University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Edinburgh, Df.1.13 and National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, A.1943.346.

⁶³ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

portrait frontispiece.⁶⁴ He drew on his diasporic cultural heritage, personal experience of the great Habsburg art collection and his own acquisitions, to inform as yet unreported visual parallels with St. Jerome. As Chapter Four demonstrates, once aware that he was to die, the doomed King empowered his *Eikon* as a mass-produced relic, calling on both propaganda methods used by other Scottish people and the iconography and conceptual basis of earlier Stuart death portraits.

Key influences on Scottish visual and material culture

Although these brief notes highlight some notable crises faced by Scottish people - assassination, royal executions, religious division, dynastic change and civil war – others developed more subtly, arising from profound structural changes in their society. The expansive sweep of history writing on the period is beyond the scope of this review but publications by Jenny Wormald and Julian Goodare shed light on concerns which will have faced patrons as they sought to make representation of themselves. Wormald explored the extensive documentary evidence for the exercise of personal lordship, between the mid fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603*, having already exposed the concept as an underpinning of local governance and justice in a seminal article 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland'.⁶⁵ Goodare acknowledges the importance of this personal lordship in *State and Society in Early*

⁶⁴ There were many editions of this book but see, for example, Gauden and Charles I, *Eikon Basilike the pourtracture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings*, (London: 1649), uploaded by Project Gutenberg at <<https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/32188>>. The fullest catalogue of editions is by Francis F. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike of King Charles the First*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950).

⁶⁵ Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985). Wormald, May 1980, pp. 54-97. A measure of the far-reaching influence of these works can be gained from review of Steve Boardman and Goodare (eds.), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

Modern Scotland, describing early Stewart kings as *primus inter pares* with the nobility and finding the country entering the sixteenth century as a 'vigorous, decentralised polity'.⁶⁶ His view that a Scottish state began to develop thereafter has proved to be highly controversial. Keith M. Brown has described the argument for statehood as 'flimsy', Arthur Williamson highlights points at which the case made 'does not work very well', whilst even Brian P. Levack, who responds relatively favourably, remarks that 'the precise nature and extent of the broader political transformation it documents remain unclarified'.⁶⁷ Regardless, Goodare's focus on the means by which power could be applied is illuminating. It reveals a shifting landscape in which James VI pressured nobles to give up autonomous exercise of force, precipitating changes to the structure of government which, Goodare finds, caused political patronage to gain ascendancy over lordship by 1700.⁶⁸ He highlights that concurrently, following the Reformation, the Kirk sought to have its ideology pressed on the people through godly legislation, whilst King James worked to control religion from the throne.⁶⁹ Whether or not the outcome was a Scottish state, the structural changes Goodare identifies will have altered people's experience of government, and what it meant to be governed. Such a rewriting of the ways in which power and piety could be expressed necessarily required development of new means of self-representation. This was no simple task. Portraiture relies on recognisable symbols to convey messages about a subject other than physical

⁶⁶ Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 41, 46, 62.

⁶⁷ Brown, 'State and Society in Early Modern Scotland by Julian Goodare' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume 80, Issue 1, April 2001, pp.122-5, 123. Arthur Williamson, 'Julian Goodare: State and Society in Early Modern Scotland' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (Spring, 2001), pp.175-7, 176. Brian P. Levack, 'State and Society in Early Modern Scotland by Julian Goodare' in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 74, No. 3, (September 2002), pp. 636-7, 637.

⁶⁸ Goodare, 1990, 62-4.

⁶⁹ Goodare, 1990, 301-3.

appearance, leaving the medium prone to 'misunderstandings born of ignorance' if the audience cannot apprehend the representations used.⁷⁰ Amidst crisis, such as any of those discussed in this thesis, time to school viewers in a novel cultural vocabulary was a luxury patrons did not have. Development of this understanding indicated a need to explore how Scottish patrons might have called on, or adapted, existing forms and iconography to communicate the new ideas of self they formulated in response to fundamental social and religious change.

The 'vigorous, decentralised polity' Goodare describes, dependent on the local exercise of personal lordship, embedded the potential for violence and social chaos.⁷¹ The practical basis of this is exposed, in relation to Borders feuds, by Anna Groundwater in her article, 'The obligations of kinship and alliance within governance in the Scottish borders, 1528 - 1625'.⁷² She notes that, in combination with social standing, the backing of a large kinship, composed of blood relatives, people of the same surname and those obligated by legal bonds, equipped a capable lord with the '*strang hand*' necessary to maintain order and keep the peace in his locality.⁷³ Nevertheless, that same '*strang hand*' would also allow him to engage in violent feuding with his neighbours, should he be minded to do so.⁷⁴ Identification of this tension inspired the early, paired propositions that concepts related to social balance should be a target of my research and that Scottish people might have made cultural interventions against imbalance.

⁷⁰ Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture*, (London: Reaktion Books Limited, 2010), 9, 8.

⁷¹ Goodare, 1990, 62.

⁷² Groundwater, 'The obligations of kinship and alliance within governance in the Scottish borders, 1528 - 1625, in *Canadian Journal of History*, 22 March 2013, (Vol.48, Issue 1), pp.1-27, <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=ed_itw&id=GALE|A342176951&v=2.1&it=r>.

⁷³ Groundwater, 22 March 2013, Section IV.

⁷⁴ Groundwater, 22 March 2013, Section IV.

An impression of where such interventions were realised, and the audiences addressed, was informed by Keith Brown's exposure of the serious impacts ordinary people could experience when feuding nobles turned to violence. In *Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573 - 1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society*, Brown reports examples of servants of feuding lords "hewed to pieces", as well as 'fishing cobbles ... smashed' and 'ravaging [of] the surrounding countryside'.⁷⁵ Evidently, feud could throw a locality into chaos, manifested in death, trauma, loss of income and famine for ordinary people. Correspondingly, this thesis argues that the addresses people made to actual, or potential, disorder would be made in public and incorporate components which people of any social status could comprehend - highlighting a need to address public performance and popular media.

Understanding that processes and structure underlaid Scottish feuding developed relatively recently. Instances like those Brown describes, in combination with reports such as that of Robert Cathcart who, having previously killed William Stewart, was himself 'slaine pisching at the wall in Peibleis wynd heid', on 3 June 1598, because 'yai yat slayis will be slaine', had led some foreign contemporaries to understand that Scottish society ran on retaliatory violence.⁷⁶ The idea was tenacious, as evidenced by Waterhouse's appellation of 'vendetta paintings', for the portraits of Scottish murder victims he described.⁷⁷ This perception of Scotland was challenged in a ground-breaking article by Wormald, 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland', which explored Scottish bloodfeud, and the kinship with which it was associated, and began to reverse this position.⁷⁸ Wormald

⁷⁵ Brown, 2003 [1986]), 88, 149, 152.

⁷⁶ Robert Birrel, 'Diary of Robert Birrel from 1532 - 1605' in Dalyell, J., (ed.), *Fragments of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable, 1798), Section II, 34-5. Alvaro de Mendoza, cited in Brown, 2003, [1986], 4.

⁷⁷ Waterhouse: 1962 [1953]), 28-9.

⁷⁸ Wormald, May 1980, pp. 54-97.

exposed, at the heart of the feud, a mechanism for arbitration and compensatory justice, enforced by social pressure.⁷⁹ This ritualised revenge for violent offences in negotiated *assythment* (compensation) for the *skaith* (harm) done to the offended kin.⁸⁰ Brown has connected presentation of evidence for *skaith* to images produced in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth century, including one of Waterhouse's 'vendetta paintings'.⁸¹ Accordingly, these pictures, and their use, have been explored here, positing that their links to personal crisis, justice, order and kinship, in combination with their representation of the self, could have made them a reference point for Scottish people as they navigated larger crises.

Wormald also found that many settlements suppressed the potential for future violence by requiring both sides to subscribe to legal bonds of mutual obligation and support.⁸² Bonds like these, joining the partakers as kin, had been a feature of Scottish society for centuries and were also commonly made voluntarily, between lords and men (bonds of manrent and maintenance) as well as between social peers (bonds of friendship).⁸³ However, bonding was not always a force for peace. Common clauses promised things like power, strength and 'very lyves' in aid of fellow subscribers, meaning that these agreements encompassed the use of force, and even sometimes required it.⁸⁴ As Wormald would later acknowledge, in *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603*, bonds could have violent, or disruptive, outcomes as their express intent and, as she remarked, 'The making of

⁷⁹ Wormald, May 1980, 76.

⁸⁰ Wormald, May 1980, 76-7.

⁸¹ Brown, 2003 [1986], 29.

⁸² Brown, 2003 [1986], 62, 66.

⁸³ Wormald, May 1980, 71-2.

⁸⁴ Jane Dawson, 'Bonding, Religious Allegiance and Covenanting', in Boardman and Goodare (eds.), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp.155-72, 156.

bonds had its place in contributing to the violence of society'.⁸⁵ Even so, people of varied social standings were accustomed to participate in bonds, supporting strong networks of reciprocal obligation which were both geographically and genealogically diverse. Not only were the constructs of bonding, kinship, and extended communities imbued with the authority of tradition, but also, they were understood and valued across social strata. This, in combination with their paradoxical roles in both maintaining order and propagating disorder, highlighted the relevance of these ideas to crisis situations, identifying their visual and material expression as a target for further investigation.

The scholarship recognises that Scottish people adapted bonding to suit political and religious needs. Jane Dawson contends that the concept was so deeply entrenched in society that it could readily be deployed in support of new ideas or to meet the demands of changing circumstances. In her book chapter 'Bonding, Religious Allegiance and Covenanting', Dawson looks to iconic bonds in which early Reformers couched religious objectives in the language of bonding, concluding that conventional bonds were templates which allowed religious bonding, and eventually the Covenant, to be written into being.⁸⁶ In contrast, Alasdair Raffe detects substantial differences between traditional bonds and the Covenant, noting in particular that signing the Covenant was an act of worship.⁸⁷ His stance is not as different to Dawson's as might first appear. Dawson frames religious bonding as an adaptive process, in which people tailored existing conventions to suit the changing religious and political landscape. In this light, the differences Raffe identifies between

⁸⁵ Wormald, 1985, 150 - 1, 143, 136.

⁸⁶ Dawson, 2014, 156, 158-60, 162-3, 169.

⁸⁷ Alasdair Raffe, 'Confessions, Covenants and Continuous Reformation in Early Modern Scotland' in *Etudes Epistémè*, Issue 32, 2017, pp.1-32, 3, 4, 6, 9.

the Covenant and older bonds can be understood as adaptations, which evidence the enduring value Scottish people found in bonding and the non-familial kinship communities it built. Expanding on this, my work assesses how Scottish people tailored their materialisation of the concepts of kinship, bonding and community to suit circumstance and audience, as well as looking into the persistence of such activity over time. Discussion of the extended, non-familial kinships these activities built recurs throughout the thesis, helping to develop the idea that Scottishness was constructed on relationships and shared values, rather than geographic location.

Scottish material culture and its study

The idea of using things to investigate history has deep roots. In Europe, the study known as antiquarianism emerged in the sixteenth century, only to be largely abandoned in the nineteenth century, following a documentary turn in the practice of historians.⁸⁸ Modern academic interest in material culture derives from texts written in the 1980s by Jules Prown, Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff.⁸⁹ Responding to stirrings of interest in, 'the study through artifacts of the beliefs - values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions - of a particular community or society at a given time', Prown initiated discussion about the nature and methodology of the discipline.⁹⁰ In doing so, he noted that engaging with objects offers opportunities - to understand

⁸⁸ Ivan Gaskell and Sarah Anne Carter, 'Introduction: Why History and Material Culture?' in Gaskell and Carter (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of History and Material Culture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp.1-13, 1.

⁸⁹ Jules Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method' in *Winterthur Portfolio*, Volume 17, Number 1, Spring 1982, pp.1-19. Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction' in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63. Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.64-94.

⁹⁰ Prown, Spring 1982, 1.

what a culture valued, to encounter history first-hand, to be inclusive and to develop cultural perspective - which he felt were more difficult to gain from documents and literature.⁹¹ Prown proposed a methodology involving initial description of the object, followed by a deduction phase, in which the student contemplates the experience of interacting with it, and, finally, investigation of external evidence, which might derive from other disciplines.⁹² Whilst his work provides a structure and process for the study of objects, it expects that the things observed are passive. Appadurai challenged that understanding of how objects function, arguing that 'commodities, like persons, have social lives'.⁹³ More recent developments in this area of study include exploration of the proposal that things have agency, such as by Andrew Meirion Jones and Nicole Boivin, in their book chapter 'The Malice of Inanimate Objects: Material Agency'.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, Kopytoff understood that commodity was a phase which could be entered into, or left, leading to the recognition that commoditisation may be seen 'as part of the cultural shaping of biographies' and the proposal that it was therefore possible 'to arrive at biographies of things'.⁹⁵ Such object biographies are particularly useful when subjects of study are no longer *in situ*, as is the case for much of the material examined here. Their development mandates consideration of the different ways a thing has been used and received over the whole of its existence, allowing focus to shift away from the present situation, onto whichever point in its past is of interest. Overall, synthesising the ideas of Prown, Appadurai and Kopytoff develops a structured approach for the

⁹¹ Prown, Spring 1982, 3-4.

⁹² Prown, Spring 1982, 7-11.

⁹³ Appadurai, 1986, 3.

⁹⁴ Andrew Meirion Jones and Nicole Boivin, 'The Malice of Inanimate Objects: Material Agency' in Dan Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Cultural Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 18 September 2012), pp.333-51.

⁹⁵ Kopytoff, 1986, 65-6.

study of things, both sensitive to the changes in status they have undergone in their lifetimes, and cognisant of the effects they may have experienced from other objects, or exerted onto them.

Application of a material-cultural approach as a research methodology to varied projects, with subjects dispersed in time and space, has allowed its validation as a flexible framework of study. The extremes to which the concept has been tested, and found useful, are illustrated by the *Oxford Handbook of History and Material Culture* which presents research on subjects as diverse as street food in early modern Rome and Mormon heritage culture.⁹⁶ In the terminology adopted by the *Handbook* editors, this author's personal conception of material culture is maximalist, encompassing all things engaged with and transformed by humans.⁹⁷ Understanding objects in this very broad sense offers the flexibility to study things as diverse as paintings and printed material, performances and space, as well as extant objects and destroyed things, under one conceptual umbrella. For the purposes of this thesis, 'Scottish material culture' encompasses things produced by, or for, people from Scotland and communities which regarded themselves as Scottish, including those of the diaspora, whether in England or Europe.

The approach adopted here is also influenced by methodology used by art historian T. J. Clark when working on Nicolas Poussin's 1648 painting, *Landscape with a Man killed by a Snake*.⁹⁸ In *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing*, Clark documents studying this enigmatic painting by spending time with it, over a

⁹⁶ Gaskell and Carter, 2020, 'Contents'.

⁹⁷ Gaskell and Carter, 2020, 2-3.

⁹⁸ Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with a Man killed by a Snake*, 1648, The National Gallery, London, item NG5763.

period of almost four months.⁹⁹ He outlines taking many opportunities to be in the presence of the image, observing it under a variety of lighting and external atmospheric conditions.¹⁰⁰ Rather than working systematically through the familiar checklist of formal characteristics, such as line, tone and space, Clark allowed his eye to be drawn where it would on any one occasion, spending time looking more closely, and thinking deeply, about that aspect of the work.¹⁰¹ In the journaling which formed part of the process, Clark acknowledges the value of coming to these encounters in a variety of mind frames, influenced by experiences as diverse as concurrent reading, events in his personal life and observation of other paintings in the gallery.¹⁰² Deliberate, meditative and repeated contemplation allowed Clark to form a deep relationship with the painting, very different to that of the usual passing visitor to the gallery. Moreover, taking time over looking exposed the variety of meanings one person might draw from a complex image, illuminating the importance of external influences, and mental connections made by the viewer as they look at something repeatedly.

When applied to objects, this slow looking can be understood as an expansion of Prown's second, deduction, phase of study, which contemplates the experience of interacting with a thing.¹⁰³ It allows time for focus to move to aspects of the subject which do not grab the attention immediately, such as small details of its appearance, its tangibility, or thoughts of how it would originally have been handled and stored. This shifts the student away from the status of modern gallery viewer, slightly closer to the experience of a contemporary or owner, and in so doing can

⁹⁹ T.J. Clark, *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing* (illustrated edition), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 1, 193, 131.

¹⁰⁰ Clark, 2008, 18, 23, 27.

¹⁰¹ Clark, 2008, 15-18, 43.

¹⁰² Clark, 2008, 8-9, 56, 65-6, 93, 87, 143-5, 22-3.

¹⁰³ Prown, Spring 1982, 7-11.

help overcome the effects of institutionalisation and answer questions about how the thing could have been encountered in the past. When it was not possible to revisit items repeatedly in person, the method was adapted by working with multiple photographs, taken from different points of view, or spending time handling things of similar size and composition to the smaller objects – for example working with a piece of fabric of similar size to *Thrisseis Banner*. The approach is apposite for personal items, such as the tiny books examined in Chapter Four, or the communion cups, journal and domestic stained-glass windows considered in Chapter Three, since people will naturally have handled or seen these things repeatedly. It is equally suited to the funerary monuments and sites discussed in Chapters One and Two, since an inherent part of their function was to encourage people to revisit them and to spend time in contemplation.

Perhaps because of the above-noted scarcity of fine portraiture, particularly before the later sixteenth century, there is a focus in the literature on architectural aspects of Scottish material culture. For example, in the foreword to their edited volume, *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Richard D. Oram and Geoffrey Stell establish architectural patronage as a viable basis for exploration of the manifestation and projection of lordship, arguing that architecture comprises a substantial body of surviving evidence for ‘the activities and aspirations’ of the elite.¹⁰⁴ Some architectural studies have sparked fierce debate, with *The Scottish Chateau: the Country House of Renaissance Scotland*, in which Charles McKean reconsiders Scottish castles as ‘buildings now called castles’, proving to be

¹⁰⁴ Richard D. Oram and Geoffrey P. Stell, ‘Foreword’ in Oram and Stell (eds.), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, (London: Birlinn Limited, 2021), pp.22-6, 24.

particularly contentious.¹⁰⁵ In an argument which had potential to disrupt understanding of Scottish lordship, McKean proposed that, following a European pattern, Scottish country houses had the appearance of being fortified ‘more in deliberate emulation of a distant chivalric past than in response to a threatening present’.¹⁰⁶ In a revised edition, the author remarks on the varying receptions his characterisation of these buildings as chateaux has received, noting that some commentators, particularly those in Britain, found his ideas ‘unhistorical’.¹⁰⁷ Still, Harry Gordon Slade has detected a willingness amongst sixteenth- and seventeenth-century patrons in the north-east to spend money on constructions whose features were not strictly functional, and found an awareness of architectural fashion amongst the Gordon patrons he studied.¹⁰⁸ This debate concerning influences on Scottish architecture, and the nature of its function, highlighted a need to consider the extent to which patrons engaged with, or were distanced from, European ideas and trends.

That thought was supported by *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland*, in which Andrea Thomas makes the paired claims that ‘Scotland participated fully in most cultural developments of the period’ and that ‘[t]he Renaissance formed one of the most creative, confident, and cosmopolitan episodes in the country’s history’.¹⁰⁹ Her stance makes a remarkable contrast with the opinion expressed by Sharpe, discussed earlier, that ‘the arts could hardly flourish’ in early-modern Scotland, and arises from the attention Thomas gives to objects other than

¹⁰⁵ Charles McKean, *The Scottish Chateau: the Country House of Renaissance Scotland*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2004, rev. edition), 260.

¹⁰⁶ McKean, 2004, 44, 41.

¹⁰⁷ McKean, 2004, v.

¹⁰⁸ Harry Gordon Slade, ‘The Gordons and the North-East, 1452-1640’, in Oram, R. and Stell, G.P., (eds.), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, (London: Birlinn Limited, 2021), pp.327-9, 328-9.

¹⁰⁹ Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013), 201, 203.

paintings.¹¹⁰ The breadth of her cultural survey, which sets architecture alongside topics as diverse as pageantry, weapons and music, provides a strong platform for these ideas, promoting the need to understand Scotland as a member of a European cultural network.

Indeed, work by Michael Bath identified cross-cultural synthesis as a feature of a distinctive Scottish patronage. His exploration of decorative interiors, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland*, reveals that subjects exhibited an ‘inclusion of both vernacular and more cosmopolitan elements’.¹¹¹ Whilst noting that ‘decorative painting of various kinds can be found throughout Europe’, Bath finds ‘the Scottish tradition [of its application] somewhat exceptional’ and remarks visual references as diverse as vernacular heraldry, classicism and grotesques lifted from European literature.¹¹² He makes complementary observations of visual synthesis in a chapter of his *Emblems in Scotland, Motifs and Meanings*, devoted to the uptake of Francis Quarles’ *Emblemes*, in Scotland.¹¹³ Here, Bath presents extensive, geographically dispersed, evidence of seventeenth-century Scottish patrons enthusiastically integrating elements drawn from emblem books into grave stones, lintels and painted ceilings.¹¹⁴ Their chosen images were adapted to fit the sites and even blended with classical references such as the self-consuming *ourobouros* snake.¹¹⁵ Taken together, the three publications by Bath and Thomas paint a picture of a lively Scottish cultural scene, driven by patrons alert to developments in England

¹¹⁰ Sharpe, 2010, 58-9.

¹¹¹ Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publications, 2003), 3.

¹¹² Bath, 2003, 3, 7, 4.

¹¹³ Bath, ‘Quarles Comes North: Scottish Reception of the *Emblemes*’ in Bath, *Emblems in Scotland, Motifs and Meanings*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2018), pp.234-300. Francis Quarles, *Emblemes*, (London: Printed by Iohn Dawson for Francis Eglesfeild, 1639).

¹¹⁴ Bath, 2018, 234-62, 264-76, 276-81.

¹¹⁵ Bath, 2018, 245.

and Europe but, nonetheless, possessed of its own, distinctive flavour.¹¹⁶ This underlined the need to consider broader cultural influences on the objects studied, even whilst searching for evidence of Scottish precedent.

Some noteworthy publications demonstrate the significant gains to be made by retrieving lost objects and performances. Amy Blakeway recovers aspects of the household and court culture supported by regents, during the Stewart minorities of the sixteenth century, in a book chapter, 'Households and Courts'.¹¹⁷ She notes that the literature had not previously investigated sophisticated cultural activity in Scottish regency, and so has spawned the misconception that '[p]hoenix-like, the courts of the adult Stewarts arose from the ashes of barren minorities'.¹¹⁸ Attributing this lack of interest in regency court culture to 'issues of source survival', she turns to the financial records of the crown and reports of ambassadors and chroniclers.¹¹⁹ These documents allow demonstration of regents' courts entertaining nobles comparably to those of adult rulers and show that, like kings, regents made ceremonial entries to major settlements and manipulated performances, such as marriage, to make political statements.¹²⁰ These observations influenced the approach taken to the memorialisation of the Regent Moray, encouraging its treatment more as a series of events conceived for the national stage, than as domestic commemoration.

Another book chapter, 'Spectatorship in Scotland', by John J. McGavin, presents a series of case studies, also built up from written sources. These support the contention that 'Early-modern Scotland no less than other societies offers

¹¹⁶ Bath, 2003. Bath, 2018. Thomas, 2013.

¹¹⁷ Amy Blakeway, 'Households and Courts' in Amy Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester New York, Boydell Press, 2015), pp.127-57.

¹¹⁸ Blakeway in Blakeway, 2015, 129.

¹¹⁹ Blakeway in Blakeway, 2015, 130-1.

¹²⁰ Blakeway in Blakeway, 2015, 132-3, 127-8.

powerful instances of management of the self as a spectacle for influencing potentially contending groups of spectators'.¹²¹ McGavin shows that, alongside the viewers expected to be physically present for a spectacle, authors 'figured' other, more distant audiences.¹²² His observations raised questions about which social or political groups subjects of this thesis could have wanted to address, leading to the recognition that, at the least, Scottish people in other locations should be considered as potential 'figured' audiences for the objects and performances reviewed. One of McGavin's examples, from 1595, concerns a portrait banner, depicting a bloody corpse, being paraded on a journey to take the deceased for burial, through lands controlled by his killers.¹²³ The episode is intriguing, since it exposes a 'vendetta painting', 'horrible and rewthfull to the behalders', in use.¹²⁴ As McGavin observes, the spectacle the banner offered was distinct, and different, for different audiences: it displayed grief and gathered supporters of the deceased and his lord for a funerary procession; meanwhile the killers and their kin could not afford to see the banner, lest their honour be challenged.¹²⁵ The incident indicated that, in identifying intended audiences, relevant kinships should be sought out, as well as suggesting consideration of other kinds of extended communities. Given the post-Reformation context, it was understood that this should include confessional groups. Furthermore, McGavin's confirmation that event and spectatorship had different values for participants and audience signalled a need to consider that the things and performances studied might embed multiple meanings.¹²⁶

¹²¹ McGavin, in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, pp.287-305, 289.

¹²² McGavin in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, 289.

¹²³ McGavin in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, 295-8.

¹²⁴ John Colville, *Historie and Life of King James the Sext being an account of the affairs of Scotland from the year 1566 to the year 1596; with a short continuation to the year 1617*, (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1825), 347.

¹²⁵ McGavin in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, 297-8.

¹²⁶ McGavin in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, 295, 298.

Like McGavin, Margo Todd turned to written records to support her study of cultural objects. Her work with kirk session books, from the years between the Reformation and the Bishops' Wars, described in *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, recovered the significance to Scottish Protestant religious practice of classes of objects as diverse as sandglasses, penitential hairy-cloth garments and bell ropes.¹²⁷ In his examination of wooden kirk furnishings, Stephen Jackson opines that 'Scots have not, historically, valued a religious tradition embodied in material things to the same extent that the English have done'.¹²⁸ Nonetheless, Todd's extensive study of documents from parishes across the country reveals that, despite much of the paraphernalia essential to Catholic religious life having been purged at the Reformation, reformers valued materiality. She shows that things and performances were seen as necessary supports to the new religion, providing comfort to people amidst radical change and helping to make that change more palatable.¹²⁹ If this new material paradigm was less elaborate, and rather more domestic in character, than that of Catholicism, Todd finds it was, nonetheless, equally imbued with spiritual significance and emotional charge.¹³⁰ These observations amplify Tittler's contention that looking beyond the high art of the canon is a valid way of developing a better understanding of Scotland.¹³¹ In addition, they prompted recognition that any emotive qualities of the objects and performances studied might not be immediately apparent, requiring any contemporary responses to be interrogated for an emotional component. Furthermore, Todd's work demonstrates that ordinary Scottish Protestants attributed religious, personal and social importance

¹²⁷ Todd, 2002, 48, 144, 154.

¹²⁸ Stephen Jackson, 'Kirk Furnishings: the Liturgical Material Culture of the Scottish Reformation', in *Regional Furniture: The Journal of the Regional Furniture Society*, Vol. 20, 2007, pp.1-20, 7.

¹²⁹ Todd, 2002, 22.

¹³⁰ Todd, 2002, 101, 84.

¹³¹ Tittler, 2004, 448.

to material culture, seeing it as an integral part of reformed life and indicating that any object analyses would need to consider Protestant practice. However, Todd also reveals that, in times of trouble, some Protestants continued to seek comfort in practices associated with Catholicism. In particular, her exposure of numerous cases of prosecution for burying the dead below the kirk floor, in accordance with outlawed Catholic practice, demonstrates that reformed religion was sometimes found wanting as people faced crisis at the micro-scale.¹³² Despite their ostensible abandonment of Catholic space, ritual and trappings, Todd makes it apparent that, in their grief, some adherents of reformed religion experienced overwhelming desire for continuity with the customs of the past. This signalled a potential for Protestant patrons to express ideas in Catholic terms, making it clear that, whilst alertness to overt confessional indicators in the material was necessary, it should not be assumed that Protestant patrons did not use forms capable of Catholic interpretation. These ideas would become particularly relevant when looking into public performances, such as the funeral processions for Moray and Mary, Queen of Scots, which necessarily addressed diverse viewerships as they progressed through the streets.

The reformed religion also promoted schooling and literacy, fostering a flourishing print culture. By the early seventeenth century, the larger burghs all had schools, while some adults had opportunities to learn to read through their employment.¹³³ The catechism and psalms were popular introductory texts and available cheaply enough to be provided for poorer scholars.¹³⁴ This self-reinforcing circle of faith, literacy and print, along with the cheap print industry it supported, are

¹³² Todd, 2002, 333.

¹³³ Adam Fox, *The Press & the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500 - 1785*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 20, 27-8.

¹³⁴ Fox, 2020, 28.

discussed by Adam Fox in *The Press & The People: Cheap Print & Society in Scotland, 1500 - 1758*. Fox builds a strong case for the popularity of cheap print, showing that there was a growing book market in Edinburgh in the latter half of the sixteenth century and that the city had become established as 'a significant centre for the import, sale, and distribution of printed matter' by the 1580s.¹³⁵ Edinburgh was very densely populated, bringing many buyers to the sellers of Parliament Close, whilst people outside the capital could receive print material via the paid 'posts', who carried correspondence between towns, or buy from itinerant chapmen.¹³⁶ So few small printed items have been preserved that Fox remarks, 'It is ironic that the texts once printed in the largest numbers have endured in the smallest quantities.'¹³⁷ Nonetheless, his investigation reveals that, as well as being easy to purchase, cheap print was ubiquitous, having its highlights called through the street by paper criers and found 'cover[ing] public walls of all kinds', pasted to household and classroom walls and turned into horn books for teaching.¹³⁸ As a result, Fox develops a picture of Scotland as a literate society with a vibrant print culture which reached into lives and homes across the social spectrum. It became apparent that cheap print should be investigated in relation to the cases studied, particularly with reference to its role in projecting patrons' ideas into domestic spaces. Fox reveals that, even the slightest pieces of printed stuff could endure at least for a time, if people found use or ornament in them. As a result, the idea developed that patrons may have deliberately promoted retention of their publications, as means of

¹³⁵ Fox, 2020, 80, 82.

¹³⁶ Fox, 2020, 187, 89, 91-2.

¹³⁷ Fox, 2020, 5.

¹³⁸ Fox, 2020, 30-1, 195, 216.

reinforcing their messaging – a thought which is applied in the discussion of the materiality of Cunningham’s *Thrissels Banner* and the *Eikon Basilike* of Charles I.

Literature on a slightly different period offers opportunities to identify cultural practices which may be relevant, particularly in the light of Dawson’s work showing the retention and development of significant activities over long stretches of time.¹³⁹ *Princelie Majestie: the Court of James V of Scotland, 1528 - 1542* by Andrea Thomas explores the cultural richness of a pre-Reformation Scottish court, revealing ‘lavish expenditure (by Scottish standards) on palaces, furnishing, clothes, ceremonial and so forth’.¹⁴⁰ This publication proved to be a useful source of comparison, allowing contrasts to be made between the colourfully and richly appointed heraldic obsequies of a Scottish Catholic King and those of his bastard son, the Protestant Regent Moray.

On the other hand, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* covers a slightly later period than this thesis.¹⁴¹ There, Murray Pittock explores Jacobite material culture as a vehicle through which, ‘ideas were kept alive and memory was framed’ and, ‘oppositionalism was communicated beyond the reach of prosecution’ in Georgian society.¹⁴² However, his claim that Jacobite culture was ‘special’, because of this lack of transparency, is overstated.¹⁴³ As has already been shown, through discussion of the *Darnley Jewel*, an earlier Scottish object concealed secrets which could only be read by the initiate. Nonetheless, the great variety of ‘treacherous objects’ Pittock finds Jacobites using

¹³⁹ Dawson, 2014.

¹⁴⁰ Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: the Court of James V of Scotland, 1528 – 1542*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 302.

¹⁴¹ Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹⁴² Pittock, 2013, xii.

¹⁴³ Pittock, 2013, 15.

to shape remembrance encouraged identification of concealed communication in the memorials studied.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, where patrons addressed geographically dispersed or socially diverse audiences, Pittock's work prompts questions regarding what role mass-production might have played in conveying their communication, underlining the necessity of looking at popular print.

Finally, although not specifically concerned with the material, another of Brown's publications contains useful observations of the households and social sphere in which noble material culture existed. *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from the Reformation to the Revolution* addresses aspects of noble life including education, leisure and death.¹⁴⁵ Brown challenges the stereotype of the uncouth, ill-educated sixteenth-century Scottish noble, concluding that this idea was put about by contemporary humanists with a vested interest in portraying themselves as the custodians of knowledge.¹⁴⁶ His findings of near one hundred percent literacy and widespread foreign travel amongst the nobility support this argument, as does his observation that young men travelling abroad participated in academic and courtly studies, acquiring a sense of community with their European peers.¹⁴⁷ Brown's work confirms that an influential, relatively wealthy, sector of Scottish society had the attributes and opportunities to support a sophisticated material culture, capable of communicating with people across Europe. It raises the prospect that the wider Scottish community was attuned to that culture, through exposure as they served in noble households and encountered the lords, and their works, in public spaces. In line with Pittock, these observations made it clear that

¹⁴⁴ Pittock, 2013, ix.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from the Reformation to the Revolution*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004 [2000]).

¹⁴⁶ Brown, 2004 [2000], 181.

¹⁴⁷ Brown, 2004 [2000], 186, 190-1, 191-4.

sophistication should be expected from the objects being studied. Furthermore, the need it exposed, to consider courtly culture and European forms as potential influences on patrons, became particularly relevant to my work on the memorials produced by the Curles and objects, such as communion vessels, made by the Scottish community at Veere.

Reviewing these publications informed my approach to objects and performances and developed a view of the cultural landscape in which the material examined in the thesis was produced. Even when not addressing specific crisis responses, Oram, Stell, Slade, Thomas, Bath, Blakeway, McGavin, Todd, Pittock, Fox and Brown examine aspects of the culture Scottish people constructed whilst immersed in the macro-scale social, religious and political crises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the smaller, micro-crises of personal bereavement. Importantly, these authors also confirm that Scottish people were amply equipped to make and interpret multifaceted material responses to the situation in which they found themselves.

Material culture and memory studies

Memory and its manipulation are recurring themes throughout this thesis. Historically, memory was regarded as an art, which was theorised in medieval times and continued to be of scholarly interest in the early modern period.¹⁴⁸ These studies helped to develop mnemonic strategies and mental 'memory theatres' to store and

¹⁴⁸ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 50, 132.

retrieve information, variants of which continued to be developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁴⁹

More recently, Pierre Nora developed the concept of '*lieux de mémoire*' (sites of memory). Such a site is 'any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community'.¹⁵⁰ Nora's work removed mental tricks from the construction of memory, taking the process out of the mind and locating it in objects and symbolic prompts, which instruct people what to remember. Peter Sherlock implements a novel application of Nora's ideas in *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*.¹⁵¹ Drawing on Nora's argument that monuments freeze a version of history, Sherlock understands the liminality of death to empower funerary monuments, imbuing them with great potential to rewrite the past and, thus, change the future.¹⁵² Despite the geographic limit of its framing, his study puts forward a proposal which can readily be tested against different material - that 'Monuments told posterity what should be known about the past'.¹⁵³ In responding to Sherlock, the ways Scottish death portraits and other memorials shaped their subjects' memories are examined here and consideration is made of whether Scottish people re-imagined the portrayal of their dead when addressing an international audience.

¹⁴⁹ Yates 1999, 320-41.

¹⁵⁰ Pierre Nora, *From Lieux de mémoire to Realms of memory*, English Language edition, Kritzman (ed.), Goldhammer (trans.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-99), xvii.

¹⁵¹ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, (Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited: 2008).

¹⁵² Sherlock, 2008, 4. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire' in *Representations*, Spring, 1989, Number 26, Special Issue: 'Memory and Counter-Memory', pp.7-24, 12.

¹⁵³ Sherlock, 2008, 3.

The ability to manipulate memory, as Nora and Sherlock describe, was of demonstrable concern to the Stuarts ruling in England. The ascent of James VI & I - a king with living children - offered the country the possibility of stable, hereditary succession, something it had not enjoyed under the rule of the last three Tudor monarchs.¹⁵⁴ James exploited this by using images of his own family to portray himself as the father of a national family.¹⁵⁵ However, encouraging the public to become emotionally invested in the ruling house and its heirs demanded management of that attachment when untimely death occurred. Catriona Murray investigates these ideas, and the visual cultural strategy employed by the Stuarts, in *Imaging Stuart Family Politics: Dynastic Crisis and Continuity*.¹⁵⁶ She demonstrates that Stuart dead were not forgotten after burial, but continued to be brought before the public in imagery which, she argues, promised that the line's rule carried on in heaven.¹⁵⁷ As Murray says, for the Stuarts, 'Death by no means constituted an end', an idea which is built upon, drawing connections between portraits of Charles I, James, Mary, Queen of Scots, the Regent Moray and lord Darnley, which reference one other in a chain extending from 1649 to 1567.¹⁵⁸ Murray's examination of Stuart objects, ranging from fine portraiture to broadsides, public processions and court ceremonies evidences the effort which was put into bringing royal memorial messaging to different sectors of the populace.¹⁵⁹ Consideration of this approach prompted my search for earlier application in Scotland, contributing to exposure of

¹⁵⁴ Murray, *Imaging Stuart Family Politics: Dynastic Crisis and Continuity*, (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 12.

¹⁵⁵ Murray, 2017, 3-4.

¹⁵⁶ Murray, 2017.

¹⁵⁷ Murray, 2017, 2, 144.

¹⁵⁸ Murray, 2017, 1.

¹⁵⁹ Murray, 2017, 5.

the range of media and forms of address used in memorialising Moray and lord Darnley as models for these later Stuart dynastic propaganda campaigns.

Methodology

This thesis revisits the well-known, such as the portrait frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*, breaks new ground with extant, but neglected, objects, such as the Curle-Mowbray cenotaph in Antwerp, engages with the lost and damaged, such as the Regent Moray's tomb, through the writings of contemporaries and antiquaries, and explores the imagery of cheap, mass-market prints.

The work interrogates a wide variety of objects, ranging from tombs, public procession and state portraits to banners, stained glass windows, communion beakers, a personal journal and an imagined corporeal relic. Among the print items highlighted are broadsides, books, portraits and a mass-produced silk propaganda object. In the present, these things exist in a range of physical states - from extant and *in situ*, to institutionalised, fragmentary, lost and even imaginary.

Of those which survive, only a cenotaph featuring Mary, Queen of Scots and two of her ladies remains at its original location, in an Antwerp church. Others have been viewed in museum displays or in archive reading rooms and stores. Institutional collecting and display policies exert a heavy influence over what is available to view, and by whom, and are not always explicit. Although these facilities allow preservation of fragile historical material, they also affect that material, by presenting it in constructed, often visually sterile, conditions, distanced from the experiences of contemporaries and intentions of patrons. The museum is, after all, 'a

theatrical environment' in which display is influenced by 'the cultural assumptions and resources of those who make it'.¹⁶⁰ For instance, the modern viewer encounters the portrait prints of Mary, Queen of Scots, discussed in Chapter Two, as rare art works, carefully stored and reverently handled, in a climate-controlled, secure environment, when, at the time of their printing, chapmen could have hawked them for pennies on the street. Indeed, in their approach to institutional negotiation of growing financial and social pressures, Michael Haldrup, Mariann Achiam and Kirsten Drotner remark on growing calls to reject such shrine-like manifestations of conventional museology.¹⁶¹ Consequently, throughout this study, efforts have been made to counter the effects the museum exerts on objects by seeking contemporary responses to them and making careful consideration of how they were originally made, procured, met and used.

Mediation imposed by the collecting process itself was also a concern, particularly relative to the study of the *Eikon Basilike*. The book was produced in many different editions, as catalogued in Francis F. Madan's meticulous volume, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike of King Charles the First*.¹⁶² More than sixty copies of the book are held in the Cambridge University Library Special Collections.¹⁶³ Several individual volumes from that one collection are used as examples, raising questions about what unseen biases may have been imposed on

¹⁶⁰ Steven D. Lavine, 'Museum Practices' in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp.151-8, 151. Lavine and Karp, 'Introduction' in Lavine and Karp (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp.1-9, 1.

¹⁶¹ Michael Haldrup, Marianne Achiam and Kirsten Drotner, 'Introduction: for an experimental museology' in Haldrup, M.A., Achiam, M. and Drotner, K., (eds.), *Experimental museology: institutions, representations, users/editors*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), pp.1-12, 2.

¹⁶² Madan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950).

¹⁶³ Liam Sims, *Charles I and the Eikon Basilike*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library Special Collections, 30 January 2014), <<https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=6793>>.

this piece of work by Library collecting policy. These worries are greatly relieved by tracking the development of the Cambridge *Eikon* collection over the last four centuries. Volumes have arrived individually, as well as in collections dedicated to the *Eikon*, in donated private libraries and the collections of other institutions which were absorbed into the Special Collections.¹⁶⁴ It is therefore safe to say that the books were chosen for initial collecting by different people, operating under a variety of criteria. When these volumes were later accepted into the Library collection, this happened in a range of circumstances, under the stewardship of a number of curators and the control of several different Library administrations. Although the effect of the institution cannot be erased from the collection, the individual books referenced here are unlikely to have all experienced the same influences, thus minimising the impact of any single collecting policy, or person, on this study. In addition, reference to Madan's work helped ensure that volumes from a range of editions were consulted.

Other objects studied, including a memorial banner for the Regent Moray, much of his tomb, an imaginary head relic of Mary, Queen of Scots and Thomas Cunningham's scheme of stained-glass windows now only exist preserved in the words of contemporaries and antiquarians. These sources are valuable because they record pieces of Scottish material culture which would otherwise be lost. Nevertheless, they must be approached with care since, at minimum, they too impose a layer of mediation on the things they report. Accordingly, the known biases and beliefs of the authors were considered alongside their accounts, allowing development of a more rounded picture. The possibility of Romanticism having influenced an antiquarian source is of particular concern when dealing with Scottish

¹⁶⁴ Sims, *Charles I and the Eikon Basilike*.

material, since much of what is popularly understood as historic Scottish culture was heavily, and consciously, modelled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when much of this literature was written.¹⁶⁵ Given the far-reaching influence of the Romantic, researchers do well to look for its tropes in antiquarian sources and gauge the merit of their content accordingly. Undoubtedly, antiquarian and contemporary reports of objects demand thoughtful assessment, but this need for care does not preclude their use.

As well as lost things recovered by engagement with antiquarian sources, and extant objects, this project draws on a variety of primary documents. These include personal letters and epitaphs from the State Papers, Scottish and English broadside ballads, account books of the Scottish congregation at Veere in the Netherlands, a record of preaching, funeral accounting and popular pamphlets. In some instances, this written material records or responds to the objects and performances being examined whilst, in others, it helps to locate them within a wider socio-cultural context. Referencing contemporary writing assists in penetrating the cultural patina institutionalisation has laid down on subjects of study.

Using such a range of material and sources has had positive consequences for this project, minimising the impacts of individual mediators and informing a broad view of objects produced by Scottish people with varied concerns. As already discussed, historical selection, collation and preservation are all mediatory events, which invisibly affect such material and the experience of engaging with it in the present. Further layers of mediation are added by modern activity, such as cataloguing, selection for publication, digitisation and upload. Although these effects

¹⁶⁵ Patrick Watt and Rosie Waine, *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2019), 28, 36.

cannot be completely avoided, the influence of any single agent, institution or process has been mitigated by sourcing varied material types from a range of institutions and publishers. Considering commissions from different social, and confessional groups and locations has developed a picture of the great variety and vibrancy of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scottish productions.

Thesis structure

The material examined in the following four chapters derives mainly from the eighty years between the assassination of the Regent Moray in 1570 and the immediate aftermath of Charles I's 1649 execution, whilst images relating to the murder of Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, in 1567, are used as visual comparators. Geographically, the chapters range between Edinburgh, London, Antwerp and Veere in the Netherlands as well as crossing social boundaries between royalty, the nobility, the gentry and the merchant class. Notwithstanding, the case studies they present are bound together by the repeated efforts of Scottish people to embed their ideas about kinship into objects and performance and to use print media, often alongside translation of the dead, to materialise community in reaction to crisis.

Chapter One explores the response to the assassination of James Stewart, earl of Moray and regent to James VI. It examines a multi-media campaign of memorialisation - involving broadsides, a banner, a tomb, public preaching, manuscript elegies and a funeral procession - conducted in Edinburgh, which spread its influence across Scotland and into England. This enables pursuit of the shaping of Moray's memory through aural, ephemeral and corporeal stages, prior to its final realisation, frozen in brass and stone. The analysis presented demonstrates the

facility with which Scottish nobles mobilised a rapid, and expansive, cultural response to an unexpected event, elevating Moray to Aeneas-like hero status, and promoting national pursuit of the killer and his kin. Signposting the thrust of the following chapters, it introduces key themes: multiple audiences, translation and memorialisation of the dead, generation of apparent discourse, and the importance of printed matter in materialising community in a time of crisis.

Chapter Two juxtaposes early seventeenth-century responses to the death of Mary, Queen of Scots, made by James VI & I, with those made by members of the Curle family, discussing reasons for the execution crisis to gain new relevance some thirty years later. The Queen's reburial, her Westminster tomb site and the *Blairs Memorial* portrait are re-examined alongside presentation of the first study of the Curle-Mowbray cenotaph in Antwerp and an associated imaginary relic of Mary's head. Moving between London and Antwerp reveals that it was simultaneously made possible for Catholics to view Mary as a saint, for Scots to see her as the victim of violent assault, necessitating *assythment*, and for others to understand her as an important dynastic figure, embodying a connection between Tudor and Stuart rule. Links are made between this phase of Mary's memorialisation and the earlier management of Moray's posthumous reputation, whilst identifying Scottish imagery and conventions as the source of printed and painted depictions of the queen which circulated in England. Consideration of contemporary responses to Mary's memorials demonstrates that they developed significance in the shared memories of several distinct groups. These included exiled Catholics and the British nobility, who, through copying and storytelling, used the images to express membership of these communities.

Chapter Three shifts to the Scottish staple port at Veere, in the Netherlands, prior to the Second Bishops' War. Evidence, in the shape of communion cups, a personal journal and a suite of stained-glass windows, is presented to demonstrate that the merchant Thomas Cunningham and his Covenanter peers regarded themselves as Scottish and valued extended kinship, whilst assimilating Netherlandish forms into their expression of these ideas. This thesis offers the first substantial examination of the materiality and iconography of Cunningham's mass-produced *Thrissels Banner* and the accompanying *Explication* pamphlet, showing how the *Banner* was intended to unite members of an extended Covenanter kinship and spur them to action - using methods similar to the banners and portraits discussed in Chapters One and Two. Consideration of the materiality of the *Banner* exposes intent for it to become a significant personalised item, which could be embellished, retained and treasured, allowing connections to be made with the broadsides and prints discussed in the previous chapters.

Chapter Four moves back to the British Isles and the period around the execution of Charles I, to examine the genesis, production, materiality and use of Charles' memorial book, the *Eikon Basilike*, and its portrait frontispiece. Reconsideration of the imagery reveals that, in common with portraits from Chapters One and Two it elevated its subject to supernatural status, in this case by likening him to St. Jerome. The discussion which follows ranges across the materiality of the *Eikon*, its presentation to the public and the opportunities for personalisation it allowed, proposing that the book functioned as a mass-produced relic and materialised Royalist community. Parallels are drawn between the evolving format of the *Eikon*, broadsides associated with Moray and printed items associated with Mary, including their involvement in developing an apparent discourse about their subjects.

Finally, the thesis argues that Charles' *Eikon* was, in many respects, a Scottish book, which replicated Cunningham's techniques of materiality and distribution, and presented a visual and conceptual evolution of Scottish banners and death portraits in the frontispiece image.

As this review shows, the art historical literature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland is expanding. As discussed, the potential to develop a canon of sixteenth-century painted portraits is limited, both by issues of survivorship and the want of 'old master' artists like Hans Holbein working in Scotland before the later years of the century. Nevertheless, casting a wide net – examining all kinds of objects and performances, recovering things from documentary sources, reconsidering the 'well-known' and looking to the diaspora – can help inform an understanding of how patrons of the time addressed their audiences.

Approaching the *Darnley Jewel* demands invocation of terms such as 'sophisticated', 'imaginative', 'complex', 'creative', 'accomplished', 'intriguing' and 'thoughtful' to describe Scottish patronage and the ideas it wished to convey. The studies which follow take new steps in exploring the methods and motivations underlying such patronage as it confronted crisis, beginning with the memorialisation of James Stewart, earl of Moray in 1570.

Chapter One - *Pietas*, the pelican and the Regent: memorialising the earl of Moray.

By the morning of 23 January 1570, Scotland was a deeply divided country. The governing King's Party, headed by the prominent Protestant reformer James Stewart, earl of Moray, regent for the infant James VI, had been engaged in civil war since 1568.¹⁶⁶ Their opponents, the Queen's Party, whose leading lights included John Hamilton (1512 - 71), the Catholic archbishop of St. Andrews, aimed to re-instate the deposed Mary, Queen of Scots on the throne.¹⁶⁷ By midnight, inter-Party divides had been driven deeper: Moray had been shot and killed in an ambush, laid at one of the archbishop's houses, by St. Andrews' nephew, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh.¹⁶⁸

The commemoration of Moray's assassination offers an important insight into a pivotal moment for Scotland. Moray governed as the country had shed Catholic rule and anticipated that, as an adult ruler, James VI would be Protestant. Consequently, the study of objects and performances associated with memorialising his life can cast light onto both the negotiation of this transition and the nascent materialisation of Scottish Protestant rule.

Building on the article, 'The Response to the Regent Moray's Assassination' by Amy Blakeway, this chapter explores the shaping of the Regent's posthumous reputation, tracing the process through ephemeral and corporeal stages, to final fixing in stone.¹⁶⁹ It starts with reconsideration of a series of broadsides as an

¹⁶⁶ Mark Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/26479>>.

¹⁶⁷ Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁶⁸ Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁶⁹ Blakeway, 'The Response to the Regent Moray's Assassination' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume 88, 1, No. 225, April 2009, pp.9-33.

apparent popular discourse, expanding on Blakeway's understanding of the means by which Moray's propagandists exerted influence on the public. Subsequently, it examines pictorial, corporeal and processional representations of the deceased's wound, corpse and character, and enlarges on her exposition of the literary importance of blood to Moray's memory, building new connections to Holy Blood iconography. Then, recovery and novel analysis of Moray's tomb in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh, posits that, through invocation of *pietas* and pelican imagery, this monument completed his sacralisation as Protestant hero by likening him to Virgil's exemplary protagonist, Aeneas, and imagined him as a national father-figure. Paying particular attention to efforts to communicate with segments of the public holding opposing viewpoints, Moray's memorialisation is conceptualised for the first time as a process of gradual solidification, in which instructions for his remembrance were repeatedly delivered to audiences, in increasingly substantial ways, over a period of several weeks. Finally, the after effects of these responses to the assassination crisis are examined, revealing the successful establishment of a *lieu de mémoire* for Scotland's first Protestant head of government.

The crisis of Moray's death raised uncertainty about the future of nascent Protestant rule. His supporters' hopes that materialising Protestant leadership could relieve this anxiety is apparent in their dependence on objects and performances in making a response. Close examination of what was done at such an unprecedented moment facilitates the study of responses other Scottish people made to crisis, by identifying methods and modes of expression to which they might turn.

Early responses and ephemeral memorialisation

The following day, 24 January, revered Protestant minister, John Knox (c.1514-72), prayed passionately over the assassination of the Regent.¹⁷⁰ News of the shooting had been quick to travel the twenty miles from the scene at Linlithgow to Edinburgh and Knox's words are the first recorded response from an authority figure. The killing raised religious and political concerns for Protestant reformers. They anticipated James VI ruling as an adult, Protestant monarch but, since the King was still an infant, the death of the Regent threatened that future. In addition, they had to address the waning of Moray's popularity, which had resulted from assistance he had given Elizabeth I in rounding up fleeing leaders of the Northern Rebellion.¹⁷¹ Political fugitives from England were customarily protected and the Regent's unprecedented actions had provoked public consternation.¹⁷² Now dead, Moray would have no opportunity to redeem himself with the people. Moreover, since he had been the country's first Protestant head of government, there was no established reformed protocol to follow. Consequently, his surviving supporters needed to restore the reputation of the Regent and reassure Protestants that reform was secure, even as they decided how Moray was to be remembered – which they were to do through the framing of Moray's memorialisation.

Taking the initiative, Knox began the process of telling Edinburgh people what to remember of Moray. The two had been close friends, despite quarrelling bitterly at

¹⁷⁰ Calderwood in Thomson (ed.), *The History of the Kirk of Scotland, Volume Second*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing Company, 1843), 513 - 15.

¹⁷¹ Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁷² Maurice Lee, *James Stewart, Earl of Moray: A Political Study of the Reformation in Scotland*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 270-1. Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

one time, and Knox's biographer describes the effect of the killing as 'an immense blow to Knox, arousing in him a vehement and abiding hatred for all Hamiltons'.¹⁷³ A version of Knox's preaching was reported by the Presbyterian minister and historian, David Calderwood, who, as already discussed, could have reconstructed the speech from notes made by Knox himself, or by an audient. Reportedly, as Knox prayed, he characterised Moray by calling on God, saying 'thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the Divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him', that Moray had worked to benefit 'all Estates', including the 'poor Commons', and that the spilling of his blood 'defyleth the whole land where it is shed and not punished'.¹⁷⁴ The ideas expressed - that Moray was a divinely appointed, holy figure and that the whole country should take action over his death - would be woven through the memorialisation campaign which followed. At this early moment a re-habilitated posthumous representation of the Regent began to evolve.

Working in partnership, a poet and a printer were next to act. Robert Sempill (d. 1595?) the Protestant poet, playwright and satirist, was closely associated with the Regent's court, having authored entertainments for their amusement.¹⁷⁵ To date, his output, which circulated widely, in print and manuscript, had been strongly supportive of the reformers, while presenting an unfavourable view of Mary, Queen of Scots.¹⁷⁶ His partner, Robert Lekprevik, was the Edinburgh printer.¹⁷⁷ He too was firmly linked to the reformers, since the best-selling 1565 psalm book bore his imprint

¹⁷³ Dawson, 'Knox, John' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2008), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/15781> >.

¹⁷⁴ Reported by Calderwood in Thomson (ed.), 1843, 513-15.

¹⁷⁵ Priscilla J. Bawcutt, 'Sempill, Robert' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2004), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/25075>>.

¹⁷⁶ Bawcutt, 'Sempill, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁷⁷ Steven W. May and Alan Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 43.

and he had the monopoly on government publication.¹⁷⁸ The response the pair made to the assassination was so speedy that three different Sempill titles on the subject, which Lekprevik published as broadsides, had arrived in London by the beginning of February.¹⁷⁹ Both poet and printer had established Protestant credentials. This, and their association with the government, invested the opinions voiced in their output with a degree of authority.

Direction of the public discourse by Sempill and Lekprevik assisted Moray's other supporters in suppressing voices dissenting against their representation of him. In earlier years, the Regent had faced criticism from the popular press, particularly for his pragmatism regarding cooperation with England.¹⁸⁰ His reputation had previously been attacked in broadside publications, from other sources, such as *Tom Trowthe*, which accused him of 'craft and crueltie', and *Against the Regent, James Earl of Moray*, which promoted the idea that he was betraying the country in the claim that 'he weires a double cloik'.¹⁸¹ Over the weeks following the killing, Sempill's words, published by Lekprevik, flooded the print market, with some titles running to two editions and new publications on the same theme appearing well into 1571.¹⁸² Mass distribution of broadsides for propaganda purposes was not unprecedented, since French Protestants had deployed them in a coordinated anti-Catholic attack,

¹⁷⁸ Jane Dawson and Noel O'Regan, *Singing the Reformation: Celebrating Thomas Wode and his Partbooks 1562-92*, (Edinburgh: Wode Psalter Project Team, 2011), 9. May and Bryson, 2016, 43.

¹⁷⁹ *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) Scotland, Volume 3, 1569-1571*, Crosby, A.J., (ed.), (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1874), 106-8.

¹⁸⁰ Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁸¹ Anon., *Tom Trowthe*, 9 December 1568, cited in May and Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 234 - 243, 234, Line 12. Anon., *Against the Regent, James Earl of Moray*, 1567, cited in May and Bryson, 2016, 229 - 33, 231, Line 70.

¹⁸² Blakeway, April 2009, 30. For example, Sempill, *The Exhortatioun to the Lordis*, (Stirling: Robert Lekprevik, 1571), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36368, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/36368/image>>

known as the *Affaire Des Placards*, on 17 October 1534.¹⁸³ In this instance, simultaneously posting bills around several French cities, and on the King's chamber door, allowed a minority group to gain public attention rapidly, before they could be silenced by royal oppression.¹⁸⁴ However, Sempill and Lekprevik ensured availability of material over an extended period of time, and so, in contrast to the French Protestants, were able to present their views to the public repeatedly. The absence of contradictory voices amongst the broadsides collected by English agents at the time, and preserved amongst the State Papers in London, is a measure of their success in stifling opposing voices.

In the weeks following the killing, these new broadsides shaped Moray's reputation, kept him in the public eye and encouraged community pursuit of revenge on the family of the accused. Their content repeatedly presented the Regent as a virtuous, martyred paragon, claiming, for example, that:

'... be his prudence vertew was erectit

In him the pure oppressed had relief:

Throw him Idolatrie and vice wes ejectit,

Throw him Gods Kirk and people fand relief'.¹⁸⁵

Simultaneously, Bothwellhaugh and his Hamilton kin were denounced as 'bludy bouchour bastard[s] of Balials blude'.¹⁸⁶ Making this connection with Belial, an Old

¹⁸³ Frederic J. Baumgartner, 'Placards, Affaire Des' in Hans J. Hillebrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁸⁴ Baumgartner, in Hillebrand (ed.), 2005.

¹⁸⁵ Sempill, *The Poysonit Schot*, (Edinburgh: Lekprevik, 1570), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36364, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/36364/album>>, stanza 7.

¹⁸⁶ Sempill, 1570, English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36364, stanza 13. See 2 Corinthians 6: 14-15 for a biblical contrast between Christ and Belial: '... what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial?'

Testament personification of worthlessness, or manifestation of the devil, cast them in sharp contrast to the Christ-like Moray and justified Sempill's demand that the Hamiltons should face 'fyre and swords, for to revenge this cryme'.¹⁸⁷ That this call for vengeance resonated with supporters of the Regent is evidenced in correspondence written by lairds, including William Kirkcaldy of Grange and Lochleven, who complained that their desire for quick revenge was being frustrated by 'the slaknes of the noble men in thair resolving thairvpon'.¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, a real potential for Sempill's words to spark violence is apparent in the unusual step, taken by the Edinburgh burgh council, in June 1570, of silencing the Lekprevik press, declaring that 'the said Robert sall nocht fra this furth prent bukis ballettis or ony wark of consequence without the licence of the prouest bailies and counsale'.¹⁸⁹ In response, Lekprevik decamped to Stirling and continued printing.¹⁹⁰ In the face of official suppression, the poet and printer continued to direct public memory of Moray, and demand revenge on the Hamiltons, because both were personally dedicated to Protestantism.

Their publications utilised a range of authorial voices. Blakeway notes a female narrator, Madde, who speaks occasionally, aside from Sempill's unnamed authorial voice.¹⁹¹ Scrutiny of the texts finds other voices clamouring for attention

¹⁸⁷ Sempill, *The Spur to the Lordis*, (Lekprevik, 1570), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36366, < <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/36366/album>>, stanza 12.

¹⁸⁸ John Wood to the Countess of Murray, 4 March 1569/70 and 4 April 1570 in Jessel, G. et al (eds.), *Sixth Report of the Historic Manuscripts Commission*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), 651, 651 - 2. Sir William Kirkcaldy to the Countess of Murray, 20 May 1670, in Jessel et al (eds.), 1877, 650.

¹⁸⁹ Anon., 2 June 1570, in *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1557-1571*, (Edinburgh: Colston & Son, 1875), 272. Blakeway, April 2009, 17-18.

¹⁹⁰ For work produced at this time, see, for example, Sempill, *The Exhortatioun to the Lordis*, (Stirling: Lekprevik, 1571), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36368, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/36368/transcription>> .

¹⁹¹ Blakeway, April 2009, 32-3.

alongside these two. Ghosts address the reader in *Ane tragedie in forme of ane diallog*, an Arthurian storyteller in *The Kingis Complaint* and even Scotland herself, in *The Complaint of Scotland*.¹⁹² Meantime, a preacher thunders behind the sermon format of story, exegesis and use in *The Regentis Tragedie*, whilst in *The Deploratioun of the Cruel murther of James Erle of Murray* a herald satirises Hamilton arms, likening their characteristic cinquefoil devices to *guldīs* (corn marigolds - an invasive weed which choked crops).¹⁹³ This variety, ranging from the serious and religious to the comic broadened appeal, had potential to attract readers who were not seeking political content and encouraged people to consume new publications as they appeared, reinforcing the thrust of his messaging.

Varied literary devices assisted in disseminating Sempill's view of the Regent. His frequent Old Testament references, noted by Blakeway, appeal to the devout and to bible scholars.¹⁹⁴ Meantime, *Ane Tragedie* entices lovers of drama through the popular theatrical device of the revenant spirit, who recounts a tale from beyond the grave.¹⁹⁵ In contrast, mention of the *papingaw* (parrot) commended *The Exhortatioun*

¹⁹² Sempill, *Ane tragedie in forme of ane diallog betuix honour gude fame, and the authour heirof in ane trance*, (Edinburgh: Lekprevik, 1570), Early English Books Online, University of Michigan Library, <<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/B00684.0001.001>>. Sempill, *The Kingis Complaint*, (1567), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 30365, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30365/image>>. Note that, although the English Broadside Ballad Archive at the University of California, Santa Barbara records this as a 1567 publication, the text explicitly refers to the Regent's death (Lines 29, 39) and so cannot have been produced any earlier than 24 January 1570. Kristy McCants Forbes is most kindly arranging to update the Archive record to reflect this observation. Sempill, *The Complaint of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Lekprevik, 1570), Early English Books Online, University of Michigan Library, <<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/B00680.0001.001>>.

¹⁹³ Sempill, *The Regentis tragedie ending with ane exhortatoun*, (Edinburgh: Lekprevik, 1570), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 30364, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30364/image>>. Sempill, *The Deploratioun of the Cruel murther of James Erle of Murray*, Early English Books Online, University of Michigan Library, <<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A11887.0001.001>>, lines 103-4.

¹⁹⁴ Blakeway, April 2009, 30.

¹⁹⁵ Sempill, 1570, Early English Books Online, University of Michigan Library, <<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/B00684.0001.001>>.

to all *pleasand thingis* to lovers of satire.¹⁹⁶ This reference to *makar* (bard, court poet) and herald, David Lindsay's biting attack on the greed of the Catholic Church, *The Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lordis Papingo*, also aimed a very specific slight at the Hamilton archbishop, John.¹⁹⁷ As well as spreading Sempill's message further, by appealing to different readerships, this variety again encouraged people to buy each new publication, and, through repeated exposure, to absorb Sempill's underlying messages, about the dead Regent, Bothwellhaugh and his Hamilton kin.

The combined effect of Sempill's authorial strategies and circumstances in Edinburgh allowed people to experience an apparent popular discourse which said positive things about the Regent, denounced the Hamiltons and called for their pursuit. By the 1550s, Edinburgh was a very densely populated city. Although less than a ten-minute walk from side to side, in any direction, it was home to around twelve thousand people (Figure 9).¹⁹⁸ Literacy rates were relatively high since close to one hundred percent of the nobility could read and the emphasis placed on reading by Protestant reformers had made basic schooling widely available.¹⁹⁹ Although it is difficult to determine what proportion of the entire citizenry could read, Fox's finding that, in 1579, a deceased Edinburgh printer had several thousand volumes, of varied quality in stock, indicates a large, socially diverse, population of

¹⁹⁶ Sempill, *The Exhortatioun to all pleasand thingis quhairin man can haif delyte to withdraw thair pleasure from mankynde, and to deplor the Cruell Murther of umquhile my Lord Regentis Grace*, (Edinburgh: Lekprevik, 1570), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36362, < <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/36362/image>>, line 37.

¹⁹⁷ David Lyndsay, 'The Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lordis Papingo', in George Chalmers (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Volume I*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1806), pp. 280 - 353.

¹⁹⁸ Frans Hogenberg, *Edinburgum Scotiae Metropolis*, 1582, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, EMS.s.653. Fox, 2020, 187.

¹⁹⁹ Brown, 2000, 186. Fox, 2020, 28.

readers in the city.²⁰⁰ Citizens would have encountered cheap print, such as the broadsides, in public places, even if they did not purchase any themselves.²⁰¹ Furthermore, the paper criers who called the highlights through the streets, gave literal, loud, voices to Madde, the herald and the other characters who spoke Sempill's words.²⁰² As new content emerged, city dwellers had frequent opportunities to encounter the poet's narrators, textually and aurally, and to become acquainted with Sempill's instructions framings of Moray's memory. This apparent discourse, generated in print, and verbalised in cries, will have been reinforced by, and inspired, real conversations as people bought, read and discussed the broadsides and the events which spawned them. As Karin Bowie notes, at this period, rendering communication in Scots 'signalled a desire to address broader audiences'.²⁰³ The sense of familiarity this brought to Sempill's ideas was doubtless augmented by print's ability to penetrate private domestic spaces. Perhaps carried in a pocket, the broadsides could have made their way into peoples' homes. Here, they had the chance to be absorbed into the comfortable fabric of the household, preserved for a time, by pasting to a wall, or used for reading practice, where frequent sight, handling or hearing might help embed their sentiments into peoples' memories.

The discourse generated by Sempill and Lekprevik emanated from Edinburgh, spreading their influence further afield. James Melvill recounted receiving, in 1570, 'ballates, namelie, of Robert Sempels making, wherin I took pleasour and learnit sum thing ... of the esteat of the countrey', at his Montrose home, some eighty miles from

²⁰⁰ Fox, 2020, 28.

²⁰¹ Fox, 2020, 216.

²⁰² Fox, 2020, 195.

²⁰³ Karin Bowie, *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland, c. 1560-1707*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Online, 2020), Chapter Four, <<https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108918787.005>>.

the capital, via 'a post that frequented Edinbruche'.²⁰⁴ Agents of Elizabeth I carried the broadsides to London, where their preservation in the State Papers shows that they helped inform the English court's assessment of Scottish events.²⁰⁵ At least two were reprinted in the capital, 'partly turned in to English', revealing that Sempill's reach extended to segments of the English public.²⁰⁶ In the immediate aftermath of Moray's death, his supportive Scottish propagandists, Sempill and Lekprevik, exerted influence on the national and international discourse of his life, death and memory.

Despite their expansive geographic reach, the ephemeral nature of the broadsides and their constructed discourse meant they could not be relied upon to instruct the Regent's memory in the longer term. To consolidate Moray's elevation as a holy and heroic paragon would require more substantial carriers and so, against a backdrop of ongoing broadside production, the memorialisation of Moray entered a new stage, orchestrated by his household and centred on his body.

Corporeal performances

Moray's household, including his wife, Annas Keith (c. 1540-88), were closely involved with the performances and objects produced in this second phase of memorialisation. Surviving portions of a manuscript containing household accounts,

²⁰⁴ James Melvill, in Viscount Melville et al. (eds.), *The Diary of Mr James Melvil 1556-1601*, (Edinburgh: printed for the Bannatyne Club, 1829), 18.

²⁰⁵ *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) Scotland, Volume 3, 1569-1571*, Crosby (ed.), 106-8.

²⁰⁶ Sempill, *The tragical end and death of the Lord James Regent of Scotland, lately set forth in Scottish, and printed at Edinburgh. 1570. And now partly turned in to English*, (London: Awdely, 1570), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 32517, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32517/image>> . Sempill, *The Tragedies/Lenuoy*, (London: Awdely, 1570), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 32624, <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32624/image>> .

titled *Compt of Geir furnisit to my L. Buriall*, and published by the Society of Antiquaries, provide detail of textiles and associated items purchased by the household.²⁰⁷ The document indicates, as Blakeway notes, that this circle had a great deal of influence over the proceedings.²⁰⁸ Annas likely had a role in exerting this control: she was used to being the most powerful woman in the country, it was customary for noble women to be politically active and she has been described by Keith Brown as ‘an intelligent and frightening politician’.²⁰⁹ Other cases of sudden, violent death, support the idea that immediate family were traditionally closely involved. For instance, in 1579, when John Stewart, fourth earl of Atholl died in suspicious circumstances, his wife participated in the investigation which followed and the resultant petitioning of parliament.²¹⁰ In 1592, when James Stewart, the ‘Bonnie’ second earl of Moray was murdered, his mother drew the bullets from his body herself, before commissioning a life-size portrait of the corpse for display in Edinburgh (Figure 7).²¹¹ In actions such as these, Scottish noble women, like Annas, exercised their political acumen, using widowhood as a lightning rod for public sympathy and maximising the impact of the memorialisation they directed.

The first act of this phase of memorialisation saw Moray’s body lying at the Edinburgh Tolbooth, on 5 and 6 February, during a Convention of Estates, ‘there to be seen openly’.²¹² Brown has asserted that it was common for noble bodies to lie above ground for a time before burial, although not necessarily on display.²¹³ The

²⁰⁷ Anon., ‘The Compt of Geir furnisit to my L. Buriall’, 1569/70, pp. 52 - 3, in David Laing, ‘On the Monument of the Regent Earl of Murray’ in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Volume 6, January 1865, pp. 49 - 56.

²⁰⁸ Blakeway, April 2009, 15.

²⁰⁹ Brown, 2004 [2000], 140.

²¹⁰ John, seventh duke of Atholl, *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families, Volume I*, (Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, 1908), 42, 44.

²¹¹ Potter, 2002, 193.

²¹² Drury to Cecil, 7 February 1570, SP59/16, fo. 198.

²¹³ Brown, 2004 [2000], 259-60.

Compt of Geir indicates that those who saw Moray were met by a sombre scene, centred on a bier, draped with a 'buriall cleyth' of 'blak stemmyng' (wool fabric).²¹⁴ In the crowded city, swollen by Convention attendees and their retinues, display of the remains would have allowed many people a glimpse of the leader they had lost, whilst giving those returning to other localities a story to carry with them as they left the city.

The Scottish nobility were adroit in manipulating corpses for political purposes or to shape the identity of the dead. Precedent for the performance at the Tolbooth can be found in the treatment of the body of Henry, lord Darnley, which was on view to the public in the hours after the Privy Council had attended his autopsy.²¹⁵ Protestants had repeatedly brought the body of lord Darnley before the public, in portrait form, on banners displayed at Carberry Hill, on the Edinburgh streets and flown as a flag over Edinburgh Castle.²¹⁶ A surviving sketch of the Carberry Hill banner reveals that it showed Darnley's corpse, attended by his infant son, James VI, who is depicted calling on God for revenge (Figure 8). The manner of its display is recorded in a small inset landscape scene, showing the banner, at the bottom left corner of the *Darnley Memorial* (Figure 6). Darnley's image was used against Mary, despite his reputation as a murderer and widespread contemporary acknowledgement of his arrogance, ill-temper, weakness and instability.²¹⁷ He was so far from an exemplary figure that the only person who attempted to attribute good

²¹⁴ Anon., 1569/70, pp. 52 - 3, in Laing, January 1865, pp. 49 - 56.

²¹⁵ Weir, *Mary, Queen of Scots and the Murder of Lord Darnley*, (BCA, 2003), 255.

²¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) Scotland, Volume 2, 1566-68*, Crosby (ed.), (London: Longman and Co. 1871), 15 June 1567, Drury to Cecil, 18 June 1567. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas, Volume 14, 1558 - 1567*, Hume, M.A.S. (ed.), (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892), 21 June 1567.

²¹⁷ Caroline Bingham, *A Life of Henry Stuart Lord Darnley Consort of Mary Queen of Scots*, (London: Constable, 1995), 4.

qualities to him was his father.²¹⁸ Nonetheless, representation of his corpse could be used to attack the reputations of his alleged killers, including Mary, Queen of Scots, her adherents or even Catholics in general. The image of Darnley's dead body, rather than his character, became the subject of exploitation because, in a society fractured by political and confessional difference, the unrevenged murder victim the portrait depicted, capable of Protestant characterisation, was a useful symbol. Physical remains and heraldic symbols could also be put to use, to visibly exert authority or alter the status of the subject, as the case of the traitorous George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly illustrates. Following the Battle of Corrichie (28 October 1562), Huntly's remains were pickled and retained for display at the Edinburgh Tolbooth, in May 1563, before being propped upright, as if standing, beneath a cloth of estate, bearing his arms.²¹⁹ In front of Queen and parliament, the deceased was tried for treason and convicted, in a spectacle provided for in law, which illustrated the very long reach of royal justice.²²⁰ After sentencing, the heraldic identity of the earl was erased, as the cloth was substituted by a poorer fabric, whilst the original was publicly destroyed, and Huntly's arms stricken from the herald's roll.²²¹ As these examples show, identity was intrinsically tied to the body.

The display of Moray's body must therefore be understood as having a political dimension. As Blakeway notes, in the time before burial, his corpse was conducted in a spatial programme, associating the Regent with the Crown and each of the three estates of Scottish society: church, nobility and people.²²² From her analysis, the pause at the Tolbooth, where parliament met, emphasised his

²¹⁸ Bingham, 1995, 4.

²¹⁹ Potter, 2002, 73-4.

²²⁰ Potter, 2002, 73-4.

²²¹ Potter, 2002, 73. Living, disgraced nobles were subject to similar heraldic degradation, through public destruction of their arms at the Tolbooth and market cross - see Thomson, 1975, 34.

²²² Blakeway, April 2009, 15.

connection to the people.²²³ An account from Sir William Drury (1527-79), an English statesman, who was informed by years spent observing Scottish politics, supports a political assessment of the event, describing the display as allowing 'such as mind to revenge his death to protest it there publicly'.²²⁴ Following on from the declaration by Knox, that the land itself was defiled by the unpunished killing, and the broadsides' repeated calls for pursuit of the Hamiltons and revenge, the whole country was now called to action by physical manifestation of Bothwellhaugh's deed.

There is reason to think the Regent's injury was exposed to public view as part of this performance. Consideration of such a display develops from Blakeway's exposition of the substantial emphasis on Moray's blood and its royalty, made evident in the broadsides - for example in description of the Regent as 'sone natural to James the Fyft, your King and Prince Royal'.²²⁵ As Patrick Caddell discusses, Moray had been shot in the back and had an exit wound just below the navel.²²⁶ Far more extensive trauma than this could be put on show, whilst still maintaining the dignity of the deceased, as demonstrated by the portrait of the Bonnie earl's corpse, with its multiple burns, bullet holes and gashes (Figure 7). Since it was winter and Moray had been '*bowald*' (embalmed), it is conceivable that the body, although two weeks dead, remained in good enough condition for a similar presentation in person.²²⁷ Given these favourable physical factors, and the above-noted interest in

²²³ Blakeway, April 2009, 15.

²²⁴ Sean Kelsey, 'Drury, Sir William (1527-1579)', in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/8101>>. Drury to Cecil, 7 February 1570, SP59/16, fo. 198.

²²⁵ Blakeway, April 2009, 19, 20. Sempill, 1570, Early English Books Online, University of Michigan Library, <http://name.umd.umich.edu/B00684.0001.001>, lines 57-8.

²²⁶ Patrick Caddell, *Sudden Slaughter: The Murder of the Regent Moray*, (West Lothian: West Lothian History and Amenity Society, 1975), 12-13.

²²⁷ Lady Margaret Erskine to the Countess of Murray [undated] in Jessel et al, (eds.), 1877, 652.

bearing personal witness to the injuries of murder victims, people may well have expected to look on the wound that killed their confessional and political leader.

Revealing the wound would have helped establish the Regent as an innocent victim and spurred people on to the revenge Knox and the broadsides had demanded. Presentation of blood-stained clothing was common in Scottish courts, as proof of a crime or as a demand for justice.²²⁸ Exposure of wounds would have similar value, making *skaith* (harm) visible and providing a basis for the kin of the dead to seek *assythment*. Performance in public, rather than in court, presented evidence of victimhood to the community and, in showing Moray's wounds at the Convention of Estates, his household demanded justice for him from the whole country.

Visually, wound exposure called on the iconography of the Holy Blood cult, elevating Moray to quasi-divine status in the eyes of both Protestants and Catholics. The cult had been a Medieval import, from the Low Countries, with centres concentrated on and near the east coast.²²⁹ Adherents celebrated and revered the blood spilled in the course of the Passion, placing emphasis on the many wounds Christ sustained, and the blood exuding from them.²³⁰ A characteristic element of Holy Blood iconography is the 'Image of Pity', exemplified in the central panel of the *Fetternear Banner*, a unique surviving embroidered Scottish church banner, from c.1520 (Figure 10).²³¹ This professionally stitched object was never completed but patrons' arms, visible in the decorative borders, indicate that it was

²²⁸ Brown, 2003[1986], 29.

²²⁹ Richard Oram, 'Holy Blood devotion in later medieval Scotland', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 2017, 43:5, pp. 562 - 78, 567.

²³⁰ Oram, 2017, 563.

²³¹ David McRoberts, 'The Fetternear Banner' in *The Innes Review*, 1956, Vol 7, Issue 2, December 1956, pp.69 - 88, 80, 69. *Fetternear banner*, c. 1520, embroidery, National Museum Scotland, Edinburgh, H.LF 23.

intended for the Holy Blood confraternity at St. Giles' church in Edinburgh.²³² At its centre, a Christ figure, peppered with bleeding wounds and holding the reed sceptre, stands beside the cross, surrounded by other instruments of the Passion including pillar and scourge, nails and sponge.²³³ Prior to the Reformation, images like this would have been prevalent at cult centres, including St. Giles', where Moray's grandfather, James IV, had been an active member of the confraternity.²³⁴ These groups were associated with public performances, including plays and processions, which often formed part of the celebrations for the feast of Corpus Christi, at which banners like *Fetternear* were paraded.²³⁵ People clung so tenaciously to such festivals after the Reformation that, as late as 1595, the General Assembly was still finding 'superstition and idolatry maintained, which utters itself in keeping of festival days'.²³⁶ Such persistence of practices associated with Catholicism is in keeping with post-Reformation experience south of the border, where Alexandra Walsham has found that 'despite the iconoclastic purges of the 1530s and '40s, relics were a continuing presence'.²³⁷ Margo Todd argues that these celebrations retained significance in the face of reform because people were accustomed to express public identity through participation.²³⁸ Continuing observance kept the meaning of Holy Blood iconography alive, enabling a display of wounds to draw parallels between the Regent and Christ, for both Catholic and Protestant audiences, even ten years after the Reformation.

²³² McRoberts, December 1956, 70, 82-3.

²³³ McRoberts, December 1956, 70.

²³⁴ Oram, 2017, 574.

²³⁵ Oram, 2017, 573, 567-8. McRoberts, December 1956, 54.

²³⁶ Todd, 2002, 184. Cited in Todd, 2002, 185.

²³⁷ Alexandra Walsham, 'Skeletons in the Cupboard: Relics after the English Reformation', in *Past and Present*, Supplement 5, 2010, pp.121-43,126.

²³⁸ Todd, 2002, 187.

Moray's funeral procession, on 14 February, was the next step in shaping his memory. It travelled around a mile up the main thoroughfare through the burgh of Canongate, from the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and into the city of Edinburgh, finishing at St. Giles' church (Figure 9).²³⁹ As already remarked, the presence of Moray's body at these places emphasised his connection to the crown and the Kirk, complementing the association with the people which had been made at the Tolbooth. Eight lords and earls carried the coffin, in the middle of a procession led by the burgesses of Edinburgh and Leith, followed by 'gentlemen of the country and divers lords'.²⁴⁰ The lairds Grange and Cleish rode immediately in front of the coffin, on horses in black *fytmantilis* (trapping which stretches to the ground), carrying heraldic banners, while the household, clad in black *duill* (mourning clothes), walked behind it.²⁴¹ Contemporary accounts name few of the attendees, giving the impression that the event was small and lacklustre.²⁴² However, by cross-referencing with the day's Privy Council attendance, Blakeway constructs a more expansive list of probable notable participants, amounting to 'at least seven earls, eight lords, six prelates, the Comptroller, the Justice Clerk, John Knox and the English ambassador' before proposing a number of close associates likely to have attended for personal reasons.²⁴³ In addition, the thirty six ells of black taffeta provided for the heralds to cover their coats of arms indicates a substantial, if muted, heraldic presence.²⁴⁴ When the unnamed burgesses, gentlemen and Moray's household are taken into

²³⁹ Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v.

²⁴⁰ Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v.

²⁴¹ Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v. Laing, January 1865: Volume 6, 52.

²⁴² Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v. Anon., *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have Passed within the Country of Scotland since the Death of King James the Fourth till the Year M.D.LXXV*, in Thomson, T. (ed.), (Edinburgh: Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1833), 158.

²⁴³ Blakeway, April 2009: 15-17.

²⁴⁴ Laing, January 1865, Volume 6, 52.

account, the procession must have been sizeable, occupying a considerable length of Edinburgh's narrow streets as it passed. The chosen route will have made it, and its portrayal of Moray, visible to many of the people present in the city that day, including the retinues of those attending the Privy Council. This, in turn, allowed onward propagation of the ideas expressed, to communities across the country.

The procession presented an idealised vision of a unified, orderly country. Kirk policy 'that the dead be conveyed to the place of buriall ... without all kind of ceremony heretofore used', supports consideration of the procession as a political event.²⁴⁵ Blakeway, amongst others, has remarked on the substantial absence of Queen's Party men at the funeral, with the Regent's old friend the earl of Cassillis being their single recorded representative.²⁴⁶ However, despite the ongoing conflict, Cassillis was not only able to participate but was given a position near the coffin, just as prominent King's Party members were.²⁴⁷ Enabling his public demonstration of friendship showed that relationships which crossed the political divide were valued and helped to present participants and other audiences with a picture of a united nobility. In addition, the procession brought people from different social strata together. Randolph's account clearly indicates that he understood the performance to involve distinct groups including lords, gentlemen and burgesses.²⁴⁸ Many early modern processions operated like this. In Europe, space within Holy Blood cult processions was heavily regulated, with both Richard Oram and David McRoberts finding this was also the case in Scotland.²⁴⁹ Sharon Strocchia has found evidence

²⁴⁵ Anon., 'The First Book of Discipline' in James K. Cameron (ed.), *The First Book of Discipline With Introduction and Commentary*, (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1972), 200.

²⁴⁶ Blakeway, April 2009, 16. Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland*, (London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd, 1983, 118.

²⁴⁷ Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 7-8.

²⁴⁸ Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v.

²⁴⁹ Oram, 2017, 573. McRoberts, December 1956, 77.

of enduring rules governing the ordering of Florentine funeral processions, whilst a herald's marshalling roll reveals that, likewise, formalised ideas of social precedence were being enacted in Scottish death rituals by 1636.²⁵⁰ Such displays of orderliness facilitated and exemplified social control.²⁵¹ Although at odds with the prevailing circumstances, by playing on inter-Party acceptance and representation of a structured, cooperative, social hierarchy, the Regent's procession painted him as the unifying leader of a well-ordered society.

The heraldic show was consciously minimal. Contemporary reports record only one standard, showing 'ane reid lyoun', and the Regent's personal arms, preceding the coffin.²⁵² Certainly, the display was limited in comparison to the funeral of the Regent's father, James V in 1543, for which the heralds supplied 1,648 coats of arms, aside from the King's own.²⁵³ Even though a lesser display would be expected for an illegitimate son, or a Regent, it is plain that Moray's household did not take up earlier familial or courtly funerary activity as a template to be followed. Shortage of money has to be considered as a possible restricting factor since, 'the sixteenth-century Scottish crown was ... semi-permanently broke' and Moray had contracted substantial debt in office, securing large loans against personal property.²⁵⁴ Indeed his unpopular pursuit of the English rebels has been attributed to sorely felt need for subsidy from Elizabeth I.²⁵⁵ Regardless, calculations by Blakeway

²⁵⁰ Strocchia, 1992, 7 - 8. Kincaid, *Roll, processional, funeral*, associated with the funeral of George, 1st marquess of Huntly (1562 – 1636), National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, H.OD 83 B. The dating and attribution of this roll is speculative, with the Lord Lyon concluding that it is a general guide to early seventeenth-century funeral marshalling, rather than something produced for a specific procession – see Thomson, 1975, 40-1.

²⁵¹ Oram, 2017, 577-8.

²⁵² Anon. in Thomson (ed.), 1833, 158. Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v.

²⁵³ Thomas, 2005, 212 - 3.

²⁵⁴ Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth Century Scotland*, (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, May 2015), 89 - 90.

²⁵⁵ Lee, 1953, 272 - 3.

reveal that, related to the memorialisation, ‘no expense was spared’, and indicate that great importance was attached to making suitable arrangements.²⁵⁶ This invites the conclusion that the reported heraldic minimalism was purposeful. Certainly, in a later account, which extolls the Regent’s religiosity in the most fulsome terms, his close associate, the Scottish historian and humanist scholar, George Buchanan (1506 – 82), highlighted the virtuous ‘simplicity’ of Moray’s domestic life.²⁵⁷ This points to the austere heraldic aspect of the funeral as an early move in a process of mythologising the Regent as a virtuous model of Protestant restraint.

The perception of dutiful Protestantism was amplified as viewers received visual direction to focus on symbols of Moray’s service to the crown. Participants in the procession wore black *duill*.²⁵⁸ This French fashion had first been seen in Scotland at the 1537 funeral of James V’s French queen, Madeleine, and in 1577 was noted to be still ‘not very frequent[ly] seen.’²⁵⁹ It must, then, have been a striking sight in 1570 - a choice perhaps influenced by senior members of Moray’s household, at least two of whom were French.²⁶⁰ The relative absence of colour will have produced a visually arresting contrast between the rest of the procession and the bright hues of the Regent’s arms and lion standard, attracting attention towards them and helping to develop a heroic character for the Regent. The two banners leading the procession showed the heavy burden of state as having been heroically carried by Moray alone, rather than being borne up by the great network of allies and

²⁵⁶ Blakeway, April 2009: 15.

²⁵⁷ D.M. Abbott, ‘Buchanan, George’ in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/3837>>. George Buchanan, in James Aikman (trans.), *The History of Scotland Volume 2*, (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1827), 573.

²⁵⁸ Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v.

²⁵⁹ Buchanan, in Aikman (trans.), 315.

²⁶⁰ Anon. in Laing, January 1865, Volume 6, 52 - 3.

kindred represented by the large show of arms at the funeral of James V.²⁶¹ This presentation reflected Moray's own portrayal of the regency as a very personal burden - a 'wechtye charge that is layd uppon my shulderis'.²⁶² The sombre aspect of the procession heightened the heraldic depiction of the Regent being above flashy display, and its memory would have been available to support Buchanan's posthumous mythos of his great virtue.²⁶³ Together with the heraldic effect, *duill* served to proclaim Moray as dutiful, virtuous and a model of restraint - a veritable Protestant hero.

The date of the performance made it significant for Catholics and associated Moray with martyrdom. Scottish Protestantism had done away with the many saints' days of the Catholic calendar but, in 1570, ten years after the Reformation, much of the population was of an age to remember Catholic custom. Catholics continued to observe and, as already noted above, and discussed by Walsham in relation to England, some Protestants remained committed to practices from the old religion in which they found continuing comfort or utility.²⁶⁴ Since 14 February was the feast of the third century martyr, Valentine, performing the funeral on this date encouraged people to view Moray in a similar light to the saint.²⁶⁵ This appeal to Catholic martyrdom addressed not only Catholics, but also Protestant memory of Catholicism, in a further effort to unify the country by elevating the dead Regent to holy status in the eyes of both confessional groups.

²⁶¹ Anon. in Thomson (ed.), 1833, 158.

²⁶² James Stewart, the Regent Murray to Lord Herries [undated], in Jessel et al (eds.), 1877, 641.

²⁶³ Buchanan in Aikman (trans.) 1827: 572 - 3.

²⁶⁴ Todd, 2002, 316, 184-5. Walsham, 2010, 126.

²⁶⁵ David Hugh Farmer, 'Valentine' in Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints (5th ed.)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), <<https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/display/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1573?rskey=2IC91U&result=1583>>.

A sermon Knox preached after the procession, at St. Giles', brought more benefits for Moray's posthumous reputation. Knox departed from Protestant orthodoxy, since the Kirk frowned upon funerary rituals of all kinds, believing that the dead should go into the earth without ceremony.²⁶⁶ However, death was an area where dogmatic reformers struggled to impose their will on the people and exceptions, such as this sermon, were made.²⁶⁷ Knox reportedly put on a bravura performance, which 'moved three thousand persons to shed teares'.²⁶⁸ The content of his words is lost - the crush of a large congregation likely precluded note-taking - but a witness advises that his text, drawn from Revelation, was 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord'.²⁶⁹ This verse offered rhetorical opportunities to build on the ideas expressed by the display at the Tolbooth and the procession, further elevating Moray's reputation and investing him with 'blessed' heavenly status.

Burial removed the Regent from public view, depriving him of a political body and demanding development of a temporary presence until a tomb was completed. Once his coffin was taken from sight, public expression of Moray was again limited to what was contained in the ephemeral broadsides. A tomb was planned, but its scheduled completion date of 20 May would leave the Regent without a political body for some nine weeks.²⁷⁰ Accordingly, on 1 March, 'an Ensigne of blacke sattayne in the which was paynted the Kynge [Darnley] under the tree as he was founde deade, the Regent in his bedde as he dyde with his wonde open' and 'the king [James VI] upon his knees criinge iudge and revenge my cause o Lorde',

²⁶⁶ Brown, 2004 [2000], 260.

²⁶⁷ Todd, 2002, 340-1.

²⁶⁸ Calderwood in Thomson (ed.), 1843, Volume 2, 526.

²⁶⁹ Randolph to Cecil, 22 February 1570, SP 52/17 fo. 44v. Revelation 14:13.

²⁷⁰ Ewyn to Wod, 20 February 1570, 'My Lordis Memoriall' in Jessel et al (eds.), 1877, 646.

appeared on the Edinburgh streets.²⁷¹ As Blakeway observes, alongside an expression of the imperative to revenge, the connections between this new *Moray Banner*, the *Darnley Banner* (Figure 8), and Waterhouse's proposed 'vendetta painting' genre, are clear.²⁷² However, the *Moray Banner* also made strong links between its subjects and Holy Blood. Depiction of the Regent 'with his wonde open' called on the Image of Pity, directly connecting the Regent to Christ. By echoing the display at the Tolbooth and visually quoting the *Darnley Banner*, the *Moray Banner* ensured the Regent, his murder and the wound stayed in the public consciousness. The effect was amplified by the inclusion of Darnley who, although he had suffered no wounds, had also been linked to Holy Blood by the *Darnley Memorial* (Figure 6). This painting on canvas, addressed in greater detail in Chapter Two, includes a lively, standing, Christ figure, displaying his wounds, identified by David McRoberts as an Image of Pity.²⁷³ Its presence supplied proxy wounds to attribute victimhood to Darnley. Two copies of the *Darnley Memorial* were made, one of which was a gift to James VI.²⁷⁴ As a consequence, some of those present in the city will have been aware of it and the Holy Blood associations it made. Put on display in the streets and drawing on the authority of the two Darnley images, the *Moray Banner* provided additional opportunities for people to see the Regent as an innocent victim, deserving of revenge, and a Protestant personification of the Image of Pity.

By developing a Stewart dynastic hagiography, this *Moray Banner* also stoked concern for the safety of James VI, thus providing further reason for pursuit of the Hamiltons. The banner presented the public with a visual summary of the Protestant

²⁷¹ Randolph to Cecil, 1 March 1570, SP52/17, fo. 64.

²⁷² Blakeway, April 2009, 29.

²⁷³ McRoberts, 1956, 74.

²⁷⁴ Weir, 2015, 304-5.

male Stewart line and their fates: Darnley, the King Consort had been murdered, now Moray the Regent had also been murdered and King James, although living, was yet an infant.²⁷⁵ Both dead men still awaited justice and the King, as a child, was vulnerable in many ways, although the banner implied that his father and uncle still watched over him, from beyond the grave. The imagery invited viewers to conclude that, unless the Hamiltons were brought to justice, James would meet the same fate as his male relatives. Furthermore, the pictorial support it gave to the idea that Stewart men had, and would continue, to give their lives for Protestantism, developed the line as a dynasty of sacrificial devotees for the reformed faith.

Allowing people other than Protestant members of the King's Party to find meaning throughout this stage of Moray's memorialisation was expedient because the fissures in Scottish society were far from linear. Allegiances to both King's and Queen's Parties were determined by a number of factors, including attitudes to the monarchy and foreign powers.²⁷⁶ Confession played a role but there were Catholics and Protestants on both sides and some allegiances changed over time.²⁷⁷ As a result, there was a political need for the Regent's memorialisation to speak to audiences holding opposing positions - a need which was met by holding Moray's funeral on St. Valentine's day, employing the iconography of Holy Blood and the Image of Pity and giving Cassilis a place of honour in the funeral procession. References to Roman church practice and accommodation of a Queen's Party member made it possible for Catholics and political opponents to find meaning and a sense of unity in the Regent's memory. This effort to address multiple audiences

²⁷⁵ Randolph to Cecil, 1 March 1570, SP52/17, fo. 64.

²⁷⁶ Donaldson, 1983, 8.

²⁷⁷ Donaldson, 1983, 8, 119.

continued in the next phase of memorialisation, which completed the physical solidification of the instructions for Moray's memory.

Setting in stone

Moray's wife, Annas Keith, and secretary, John Wood of Tilliedavy commissioned a tomb for the Regent in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh. That this was done less than a month after the assassination indicates that the household felt pressure to materialise the memory of Moray quickly.²⁷⁸ On the other hand, it also discloses their rapid arrival at certainty about how that memory was to be directed. The tomb masonry no longer exists, having been demolished during remodelling in 1830, but there are two sketches of it in situ: one produced for the Society of Antiquaries by James Drummond, c.1851 (Figure 11), and another by James Skene, c.1826 (Figure 12).²⁷⁹ Drummond's drawing may have been influenced by recollection of the tomb of the 4th earl of Atholl, which sat opposite that of Moray and was reportedly surmounted by a pelican, as depicted.²⁸⁰ Blakeway remarks on the main weakness of this drawing as evidence – that it was produced from memory, twenty years after the demolition.²⁸¹ In contrast, Skene's preparatory sketch for an 1826 painting of St. Giles' interior benefits from the tomb having been extant at the time it was made and has not been studied previously (Figure 12).²⁸² It was

²⁷⁸ Ewyn to Mr John Wood, 20 February 1570 in Jessel et al (eds.) 1877, 646.

²⁷⁹ *The Scotsman*, Saturday 23 January 1830, 54. In Laing, 1852 – 53, Volume I, 195. James Skene, sketch of the Regent Moray's tomb, 1826, Scottish Society of Antiquaries archive, Edinburgh, MSs292(6). Thanks are due to Morven Donald, Library Assistant at the National Museum of Scotland Library, who retrieved the Skene sketch from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland manuscript collection whilst Library facilities were closed to the public.

²⁸⁰ George Crawford, *The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and the State in Scotland, Volume I*, (Robert Fleming and Company, 1726), 136.

²⁸¹ Blakeway, April 2009, 25. Laing, 1852 - 53: Volume I, 195.

²⁸² The painting, *South west portion of the Church of St. Giles, called the Auld Kirk*, is held in the Edinburgh Libraries and Museums and Galleries Capital Collections, item 614.

considered a suitable basis for a recast monument, put up by Moray's descendants in 1864, intended to have 'as near an approach to its first design as possible'.²⁸³ However, published work by Skene reveals a keen interest in Romanticism and the belief that painting should portray a 'powerful impression' of history and 'the effects of human passion'.²⁸⁴ As a result, it is safest to regard the drawing as an indication of the general appearance of the original tomb, rather than a precise record. Although Skene includes little detail, there is enough to see that the monument invoked the authority of history, using classical columns and the form of an altar tomb (Figure 12). The absence of an effigy, as depicted, is confirmed by the *Compt of Geir*, which despite being itself incomplete, encompasses an entire section devoted to an extensive catalogue of costs associated with the monument.²⁸⁵ Although this covers everything from the stone, and the black paint used to finish it, to the cloths used to screen the mason's work site, it makes no mention of an effigy.²⁸⁶ This is further supported by the mason's contract, which also contains no provision for figurative representation of the deceased.²⁸⁷ Instead, an empty space served to amplify Moray's absence.

Finding ways to make monuments acceptable for placement inside kirks had become important for the nobility following the Reformation. The leading members of society had been accustomed to occupy Catholic sacred space with their tombs, to demonstrate status and lordship, and the social pressure to do this did not disappear

²⁸³ Laing, 'On the Monument of the Regent Earl of Murray', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, January 1865, pp.49-56, 50.

²⁸⁴ James Skene, *A series of sketches of the existing localities alluded to in the Waverley novels: etched from original drawings*, (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1829). Skene, 'Painting' in Brewster (ed.), *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, Volume XV*, (Philadelphia: Joseph and Edward Parker, 1832), pp.266-337, 266.

²⁸⁵ Anon., 1569/70 in Laing, January 1865, 52 - 3

²⁸⁶ Anon., 1569/70, in Laing, January 1865, pp. 52 – 3.

²⁸⁷ Ewyn to Wood, 20 February 1570, in Jessel et al (eds.), 1877, 646.

when religious norms changed.²⁸⁸ Effigies, and the intercessory prayer they might inspire, were amongst the ‘inconveniences’ the *First Book of Discipline* understood to accompany in-kirk burials.²⁸⁹ In response, some nobles constructed burial aisles, allowing them to put elaborate memorials in space where they had a greater degree of control, but an alternative, also noted in England after the Reformation, and adopted in this case, was to employ classical forms in place of saintly or bodily imagery.²⁹⁰ By dispensing with an effigy, Moray’s circle appeased dogmatic concerns sufficiently to make the monument acceptable for placement in the heart of St Giles’.

Fortunately, a brass plate has survived, where much of Moray’s characterisation was concentrated (Figure 13).²⁹¹ It is, in effect, a literary portrait of the dead Regent, showing his arms, surmounted by his pelican crest, flanked by female figures identified as Religion and Justice. Three Latin inscriptions read: ‘*Pietas* without its champion mourns’; ‘Righteousness has been disarmed’ and

‘To James Stewart, earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland,

A man by far the noblest of his time,

Barbarously slain by enemies, the vilest in history;

His country mourning has raised this monument

As to a common father. He was interred [here].’²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Brown, 2004 [2000], 262.

²⁸⁹ Anon. in Cameron (ed.), 1972, 201.

²⁹⁰ Andrew Spicer, “‘Defyle not Christ’s kirk with your carrion’: Burial and the Development of Burial Aisles in Post-Reformation Scotland” in Gordon, Bruce and Marshall, Peter (eds.) *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late-Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 161- 4. Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 2000), 48 - 9, 292.

²⁹¹ Laing, 1852 – 53, Volume I, 197. George Seton. ‘Monumental Brass of the Regent Moray’ in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. 1, 11 November 1852, 38-9.

²⁹² PIETAS SINE VINDICE LVGET, IVS EXARMATVM EST, IACOBO STOVARTO MORAVIAE COMITI SCOTIAE PROREGI VIRO AETATIS SVAE LONGE OPTIMO AB INIMICIS OMNIS

Originally, the plate was coloured and must have made a striking contrast with the backdrop of the black-painted stonework.²⁹³

Deliberate omission of the Hamilton name from the inscription reflects a desire to erase the family from memory. As the treatment of Huntly's arms after Corrichie shows, erasure of identity was a recognised punishment, enacted in extreme circumstances. Moray's memorial worked to achieve a similar deletion of the Hamiltons. Although Sempill's broadsides used the name, these were ephemeral objects, likely to be gone in a short time. However, a tomb would, as Peter Sherlock contends, transmit memory to the future.²⁹⁴ The wording of the inscription ensured the Hamilton name would play no part in that.

The claim, that 'his country mourning has raised this monument', was a further advance in the representation of Moray as a unifying figure (Figure 13). As already noted, Moray's household commissioned and paid for the tomb – it was not raised by the country. However, calls for community action and expressions of unity had been made throughout the memorialisation process and this part of the inscription, even though untrue, ensured that these ideas would continue to be associated with Moray in the future. Nigel Llewellyn finds that funerary monuments helped manage the destabilising effects of death within English elite families, by promising continuity.²⁹⁵ Here, Moray's monument attempts that effect on the national

MEMORIAE DETERRIMIS EX INSIDIIS EXTINGCTO CEV PATRI COMMVNI PATRIA MOERENS POSVIT

Translation as in William Pitcairn Anderson, *Silences that Speak: Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables who Rest There*, (Edinburgh: Turnbull and Spears, 1931), 23.

²⁹³ Anon., in Laing, January 1865, Volume 6, 53.

²⁹⁴ Sherlock, 2008, 1.

²⁹⁵ Llewellyn, 2000, 42.

scale, trying to overcome potentially destabilising loss, amidst civil war, with the conceit that the country's divisions had been healed.

Since, as already discussed, the symbolic conventions available to an author are determined by their audience, analysis of the features they use can help identify not only the message they intend to transmit but also characteristics of their audience. This monument relied on the conventions of sacred space, heraldry and classicism to portray a version of its subject. Elements of this would have been meaningful to most contemporaries familiar with heraldry and the spatial hierarchy of the kirk in which they worshipped, but part was directed at those who were able to read Latin. This skill was important for the elite since it was a prerequisite for advanced academic study at European universities, as well as the Scottish institutions at St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen.²⁹⁶ Their sons might learn from a tutor or by attending one of the grammar schools with which the Lowlands, in particular, were relatively well supplied, even prior to the Reformation.²⁹⁷ According to Brown, it is likely that noble daughters also benefitted from teaching in languages, reading and writing in the domestic setting since 'there were many educated and cultured women' amongst the nobility, despite their learning experience not being well documented.²⁹⁸ Sons of the lesser nobles and merchant elite also had the opportunity to learn Latin, if the expense could be afforded, either at grammar school, or to lower levels of competency in shorter course schools and other establishments which taught classics to a more basic level.²⁹⁹ With its role as a

²⁹⁶ Bowie, 2020, Chapter Four.

²⁹⁷ Brown, 2004 [2000], 200, 181-3.

²⁹⁸ Brown, 2004 [2000], 187, 182.

²⁹⁹ John Durkan, '1. To 1696' in Lynch (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, <https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/display/10.1093/acref/9780199234820.001.0001/acref-9780199234820-e-266?rskey=UfMOUm&result=265>)

venue for the General Assembly of the Kirk, parliament, the privy council and the court of session, Edinburgh was a place where a concentration of Latinists was likely to be found.³⁰⁰ This tendency can only have increased after the foundation of the University, in 1583.³⁰¹ Siting Moray's monument in Edinburgh, rather than in his earldom, in the north-east, ensured that it would be viewed, and its Latin message received, by a stream of the most influential people in the country.

Initially, the content appears straightforward: the heraldry identified Moray to the illiterate whilst the inscriptions gave more information to those who could read Latin. Evidently, he was an unparalleled man, who had been significant in delivering the true religion, and justice, to the country; he was a unifying force, and his killers were vile - not even worthy of naming. But to approach the understanding of a contemporary, the tomb must be considered in the context of the spatial conventions of Reformation church interiors and that of the representational and textual conventions which people would have naturally drawn upon when interpreting what they saw.

Locating the tomb inside St. Giles' marked Moray as a person who was special to the Kirk. *The First Book of Discipline* which set out the reformed Kirk's policies, declared that 'we think it neither seemly that the Kirk appointed to preaching and ministration of the Sacraments shall be made a place of buryall' and required interments to be made outdoors but, as Todd has found, people continued to seek burial within the building, associating it with being close to God.³⁰² In time, some kirk

³⁰⁰ The court of session had been founded in 1532 – Goodare, *The Government of Scotland 1520 – 1625*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 71.

³⁰¹ Revised by Amy Tikkanen, 'University of Edinburgh' in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Springfield: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc./Merriam-Webster, 2023), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/University-of-Edinburgh> .

³⁰² Anon. in Cameron, 1972, 201. Todd, 2002, 333 - 6.

sessions took advantage of this desire, bringing in much-needed revenue by charging for burial spots, allowing burial inside the building to continue for those who could afford to pay, and who gained permission from the controlling session.³⁰³ As a consequence of these factors, Moray's occupation of sacred space with a substantial tomb made a physical statement of both his proximity to the divine and the session's approval.

As well as this general spatial affirmation, the specific location occupied by the monument within St Giles' had significance for both Catholics and Protestants. A floorplan made prior to the demolition of the tomb shows the site (Figure 14).³⁰⁴ It stood near the east end, where the Catholic altar had once been, adding a layer of sacred association for those who recalled and still valued Catholic spatial hierarchies. It was also close to the site of a still-surviving monument embellished with the *Arma Christi* – heraldic representations of the instruments of the Passion, including nails, pillar and scourge – associated with the Holy Blood cult (Figure 14).³⁰⁵ Proximity to this structure reinforced the Holy Blood associations made by displaying Moray's body and banner and, through the link between the confraternity and James IV, invited viewers to recall his connection to the Stewart royal line. Along with these Catholic and royal associations, the position of the monument invested Moray with the authority of the Kirk's governing body, the General Assembly, which met nearby, in the opposite aisle (Figure 14). As a result, even people who could not read, viewing the tomb from either confessional perspective, were supplied with

³⁰³ Todd, 2002, 334.

³⁰⁴ Floor plan of St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, prior to 1822, from Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time Volume Two*, (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton for the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1848, 299.

³⁰⁵ McRoberts, December 1956, 75.

spatial evidence that Moray was possessed of institutional approval and merited high regard.

Meanwhile, the brass plate supplied information about Moray's character (Figure 13). His contemporaries would have understood the heraldry as a form of portrait which represented aspects of his person, genealogy and landholding.³⁰⁶ The brass also describes the social and political benefits for which Moray's regency was to be remembered. As Blakeway says, the figure of Religion seems largely unperturbed by his death.³⁰⁷ Justice, however, adopts the stereotypical Renaissance head-on-hand pose denoting melancholy, as she sits glumly amidst the fragments of her broken sword and abandoned scales. The images indicate that reformed religion had a secure enough footing to continue unaffected whilst mourning Moray, but his contribution to delivering justice would be near-impossible to replace.³⁰⁸ The Latin inscriptions below the figures amplify this impression: Justice is completely disarmed, whilst viewers are reassured that *Pietas* merely mourns her expired champion.³⁰⁹ This inferred that, while the remaining reformers would have much work to do in order to ensure justice was upheld in the Regent's absence, the enduring legacy Moray left to the country was *pietas* – his dutiful service to God, family and country.

Pietas is central to developing an understanding of the monument's messaging. Reading top to bottom, left to right, it is the first word of the inscriptions

³⁰⁶ Hans Belting, in Thomas Dunlap (trans.), *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, (Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2011 [2001]), 63, 65.

³⁰⁷ Blakeway, April 2009: 26.

³⁰⁸ Blakeway, April 2009, 26.

³⁰⁹ *Pietas* is a complex classical concept, encompassing a sense of duty to family, religion and country. There is no concise, direct, translation into English. See William Chase Greene and John Scheid, 'Pietas' in Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), <<https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/display/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5079?rskey=pB1V1w&result=1>>.

and so sets the tone of the encounter. Humanist-educated people would have been familiar with this complex classical virtue - a sense of duty to the gods, family and country.³¹⁰ Earlier Christian writers, who had explored the nature of *pietas* since the Middle Ages, ascribed it to Christ, whilst its dutiful nature recommended it to humanist and Protestant scholars such as Erasmus, Luther and Calvin, who all wrote on the subject.³¹¹ *Pietas* elegantly encapsulated a sense of duty to religion, family and society and so, in describing Moray as *pietas*' champion, the inscription presented him as a truly exemplary Protestant. Additionally, this association with a classical virtue, expressed in Latin, in the context of the tomb's classical architecture, primed viewers to look for the other classical connections which were not far away.

For Moray's supporters, looking to repair his reputation and memorialise him, but lacking a specific precedent to draw upon, his pelican crest was something which could be exploited to indicate that he had personified virtue (Figure 13). The heraldic pelican 'in her piety' had developed from the imagery of medieval bestiaries and was depicted wounding herself in the breast to revive a starving brood with her blood.³¹² By 1570, the bird had long been understood as a symbol of Christian piety and self-sacrifice and had associations with Christ. All of this, taken along with the inscription, instructed audiences of the tomb to remember Moray as an exemplary Christian who had made personal sacrifices for the country.

Alongside these heraldic meanings, pelican imagery had acquired other strong associations, thanks to the development of emblem books. These

³¹⁰ Greene and Scheid, 2005.

³¹¹ James D. Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden*, (United States of America: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 32, 48.

³¹² Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry, Revised and annotated by J.P. Brooke Little*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1969 [1909]), 242 - 3.

publications began to be produced in Italy in 1531 and were soon being printed in northern Europe and circulating to Scotland.³¹³ By partnering concepts and sayings with illustrative images and explicatory verses, the books functioned as dictionaries of symbols for the interpretation and development of iconographic schemes.³¹⁴ They replaced the cranes and storks, which had symbolised the virtuous behaviour of *pietas* in classical times, with the heraldic symbol of maternal duty familiar to their early-modern audience - the pelican.³¹⁵ The books also illustrated *pietas* with images of the classical hero Aeneas, dutifully carrying his father from the ruins of Troy and, in time, these ideas merged pictorially, allowing *pietas* to also be illustrated by images of pelicans carrying other pelicans.³¹⁶ Examples of this phenomenon can be found in the emblem books of the Italian emblem maker Andrea Alciato (Figure 15).³¹⁷ This symbolic equivalence and visual merging meant that over time, *pietas*, Aeneas and the pelican became synonymous with one another. Educated people, familiar with emblem books, would have called these associations to mind on encountering one of the three. By placing emphasis on *pietas* and positioning the word close to the reinforcing image of the heraldic pelican, Moray's household encouraged suitably knowledgeable viewers to make associations between the Regent and Aeneas.

Since viewing the Regent's tomb, seeing the pelican crest and reading the inscription would have triggered recall of the connections between pelicans, *pietas*

³¹³ Garrison, 1992, 49. University of Glasgow, undated, *Alciato at Glasgow*, <<https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/>>.

³¹⁴ University of Glasgow, undated, *Glasgow University Emblem Website*, <<https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/>>.

³¹⁵ Greene and Schied in Hornblower and Spawforth (eds.), 2005. Garrison: 1992, 53 - 5.

³¹⁶ Garrison, 1992, 49 - 51, 56 - 7.

³¹⁷ Andrea Alciato, emblems from *Emblematum libri II*, (Lyon: Stockhamer, 1556), p.14 and *Emblematum liber*, (Augsburg: 28 February 1531), unpaginated.

and Aeneas, it is worth exploring what the mythical Trojan meant to Scottish people. The hero of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas survived the fall of Troy and led a band of refugees on a journey around the Mediterranean to found a civilization, which eventually became the Roman empire.³¹⁸ The Trojans' journey was not an easy one: they were constantly harried by the goddess Juno and Aeneas repeatedly faced exacting moral dilemmas. These *exempla* (exemplary incidents) challenged readers to understand the morality of the actions taken and fashioned Aeneas as the personification of *pietas*. Virgil's work towards this end was so successful that, in the classical period, commentary by Ovid identified Aeneas as *auctor pietatis* (the source, or author, of *pietas*).³¹⁹ That Aeneas' absolute association with *pietas* persisted into the early modern period is evidenced by his above-noted appearance as a symbol illustrative of this virtue in popular emblem books.

The *Aeneid* was well-known in Scotland by 1570 and aspects of both the story and its presentation allowed people to relate it to their contemporary experience. The Scottish nobility were as well-versed in humanism as their northern European peers.³²⁰ In learning Latin, they could have encountered the story of the *Aeneid*. The tale had been appreciated in the court of Moray's father, James V, where a tapestry depicting the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia was amongst the furnishings.³²¹ Furthermore, a Scots translation, the *Eneados* of Gavin Douglas, had circulated in manuscript from 1513 and print from 1553.³²² Believed to be suitable for all manner of people, its intended audience ranged from readers who wanted 'to pas the tyme,

³¹⁸ David West, (trans.), *Virgil - The Aeneid*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991 [1990]), vii.

³¹⁹ Garrison, 1992, 21.

³²⁰ Brown, 2004 [2000], 199.

³²¹ Sally Rush, 'French Fashion in Sixteenth-Century Scotland: the 1539 Inventory of James V's Wardrobe', in *Furniture History*, Vol. 42, 2006, pp. 1–25, 14.

³²² Modern Humanities Research Association, *Gavin Douglas, 'The Aeneid' (1513)*, (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2018), <<https://www.mhra.org.uk/publications/Gavin-Douglas-Aeneid-1513-1>>.

and eschew idylness' to 'masteris of grammar sculys' who 'wald Virgill to childryn expone'.³²³ It related the Trojans' ongoing struggles in terms of the '*fede*' (feud), with which Scottish people were very familiar and, in Juno, supplied a villainess who could be likened to Mary, Queen of Scots, if the reader so desired.³²⁴ Encouraged by the vernacular language and links to their personal experience, readers could picture Aeneas' embattled band of Trojans, and their quest for a new home, being akin to the King's Party, under Moray, fighting for a truly reformed society.

The tomb's inscription promoted this perception. Having avowed that Moray's monument was 'raised by the country', the inscription goes on to describe the Regent as 'a common father', developing the idea of him as a national paterfamilias (Figure 13). This resonates with the role Virgil gave Aeneas as the founder of the civilization which would become Rome. Accordingly, suitably educated audiences were offered the idea of Moray as a foundational father-figure for a Protestant Scottish nation.

The striking parallels between the final scene of the *Aeneid* and a key incident from Moray's biography further strengthen the argument that the tomb encouraged the educated to connect Moray with Aeneas. The tale closes with Aeneas battling Turnus, who had earlier killed the hero's ward, Pallas. Having gained the advantage, Aeneas pauses, decides not to grant mercy and very deliberately kills his opponent.³²⁵ Given that earlier set pieces show Aeneas demonstrating *pietas*, the reader is left to decide what makes this killing virtuous, concluding either that

³²³ Gavin Douglas, 'The Eneados' in A. Rutherford and George Dundas (eds.), '*The Eneados*', *The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse Vols. I and II*, (Edinburgh: for the Bannatyne Club, 1839), 907, lines 20, 27, 23.

³²⁴ Douglas, in Rutherford and Dundas (eds.), 1839, 23, line 6.

³²⁵ Douglas, in Rutherford and Dundas (eds.), 1839, 842 - 3.

revenge was justified, or that Turnus' death was an essential, and therefore warranted, precursor to the Trojans' foundation of the new civilization. Significantly, Moray had faced a similar decision about sparing opponents after his defeat of Mary, Queen of Scots' forces at the Battle of Langside (13 May 1568). Unlike Aeneas, Moray granted mercy and ironically, in doing so, spared James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh - the man who would eventually kill him.³²⁶ In the aftermath of the assassination, these similarities between Moray and Aeneas must have been particularly resonant.

The tomb's symbolic and textual prompts to associate Moray with Aeneas benefitted the King's Party. Invoking classicism enlisted the authority of antiquity onto their side in the civil war with the Marians. These subtle indicators linking Moray to Aeneas also required critics to re-examine their opinions of the Regent's more unpopular policies, such as his co-operation with Elizabeth I. The exempla of the *Aeneid* do not merely ask Aeneas to make simplistic choices between clear-cut right and wrong. They present difficult moral dilemmas, as evidenced by Turnus' death scene, where Aeneas manages to steer the tricky course by practising *pietas*.³²⁷ If people could be encouraged to view Moray's life through the lens of the *Aeneid*, they might be more inclined to understand and support his political choices as difficult, but virtuous decisions, made in testing circumstances, and recall him in a positive light. Furthermore, a unique feature of the Scots translation of the *Aeneid* enhanced this representation of Moray, to the point of sacralising him. Dissatisfied with the abrupt ending of the original text, translator Gavin Douglas had added an extra section, in which Aeneas underwent apotheosis and so 'amyd the starnys chosyn has his

³²⁶ Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, first earl of Moray', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

³²⁷ Douglas, in Rutherford and Dundas (eds.), 1839, 842 - 3.

place'.³²⁸ For readers familiar with the *Eneados*, viewing the tomb could have confirmed that the dead leader of the King's Party had been elevated to similar heavenly status.

The currency of this idea can be seen in two contemporary Latin elegies. A *Funeral lament on the death of the most illustrious, victorious prince, James, earl of Moray* and *On the funeral of this same prince* were written by the Edinburgh advocate and poet Thomas Craig.³²⁹ Since fair copies were filed with the State Papers in London by the end of February 1570, the manuscripts must have been in circulation in the Scottish capital prior to this.³³⁰ Both poems link the Regent to *pietas*, saying 'Brighter than he shone no man for faithful duty (*pietas*)', and 'true religion (*pietas*), honourable peace, and warfare's glory, as they lived with you, likewise with you together are fallen'.³³¹ In addition, the *Funeral lament* also describes Moray as 'newly resident in the flame-bearing firmament, lighting with your presence the sky', very much akin to the place 'amyd the starnys' Douglas had given Aeneas.³³² If people were already thinking of Moray in such terms, or aware of Craig's encouragement to do so, the tomb affirmed the correctness of this view.

³²⁸ Douglas, in Rutherford and Dundas (eds.), 1839: 845 - 903, 902 - 03.

³²⁹ Jamie Reid-Baxter, 'Two Elegies for James Stewart, Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland (ob.1570): A Hypertext Critical Edition' in *The Philological Museum*, (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 18 August 2008, Revised 8 December 2014), <<https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/craig/>> , Introduction, <<https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/craig/intro.html>> .

³³⁰ *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) Scotland, Volume 3, 1569-1571*, Crosby (ed.), February 1570, 141.

³³¹ '*Non illo pietate fuit, non moribus ullus clarior*' – translation as in Reid-Baxter, Revised 8 December 2014, English, <<https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/craig/trans.html>>. '*At pietas, et pacis honos, et gloria belli, Tecum ut vixerunt, sic cecidere simul*' - translation as in Reid-Baxter, Revised 8 December 2014, English, <<https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/craig/trans.html>> The translator's reading of *pietas* as both 'faithful duty' and 'true religion' is indicative of the difficulty entailed in rendering this complex classical concept concisely in English..

³³² '*At tu flammiferi dudum novus incola caeli*' – translation as in Reid-Baxter, Revised 8 December 2014, English, <<https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/craig/trans.html>> . Douglas, in Rutherford and Dundas (eds.), 1839, 903.

For a time, in the early months of 1570, Edinburgh citizens were accosted by positive representations of Moray, managed by those close to him and the King's Party, throughout the course of their daily business. The various narrators of the broadsides chattered in homes and public spaces, the body appeared in person and in imagery, whilst the funeral procession had occupied the centres of the city and the neighbouring burgh of Canongate. In these encounters, Moray was elevated to sacred status whilst the community was called to seek revenge. As tomb-building, in the transept of St. Giles', brought the campaign to a crescendo it must have seemed that, in the crowded city, instruction about how to remember Moray could hardly be avoided.

After-effects

Elements of the memorial campaign were revitalised, in later years, by James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton. The fourth, and last, of James VI's regents, Morton was a relative and close friend of Moray.³³³ It is understandable that he felt justice had not yet been served. Although Archbishop Hamilton, had been captured in April 1571 and, as Sempill says in his satirical broadside, *The Bischoppis lyfe and testament*, was 'hang to dry' for Moray's murder, the assassin, Bothwellhaugh, was living in exile.³³⁴ In 1579, Morton encouraged the young King to move against other

³³³ Reid-Baxter, "'Judge and revenge my cause': the Earl of Morton, Andro Blackhall, Robert Sempill and the Fall of the House of Hamilton in 1579" in Sally Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2005), pp. 467-92, 469.

³³⁴ Sempill, *The Bischoppis lyfe and testament*, (Stirling: Lekprevik, 1571), English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara, EBBA 36367, <

members of the Hamilton family, still at large in Scotland.³³⁵ Eventually, a further fourteen were condemned for treason.³³⁶ Jamie Reid-Baxter argues that the persuasive arsenal Morton deployed against them included an arrangement of Psalm 43 commissioned, and presented to the King, in 1578/9.³³⁷ With its opening lines, 'Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people: deliver me from the deceitful and wicked man', from which the texts of *Darnley* and *Moray Banners* and the *Darnley Memorial* derived, the psalm raised echoes of the Regent's killing (Figures 8 & 6).³³⁸ In formal performance, the polyphony of Andro Blackhall's arrangement must have produced the effect of many people calling for justice.³³⁹ Psalms were very popular and people sang them as they went about in public, as well as in their homes and kirks, and so this new arrangement multiplied opportunities for public exposure to the first verse of Psalm 43 and its vengeful plea.³⁴⁰ In this way, as well as echoing the sentiments of Sempill's broadsides, Morton's commission also imitated their ability to be encountered repeatedly and heard in different voices.

Morton's reasons for acting against the Hamiltons at this juncture are unclear but concern for James' future accession to the English throne has been proposed as a motivating factor. Reid-Baxter highlights Morton's enduring pro-English stance, whilst suggesting he believed that uniting the Scottish and English crowns was the

<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/36367/album>>, stanzas 28. Peter Holmes, 'Hamilton, James, of Bothwellhaugh' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/12082>>.

³³⁵ Reid-Baxter, in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 483.

³³⁶ Robert Crichton, 'The forfeiture of John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath, Claud Hamilton, commendator of Paisley, and others etc.', 10 November 1579 in Brown et al, (eds.), *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, (St. Andrews: 2007-2023), <https://www.rps.ac.uk/search.php?action=print&id=10003&filename=jamesvi_trans&type=trans>

³³⁷ Reid-Baxter, in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 485.

³³⁸ Psalm 43:1.

³³⁹ Reid-Baxter, 2005, 485.

³⁴⁰ Dawson and O'Regan, 2011, 9.

only way to achieve a godly Protestant society on the British mainland.³⁴¹ This ambition could be achieved through James VI, who had a claim to the English throne.³⁴² However, James' heirs were Hamiltons, who had no claim in England and were expected to revive Catholicism should they gain the Scottish crown.³⁴³ With this understanding, removing any chance of a Hamilton succession would have helped Morton achieve his goals for the future of Protestantism and could have been intended to pre-empt attempts at regicide. In any case, with James approaching adulthood, Moray's memory was brought back into the public realm and into the awareness of the young King, where it guided his activity as he prepared for personal rule. As Chapter Two shows, the impression this left was lasting.

The erasure of the Hamilton name, desired by Moray's circle, as evidenced by the tomb, was formally achieved. The parliamentary record from 10 November 1579 reports that the Hamiltons sentenced for treason would have 'their dignities, names and memory to be perpetually extinct and their arms to be put out of the book thereof'.³⁴⁴ In heraldic terms at least, this was a victory for adherents of Moray although, ironically, public interest, fuelled by the memorials, has ensured that memory of the Hamiltons is preserved.

The Regent's monument became a fixture of life in the Scottish capital and was known further afield. The location, in the transept of St. Giles', meant the tomb was regularly in the view of people attending services in the building (Figure 14). Its audience was increased by the reported use of this area as a thoroughfare, between the busy Parliament Square and High Street, over the course of many decades,

³⁴¹ Reid-Baxter in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 469, 475.

³⁴² Reid-Baxter in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 475.

³⁴³ Reid-Baxter in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 476.

³⁴⁴ Crichton, 10 November 1579 in Brown et al, 2007-2023.

facilitated by a nearby door which was constantly open.³⁴⁵ Furthermore, a broadside ballad reveals that, by the early eighteenth century, the monument was nationally known as a site where charity was distributed. The humorous verse, *The Banishment of Poverty*, describes the narrator's journey around Scotland in search of better circumstances and recounts:

'When I kend no way how to fend,

My Guts rumbl'd like a Hurle-barrow,

I din'd with Saints and Noble men,

Ev'n sweet St Giles, and Earl of Moray.'³⁴⁶

This inclusion, in a publication for mass distribution, indicates that the author expected the reference to be meaningful to audiences distant from Edinburgh and demonstrates that, by this time, the tomb was nationally associated with virtuous acts.

The monument also became a place to conduct important business. George Seton, reporting to the Society of Antiquaries, noted that 'it was a common occurrence, until a comparatively recent period, to assign it as the place of meeting, when any special contract was to be entered into, and also to make bills payable at "the Good Regent's tomb."³⁴⁷ Singling out Moray's monument for this activity shows that it was more than a convenient landmark in these transactions, since at least one other noble tomb, that of the earl of Atholl, was only a few steps away (Figure 14). Prior to the Reformation, Catholic altars were habitually used in a similar way, when

³⁴⁵ Anderson, 1931, 24.

³⁴⁶ Francis Sempill, *The Banishment of Poverty by His Royal Highness J.D.A.*, 1703?, National Library of Scotland APS.4.94.22.

³⁴⁷ Seton, 1852, 39.

important business was being agreed, bringing it under the oversight of the saints.³⁴⁸ This indicates that participants understood sanctified oversight to be taking place as they contracted at the Regent's tomb. At this site, Moray oversaw their business, ensuring fair dealing, as the Catholic saints had done in earlier times.

A similar sense that the Regent observed life from beyond the grave is apparent in another performance which occurred at his burial place. In 1606, two Scottish members of the London court, Lord Roxburghe and Sir Robert Ker of Ancram, made public settlement of a longstanding feud, when Roxburghe, the offender, confessed to murder and agreed an *assythment*, as he begged forgiveness on the tomb.³⁴⁹ Public abasement like this was a common feature of feud settlement proceedings.³⁵⁰ As well as adding a satisfying performance element to ritualised, compensatory revenge, publicising an agreement in this way elicited social pressure to help enforce it.³⁵¹ Much as with contracts and bill payment, activity like this had, in the past, been enacted at Catholic altars.³⁵² In this instance, Moray was recruited, along with the watching public, to ensure continuing peaceable behaviour between the two men, again taking on a role assigned to Catholic saints in earlier times.

These examples make the success of Moray's memorialisation campaign apparent. Revenge against the Hamiltons had been belatedly achieved, the Regent was raised to quasi-divine status, his memory attained a long geographical reach and retained political relevance into the eighteenth century. In particular, the Roxburghe-Ancram episode shows that the tomb, and the memories it directed, were

³⁴⁸ Mairi Cowan, *Death, Life and Religious Change in Scottish Towns, c. 1350 - 1560*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2012), 99.

³⁴⁹ Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the revolution*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 66.

³⁵⁰ Wormald, May 1980, 87.

³⁵¹ Wormald, May 1980, 87.

³⁵² Cowan, 2012, 99.

honoured by members of the Stuart court, even after the move to London in 1603. Initial use of transient forms such as broadsides, corporeal display and funeral ceremonial allowed adherents of Moray to quickly occupy public space and develop an apparent, favourable, discourse about the Regent. This helped impress the security of Protestant government on their various audiences, including those who did not welcome the idea. Individuals and organisations gained in other ways. Sempill and Lekprevik garnered a large readership for their output whilst Kirk and King's Party developed a sacralised Protestant hero who could be used as an inspiring exemplar for their congregations and followers. Moray's inner circle became able to associate themselves with a patriarchal national father-figure. They appealed to disparate audiences across social and confessional divides, calling on ideas of community and revenge, associated with feud. Having found ways to elevate his reputation, by inviting association with classical heroism, Christ and the saints, Moray's household succeeded in solidifying directions for his memory in an enduring *lieu de mémoire* in St. Giles' church.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, faced with a crisis, associates of the Scottish ruling elite manipulated the press to voice an apparent popular consensus in support of a memory they sought to promote. In concert with this, and calling on ideas of community and unity, nobles manipulated corporeal remains, alongside pictorial and symbolic representations of self, to elevate their subject's reputation. A variety of appeals, including to Catholic memory, allowed their address to communicate with a society fractured by civil war. In establishing a *lieu de mémoire* for Moray as a

sacralised hero and father-figure for Protestant Scotland, they also developed a hagiography of the male, Protestant Stewart line. These activities and ideas are central to rest of the thesis as it explores the ways in which members of the Scottish diaspora continued to respond to crises past, present and perceived.

Chapter Two - A 'translucent passage': elevating Mary, Queen of Scots.

Introduction

Having been acclaimed King of England on 24 March 1603, James VI of Scotland spent around a month on progress to London, arriving on 7 May.³⁵³ Sherlock observes that James' mother, Mary, Queen of Scots (d.1587) must have been at the front of the King's mind, since a 'rich pall of velvet, embroidered with the armes of the mighty princesse,' was sent from London and put in place at her burial site in Peterborough Cathedral, on 14 August.³⁵⁴ The pall must have been complete by early August, and so was necessarily commissioned in the earliest days of James' English reign. It was central to a very public reverence, 'laid uppon and over the corps of the said late Queene' by the herald Sir William Dethick, in a ceremony involving 'many knights and gentlemen, and much people', and sermons by

³⁵³ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

³⁵⁴ Sherlock, April 2007, 269. Anon., Harley MS. 293, f. 211 in R. Prescott-Innes (ed.), *The funeral of Mary, queen of Scots. A collection of curious tracts, relating to the burial of this unfortunate princess, being reprints of rare originals, partly transcriptions from various manuscripts*, (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmith, 1890), p.41, 41.

Peterborough's bishop and dean.³⁵⁵ After 'a great feast', in one of the first ceremonial acts of Stuart rule, 'the queene of Scotland was most royally and sumptuously entered' within the same vault at Peterborough, for a second time.³⁵⁶

Political circumstances required James to retrospectively address the crisis of Mary's execution. As Sherlock remarks, confirming the Stuarts as an English dynasty was a complex task, requiring solidifying their claim to the crown at the same time as making a show of continuity with the past.³⁵⁷ For James, there were additional issues: Mary, the source of his claim, had been executed for treason by the last Tudor monarch, and was regarded, in some quarters, as a murderer.³⁵⁸ Hitherto, James had adopted a defensive stance towards portrayal of his mother in popular media, but now there was a marked change of approach.³⁵⁹ Mary's death, and her toxic reputation, would be negotiated and rehabilitated in representing the Stuarts to the English people.

In the years that followed, a distinct second wave of Marian memorialisation developed, fuelled by James and other diasporic Scottish people. These included Elizabeth Curle – a Scottish Catholic who had served in Mary's household – and Elizabeth's Jesuit nephew, Hippolitus Curle. Selected objects, and the reasons underlying their production, have inspired analysis from Peter Sherlock and Marguerite Tassi, whose publications address some of the methods employed in shaping Mary's memory for the seventeenth-century public.³⁶⁰ This chapter broadens

³⁵⁵ Anon., Harley MS. 293, f. 211, in Prescott-Innes, (ed.), 1890, 41.

³⁵⁶ Anon., Harley MS. 293, f. 211, in Prescott-Innes, (ed.), 1890, 41.

³⁵⁷ Sherlock, April 2007, 263.

³⁵⁸ Sherlock, April 2007, 264.

³⁵⁹ Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570 - 1625*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 135-6.

³⁶⁰ Sherlock, April 2007, pp. 263-89. Marguerite Tassi, 'Martyrdom and Memory: Elizabeth Curle's Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots', in Elizabeth Barrett-Graves (ed.), *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-*

that existing body of work by examining an unreported Antwerp cenotaph and portrait prints, whilst adding an innovative Scottish point of view to the scholarship surrounding Mary's eventual London tomb site and the *Blairs Memorial* portrait. The work reveals that Scottish material cultural influences on Mary's international memorialisation ran deep, reverberating to this day. My research also identifies the impact made by an unrecognised Stewart dynastic area, in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on the tomb site James developed at Westminster Abbey.

This chapter exposes the transformations undergone by Mary's memory as it was manipulated to develop *lieux de mémoire* for a range of communities. Drawing on contemporary accounts, as well as visual and typological analysis, allows conceptualisation of these activities as transformative moments, which elevated Mary in the eyes of different groups, including Catholics, Protestants, Scottish people, citizens of Antwerp and the English nobility. Referencing Scottish material culture, James and the Curles exploited the memory of the Queen of Scots as they constructed public discourse favourable to their religious and political positions.

Tombs and torches

One of James' most visible strategies was intervention in the Henry VII chapel at Westminster Abbey.³⁶¹ This was the Tudor royal memorial chapel and, as early as March 1604, James' advisors developed a proposal to build a monument there.³⁶² By

Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 101-32.

³⁶¹ Sherlock, April 2007, 269.

³⁶² Sherlock, April 2007, 269.

the following year, plans to memorialise both Mary and Elizabeth I at the site had been adopted.³⁶³ An article by Sherlock, '*The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory*', presents a meticulous investigation of the planning, construction, materiality, spatial arrangement and iconography of these tombs and the ways in which they demonstrated that the Stuarts and Tudors shared ancestral lines.³⁶⁴ However, the literature is yet to make a comparison between this site and James' use of funerary monuments north of the border as he established himself as the legitimate adult ruler of Scotland. This is most likely because the Stuart burial area James developed in Edinburgh is lost, having been demolished in 1830 during renovation work.³⁶⁵ Recovery of that space, and the monuments it contained, sheds new light on the memorials James constructed in London.

On 24 May 1579, the twelve-year-old James VI of Scotland wrote to the new fifth earl of Atholl, asking that the body of John Stewart, Atholl's recently deceased father, be moved to Edinburgh for burial. The fourth earl, who had been slow to conform to an outward appearance of Protestantism, had been James' Chancellor and, the previous year, was instrumental in the break with the young king's final regent, the earl of Morton.³⁶⁶ Since Atholl had died following a reconciliatory meal with Morton, it was widely believed that he had been poisoned.³⁶⁷ As James prepared for the declaration of his majority, to be made on 19 October, he wrote:

'Understanding the corps of our richt traist cousin, and counselour, zour fader, now resting with God, to be zit unburied, and that we think meitt that

³⁶³ Sherlock, April 2007, 269-70.

³⁶⁴ Sherlock, April 2007.

³⁶⁵ *The Scotsman*, Saturday 23 January 1830, 54.

³⁶⁶ G.R. Hewitt, 'Stewart, John, fourth earl of Atholl', in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/26491>>.

³⁶⁷ Hewitt, 'Stewart, John, fourth earl of Atholl', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

our nearest friends and Kynnismen departing this lyff, in our aige, suld be placed in burial ewest others, and that in sic honourable and public places as we mycht the rather be moved to remember thame, and thair gude service, in thair lyvetymes, and thair posterities for thair sakes. As specialie we wishe the corps of our cousin zour fader to be convoyed to Edinburgh, and thair placed ewest our dearest uncle and regent of gude memorie, the eril of Murray'.³⁶⁸

James had his wish. Atholl was carried some sixty miles from Dunfermline to Edinburgh, via Stirling, and buried in St. Giles' church, across a side aisle from the Regent Moray, 'where a stately Monument was erected over his Grave' with 'a Pelican vulnerate, feeding her young with her Blood' at its head (Figure 14).³⁶⁹ Atholl had served James in life, and now the young King demonstrated his power to reward that service and to command its continuation in death.

This pelican made Atholl's monument an iconographic mirror of Moray's. The Regent's tomb bore a similar device, engraved on a brass plate (Figure 13). As will be recalled from Chapter One, the self-sacrificing pelican, giving her lifeblood to save her young, was well-known from heraldry and had long been a symbol of Christ-like sacrifice. For viewers, it will also have recalled the willing suffering of the afflicted narrator of Psalm 102, who likened himself to a 'pelican of the wilderness'.³⁷⁰ The paired tombs presented their Stewart occupants to the world as models of self-sacrifice and devotion.

Together, the monuments allowed James to materialise the notion of a dynastic hagiography, which had begun to develop pictorially after Moray's death, as a support for his personal rule. The *Moray Banner*, paraded in the Edinburgh streets in 1570, imagined the corpses of Darnley and Moray as Images of Pity and so

³⁶⁸ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. James VI to Earl of Athole, 24 May 1579, in Commission on Historic Manuscripts *Twelfth Report Part VIII*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1891), p.9.

³⁶⁹ Crawford, 1726),136.

³⁷⁰ Psalms: 102, 6.

represented the Stewarts as a dynasty of sacrificial devotees to Protestantism.³⁷¹ Now, another Stewart, believed murdered and also associated with securing James' rule, had joined Moray in St. Giles', so the two could be remembered together for 'thair gude service' to the King.³⁷² By commanding and co-ordinating the Stewart dead, James demonstrated that his reign was justified by both continuity with the past and the sacrifice of others.

The source of inspiration for this activity in Edinburgh is unclear. James was not quite thirteen years old but there had been opportunities to learn about the value of material culture from Morton, who patronised the arts extensively and recognised their usefulness in propaganda.³⁷³ As will be recalled, Blakeway remarks that the cultural influence exerted by the courts of sixteenth-century Scottish regents on those of adult Stewart monarchs has tended to be overlooked.³⁷⁴ As discussed in Chapter One, Moray's death had been brought to the young King's attention in 1578/9.³⁷⁵ This may have led James to identify the Regent's burial place as a site which could be used in affirming the legitimacy of his personal rule. In any case, as he established himself as king for the second time, in London, James had earlier experience of manipulating funerary monuments to draw upon.

In both London and Edinburgh James used new tombs to associate himself with the dynastic dead. By the time James began construction work, the Westminster sepulchre already featured memorials for the founder of the Tudor dynasty, Henry VII, and James' paternal grandmother, Margaret Douglas, niece of another prominent

³⁷¹ Randolph to Cecil, 1 March 1570, SP52/17, fo. 64.

³⁷² James VI to Earl of Athole, 24 May 1579, 9.

³⁷³ Reid-Baxter, in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 469-71.

³⁷⁴ Blakeway in Blakeway, 2015, 129.

³⁷⁵ Reid-Baxter, in Mapstone (ed.), 2005, 485.

Tudor, Henry VIII (Figure 16).³⁷⁶ Similarly, when James requested Atholl be buried at St Giles', the church already housed the Holy Blood tomb, associated with James IV, and that of the Regent Moray, (Figure 14).³⁷⁷ In each case, by associating himself with historical figures and monuments, James invested himself with the authority of tradition and genealogy. He also made connections between himself and significant English and Scottish foundational figures - Henry VII, founder of the Tudor royal dynasty and Moray, who had been memorialised in Edinburgh as a Scottish national father-figure. In this way, James identified himself as a similarly significant dynastic and national progenitor.

At both locations, two large monuments sufficed for James' purpose. In Edinburgh, the Stewart memorial area comprised two tombs - those of Moray and Atholl. James policed other proposed burials, for example refusing permission for Moray's son-in-law, the murdered Bonnie earl of Moray, to lie there in 1592.³⁷⁸ In London, James again built two major tombs, for Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots, and thereafter, only added small memorials for two daughters who died in infancy (Figure 16). In both places, James' intention was not to merely fill the space with his dead, but to connect himself with specific people, who had, in some way, facilitated his rule.

Human remains had been moved to activate the monuments in Edinburgh and this was repeated in London. James' letter to Atholl's kin made it clear that a cenotaph, or empty tomb, would not do, saying 'As specialie we wishe the corps of

³⁷⁶ Floorplan of Henry VII Chapel from Violet Brook-Hunt, *The Story of Westminster Abbey*, (London: James Nisbet & Co, Limited, 1902), Chapter 9.

³⁷⁷ It will be recalled from Chapter One that this monument bears examples of Holy Blood iconography, the *Arma Christi*, and that James IV was an active participant in the St. Giles' Holy Blood confraternity. Oram, 2017, 574.

³⁷⁸ Potter, 2002, 190-1.

our cousin your fader to be convoyed to Edinburgh, and their placed ewest our dearest uncle and regent of gude memorie, the eril of Murray'.³⁷⁹ Atholl's body was duly transported, to ensure that Stewart remains as well as their memory, lay at St. Giles'. Similarly, James had both Elizabeth's and Mary's bodies relocated from their original burial sites to occupy new monuments. Elizabeth was moved out of James' own eventual burial spot in Henry VII's tomb, whilst Mary was transferred over one hundred miles from Peterborough. As Alexandra Walsham explains, early modern Protestants believed monuments to be empowered by corporeal remains, understanding that their presence maximised the potential for remembrance at the location.³⁸⁰ By moving Mary and Elizabeth, James empowered the Westminster monuments to be as meaningful a site of remembrance as possible.

Both sites also absorbed and re-presented violent death and the end of dynasty. All three Stuarts buried at Edinburgh and London had died violently: Moray had been shot by an assassin, Mary was beheaded and Atholl was thought to have been poisoned. Elizabeth, in contrast, had died in her bed, but was the last ruler of the Tudor line. James wrote of Moray and Atholl in terms of their service to him, saying that remembering them in 'honourable and publict places' was recognition of their 'gude service'. Death was part of that service, enabling and supporting his Scottish rule. A similar framing fits the London tombs: the deaths of Elizabeth, the reigning English monarch and Mary, through whom he claimed Tudor blood, enabled James' English rule. Mary's tarnished reputation was to be repaired in a torchlit spectacle, discussed shortly. By associating himself with these four figures, and their

³⁷⁹ James VI to Earl of Athole, 24 May 1579, in Commission on Historic Manuscripts *Twelfth Report Part VIII*, 1891, p.9.

³⁸⁰ Walsham, 2010, 135.

monuments, James re-wrote their deaths as foundational steps towards his kingship, portraying them as necessary precursors to securing him on the Scottish and English thrones.

The King had good reason to make cultural references which were relevant to Scottish people in his southern kingdom. Alongside his English subjects, there were multiple Scottish audiences to address since, as James established the Stuarts in England, he was observed by his subjects in Scotland, Scottish communities in Europe and those who had travelled south with the court. Jenny Wormald remarks that, politically, '[t]hroughout his reign James brought his Scottish experience to bear on his English rule'.³⁸¹ Drawing on Scottish cultural precedents would allow England's new king to reassure varied sectors of the Scottish people that thoughts of Scotland continued to inform his actions.

Once her large, and very costly tomb was complete, a torchlit funeral procession accompanied Mary's coffin on the last stage of its journey from her original burial site in Peterborough, to Westminster Abbey.³⁸² At around six in the evening of 8 October 1612, James' lords and senior church officials, including the Lord Chancellor and the archbishop of Canterbury, rode out to Clerkenwell to accompany the coffin as it progressed through the darkened streets.³⁸³ The occasion pales in comparison to the ostentation of later royal funerals conducted during James' reign, such as that of Prince Henry.³⁸⁴ However, Mary had already been

³⁸¹ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

³⁸² For detailed discussion of its planning, building and iconography see Sherlock, April 2007.

³⁸³ Edmund Howes in John Stow, *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by maister John Stow and after him continued and augmented by Edmund Howes*, (London: Thomas Adams, 1615), 913.

³⁸⁴ Woodward, 1997, 139, 148.

given an elaborate royal funeral, at Peterborough, in 1587.³⁸⁵ This event was something different. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1540 - 1614), Privy Counsellor, crypto-Catholic, and long-time correspondent of Mary's, had been in touch with the cortege on its way and records nobles engaging in early preparations to meet it on arrival in London.³⁸⁶ Night-time funerals were not the norm in England and he explains the late hour as a way to 'shunne concourse'.³⁸⁷ It is more likely that this was to ensure the road was clear than to prevent people from seeing, since he also reports 'manie' onlookers in the streets and at windows.³⁸⁸ Indeed, his description of going out to 'waite' on Mary's remains as 'the last service that I can do', conveys a sense of courtly activity.³⁸⁹ The movement of lords, bishops and archbishops, their entourages, the huge nine-hundredweight coffin and the torchbearers, on a likely route, along The Strand and past Charing Cross, cannot have failed to attract attention (Figure 17).³⁹⁰ As Woodward remarks, many people will have been free from their work at this time of day, making an audience available for the spectacle.³⁹¹ Doubtless the bells which rang out from St. Margaret's Church, Westminster attracted more onlookers and enhanced the atmosphere of the

³⁸⁵ R. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, 1587, 'The Manner of the Solemnity, of the Scottish Queens Funeral, being the first of August 1587; when she was buried, in the Cathedral Church of Peterburgh' in Symon Gunton (ed.), *The History of the Church of Peterburgh*, (London: Richard Chiswell, 1686), pp.77-9.

³⁸⁶ Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton (1540 - 1614)' in Cannadine (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3 January 2008)., < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/13906>>. Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 8 October 1612, ff.7

³⁸⁷ Clare Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular: 1558 - 1660', in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, (eds.), *Death in England an Illustrated History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 147-173, 161. Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff.23.

³⁸⁸ Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff. 23.

³⁸⁹ Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 8 October 1612, ff.7.

³⁹⁰ Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff. 23. Fletcher in Gunton (ed.), 1686, 78. Detail from Janelle Jenstad, Greg Newton, and Kim McLean-Fiander, (eds.), *The Agas Map of Early Modern London*, (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 2013-present), mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm 'Agas' map of London, 1633.

³⁹¹ Woodward, 1997, 139.

occasion, since bell-ringing marked the most important events.³⁹² Immersed in a sensory environment constructed from darkness, artificial light and sound, crowds of Londoners witnessed Mary, enveloped in flickering torchlight, being physically and conceptually translated by passage to a resting place amongst the Tudor dead in the Abbey.

Holding the funeral procession after dark allowed the use of torches as a lighting effect, helping to develop a sense of spectacle. Although torches would have been commonplace when nobles moved around at night, a remark, by chronicler Edmund Howes (fl. 1607 - 31), on their 'plentie' indicates there were more than he thought necessary to allow travel.³⁹³ Howes recognised what he saw as a special journey. This impression is confirmed by the historian and playwright Arthur Wilson (1595 - 1652), whose stage experience would have sensitised him to such artifice, and who recalled 'multitudes of torches' as the most prominent feature of Mary's 'translucent passage'.³⁹⁴ Impressive, torchlit processions through the streets had been part of court masques from early in the English reign of King James the First.³⁹⁵ Hence, Londoners were presented with an illuminated train which, primed by earlier experience, they could interpret as a notable royal performance.

³⁹² Anon., 'Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts' in Mackenzie Edward Charles Walcott (ed.), *The History of the Parish Church of St. Margaret, in Westminster*, (Westminster: W. Blanchard & Sons, 1847), pp. 57 – 67, 63. Northampton, to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff. 23.

³⁹³ Christina DeCoursey, 'Howes, Edmund (fl. 1602 - 1631)' in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/13985>>. Howes in Stow, 1615, 913.

³⁹⁴ Graham Parry, 'Wilson, Arthur' in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/29640>>. Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, being the life and reign of King James the First, Relating to what passed from his first Access to the Crown, till his Death*, (London: Richard Lownds, 1653), 61.

³⁹⁵ David M. Bergeron, 'Court Masques about London' in *Studies in Philology*, Fall 2016, Volume 113, Number 4, pp. 822-49, 845 - 7.

Although both were torchlit, this procession was very different from the one which had transported Mary's remains to her original burial site at Peterborough. On that occasion, having lain for months at Fotheringhay Castle, the site of her execution, the Queen of Scots' coffin was taken up at ten o'clock on the night of 30 July 1587.³⁹⁶ Carried in a royal coach, accompanied by five heralds, forty horsemen and the Garter King of Arms, it was drawn some fourteen miles through the Cambridgeshire countryside, to Peterborough Cathedral, in the dead of night.³⁹⁷ In post-Reformation England, funerary torches had acquired Catholic associations, causing them to be banned by Elizabeth I but, understandably, some illumination was necessary to safely complete such a journey on rural roads, in the hours of darkness.³⁹⁸ Having arrived, the coffin was placed in a prepared vault, at around two in the morning.³⁹⁹ An elaborate royal heraldic service, attended by official mourners and other members of the nobility, followed later in the day.⁴⁰⁰ Despite the magnificence of the ceremony, as Woodward notes, the procession towards it had been secretive.⁴⁰¹ Timing and location ensured that few people would have seen the Queen's body pass by - quite unlike the arrangements made for the London cortege. At Peterborough, a congregation had participated in a service which symbolically commemorated Mary's queenship whereas, some twenty-five years later, King James encouraged the inhabitants of central London to see a processional transformation of the Queen of Scots' body, and thus, her person.

³⁹⁶ Anon., 'A Remembrance of the Order and Manner of the Buriall of Mary Queen of Scots' 1587, in Prescott-Innes (ed.), 1890, pp. 58-62.

³⁹⁷ Anon., 1587, in Prescott-Innes (ed.), 1890, 60.

³⁹⁸ Woodward, 1997, 78,140.

³⁹⁹ Anon., 1587, in Prescott-Innes (ed.), 1890, 60-2.

⁴⁰⁰ Fletcher of Peterborough, 1587, in Gunton, (ed.), 1686, pp.77-9.

⁴⁰¹ Woodward, 1997, 139.

Contemporary responses to her Westminster tomb show that people saw Mary transformed, and elevated, by the funeral performance. Aware that causing the king displeasure could have devastating consequences, chronicler Edmund Howes reported the movement of Mary's remains as royal pageantry. He understood that it transformed her status in the English royal genealogy and made her into one of the country's most exalted royal dead.⁴⁰² Mary's original burial at Peterborough was close to that of Catherine of Aragon, divorced wife of Henry VIII.⁴⁰³ In spite of Catherine's significance as mother to Mary I, in Tudor dynastic terms, her tomb was a monument to a rejected wife who had failed in her duty to produce a male heir. Consequently, although Mary's 1587 funeral had enjoyed all the trappings of royalty, including heralds, noble mourners and religious officiants, the location of her grave at Peterborough implied a less than exalted status.⁴⁰⁴ Accordingly, a move to Westminster, away from Catherine, represented an increase in standing. Contemporary understanding of this is evidenced by Howes' description of the 1612 funeral procession, which dwells on Mary's majesty, repeatedly referring to her as 'Queene' and says that she has been built a 'most royall Tombe' in the 'chappell royall' and lists some of those present, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Coventry and Rochester, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of Worcester.⁴⁰⁵ His emphasis on noble and religious titles and high offices held

⁴⁰² Howes in Stow, 1615, 913.

⁴⁰³ Anon., 'A Remembrance of the Order and Manner of the Buriall of Mary Queen of Scots' 1587, in Prescott-Innes, R., (ed.), *The funeral of Mary, queen of Scots. A collection of curious tracts, relating to the burial of this unfortunate princess, being reprints of rare originals, partly transcriptions from various manuscripts*, (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmith, 1890), pp. 31-6, 34.

⁴⁰⁴ See Anon. 'The Scottish Queens Buriall at Peterborough', (London: A. J. for Edward Venge, 1587), in Prescott-Innes (ed.), *The funeral of Mary, queen of Scots. A collection of curious tracts, relating to the burial of this unfortunate princess, being reprints of rare originals, partly transcriptions from various manuscripts*, (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmith, 1890), pp. 1-7, for the attendees and ceremonies.

⁴⁰⁵ Howes in Stow, 1615, 913.

by those attending the coffin heightens the reader's impression that the procession was transformative with respect to Mary's status in the kingdom and the royal line.

Others understood her transformation in confessional terms. In a letter to Viscount Rochester, Northampton wrote an emotional and highly poetic account of his observations.⁴⁰⁶ He described the monument as the fount of an imagined rose-scented liquor 'that makes all the kingdome sweter', indicating that he identified it as a national saint's shrine, since the emanation of such a floral scent from a corpse - the 'odour of sanctity' - was a recognised signifier of saintliness.⁴⁰⁷ For Northampton, Mary's funeral had functioned as a *translatio* - the solemn procession transporting bodily remains to a final resting place in a shrine, which completed the sanctification of Catholic martyrs before canonisation was introduced.⁴⁰⁸ This view is supported in his account of a miraculous happening as Mary's massive coffin slipped into the space allotted with but '3 inchis of latitude ... provinge ... this place was preserved and kept for her' as if by God.⁴⁰⁹ Of course, the expedition with the pall in 1603 would have allowed the coffin to be measured and others present likely understood the incident as a mark of the mason's craftsmanship. Nonetheless, in keeping with his Catholic beliefs and personal devotion to Mary, the tomb provided Northampton with proof of saintly transformation. He was not the only one: in 1627 the later-discredited, and highly partisan *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum* of Scottish

⁴⁰⁶ Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff. 23.

⁴⁰⁷ Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff. 23. Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003 [1994]), 53.

⁴⁰⁸ Thomas Dempster, '875 Maria' in D. Irving (ed.), *Thomae Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum Tom. II*, (Edinburgh: Andrew Balfour, 1829), pp. 461-4, 464. Arnoldt Angenendt, 'Relics and Their Veneration' in Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, (United Kingdom: The British Museum Press, 2011), pp. 19 – 28, 21. Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 23, 26.

⁴⁰⁹ Northampton to the earl of Rochester, 10 October 1612, ff. 23.

Catholic historian Thomas Dempster (1579 – 1625) also reported miracles associated with Mary's bones after the move to Westminster.⁴¹⁰ As with the memorialisation of the Regent Moray, Mary's memory was shaped in ways which allowed a Catholic minority to discern religious meaning.

Indeed, there were sufficient Catholic overtones to be perceived by Protestants, even as they formed their own view of the proceedings. Wilson, the playwright, who was also a committed Presbyterian and vociferous critic of James' tolerance of Catholics, saw the 'tapers', 'Quires' and 'Copes' used in the service in the Abbey as popish paraphernalia.⁴¹¹ Regardless, he was able to develop his own understanding of the intent behind the funeral. His account formed part of an extended critique of James' reign, published in the guise of a British history and, in keeping with his personal opinions, Wilson characterised the event as atonement for guilt James felt for not having prevented his mother's execution.⁴¹² In the king's 'piaculous action' Wilson saw a transformation of Mary from troublesome political ghost to a closed chapter in Stuart history, whose 'last memory' was confirmed by the event.⁴¹³ Mary's reburial allowed different confessional groups to make their own positive inferences.

The capacity for varied interpretation embedded in the Queen of Scots' procession, taken alongside the movement of corporeal remains, suggests that Stewart precedent from Scotland informed this part of her memorialisation. As

⁴¹⁰ Alexander du Toit, 'Dempster, Thomas' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/7473>>. Dempster, in Irving (ed.), 1829, 464.

⁴¹¹ Parry, 'Wilson, Arthur', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, being the life and reign of King James the First, Relating to what passed from his first Access to the Crown, till his Death*, (London: Richard Lownds, 1653), 61 - 2.

⁴¹² Wilson, 1653.

⁴¹³ Wilson, 1653, 61-2.

observed in Chapter One, aspects of Moray's remembrances had catered to different social groups, including Protestants, Catholics, the Latin-reading elite and the illiterate, encouraging them to see him as virtuous and sacralised. Again, as observed in Chapter One, the Scottish ruling elite, including James himself, were accustomed to manipulate corpses as an expression of power. In addition, their burial practice encompassed moving and reburying bodies in accordance with changes in the deceased's legal status, as might happen at the conclusion of a court hearing or legal dispute.⁴¹⁴ Furthermore, as Andrew Spicer remarks, even after the Reformation, Scottish people expended 'considerable effort' on moving the dead so that they could be buried with their kin.⁴¹⁵ Now that James was King of England, the remains of his mother belonged in London.

Use of torchlight adds weight to this interpretation. Torchlit, night-time funerals were performed in later-seventeenth-century England and have been characterised as a social reaction against costly, heavily regulated and stereotypic heraldic death rituals.⁴¹⁶ Regardless, the fashion did not develop until after Mary's obsequies.⁴¹⁷ Meantime, preparations for the Edinburgh funeral of the earl of Atholl, in 1579, show that, at that time, torches were a feature of Scottish funerary practice, even if they attracted censure from some for being 'superstitious and ethineque like' - too Catholic.⁴¹⁸ It follows that Atholl's funeral was to be held at night. Speaking in terms of English tradition, Peter Sherlock finds the movement of Mary's body from Peterborough to Westminster 'radical'.⁴¹⁹ However, James' movement of his

⁴¹⁴ Brown, 2003 [1986], 30. Brown, 2004 [2000], 259-60.

⁴¹⁵ Spicer, 2000, 151-2

⁴¹⁶ Gittings in Jupp and Gittings (eds.), 161-2.

⁴¹⁷ Gittings in Jupp and Gittings (eds.), 1999, 161.

⁴¹⁸ Anon. in Peterkin (ed.), *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Printing and Publishing Co., 1839), 187.

⁴¹⁹ Sherlock, April 2007, 289, 284.

mother's body in a torchlit, nocturnal, procession, open to varied interpretations, can be regarded as a reference to earlier Stewart funerals, such as those of Moray and Atholl, made manifest in English royal protocol.

Once ensconced in London, James VI & I had access to sufficient resources to build large, elaborate monuments for his mother and Elizabeth I. He also brought with him the experience gained from his northern rule. The existing tomb of the Regent Moray and the new monument for Atholl had been the basis for a visual rhetoric of Stuart royal power in Edinburgh. Building the Westminster monuments where he did, and troubling to empower them with mortal remains, James drew on prior experience and Scottish burial practices. He worked to secure his kingship in England by mirroring what he had done in Scotland - making 'honourable and public places' for the dead.

The *Blairs Memorial* portrait: a 'vendetta' painting for a Queen?

Mary, Queen of Scots was beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle, near Peterborough, on 8 February 1587.⁴²⁰ Her household was not released until several months later, when Elizabeth Curle, a Scottish Catholic gentlewoman who had attended the Queen on the scaffold, went into exile, eventually settling in Antwerp.⁴²¹ Elizabeth had been entrusted with the image of her mistress, in the shape of a portrait miniature, which, presumably was the basis for the fine, life-size, full-length portrait she commissioned - now customarily known as the *Blairs Memorial* (Figure

⁴²⁰ Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴²¹ Tassi, 2013, 109.

18).⁴²² Marguerite Tassi dates this commission to 1604 -18, thanks to its description of James VI & I as 'King of Great Britain', a term first used in 1604, and mention of the picture in the will of Elizabeth's nephew, Hippolitus, written in 1618.⁴²³ Meantime, the holding institution proposes a date of c.1600 (Figure 18). Whilst Tassi's findings place temporal limits on the commission, the increased interest in Mary, arising from the Union of the Crowns does argue for a date being nearer the start of the time span.

The image is composed on a dense black background and divides into distinct areas and spatial planes. The Scottish coat of arms sits at top left, opposite a Latin inscription at top right, declaring the four realms of Scotland, England and Ireland, claimed by Mary. Against this backdrop, the prominence given to Scottish heraldry demands that a reading adopts a Scottish perspective. The background at middle left depicts a small, grisly, execution scene, in which Mary wears martyr's red, with another inscription below. Two small female figures, in religious habit, labelled as Mary's women, Janet Kennedy and Elizabeth, stand in the background at mid-right, whilst the Queen, richly dressed and serenely bearing crucifix and prayerbook, dominates the entire foreground and centre of the canvas. A third Latin inscription runs across the bottom of the picture and a fourth, in a different hand, occupies the space immediately below the feet of the subject. Mary wears a black damask gown, edged in fur, with dense, fine, slash-work across bodice and sleeves. A large cartwheel ruff, which is by far the lightest and brightest passage in the painting,

⁴²² Tassi, 2013, 108. Unknown artist (Flemish school), *Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587)*, c. 1600, Blairs Museum, Aberdeen, item T9103BLRBM. The painting, which is under the stewardship of the Scottish Catholic Heritage Collections Trust, was viewed at the Blairs Museum, Aberdeen. The Museum has since closed but the picture is expected to return to display in a new facility, dedicated to Catholic objects. This location, on the site of the former St. Mary's School, Glasgow, is planned to open in 2024.

⁴²³ Tassi, 2013, 117-8.

draws attention to the neck, which the executioner severed, whilst a voluminous white veil outlines her figure, draping from the top of her head to lie in folds on the floor.

Tassi and others detect Netherlandish influences on the appearance of the *Memorial*. As Tassi remarks, the artists of Antwerp produced many portrayals of martyrdom in the early seventeenth-century, noting that Elizabeth Curle will have been familiar with at least one of these - the Otto van Veen *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* altarpiece (c. 1595), which hung in her local parish church in Antwerp (Figure 19).⁴²⁴ Indeed, since Andrew is the patron saint of Scotland, this picture may have been particularly meaningful for Scottish people, like Elizabeth, exiled in the city. Nevertheless, the great difference in formal characteristics between the colourful, crowded, dynamic, outdoor scene, in which Andrew meets his death, and the *Memorial*, makes it difficult to discern close visual links between the two. (Figures 18 and 19). Meantime, former curator at the Blairs Museum, Vikki Duncan, observes marked similarities between the *Memorial* and contemporary Netherlandish noble portraits, such as the 1616 *Portrait of Justina van Teylingen* by Cornelis van der Voort (Figure 20).⁴²⁵ Here, a dark, compressed picture space focuses attention on the sitter's posture and clothing, in an image which freezes her, capturing a single moment. The visual parallels with the central figure of Mary from the *Blairs Memorial* are, indeed, very strong.

Contemporaries were accustomed to learn about the character of the sitter from such portraits. Social status could be inferred from the clothing depicted, with

⁴²⁴ Tassi, 2013, 121. Otto van Veen, c. 1595, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, St. Andrew's Church, Antwerp.

⁴²⁵ Cited in Tassi, 2013, 109, 128. Cornelis van der Voort, 1616, *Portrait of Justina van Teylingen*, Bridgeman Education BAL307902.

dress also being indicative of character.⁴²⁶ Mary is clothed in costly, black, heavily figured damask and sable fur (Figure 18).⁴²⁷ This pelt was reserved for only the most significant royal personages.⁴²⁸ Her calm demeanour and controlled posture project *tranquillitas*. An idealised self-discipline of the early-modern elite, it connoted fitness to rule and its representation is a notable feature of noble portraiture produced in the Low Countries at this time.⁴²⁹ The conventions of costume and posture deployed in the *Memorial* project Mary as an exemplary ruler.

Visual effects present the viewer with an otherworldly scene. The dark, compressed background and white veil combine to propel Mary towards the viewer, into a space entirely separate from the earthly activities engaging the other figures. She is at once queenly and heavenly: the rich fabric, fur and regal posture announce her royalty whilst the prayerbook and crucifix carried as attributes show that she has left the temporal world behind. Her veil suggests that she is enveloped in an aura of heavenly light. Through tonal and spatial manipulation, the painting elevates Mary from earthly ruler to heavenly Queen.

It could also be argued that the *Memorial* invites viewers to reimagine Mary as an Image of Pity by drawing on the iconography of the Holy Blood cult. As will be recalled from Chapter One, Holy Blood was a popular cult of the blood spilled during Christ's Passion, which had spread from the Low Countries to Scotland. Holy Blood

⁴²⁶ Emilie E.S. Gordenker, 'The Rhetoric of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Portraiture' in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 57, 'Place and Culture in Northern Art', 1999, pp. 87-104, 87.

⁴²⁷ Thanks are due to Dr. Elizabeth McFadden, post-doctoral researcher at the University of Maryland, for her assistance in identifying this fur.

⁴²⁸ Elizabeth McFadden, *Fur Dress, Art, and Class Identity in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England and Holland*, (unpublished thesis, University of California, Berkeley: Fall 2019), 10.

⁴²⁹ Ann Jensen Adams, 'The Three-Quarter Length Life-Sized Portrait in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Cultural Functions of *Tranquillitas*' in Wayne Franits (ed.) *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 158 - 81, 167.

images, such as the *Fetternear Banner*, often featured the Image of Pity, in which a standing Christ figure displays his many wounds, surrounded by the instruments of his Passion (Figure 10). In the *Memorial* image, the fine decorative slash-work across Mary's bodice and sleeves is analogous to numerous tiny wounds, whilst a figurative substitute for blood oozing from them is presented in her red petticoat, depicted in the execution scene (Figure 18). Meantime, real blood is shown, spilling from the wounds inflicted by the inept executioner, and is reported in the inscriptions. The presence of instruments of Passion, in the shape of block, axe and scaffold, along with the tortuous nature of the beheading, described in the inscriptions, completes the likeness.⁴³⁰ The visual rhetoric of the painting encouraged viewers familiar with Holy Blood to see Mary as Christ-like.

The Holy Blood references also connect the picture to posthumous 'vendetta' portraits, such as the *Moray* and *Darnley Banners*, produced in Scotland. Again, as seen in Chapter One, Scottish people produced memorial portraits of murder victims, which represented them in terms of the Image of Pity. Two Stuarts - Mary's second husband, Henry, lord Darnley and her half-brother, James Stewart, Regent and earl of Moray - are amongst the known subjects of paintings of this type (Figures 6 and 8).⁴³¹ As argued in Chapter One, such images elevated and sacralised their subjects, and, in the cases of Darnley and Moray, developed a Protestant Stuart hagiography. Production of an equivalent image for Mary ensured that she, as an anointed Stuart queen, was afforded at least the same pictorial status as her husband, the King Consort and her half-brother, the Regent. The *Memorial* introduced the image of a

⁴³⁰ The headsman, 'with one blow and another struck wildly with the axe' (*CARIEX SECVRI PERCVTIT ATQ VNO ET ALTERO ICTV TRVCVLENTER*) 'until her head was torn off by a third blow' (*SAVCIATAE TERTIO EI CAPUT ABSCINDIT*).

⁴³¹ A banner depicting Moray and Darnley, discussed in Chapter One, is described in Randolph to Cecil, 1 March 1570, SP52/17, fo. 64.

Catholic queen into the heavenly Stuart line constructed as the Regent Moray was memorialised.

The inset execution scene supports the view that the *Blairs Memorial* referenced these Scottish pictures. If the painting is conceived as a Netherlandish elite portrait, this passage appears out of place (Figure 20). It does, however, call on Scottish 'vendetta' paintings. For example, a picture-in-picture depiction of a killing appears in the death portrait of the Bonnie earl of Moray (Figure 7). Here, a small landscape at top right shows the subject twice: firstly, fleeing a burning house and, secondly, lying dead on the ground. Darnley features in another instance in the *Darnley Memorial*, commissioned by his Scottish parents, from their exile in England (Figure 6).⁴³² He lies in state, on a heraldic bier, in a fictitious royal chapel, where the walls are adorned with Latin texts telling the story of his murder and attributing guilt to Mary, Queen of Scots. His mother, father, brother and son kneel in prayer, calling to God for revenge. Two decorated roundels on the bier depict the murder: to the left, assassins surprise Darnley as he sleeps in his bed and, to the right, he is shown, once dead, lying in a garden.

For Scottish viewers, these interpolated scenes evidenced particularly heinous crimes. In Scotland, great weight was attached to the location of an offence and the degree of premeditation involved in its commission. *Hamesucken* (planned assault on a person in their home) warranted capital punishment, whereas *chaudmellay*, 'ane hoat suddaine tuijje (fight)', was 'opponed as contrar to forthocht fellonie', and, accordingly, less serious.⁴³³ The small death scenes inset

⁴³² Weir, 2015, 304-5.

⁴³³ John Skene, *De Verborum Significatione. The Exposition of the Termes and Difficill Wordes, contained in the Foure Buikes of Regiam Majestatem and vthers*, (Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, 1597), 72, 98.

into 'vendetta' portraits, like those of the Bonnie earl and Darnley, argued that the crimes portrayed constituted *hamesucken* – that their subjects had been attacked, with forethought, in their homes. The dependent kin of those killed in these awful crimes would require *assythment* commensurate with their status.

The *Blairs Memorial* delivers a similar argument in inscriptions relating to Mary's death. Rendering the Queen as an Image of Pity and inserting the small execution scene prompts viewers to consider the image as a 'vendetta painting'. An accompanying case for something akin to *hamesucken* is presented visually and textually. The execution performance provides evidence of forethought violence. This is supplemented by the inscriptions, which reveal that Mary should have been safe in England: she had fled there hoping for help from her kinswoman and cousin, Queen Elizabeth (*AVXILI SPE ET OPINIONE A COGNATA ELIZABETHAIN ANGLIA REGNANTE OMISSV EO DESCENDIT*). Instead, Mary faced a headsman who, with one blow and another struck wildly with the axe (*CARIEX SECVRI PERCVTIT ATQ VNO ET ALTERO ICTV TRVCVLENTER*) until her head was torn off by a third blow (*SAVCIATAE TERTIO EI CAPUT ABSCINDIT*). The inscriptions make it clear that, Mary was killed under the auspices of a kinswoman, in circumstances where she should have been safe and secure. Elizabeth Curle's portrait of Mary draws on the idea of *hamesucken* and other aspects of Scottish 'vendetta paintings' and, as such, demands a suitable *assythment* for the dependent kin of its subject.

The *Memorial* identifies the kin to be *assythit* for Mary's killing as Scottish Catholics. The other Scottish memorial portraits discussed here represent the bereft dependents requiring compensatory revenge for the dead. Darnley's *Banner* and *Memorial* show James VI kneeling in prayer, as he cries out to god for due revenge, and it will be recalled that the *Moray Banner* showed 'the king [James VI] upon his

knees criinge iudge and revenge my cause o Lorde' (Figures 8 and 6).⁴³⁴ A similar banner memorialised the murdered laird of Bargany, 'quhairin was payntitt his portratour, with all his wondis, with his sone sittand at his kneysis'.⁴³⁵ In the *Blairs Memorial*, this role is taken by the small figures of Janet Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle, who clasps her hands in supplication (Figure 18). This presentation of adult Catholics as Mary's bereft dependents declared the need to *assythe* the Catholic community for Mary's killing.

The required *assythment* should recognise and accommodate Scottish Catholicism. Tassi contends that 'the portrait argues for an idealized "true" Scotland, a kingdom converted to the "true" religion, Catholicism' by '[t]he uniting of religious and political images'.⁴³⁶ It does indeed do so – in more ways than have been recognised to date. Notably, the two dependent women wear long black veils, white collars and black dresses, reminiscent of the habits of the Congregatio Jesu (Figures 18 and 21).⁴³⁷ This institution was founded in Flanders, in 1609, by exiled English Catholic, Mary Ward, who conceived it as an unenclosed, apostolic sister house for the Society of Jesus, which trained Catholics in exile for the priesthood.⁴³⁸ By visually aligning herself with Jesuitism, Elizabeth Curle indicated that the required *assythment* should address Catholic restoration.

Audiences capable of appreciating the references to Holy Blood, *hamesucken* and *assythment* made by the *Blairs Memorial*, existed in the Low Countries. Tassi

⁴³⁴ Randolph to Cecil, 1 March 1570, SP52/17, fo. 64.

⁴³⁵ Anon., 'Historie of the Kennedyis' in Robert Pitcairn (ed.), *Historical and genealogical account of the principal families of the name Kennedy*, (Edinburgh: William Tait and John Stevenson, 1830), 68.

⁴³⁶ Tassi, 2013, 119.

⁴³⁷ Unknown artist, painting number 46 from a series of 50 comprising *The Painted Life of Mary Ward*, before 1680, Mary Ward Hall, Augsburg, Germany.

⁴³⁸ Congregatio Jesu, *Mary Ward*, (Rome: Congregatio Jesu, 2022), <<https://www.congregatiojesu.org/mary-ward/story/>> .

proposes that, in the early years of its life, the painting was kept, and displayed, in Elizabeth's home.⁴³⁹ There, it could be seen by her compatriots living in, or travelling to, the city as well as visitors from amongst the Catholic citizens of Antwerp. Members of both groups are likely to have been familiar with Holy Blood imagery, whilst anyone who had been in Scotland since 1567, or kept up with the news, will have had opportunities to hear about the portraits of the murdered dead being produced and paraded there. In addition, important Scottish institutions, which could supply a flow of knowledgeable visitors, were relatively close. Veere, some 50 miles away, had a resident Scottish community and, as the sole port handling staple goods from Scotland, was a common point of arrival for merchants and other Scottish travellers.⁴⁴⁰ The Scots College, where exiled Catholics trained as Jesuit priests, was around 100 miles away, at Douai.⁴⁴¹ Elizabeth had strong connections there, since her nephew, Hippolitus Curle was in training and her dead mistress, Mary, had been a founding donor.⁴⁴² Between 1626 and the French Revolutionary War, the *Blairs Memorial* hung in the College.⁴⁴³ There, Scottish Catholics were constantly in attendance

Achieving Catholic *assythment* for Mary's death depended on King James and Elizabeth had some reason to be hopeful. She belonged to a transnational Catholic community which anticipated that James' English rule would improve their lot.⁴⁴⁴ This expectation arose because Mary had made her son's inheritance of her

⁴³⁹ Tassi, 2013, 110.

⁴⁴⁰ Victor Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham (1604 - 1669): Conservator of the Scottish Court at Veere' in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Gent: Academia Press, 2007), pp. 39 – 66, 40-1.

⁴⁴¹ Tassi, 2013, 125.

⁴⁴² Tassi, 2013, 125.

⁴⁴³ Tassi, 2013, 125.

⁴⁴⁴ Tassi, 2013, 118-9.

claim to the throne contingent upon Catholic conversion.⁴⁴⁵ Indeed, before his ascent, the King had made assurances of religious tolerance.⁴⁴⁶ This, and the dynastic change James embodied, had emboldened some of his subjects enough to petition him directly, publishing *The Catholikes Supplication Unto the King's Majesty, for Toleration of Catholike Religion in England*, in 1603.⁴⁴⁷ In these circumstances, it is understandable that Elizabeth found enough hope to produce the *Blairs Memorial*, asking James for a religious settlement.

There is reason to think that James became aware of the painting. As the rapid arrival of the Sempill broadsides in London demonstrates, the English crown had an established intelligence network capable of gathering information at a distance and transmitting it back to Whitehall. The existence of similar communication links with the Continent, telegraphing artistic output likely to interest James, is confirmed by reports that he learned of German prints which satirised him.⁴⁴⁸ Aside from intelligence community activities, after 1604, travel by private citizens became increasingly likely to spread information about foreign paintings. The end of Anglo-Spanish hostility at this time substantially increased the numbers of English people who travelled abroad to see art and so relay their experiences on their return.⁴⁴⁹ These travellers included members of the court, such as Thomas Howard (1585 - 1646), earl of Arundel, who was both well-informed about art and

⁴⁴⁵ Tassi, 2013, 119.

⁴⁴⁶ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴⁴⁷ Wormald, 'James VI and I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Gabriel Powel, *The Catholikes Supplication Unto the King's Majesty, for Toleration of Catholike Religion in England*, (London: Felix Kyngston for Edmund Weaver, 1603).

⁴⁴⁸ Rebecca Unsworth, 'Hands Deep in History: Pockets in Men's and Women's Dress in Western Europe c. 1480 - 1630' in *Costume*, Volume 51, Issue 2, September 2017, pp.148 - 70, 162.

⁴⁴⁹ Tim Wilks, 'Art, Architecture and Politics' in Barry Coward (ed.), *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), pp.187 - 213, 190.

had access to the king.⁴⁵⁰ Indeed, the existence in England of seventeenth-century painted copies of the *Memorial*, as well as prints deriving from it, discussed in the next section, indicates that British public discourse was informed by Elizabeth Curle's version of Mary.⁴⁵¹ Images of his mother would have been of interest to James and there were several routes by which he could have gained knowledge of the *Memorial* portrait.

The inclusion of Janet Kennedy indicates that the image was intended for James' eyes. Janet had personally delivered an account of Mary's execution to the King and was subsequently called to court to serve in the household of his new queen, Anne of Denmark.⁴⁵² James' decision to award this high status post to someone so closely associated with his mother's death had been an early indicator that moves to recuperate Mary's memory might follow.⁴⁵³ Janet's name could help the painting's message resonate with the King.

James already had personal experience of 'vendetta paintings'. The King owned an example himself, having been gifted one of the two original copies of the *Darnley Memorial* by his paternal grandparents (Figure 6).⁴⁵⁴ The memorial painting for the Bonnie earl of Moray had been commissioned in 1592, to accuse James of laxity in securing justice for its subject, and contemporaries report that he was aware of it (Figure 7).⁴⁵⁵ In 1600, during an event known as the Gowrie Conspiracy, James

⁴⁵⁰ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk (1585 - 1646)' in Cannadine, D., (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/13943>>.

⁴⁵¹ The New Gallery, *Exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart*, (London: The New Gallery, 1889), 20 - 2. D. H., in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 1807, Volume 77, Part I, 535, 505.

⁴⁵² Robert S. Rait and Annie I. Cameron (eds.), *King James's Secret: Negotiations Between Elizabeth and James VI Relating to the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*, (London: Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1927), 205. John Napier in Francis V, Lord Napier (ed.), *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, (London: Blackwood and Cadell, 1834), 145 - 6.

⁴⁵³ Napier in Napier (ed.), 1834, 146.

⁴⁵⁴ Weir, 2015, 304-5.

⁴⁵⁵ Potter, 2002, 193-4.

had allegedly been forced to face another example which has gone unremarked until now. As they sought revenge for the execution of their father during James' minority, one of the sons of William, earl of Gowrie, reputedly confronted the King with 'ane *bred* (panel), with the pictour of the *wmq*' (deceased) William Erll of Gowry', saying 'Does not now thy conscience accus thé of his innocent blud? I sall be revengit now wpone thé!'.⁴⁵⁶ Other opportunities to hear of such paintings will have come with the time and effort James had devoted to settling feuds between his Scottish nobles.⁴⁵⁷ As a result, the King was equipped to perceive the ways in which the *Blairs Memorial* elevated Mary and the demand for *assythment* Elizabeth embedded in the image.

Unfortunately for Curle's ambitions, Catholics continued to face persecution during James' rule. Plots against the crown, including the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, when an attempt was made to blow up King and parliament, resulted in more restrictive anti-Catholic laws.⁴⁵⁸ Fewer Catholics were executed than under Elizabeth I but, nonetheless, judicial killings and suppression continued.⁴⁵⁹ Although, as Mary's London funeral shows, James made efforts to address this confessional group, he did not move to restore their religion in his kingdoms. Despite this, derivatives of Elizabeth's portrait of Mary came to inform a wider public discourse of Stuart rule.

Picturing Mary for the mass market: portrait prints after the *Blairs Memorial*

After the Anglo-Spanish settlement, circumstances in England supported the dissemination of new prints featuring Mary, deriving from the *Blairs Memorial*.

⁴⁵⁶ Johnston, 'Johnston's Narrative of the Conspiracy of John Earl of Gowrie', in Pitcairn (ed.), *Ancient Criminal Trials of Scotland, Volume 2, Issue 1*, (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833), pp.293-7, 295.

⁴⁵⁷ Brown, 2003 [1986], 235.

⁴⁵⁸ Tassi, 2013, 119.

⁴⁵⁹ Tassi, 2013, 119.

Increased traffic between England and Europe fueled interest in collecting and display.⁴⁶⁰ Even people with little to spend could build collections of prints and England had become a significant market for the output of Low Countries workshops.⁴⁶¹ An expanding, and socially diverse, English market was available to anyone wishing to disseminate and promote Elizabeth Curle's portrait of the Queen of Scots. This market was tapped by images such as Figures 22, 23 and 24, two of which (Figures 22 & 23) were known to Lionel Cust when he compiled his catalogue of authentic portraits of Mary at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁶²

Mary had appeared in prints produced in the immediate aftermath of her execution. One example by Catholic printmaker, Richard Verstegen (1550 – 1640), centred on the moment of execution, featured in his book, *Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Theatre of the Cruelties of the heretics of our time), which catalogued the persecution of his brethren by Protestants.⁴⁶³ Verstegen renders the headsman as a dark, sinister figure. Scaffold and block appear as a sacrificial altar, with torches for candles, whilst Mary can only be recognised by her position beneath the axe (Figure 25).⁴⁶⁴ Johan Francken's counterpart, used to illustrate Protestant pamphlets, is broadly similar but dispenses with the torches and makes the executioner more of a functionary (Figure 26).⁴⁶⁵ For the most part, both

⁴⁶⁰ Wilks in Coward (ed.), 2003, 190.

⁴⁶¹ Royal Library of Belgium in Irene Schaudies and Michael Hoyle (trans.), *The Shadow of Reubens: Print Publishing in 17th-century Antwerp*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 30.

⁴⁶² Cust, 1903, 112. Unknown artist, early seventeenth-century, *Mary Stuart*, image from Lionel Cust, *Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots*, (London: John Murray, 1903), plate xxiv. Martin Baes, engraved 1618 - 1631, *Mary Queen of Scots*, National Portrait Gallery, London, D42994. L. Leipoldt, *Mary Queen of Scots*, early seventeenth-century, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, PGE 86.038.

⁴⁶³ The British Museum, *Richard Verstegen*, (London: The British Museum, 2023), <<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG203692>>. R. V., *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*, (Antwerpen: Adrianus Hubertus, 1587).

⁴⁶⁴ Richard Verstegen, 1587, *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*, in Richard Verstegen, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*, (Antwerp, 1587), The British Museum, London, 1613434008.

⁴⁶⁵ Johan Francken, J., *Execution Oder Todt Marien Stuarts*, (Magdeburg:1588).

correlate with eyewitness accounts of how the execution was conducted and, in depicting a lady-in-waiting on the scaffold, promised prospective buyers that they were reportage.⁴⁶⁶ Such references to Mary's ladies had been developed as a standard of veracity by her Scottish biographer, Adam Blackwood (1539 – 1613), who promoted interviews with the women as a factual foundation for his publications, including *Martyre de la Royne d'Escosse*.⁴⁶⁷ Neither Verstegen's nor Francken's prints are portraits of Mary. Rather, they picture an anonymous female figure being acted upon. In both, she is devoid of agency, either because she has accepted martyrdom (Figure 25) or because she is facing justice (Figure 26). These representations of the execution influenced the viewer by making martyrdom or legal process their subject, rather than by characterising Mary herself.

Rather than reporting the moment of execution, printed Marian imagery deriving from the *Blairs Memorial* performs as portraiture, characterising Mary and her rule. To achieve this, features drawn from the *Memorial* combine with a small number of supplementary iconographic elements (Figures 18, 22, 23, 24). As in the *Memorial*, the prints place Mary centrally, turned slightly to the viewer's left (Figures 22, 23, 24). She is finely dressed, in damask and fur, and holds a crucifix in her right hand. As well as this stance, her clothing and attributes also derive from the *Memorial*. The bodice and sleeves of her dress feature numerous small slashes, whilst her long veil puffs out around a cartwheel ruff. Where her figure is shown full-length, the veil gathers in folds on the floor (Figures 22 and 23). A cloth-draped execution block, stepped platform (Figures 22 and 23) and curve-bladed axe

⁴⁶⁶ See for example – Robert Beale's eyewitness drawing of the execution scene - The British Library Add. MS 48027/1 f.650*r, reproduced in Cust, 1903, plate xxi and Robert Wingfield's eyewitness account cited in Cust, 1903, 94 - 99.

⁴⁶⁷ Nicola Royan, 'Blackwood, Adam', in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/2545>>. Adam Blackwood, *Martyre de la Royne D'Escosse*, (Edinburgh: Jean Nafield, 1587).

(Figures 22, 23 and 24), are supplemented by the arms and crowns of England, Scotland, Ireland and France (Figures 22, 23 and 24), whilst text, extracted from the *Blairs* inscriptions, complains of the 'perfidy' of Elizabeth's counsellors and declares Mary's martyrdom (Figures 22 and 24). In avoiding portrayal of the execution, these images make Mary the subject, invest her with agency and demonstrate that, in this rendering, she has overcome death. Her static posture, indicative of *tranquillitas*, makes a stark contrast with the dynamic contrapposto of the executioner and her own submissive, hunched position at the block in the earlier, execution scene, prints (Figures 25 and 26). As in the *Memorial*, a general lack of movement in these new images conveys a sense that their transformed version of Mary is fixed and finalised.

The prints appealed to a range of audiences. As with the *Blairs Memorial*, these pictures could be read as Images of Pity. All three depict slash-work on Mary's clothing, using this as a proxy for Christ's wounds (Figures 22, 23, 24 and 10). She is surrounded by the instruments of her own, personal, Passion – block, axe and scaffold. (Figures 22, 23 and 24). In one example, she holds one of these instruments, the axe, as if it were a royal attribute, just as Christ holds the reed sceptre, used to mock him, in examples such as the *Fetternear Banner* (Figures 24 and 10). These visual connections to Holy Blood would have made the prints particularly appealing to cult devotees and Scottish people familiar with 'vendetta' paintings. A broad Catholic address is apparent in the two where inscriptions explicitly describe Mary as a martyr (Figures 22 and 24), whilst dispensing with that text allows the third to make a more general appeal, to audiences who valued Mary's royalty over her confession (Figure 23).

All three prints present Mary as a unifying ruler. Presence of the heraldry and crowns of the four realms she claimed through marriage and descent - France,

Scotland, England and Ireland – is a visual demonstration of these territories being brought together in her person (Figures 22, 23 and 24). Meantime, in common with the *Blairs Memorial*, her posture and dress proclaim that she has the *tranquillitas* required to be an elite leader (Figures 18, 22, 23 and 24). In this way, the prints promote the idea that Mary was enabled with the power to bring nations together. Viewers are also offered a poignant reminder that part of her legacy was the union of Scotland and England in the person of her son, James.

One of the images is supportive of the divine right of kings. Two hovering angels, holding palm branches, extend circlet crowns over Mary's head, in an iconographic representation of the martyrdom claimed in the underlying inscription (Figure 22). However, the Queen's position in a panelled room directs viewers to consider the earthly, as well as the heavenly. Seen from that point of view, the crowns the angels proffer belong to temporal realms. As such, they are indicative of God appointing Mary to reign on earth. Such an understanding of the nature of the Crown was the basis for the idea that kings were subject only to God and ruled by divine right. This was a position adopted by James and, in its pictorial representation of the concept, the print is supportive of his views.

This representation of divine right, portrayed beside heraldry unifying the British realms suggests that these images were produced in support of James' political agenda. As a proponent of the divine right of kings, James believed himself appointed by God. In showing Mary being crowned by angels, Figure 22 not only offers affirmation of divine right in general, but also depicts the Stuart line, and James himself, as being so blessed. Furthermore, as already mentioned, James sought closer links between England and Scotland. The prints argue in favour of his wish, in heraldic depiction his realms brought together in Mary's person (Figures 22,

23 and 24). They picture precedent for the greater union James hoped to achieve, in a mass distribution format. Just as the funeral procession and Westminster tomb site had layered multiple potential readings, beneficial to James, onto Mary's physical body, the prints attached supportive meanings to her portrait.

Little is known of the engravers. Cust asserted that the Jesuits controlled an active pro-Catholic press in Antwerp, which produced engravings intended to teach their religious message.⁴⁶⁸ Although he connected Figures 22 and 23 to that press, Cust had little more detail to report.⁴⁶⁹ Martin Baes, the hand behind Figure 23, is now known to have worked at Douai, the site of both the Scots and English Jesuit Colleges.⁴⁷⁰ His output was largely religious, including illustrations for Catholic martyrologies.⁴⁷¹ It is understandable that a Douai engraver of output like this would have recognised the *Blairs Memorial* as a suitable basis for a saleable image. Engagement with the English market may have arisen through Baes' work with local printer Charles Boscard, who printed many books destined for Catholics in England.⁴⁷² As a result of the engraver's work, Elizabeth Curle's transformed version of Mary became an iconographic prop for Stuart rule, closer union between James' kingdoms and the divine right of kings. The variety of appeals embedded in the prints promoted affirmative representations of James' political stance to communities which recognised the Queen as a significant religious, political or historical figure, across the King's new realm.

⁴⁶⁸ Cust, 1903, 113.

⁴⁶⁹ Cust, 1903, 112 – 3.

⁴⁷⁰ Alexander Soetaert, "Martinus Bas Fecit Duaci" in *Transregional History, KU Leuven Research: Crossing Borders in early Modern Times*, (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2014), <<http://transregionalhistory.eu/2014/06/martinus-bas-fecit-duaci/>>.

⁴⁷¹ Soetaert, *KU Leuven Research*.

⁴⁷² Soetaert, *KU Leuven Research*.

An empty tomb and a 'fearful relic'

The *Blairs Memorial* was not the only site of commemoration made for Mary in Antwerp. A cenotaph in St. Andrew's church bearing a derivative portrait helped build, develop and promulgate the Curle family's representation of the Queen of Scots. To date, this monument has been described in the antiquarian literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and included in a survey listing authentic portraits of Mary, compiled by prominent art historian Lionel Cust (1859 - 1929).⁴⁷³

In 1620, Jesuit-in-training, Hippolytus Curle erected a costly alabaster and black marble cenotaph to commemorate two of Mary's ladies-in-waiting, who had attended her on the scaffold: his mother, Barbara Mowbray and his aunt, Elizabeth Curle (Figure 27).⁴⁷⁴ The monument was raised in their local parish church, St. Andrew's, in Antwerp, on a large column in the transept, near the south door. Its centre is a black marble tablet with lengthy Latin inscriptions, flanked by alabaster statues of two saints, identified as Elizabeth and Barbara, who stand below carved putti. Above the central tablet is an oval portrait of Mary, on copper, attended by more stone putti, and the monument is surmounted by a sculpted Virgin Mary, enthroned as the Seat of Wisdom.⁴⁷⁵ The portrait is a truncated version of the central figure from the *Blairs Memorial*, extending to just below Mary's ruff. An elaborate

⁴⁷³ Jean-Baptiste Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant, avec des Réflexions relativement aux arts & quelques Gravures*, (chez Desaint: 1769). J. Bullman, 'Letter to the editor' in Grose, F., et al (eds.) *The Antiquarian Repertory Volume III*, (London: for Edward Jeffery, 1808), pp.388-91. Constant Philippe Serrure, 'Mausolée de deux dames d'honneur de Marie Stuart' in F. de Reiffenberg, A Louvain et al (eds.) *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de la Belgique - Tome Trois*, (Gand: D. Duvivier, 1835), pp. 88 - 96. Peter Jozef Visschers, *Maria Stuart, met eene aenteekening nopens haer portret, en het gedenkstuk van haer twee staetsdamen, Barbara Mowbray et Elisabeth Curle, in S. Andries kerk te Antwerpen*, (Antwerpen: P. J. van Aarsen et Co., 1846). Cust, 1903, 111.

⁴⁷⁴ Jos E. Vercruyssen, 'A Scottish Jesuit from Antwerp: Hippolytus Curle' in *The Innes Review*, 61.2, 2010, pp.137- 49, 146. *Curle-Mowbray cenotaph, 1620*, St. Andrew's Church, Antwerp.

⁴⁷⁵ Cust, 1903, 111. Ilene H. Forsyth, *The throne of wisdom: Wood sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 1.

jewelled crown, which appears too large for the scale of the picture, hovers awkwardly, marginally above Mary's head and her French and Scottish royal arms, carved in alabaster, appear directly below the tablet in a decorative cartouche.

Antiquarian literature records evidence of changes to the monument over time. The cartouche bearing the heraldry was, at one time, broken off, most likely when Antwerp was occupied during the 1792 - 95 Flanders campaign of the French Revolutionary Wars, but has since been replaced.⁴⁷⁶ Cust identified the portrait's painted crown as a modern alteration and the marked contrast between its glossy paint finish and bold delineation, and the softer finish and blending seen across the rest of the painting support his assessment.⁴⁷⁷ However, the crown's absence would leave an unnaturally large empty space above the sitter, suggesting that there was once some other crown, or another object, depicted over Mary's head.⁴⁷⁸ A single report that the original portrait was a marble bust was convincingly explained, in the nineteenth-century, as a printing error.⁴⁷⁹

The immediate visual impression is that Mary is the primary subject of the monument. This idea is fostered by the prominence and centrality of her image and heraldry and is supported by the reports of two eighteenth-century viewers. Jean-Baptiste Descamps described seeing '*une Mausolée élevé à la mémoire de la Reine d'Ecosse Marie Stuart*' (a mausoleum raised to the memory of the Queen of Scots Mary Stuart) in 1769.⁴⁸⁰ In 1734, V. F. Keldermans, the St. Andrew's *kapellaen* (chaplain), was similarly focused on Mary, recording the most notable part of what he

⁴⁷⁶ Serrure, in de Reiffenberg, Louvain et al (eds.), 1835, 88.

⁴⁷⁷ Cust, 1903, 111.

⁴⁷⁸ Serrure, in de Reiffenberg, Louvain et al (eds.), 1835, 88.

⁴⁷⁹ Serrure in de Reiffenberg, Louvain et al (eds.), 1835, 95. Visschers, 1846, 94 - 5.

⁴⁸⁰ Descamps, 1769, 167.

saw as '*het portet (sic) van Maria Stuart Coninginne van Scotlant*' (the portrait of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland).⁴⁸¹

The idea that the monument is mainly dedicated to Mary is confirmed for anyone able to read the Latin inscriptions. These begin with the story of her flight into England after the 1568 battle of Langside, prolonged imprisonment and execution (Figure 27). Although the text continues by naming the ladies and giving some details about their lives, both women are introduced and defined by their relationship to the queen: 'one of the ladies-in-waiting of the illustrious Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland' (*QUAE SERENISS. MARIAE STVARTAE REGINAE SCOT. A CVBICVLIS*) and loyal companion to her queen in imprisonment, 'to whom in dying she gave the last kiss' (*MARIAE QVOQ. REGINAE A CVBICVLIS OCTO AVNIS VINCVLAR. FIDAE SOCIAE, CVI MORIENS VLTIMVM TVLIT SVAVIVM*). Mary was again to the fore on the nearby grave marker Hippolitus placed for his mother and aunt. This stone is now lost but is reported to have also described the women in terms of Mary - as 'ladies of the bedchamber of the most noble Queen Mary' (*NOBILISSIMAE MARIAE REGINAE A CVBICVLIS*).⁴⁸² Mary dominates the content of the inscriptions, whilst the ladies are presented in terms of their relationship to her.

Having used these visual and textual devices to focus the viewer on the Queen, the cenotaph's hierarchical vertical structure elevates her to heavenly status. Mary is surrounded by putti and raised above saints Barbara and Elizabeth (Figure 27). The heraldic symbols of her earthly reign are far below, and her position is inferior only to that of the Virgin Mary and the Christ-child. Once the audience recognises that this monument only portrays saints, not the ordinary people

⁴⁸¹ Cited in Visschers, 1846, 95.

⁴⁸² Bullman in Grose et al, (eds.) 1808, 389 - 90.

memorialised there, the transformation of Mary to desired, but imaginary, sainthood is complete. Consequently, viewers did not require a classical education to understand that the cenotaph sanctified Mary.

The materiality of the cenotaph is significant and supports the proposition that Hippolitus wanted to project an air of saintliness around the dead Queen. The carvings are in high quality alabaster and marble, whilst the portrait is painted on a thick copper sheet. These were used by seventeenth-century artists to prolong the life of paintings by increasing their resistance to changes in atmospheric conditions.⁴⁸³ The copper is visible around the edge of the painting, and was notable enough for Keldermans to record it, evidently finding it one of the defining features of the monument.⁴⁸⁴ Hippolitus' attention to materiality marks a concern that the cenotaph should be durable, keeping Mary's image incorrupt for as long as possible. Indeed the visibility of the copper metal reassures viewers that this will be the case, drawing on the Catholic belief which associated a lack of decay with saints' bodily remains.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, the black marble and white alabaster make a visual connection with the black and white stone used to construct Mary's Westminster tomb, a site where saintly associations had already been made by Northampton and stories of miraculous happenings were being reported.⁴⁸⁶

By placing his portrait of Mary inside a Catholic church, Hippolitus took advantage of location to implicitly promote devotion to her as a saintly queen in heaven. With the Vatican having failed to canonise her, it would have been heretical

⁴⁸³ Cust, 1903, 111. Isabel Horovitz, 'Copper as a support for easel paintings' in Joyce Hill Stoner and Rebecca Rushfield (eds.), *Conservation of Paintings*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.100-06, 100.

⁴⁸⁴ Cited in Visschers, 1846) 95.

⁴⁸⁵ Classen, Howes and Synnott, 2003 [1994]), 53.

⁴⁸⁶ Sherlock, April 2007, 273. Northampton: 10 October 1612, ff. 23. Dempster in Irving (ed.), 1829, 464.

to explicitly proclaim Mary a saint. However, Hippolitus was able to steer understanding of the cenotaph by locating it in an environment seeded with cues to divine presence. Viewers saw it whilst surrounded by the religious art and paraphernalia which Antwerp's Catholics had worked to restore since the iconoclasm of the Reformation.⁴⁸⁷ Earlier propaganda, such as Figure 25, had inclined Catholics to think of Mary as martyr and there were rumours that, on arrival in Antwerp, the Curles had buried her head at the foot of the supporting column.⁴⁸⁸ This environment primed visitors to come upon a saint's shrine.

The statues of saints Barbara and Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary, supplied Catholics with hagiographic and iconographic evidence which supported understanding the cenotaph in this way (Figure 27). Barbara was a martyr, who had been beheaded, and patron saint of those likely to die sudden, violent deaths, whilst Elizabeth was a royal princess and mother.⁴⁸⁹ Since Mary's biography echoed both their stories, viewers were encouraged to conclude that she was possessed of a similar saintly nature. The notion was supported by the enthroned representation of Mary's own name saint, the Virgin, in a form known as the *Sedes Sapientiae* – the Seat, or Throne, of Wisdom.⁴⁹⁰ Visually, this likens Mary's royal nature to that of the Virgin. Additionally, it references the popular *Litany of Loreto*. This invocation, which had been disseminated by pilgrims since the medieval period, lists the attributes and titles of the Virgin, presenting her as a model and source of succour for Catholics.⁴⁹¹ As well as *Sedes Sapientiae*, the *Litany* described the Virgin as '*Regina Martyrum ...*

⁴⁸⁷ Tassi, 2013, 121.

⁴⁸⁸ Napier in Napier (ed.), 1834, 145. Bullman, in Grose et al (eds.), 1808, 389 - 90.

⁴⁸⁹ M.J. Costelloe, 'Barbara, St.' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., Volume 2, (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2003), 89. G. Schinelli, 'Elizabeth of Hungary (Thuringia), St.' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., Volume 5, (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2003), 165.

⁴⁹⁰ Forsyth, 1972, 1.

⁴⁹¹ C.H. Bagley, 'Litany of Loreto' in Carson and Cerrito (eds.) *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., volume 8, (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 602-3.

Regina Sanctorum omnium' (Queen of Martyrs, Queen of all Saints).⁴⁹² Visitors approaching the cenotaph were encouraged to recall this and to conceive the Queen of Scots in similar terms. As well as seeing a memorial for Barbara Mowbray and Elizabeth Curle, Catholic viewers were able to read a case for Mary Stuart being enthroned as a saintly queen.

Hippolitus used the women's latent presence at the cenotaph to support this visual rhetoric. Eyewitnesses reporting on Mary's execution had documented the attendance of the two ladies-in-waiting and their important role in assisting in the death performance.⁴⁹³ Propagandists promoting both Catholic and Protestant viewpoints followed suit and, by including female attendants in their execution imagery, gave their rendering of events the air of authenticity (Figures 25 and 26). For example, Protestant Johan Francken's first edition of *Execution Oder Todt Marien Stuarts*, which had depicted a woman being eviscerated in the presence of two men, was quickly updated to show a beheading witnessed by two women (Figure 26).⁴⁹⁴ Subsequently, Elizabeth Curle's inclusion of her own portrait in the *Blairs Memorial* had also reminded viewers that, having been present on the scaffold, she was uniquely qualified to speak on Mary's death (Figure 18). By the time Hippolitus commissioned the cenotaph in 1620, inclusion of the ladies-in-waiting had become a hallmark of truth and authoritativeness in versions of Mary's execution story. Consequently, the monument's use of Barbara's and Elizabeth's names gave

⁴⁹² University of Dayton, *Litany of Loreto in Context*, (University of Dayton: Dayton, undated), <<https://udayton.edu/imri/mary/litany-of-loreto-in-context.php>>.

⁴⁹³ Anon. 'Tanner MS.78 F.129' in Scott, Mrs. Maxwell of Abbotsford (ed.), *The Tragedy of Fotheringay*, (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1895), pp. 249 - 56. Wingfield, in Cust, 1903, 95, 97 - 8.

⁴⁹⁴ Francken, *Execution Oder Todt Marien Stuarts*, (Erfordt: 1587). Francken, *Execution Oder Todt Marien Stuarts*, (Magdeburg: 1588).

viewers an additional reason to embrace the imaginary sainthood it constructed for the dead Queen.

Furthermore, the cenotaph was empowered as a shrine by the presence of the women's bodies close by, because Barbara and Elizabeth were themselves relics of Mary. Since late antiquity, Christians had understood that holy events and saintly remains transmitted spiritual power to other objects by contact or proximity and, as a result, developed the practice of relic generation through touch.⁴⁹⁵ As the two women had attended the queen closely on the scaffold, touching her as she made her martyrdom performance, they had absorbed and retained some of the spiritual power of the event and of Mary herself.⁴⁹⁶ The inscription on the cenotaph telegraphs this connection through touch by announcing that Elizabeth received the queen's last kiss (*CVI MORIENS VLTIMVM TVLIT SVAVIVM*) (Figure 26). Having read this, visitors were alerted, by the women's blue marble grave marker nearby, to the closeness of corporeal remains.⁴⁹⁷ These embodied a physical link to Mary's martyrdom and to the associated presence of her spiritual power.

Finally, by typological reference, Hippolitus again linked his Antwerp commission to the Westminster tomb James had built for Mary. Biblical typology identifies significant connections between old and new testaments.⁴⁹⁸ Typologically, the *Sedes Sapientiae*, which tops the cenotaph, is the new testament mirror of the throne of Solomon.⁴⁹⁹ For much of his life, James had consciously fashioned himself

⁴⁹⁵ Derek Krueger 'The Religion of Relics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium', in Bagnoli, Klein, Mann and Robinson (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, (United Kingdom: The British Museum Press, 2011), pp. 5 – 17, 5, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ Wingfield in Cust, 1903, 97 - 98.

⁴⁹⁷ Serrure in de Reiffenberg, Louvain et al (eds.), 1835, 96.

⁴⁹⁸ Forsyth, 1972, 1.

⁴⁹⁹ Frithjof Schuon, 'Sedes Sapientiae' in *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Vol. 14, Nos. 3 & 4. (Summer-Autumn, 1980), pp. 176 – 80.

after Solomon and, since this notion had been broadcast by his own publications and those of other writers, he was widely identified with the old testament king.⁵⁰⁰ As a result, anyone suitably versed in typology, who saw the Seat of Wisdom, would understand that a connection was being drawn between the cenotaph and James. Making this typological link reinforced the visual echo, made by the cenotaph's black and white stonework, of the black and white tomb James had built for Mary at Westminster. Catholic viewers in Antwerp were encouraged to identify the cenotaph as others saw the London monument – as the shrine of a saint.

The Antwerp community told stories about the cenotaph, allowing ideas of an imaginary Marian shrine there, complete with an imaginary relic, to circulate in the city and beyond. In his 1734 description, Keldermans, the *kapellaen*, mentioned knowing that Mary's image was based on an original cabinet portrait, owned by her women.⁵⁰¹ This indicates that a tradition of the cenotaph had propagated in Antwerp. However, misunderstanding about the nature of this portrait 'head' may have been the basis for rumours of a corporeal relic. Local residents shared their community memory with travellers. An English antiquarian, J. Bullman, recorded a conversation he had, in 1808, with 'a Flemish gentleman of consequence and learning, residing there', who impressed Bullman and substantiated what he said with 'an ancient Flemish manuscript'.⁵⁰² Bullman recounts the gentleman's revelation that Mary's head was buried in St. Andrew's - a thought which may have been encouraged by Mary's royal heraldry on the cenotaph.⁵⁰³ To Hippolitus' contemporaries, the cenotaph's display of the royal arms of France and Scotland could have appeared

⁵⁰⁰ Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: a Life of James VI & I*, (London: Pimlico, 2004 [2003]). 10, 147.

⁵⁰¹ Cited in Visschers: 1846, 95.

⁵⁰² Bullman in Grose et al (eds.), 1808, 388, 390.

⁵⁰³ Bullman in Grose et al (eds.), 1808, 389 - 90.

overblown and incongruous, on a monument ostensibly raised for two ladies-in-waiting. Public criticism was often levelled at people seen to appropriate excessive privilege in this way.⁵⁰⁴ However, viewers may also have concluded that there was something truly royal about the monument which warranted use of the arms.⁵⁰⁵ Perhaps this thought added support to the rumour that Mary's head lay there.

It is highly improbable that this was true since strict measures had been taken at the execution to prevent relic formation. Mary's clothing had been burned, her blood washed away, and members of the household were kept from the corpse during the preparations for burial which followed.⁵⁰⁶ Her lead coffin had required 'sowderinge and mendinge sondrye faultes' before transport to Peterborough for burial but, since the former household remained contained, the damage is unlikely to have been caused by Curle stealing body parts.⁵⁰⁷ Any defect was more probably due to the tendency of sealed lead coffins to rupture as gas pressure from the decaying corpse built up inside.⁵⁰⁸ Nevertheless, despite its implausibility, the rumour about the head persisted and spread, perhaps gaining a veneer of veracity from the inclusion of some indisputable facts about Mary's end and that marker of 'truth' in stories about her death - the presence of her women.

⁵⁰⁴ Vercruyssen, 'A Scottish Jesuit from Antwerp: Hippolytus Curle' in *The Innes Review*, 61.2, 2010, pp. 137-49, 146. Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories, Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch tomb sculpture*, (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2003), 33-5.

⁵⁰⁵ Napier in Napier (ed.), 1834, 145. Bullman in Grose et al (eds.), 1808, 389 - 90.

⁵⁰⁶ Anon. in Maxwell Scott (ed.), 1895, 256. Blackwood, *Mort de la Royne D'Escosse*, (1589), unpaginated.

⁵⁰⁷ Anon., 'Extraordinary empcions and provycions, with other necessarie chardges' in Allan J. Crosby and John Bruce (eds.), *Accounts and papers relating to Mary queen of Scots*, (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1867), pp.22 - 3, 23. Blackwood: 1587, unpaginated.

⁵⁰⁸ As reported in the case of Elizabeth I in Elizabeth Southwell, 'A True Relation of what succeeded at the sickness and death of Queen Elizabeth', pp.484-7, cited in Catherine Loomis, 'Elizabeth Southwell's Manuscript Account of the Death of Queen Elizabeth [with text]' in *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Monarchs, (AUTUMN 1996), pp.482-509, 486-7.

Using his relative's cenotaph as a platform for Mary's portrait allowed Hippolitus Curle to introduce his representation of the Queen into a public, sacred space where it would be seen by many people. Like other memorials produced for Mary in the Scottish diaspora, the cenotaph supported a variety of interpretations. Dependent on their education and local knowledge, viewers could read a story of deserved loyal service by the Curles and Mowbrays, make connections to the Seat of Wisdom, James VI & I and the Queen's London tomb, or understand that they were in the presence of a Stuart relic. Even the illiterate could discern visual rhetoric which elevated Mary to sainthood. No less than the other patrons discussed here, in his delayed response to the execution crisis, Hippolitus found ways to elevate and transform the memory of Mary, Queen of Scots in the view of varied audiences.

After effects

English people of varying social status met James' presentation of Mary in a range of circumstances. The transformation so publicly enacted in the funeral procession through central London was reinforced in text. Readers of histories and chronicles such as those by Wilson, Howes or Dempster read reports of it, embedded in much larger, and apparently authoritative, narratives of national and church history.⁵⁰⁹ These literary chance encounters were replicated in the physical world, where the popular guidebook *Reges reginae, nobiles et alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti usque ad annum 1606* (Kings, queens, nobles and others buried in the collegiate church of St. Peter at Westminster until the

⁵⁰⁹ Wilson, 1653. Howes in Stow, 1615. Dempster, in Irving (ed.) 1829.

year 1606), and the cult of personality centred on Elizabeth I, drove visitors to the Henry VII chapel at Westminster Abbey.⁵¹⁰ There, they would come upon Mary's tomb and the memorial site, whether or not that had been the object of their visit. For some, the experience would be amplified by reading texts devoted to her, such as *The historie of the life and death of Mary Stuart Qveen of Scotland*, by William Udall.⁵¹¹ This publication was composed of translated extracts, relating to Mary, drawn from a biography of Elizabeth I, by herald and antiquarian, William Camden (1551 – 1623).⁵¹² Camden had access to copious primary sources but he wrote under pressure from James, who hoped for a positive representation of Mary, whilst Udall dedicated his derivative text to the King in the most obsequious terms.⁵¹³ Repeated encounters, including those with highly partial representations, as produced by Camden and Udall, allowed people to understand that a transformed version of Mary was firmly situated in the underpinnings of the kingdom and, therefore, a significant part of its memory.

Images based on the *Blairs Memorial* had potential to widen the queen's appeal to Protestants, across James' kingdoms. Mary's execution had not split the population entirely along confessional lines, even in Calvinist Scotland. Some Scottish Protestants perceived her killing as a national affront, which begged revenge, whilst others registered concern that it was a dangerous assault on the

⁵¹⁰ William Camden, *Reges reginae, nobiles et alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti usque ad annum 1606*, (London: Bradwood, 1606). Wyman H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/4431>>. Thomas Fuller, 'The Church History of Britain, Volume V' in J.S. Brewer, *The Church History of Britain, A New Edition, in Six Volumes*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845), 258.

⁵¹¹ William Udall, *The historie of the life and death of Mary Stuart Qveen of Scotland*, (London: John Haviland, 1624).

⁵¹² Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha*, (London: 1615). Herendeen, 'Camden, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵¹³ Herendeen, 'Camden, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Udall, 1624, The Epistle Dedicatorie.

institution of monarchy.⁵¹⁴ A market opening for images of the Queen of Scots accompanied 1603's revitalisation of the discourse of her death, although Protestants, understandably, would not want a portrayal of Catholic martyrdom. Prints, such as Figure 23, deriving from Elizabeth's painting, could meet this need, since they could be viewed as Netherlandish elite portraiture or 'vendetta' images, if the viewer desired.

Painted copies of the *Blairs Memorial* also helped establish Elizabeth Curle's transformed version of Mary as part of an authoritative portrait narrative of Stuart history in seventeenth-century England. One is documented in the royal collection in 1684 and may even have been in Charles I's ownership before 1649, whilst another was catalogued in the Lennox-Darnley collection at Cobham Hall by 1672.⁵¹⁵ Acceptance into these prestigious collections not only increased the potential viewership of Elizabeth's portrait but endowed it, and what it said about Mary, with reflected status and authority by legitimising its representation of her. Infiltration of these spaces shows that the *Blairs Memorial* had been accepted as a *lieu de mémoire* of the English nobility and royalty by the late seventeenth-century.

In contrast to the diversification of meaning undergone by portraits deriving from the *Blairs* image, the *Memorial* itself was constrained by later owners. The painting was willed to the Scots College at Douai.⁵¹⁶ Mary had been an early supporter of the institution and quality, lifelike images of her were scarce.⁵¹⁷ As such, the canvas was imbued with both emotional and financial value. College authorities

⁵¹⁴ Susan Doran, 'Revenge her Foul and Most Unnatural Murder? The Impact of Mary Stewart's Execution on Anglo-Scottish Relations' in *History*, October 2000, Volume 85, Number 280, October 2000, pp. 589-612, 599-601.

⁵¹⁵ Cust, 1903, 108-9.

⁵¹⁶ Tassi, 2013, 125.

⁵¹⁷ Dilworth, 'Curle, Hippolitus', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Charles Dodd, *Church History of England Volume IV*, (London: Charles Dobman, 1841), 429. Cust, 1903, 4, 8 - 9.

took care to advise viewers that this was not a devotional object by adding a large inscription, below Mary's feet, identifying her as a 'parent' and founder of the institution (*COL SCOT PARENS ET FVND*) (Figure 18). Other portraits of important donors, with inscriptions indicating this status, were displayed together, in the College refectory.⁵¹⁸ The *Memorial* likely joined them there, rather than being hung in the chapel with saintly images, since, despite pressure following the execution, Mary had not been canonised. Promoting her as a saint would have been heretical and, with the inscription, the College put effort into avoiding any such accusation. Defining their relationship with Mary in this way allowed fixing of the role of the painting in the memory of the Scottish Jesuit community - as a memorial of a notable supporter, rather than as a focus for devotion.

Their success in containing the painting remains evident in the present. The *Memorial* is institutionalised with the Scottish Catholic Heritage Collections Trust. When then Archbishop of Glasgow, Mario Conti, spoke of it in 2003, he described the painting not as an object of devotion, but as one of the Church's most important museum artefacts.⁵¹⁹ Elizabeth Curle's picture has become a *lieu de mémoire* of Scottish Catholicism but in a historical, rather than a sacred, sense.

Antiquarian interest in the cenotaph facilitated dissemination of the imaginary shrine's story because both occupied the same physical object. This allowed the shrine to evolve and become part of the shared memories of other communities. Bullman's 1808 encounter with the Flemish gentleman and his 'ancient manuscript'

⁵¹⁸ George Oliver, *Collections Towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus*, (Exeter: W. C. Featherstone, 1838), 3 - 5.

⁵¹⁹ Blairs Museum, *The Museum of Scotland's Catholic Heritage*, (online: Blairs Museum, 2008 - 20), <<http://www.blairsmuseum.com/index.htm>>. Archbishop Mario Conti, *Oh Help! The making of an Archbishop*, (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing Ltd., 2003), 32 - 3.

demonstrates that an imaginary shrine, empowered by the imaginary head relic, formed part of the community memory shared by Antwerp people.⁵²⁰ By publishing his account of the incident, Bullman spread and legitimised the tale in Britain, even though he himself thought it ‘most likely that the story is groundless’.⁵²¹ That the ‘fearful relic’ acquired a popular following is evident from English tourist M. W. B.’s palpable disappointment when an Antwerp resident he met ‘was silent as to the tradition respecting the head’.⁵²² Its story can be traced through British antiquarian publications and garbled versions became bound up with accounts of the family histories of Scottish noble families, including the Napiers and the Cathcarts.⁵²³ The story of the Flemish gentleman, his manuscript and the head relic are recounted in a published history of the Napiers.⁵²⁴ Meanwhile, Cathcart family legend explains their circular portrait of Mary as one of a pair painted before the execution, given to Mary’s ladies and displayed together over their tombs in Antwerp.⁵²⁵ Indeed, the cenotaph’s significant ability to acquire imaginary traits, suited to different viewers, is apparent in C. P. Serrure’s report that many English tourists were keen to make a baseless attribution of Mary’s portrait to Anthony van Dyck (*‘qu’on a été jusqu’à l’attribuer au pinceau de Van Dyck’*).⁵²⁶ Consequently, by the mid nineteenth century, Hippolitus’ sanctified version of Mary, together with the cenotaph and the imaginary shrine, had

⁵²⁰ Bullman in Grose et al: 1808, 389 - 90.

⁵²¹ Bullman in Grose et al: 1808, 390.

⁵²² Napier in Napier (ed.): 1834, 145. M. W. B., F. H., and N. H. R. S. L., ‘Monument to the memory of Mary Queen of Scots at Antwerp’, in *Notes and Queries*, Number 135, May 29, 1852, pp. 517 – 18, 517.

⁵²³ Bullman: in Grose et al: 1808, 388 - 91. M. W. B. et al., May 29, 1852, 517-18. W. M. R. E., ‘Monument to Barbara Mowbray and Elizabeth Curle’ in *Notes and Queries*, Number 176, March 12, 1853, p. 264, 264. Napier in Napier (ed.), 1834, 145. Charles Mackie, *The Castles, Palaces and Prisons of Mary of Scotland*, (London: C. Cox, 1850), 377.

⁵²⁴ Napier in Napier (ed.), 1834, 145.

⁵²⁵ Mackie, 1850, 377.

⁵²⁶ Serrure in de Reiffenberg et al. (eds.), 1835, 93.

become incorporated into the shared memories of the Antwerp community, British antiquarians, English tourists and the Scottish nobility, as a *lieu de mémoire*.

Conclusion

The accession of James VI to the English throne necessitated reshaping the Stuarts as an English dynasty and breathed new life into the execution crisis of Mary, Queen of Scots. As James and the Curle family sought to gain political benefit from the situation, their close association with Mary's name required that they address her death. In doing so, these diasporic Scottish people drew on the practices and forms of Scottish material culture, bringing them onto the European stage.

As James established Stuart rule in England, he juxtaposed Scottish burial practices with historical Catholic ceremony, as he transformed the memory of his mother. Staging a funeral procession and building new tombs allowed him to rehabilitate Mary's memory. Earlier experience of manipulating Stuart funerary monuments to consolidate his position as an adult ruler in Scotland was brought to bear as he reshaped the Tudor memorial chapel at Westminster. As a result of his activities, viewers from different confessional groups were able to understand that Mary had been transformed – into a closed political chapter, significant dynastic figure or saint.

Printed matter augmented and affirmed this effect. Echoes of James' works appeared in printed histories, affirming the dead Queen's new status. Meantime, circulation of prints, deriving from the *Blairs Memorial*, increased the opportunities James' subjects had to engage with Mary's memory. It became possible to encounter her image being hawked on the street or on walls in public and domestic spaces.

Although more slowly than in the case of the Regent Moray, an apparent, affirmative, discourse of Mary's memory developed, again built upon transformative performance, a funerary monument, the Image of Pity and popular print.

In Antwerp, Elizabeth Curle reinvented the 'vendetta' painting as a variant of Netherlandish elite portraiture in her quest for a Catholic settlement, whilst her nephew, Hippolitus, commissioned a monument capable of transforming Mary and elevating her to sainthood. As happened in London, the new versions of Mary they created were capable of appealing to different communities and became embedded in the shared memories of these groups.

In addressing the joint crises of royal execution and dynastic change, both James and the Curles turned to Scottish cultural precedents to express their ideas. Blended with local forms or historical practices, their productions proved flexible enough to be useful in England and the Low Countries. As Moray's supporters had done, when faced with crisis, these members of the diaspora sought political advantage by elevating the dead and materialising their transformation.

Chapter Three - 'A complaint To and Of the Kings Ma^{tie}': Thomas Cunningham and his *Thrissels Banner*.

Introduction

The two Bishops' Wars (1639 and 1640) were contested by Covenanter and Royalist forces, over governance of the Scottish Kirk.⁵²⁷ Thomas Cunningham (1604 - 69) chose the brief hiatus between the Wars to mass-produce an extraordinary, printed, textile object of his own design (Figure 28).⁵²⁸ His rectangular *Thrissels Banner* was printed in black ink – two hundred copies on a white silk satin substrate,

⁵²⁷ Mark Charles Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns Against Scotland 1638-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

⁵²⁸ *Thrissels Banner*, 1640, printed on silk satin for Thomas Cunningham, 42cm x 29cm approx., University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13.

approximately 42cm x 29cm, and a further eighteen hundred on paper.⁵²⁹ Its principal feature is a pictorial representation of a square banner, completely covered and bordered in dense text. As the following analysis shows, the *Banner* was highly unusual - unlike either contemporary printed or fabric objects. With its accompanying explanatory *Explication* pamphlet, the *Banner* was Cunningham's personal contribution to the print discourse surrounding Scottish religion, the Covenant and the nature of the British monarchy.⁵³⁰ As a factor (business agent), later Conservator (senior official), at the staple port of Veere (also known as Campvere), and an elder of the local Protestant kirk, Cunningham was a powerful figure in the Scottish diasporic community.⁵³¹ At first glance, he appears paradoxical. Although describing himself as Scottish, and having manifest concerns about Scottish politics and religion, he had been born, and lived his life, in the Dutch Republic.⁵³² Despite his *Banner* calling for peace, he was a major supplier of armaments and munitions to the Covenanter army.⁵³³ In investigating Cunningham's responses to the crisis of the Bishops' Wars, this chapter explores the persistence of Scottish identity in the staple port community at Veere, through examination of objects it produced in the first half of the seventeenth century. Examining construction of Protestant identity at the port, followed by exploration of Cunningham's projection of his own identity, builds the

⁵²⁹ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere 1640 - 1654*, (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1928), 5.

⁵³⁰ Cunningham, T., *Explication of the Forme and Fashion of Thrissels Banner*, (Antwerp: 1640), University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13. 1-2. Publications produced in support of Presbyterianism and Covenanting include, for example, Archibald Johnston of Wariston's *A short relation of the state of the Kirk of Scotland since the reformation of religion, to the present time*, (Edinburgh: 1638) and T. H., *The Beautie of the Remarkable Yeare of Grace, 1638, The yeare of the Great Covenant of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: George Anderson, 1638). Dissenting opinion is exemplified in Forbes, J., *A Peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland*, (Aberdene: Edw. Raban, 1638).

⁵³¹ The factors at Veere made shipping arrangements for cargoes passing through the port. Elinor Joan Courthope, 'Preface' in Courthope, E.J., (ed.), *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere 1640 - 1654*, (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1928), pp.vii – xxvi, xix.

⁵³² Cunningham, *Memorie A*, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooe, 141, file 47. Courthope in Courthope (ed.), 1928, xiii, xxi.

⁵³³ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 54, 65, 95. Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640.

framework needed to support analysis of the *Banner* and *Explication*. This approach furthers the argument, developed through Chapters One and Two, that Scottish people were adept at manipulating and hybridising familiar cultural forms and that this tendency followed the diaspora as émigrés responded to crisis.

The indecisive First Bishop's War (1639) arose out of Scottish discontent with attempts by Charles I to align religious practice in his kingdoms. Imposition of an unwanted new prayer book and fear of advancing episcopacy induced the King's northern subjects to riot.⁵³⁴ Their dissent crystallised in the National Covenant, which communities across the country began to sign on 28 February 1638.⁵³⁵ This document included a bond to uphold Scottish religion and resist any change to it.⁵³⁶ Although the Covenant was not universally accepted, by the end of the year signatories dominated the *de facto* Scottish government, the Committee of Estates, and were preparing for armed confrontation with the King.⁵³⁷ Charles, meanwhile, mustered English forces, rallied royalists on Scottish soil and planned a two-pronged assault from the sea on the north-east and west coasts.⁵³⁸ His complex scheme was hampered by a lack of funds and failure to manage the government apparatus supporting the military.⁵³⁹ Both sides were plagued by logistical problems and, as their forces spent more time in the field, it became increasingly difficult to maintain lines of supply.⁵⁴⁰ These organisational issues encouraged moves towards settlement and vague terms were agreed at Berwick, after very little blood had been

⁵³⁴ Fissel, 1994, 3.

⁵³⁵ Fissel, 1994, 3.

⁵³⁶ Fissel, 1994, 3.

⁵³⁷ Fissel, 1994, 3. Peter Edwards, *Dealing in Death: the Arms Trade and the British Civil Wars 1638 - 52*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 21.

⁵³⁸ Fissel, 1994, 5 - 6.

⁵³⁹ Fissel, 1994, 5 - 6.

⁵⁴⁰ Fissel, 1994, 24, 31.

spilled.⁵⁴¹ Nonetheless, since the precipitating issues remained unresolved and both parties were ideologically entrenched, observers like Cunningham concluded that the peace would be temporary.⁵⁴² It seemed likely that a second, harder fought, war would ensue.

Although there had been few casualties, Scottish people still had reason to view the War in a very serious light – in part because of the way they understood kinship. As will be recalled from the Introduction to this thesis, since medieval times, genealogical kinship networks had been extended by bonds signed between people who did not share blood. Lords expanded their following by taking bonds of *manrent* from lesser men, often reciprocating with bonds of maintenance.⁵⁴³ Social peers, meantime, could commit to bonds of friendship.⁵⁴⁴ The obligations of mutual aid, defence and support, set out by these bonds, were tightly binding and enforced by social pressure.⁵⁴⁵ Historically, the crown sat at the head of the networks they formed, with the King as the ultimate lord.⁵⁴⁶ Viewed in this light, Charles had abrogated a solemn duty when he mobilised his forces against Scottish people. As I will demonstrate, their understandings of kinship shaped the way that some of these people viewed the War, and allegiances within it.

As conflict widened, Covenanting was propagated in England. In 1643, Parliamentarians at war with King Charles sought assistance from Scottish

⁵⁴¹ Fissel, 1994, 36.

⁵⁴² Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640.

⁵⁴³ Wormald, May 1980, 71-2.

⁵⁴⁴ Wormald, May 1980, 71-2.

⁵⁴⁵ Wormald, May 1980, 57 - 9. Since Wormald's foundational work on bonding, the scholarship has expanded to include work by Groundwater, (2013 and 2014) and Dawson (2014), as well as by the other contributors to Steve Boardman and Goodare, J., (eds.), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

⁵⁴⁶ Goodare, 1999, 38 - 9, 41.

Covenanters.⁵⁴⁷ Aid was granted, subject to an agreement that the modes of governance of the Scottish Kirk would be adopted south of the border.⁵⁴⁸ The agreement was formalised in *The Solemn League and Covenant*, which the English parliament required every Englishman to sign.⁵⁴⁹ This development engaged many people in personally subscribing to a religious bond which had its origins in Scottish religion.

Taking a cue from Cunningham's extensive use of iconography representative of physical bonds, and terms associated with the idea, I argue that he conceived the Covenant as an adaptation of these longstanding Scottish bonding practices, seeing it as a kinship bond founded on the principles of Reformed religion. I consider the *Banner* and the incipient religious violence of the second Bishops' War in that light. My work draws on and extends scholarship of Scottish kinship and bonding by Jenny Wormald, and of religious bonding by Jane A. Dawson.⁵⁵⁰ However, it takes the novel step of basing its analysis on the material objects Scottish people used to form, document and support kinship networks and to express complaints when these failed.⁵⁵¹ In addition, I propose that the long history of bonding allowed people to value kinships constructed over vast geographies, when developing and performing Scottish identity. My arguments are supported by analysis of overlooked and understudied objects produced by Cunningham and the diasporic community at Veere,

⁵⁴⁷ James Walters, *The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, 1660 – 1696*, (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 1.

⁵⁴⁸ Walters, 2022, 1.

⁵⁴⁹ There were many editions of this publication but see, for example, Church of Scotland General Assembly, *A solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland*, (Edinburgh: Robert Bryson, 1643). Walters, 2022, 1.

⁵⁵⁰ Wormald, May 1980. Dawson in Boardman and Goodare (eds.), 2014. Raffe, 2017.

⁵⁵¹ A forthcoming article by Groundwater, provisionally titled *Bloodfeud in the Scottish Borders: material culture and collective memory*, will make a welcome contribution to this area of study, discussing the role of objects in memorialising and reactivating feud and bonds.

including communion beakers, account books, a suite of stained-glass windows and a spiritual diary.

Although the existing literature surrounding the Bishops' Wars is not focused on materiality, it recognises that the material aspect of objects affected the conduct of the Wars and their aftermath. For example, Peter Edwards demonstrates the substantial constraints the materiality of military supplies placed on Charles' campaign, as their mass, and the associated difficulty of transport, impacted the readiness of his forces and curtailed their activities in the field.⁵⁵² Meanwhile Sarah Waurechen shows that the sheer volume of Covenanter pamphleteering spawned radical change in the English print trade and political discourse, and Laura A. M. Stewart proposes that it precipitated significant social change in Scotland.⁵⁵³ These analyses revolve around the effects of things encountered in bulk rather than single items, leaving an opportunity to consider the materiality of individual objects, which my work takes up. Drawing on Juliet Fleming's contention that, for early-modern readers, surface and text were one, and on Bruce R. Smith's concept of 'ambient reading', I propose that the materiality of the *Thrissels Banner* suited it to individualisation and that it, in tandem with the accompanying *Explication*, could deliver a singular, memorable, reading experience.⁵⁵⁴ This reveals Cunningham's paired *Banner* and *Explication* as an innovative Scottish material response to crisis. Furthermore, I conclude that, in blending the culturally significant banner form with

⁵⁵² Edwards, 2000, viii, 107-8, 230.

⁵⁵³ Sarah Waurechen, 'Covenanter Propaganda and Conceptualizations of the Public During the Bishops' Wars, 1638 - 1640' in *The Historical Journal*, 52, 1 (2009), pp.63-86. Laura A. M. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637 - 1651*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁵⁵⁴ Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*, (London: Reaktion, 2001), 71. Bruce R. Smith, B.R., *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013 [2009]), 127 - 8.

mass production techniques, Cunningham aimed to materialise community in a dispersed Scottish network by providing its members with similar objects to personalise and treasure. The *Thrissels Banner* was a personal, physical, manifestation of Covenanting ideals.

‘the evidentes of our said House’: materialising bonds and Covenant

As will be recalled, bonding had long been a significant Scottish social mechanism. It was supported by performances and evidentiary objects. Subscribing was performed in person, in front of witnesses, and was accompanied by swearing an oath with a hand on the bible.⁵⁵⁵ Most early bonds were sealed, but signing in person became the norm, with those who could not write having their hand led at the pen by the attending notary.⁵⁵⁶ Such ceremonies developed a sense of occasion around the linking of name and person to bond and kin.⁵⁵⁷ The resulting documents were docketted for ease of future reference, prior to storage with other important papers in family charter *kists* (chests).⁵⁵⁸ One contemporary makes their significance apparent in his description of the contents of his *kist* as ‘the evidentes of our said House’.⁵⁵⁹ His words make it clear that bond documents, and the ceremonies they recorded, bore testimony to, and supported, the social networks formed by Scottish people.

⁵⁵⁵ Wormald, 1985, 20 - 1, 71 - 2.

⁵⁵⁶ Wormald, 1985, 71 - 2.

⁵⁵⁷ Wormald, 1985, 71 - 2.

⁵⁵⁸ Wormald, 1985, 72 - 3.

⁵⁵⁹ William, Earl of Angus, ‘Acknowledgement’, 10 August 1630, in William Fraser (ed.), *The Lennox Muniments Volume II*, (Edinburgh: 1874), pp. 368-9, 369.

As shown in Chapters One and Two, objects and performances played an equally important role when the social contract broke down. When violent loss of life occurred, bereaved kin might parade the bloody clothes of the deceased, displayed as banners, or a death portrait, such as those discussed in Chapter One, which documented wounds.⁵⁶⁰ Such displays presented a complaint, and supporting evidence, to the community, whilst simultaneously rebuking lords who failed to protect their bonded men and prompting the kin of the dead to seek revenge.

The influences of bonding radiated through Scottish society and, as a result, affected perceptions of identity. Bonds united signatories in kinship, extending existing networks into new genealogies and geographies. Where a bond resolved conflict, settlement terms might include a marriage to cement links between the disputing families.⁵⁶¹ Such imposed unions had potential to disrupt existing dynastic plans or to initiate the development of new power alliances. Additionally, bonding pinned social strata together by building connections of responsibility and obligation between status levels.⁵⁶² Consequently, bonds, and the networks they established, were an important factor in how Scottish people thought about and described their identity, locating themselves within expansive social networks.

Bonds could be put to many different purposes and this, along with the sense of precedent they derived from tradition, made them a touchstone in singular situations. As Wormald remarks, the ubiquity and perceived serviceability of bonds are evidenced by the readiness with which Scottish ambassadors to England addressed Mary, Queen of Scots' execution in bond-related terms, asking for offers

⁵⁶⁰ Brown, 2003 [1986], 29-30.

⁵⁶¹ Wormald, 1985, 128.

⁵⁶² Wormald, May 1980, 71-2. Goodare, 1999, 38-9, 57.

of compensation for her kin, according to the 'custome of Scotland'.⁵⁶³ Wormald explains that the promise made in a typical bond of *manrent* or friendship, to support a lord or peer in their 'business', encompassed the full range of that 'business'.⁵⁶⁴ A signatory met the needs of the moment - which might involve anything from agricultural tasks, such as *ingathering* a harvest, to political acts, such as making a show of force. The inbuilt flexibility of bonds obviated the need to develop distinct, innovative, categories to accommodate new situations. This allowed bonds to be transgressive. Indeed, some were signed with aims as disruptive and diverse as seizing power during a royal minority, committing murder or protecting Protestant preachers, prior to the Reformation.⁵⁶⁵ Furthermore, as the posthumous portraits discussed in Chapters One and Two illustrate, Scottish people were adroit in materialising concepts associated with bonding, such as revenge and *assythment*, in response to crisis. The adaptability of bonding allowed it, and its evidentiary material supports, to permeate Scottish life and the approaches people made to unusual and demanding circumstances.

Arguably, familiarity with bringing the authority of the bonding tradition to bear in new situations may have helped propagate Presbyterianism in Scotland. The congregations of the Presbyterian Kirk naturally included a mix of relatives and neighbours, grouped in mutually supportive networks, reporting to local Presbyteries and, ultimately, the General Assembly.⁵⁶⁶ This organisational structure would have been highly relatable to people accustomed to membership of constructed kinships, built on bonds and sworn to mutual support. Each parish was overseen by respected

⁵⁶³ David Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from early manuscripts*, (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830), 60-1, cited in Wormald, May 1980, 54.

⁵⁶⁴ Wormald, 1985, 145.

⁵⁶⁵ Wormald, 1985, 146, 150, 155.

⁵⁶⁶ Todd, 2002, 10 - 11.

elders - the kirk session - who applied local knowledge and personal connections to improve social provision and mediate disputes.⁵⁶⁷ Such conflict resolution, facilitated by authoritative community figures, had also been fundamental to social networks built on bonding and would have seemed particularly familiar since session members often also held secular authority positions.⁵⁶⁸ Indeed, as Todd contends, the early Kirk recognised the upkeep or adaptation of acceptable tradition as an influential tool which could be used in support of reform.⁵⁶⁹ Organisation along Presbyterian lines could have engendered a sense of continuity with earlier social network structures, making the radical changes required by reform more palatable.

The view that bonding was reimagined in the Kirk has been extended to the Covenant. In her persuasive analysis, Jane Dawson looks to iconic bonds in which early Reformers couched religious objectives in the language of bonding: the *First Band* (1557); a bond against the Regent, Mary of Guise, from the start of the Wars of the Congregation (1559) and the *Last Band* (1560).⁵⁷⁰ Comparison with bonds of maintenance shows that the *First Band*, which vowed to defend Protestant preachers and their congregations, includes the conventional promises of aid and support made by such bonds, and was formally witnessed, as was accepted practice.⁵⁷¹ It was, effectively, a bond of maintenance embedded in religious verbiage.⁵⁷² Additionally, Dawson notes that the 1559 bond combined similar terms to the *First Band* with those of a conventional bond of friendship, as did the *Last Band*.⁵⁷³ These observations allow her conclusion that traditional bonds served as templates for

⁵⁶⁷ Todd, 2002, 8 - 9, 11.

⁵⁶⁸ Todd, 2002, 11.

⁵⁶⁹ Todd, 2002, 22.

⁵⁷⁰ Dawson, 2014.

⁵⁷¹ Dawson, 2014, 156, 158, 159.

⁵⁷² Dawson, 2014, 156.

⁵⁷³ Dawson, 2014, 160, 162.

Protestant reformers in the mid sixteenth century, enabling them to write bonds concerned with religious matters.⁵⁷⁴ Hence, she concludes that foundational bond documents, signed in defence of early Scottish Protestantism, were prototypes for the seventeenth-century Covenant.⁵⁷⁵

Her findings are mirrored in the ways that the Covenant was materialised. In 1638, Covenanters engaged in mass swearing ceremonies at which documents were signed before the community in an emotionally charged reimagining of earlier, witnessed, bonding performances.⁵⁷⁶ Many of these Covenant documents survive into the present.⁵⁷⁷ Their preservation in safe keeping, as bonds of maintenance, manrent and friendship had been kept, in charter *kists*, for centuries before, is indicative of the importance attached to the ideas and communities they materialised. Even as conventional bond signing was dying out, reinvention of the practice in the religious realm ensured that extended, non-familial networks, and concepts associated with them, were preserved as underpinnings of Scottish society.

Thistles and ‘scandalous arms’: affirming Scottish identity in the kirk at Veere

Veere was home to a congregation which derived authority from Scottish institutions and adhered to the norms of the Scottish Kirk, which helped affirm the community’s Scottish identity. In 1612, when James VI’s commissioners renegotiated Veere’s contract to handle staple goods from Scotland, provision for Scottish worship was included on the agenda.⁵⁷⁸ Although the promised kirk building was not

⁵⁷⁴ Dawson, 2014, 163.

⁵⁷⁵ Dawson, 2014, 169.

⁵⁷⁶ Todd, 2002, 80.

⁵⁷⁷ David Stevenson, ‘The National Covenant: A List of Known Copies’ in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 1988, Volume 23, Part 2, pp. 255-99, 255.

⁵⁷⁸ D. Ackinheid, W. Goldman et al., ‘Contract of 1612’ in Matthijs P. Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910), pp. CXXIII - CXXIX.

constructed, an area of the town's Grote Kerke was set apart and a Scottish minister and *reader* (kirk officer, authorised to read the bible to the congregation in the absence of a minister), vetted and appointed by the Convention of Estates, took up their posts in 1614.⁵⁷⁹ A session was put in place and a few episodes from its records survive, having been gleaned from the minute books, prior to their unfortunate destruction in World War II.⁵⁸⁰ These show the session dealing with similar issues to counterparts in Scotland, such as determining the need for fasting and policing cultural activity inside the building.⁵⁸¹ Although the parish did not gain representation at the General Assembly until 1641, prior to this the session sought guidance and permissions from the Privy Council in Edinburgh, effectively placing parish business under Scottish scrutiny.⁵⁸² Belonging to a congregation with such strong links to Scottish institutions could only have reinforced parishioners' sense of socio-religious kinship with people resident in Scotland.

The congregation valued their Scottish identity, which they affirmed with objects and actions over the course of decades. In 1620, Veere's ten factors commissioned four engraved silver communion beakers (Figure 29).⁵⁸³ These are currently held in the archives of Manchester Cathedral.⁵⁸⁴ They have previously been described in antiquarian literature and Thomas Burn's expansive nineteenth-century

⁵⁷⁹ Peter Blom with James Allan (trans.), *Scots girm about grits, gruel and greens*, (Veere: Stichting Veere-Schotland, 2003), 22. Rooseboom, 1910, 151- 2.

⁵⁸⁰ Blom in 'In Search of Scotland in a Zeelandic Town: sources for Scottish history in the records of Veere', in Iain D. MacIntosh (webmaster), *Friends of Dundee City Archives website* (Dundee: Dundee City Archives, 2016), <http://www.fdca.org.uk/veere/veere_13.pdf>, 6.

⁵⁸¹ Cited in James Yair, *An Account of the Scotch Trade in the Netherlands and of the Staple Port at Campvere*, (London: Messrs. Wilson and Nicol, 1776), 220 - 1. Courthope in Courthope (ed.), 1928, xix.

⁵⁸² Arch. Johnstone to William Spang, 16 October 1641, in Yair 1776, pp. 231-2. Yair, 220 - 1.

⁵⁸³ Arthur F.G. Leveson Gower, 'Four Seventeenth-Century Communion Cups Now in Manchester Cathedral', in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Volume 15, Number 73, (April 1909), pp. 42-4, 43.

⁵⁸⁴ Many thanks are due to Mike Breaks, archivist at Manchester Cathedral, who arranged for the archive to be opened, following a prolonged period of closure, to allow access to the beakers.

survey of Scottish communion plate, but their specific cultural significance has not yet been explored.⁵⁸⁵ A dedicatory inscription on their undersides is written in Latin and Scots:

‘CONCORDING ZEAL OFF FACTORS AT CAMPHIER
GIVES VS FOVR COVPS FOR THE LORDS TABLE HIER
THE ZEAR OFF GOD A THOVSDAND WITH SAX HVNDER
AND TWENTIE IANVAR MACDVFF BEING MINISTER’ (Figure 28).⁵⁸⁶

The beakers feature engraved lozenges, front and back, surrounded by foliate borders, with similar bands around the lip (Figure 30).⁵⁸⁷ The sinuous vines, leaves and flowers are reminiscent of decoration on contemporary Netherlandish communion vessels imported into Scotland but also include numbers of thistles (Figures 31 and 30).⁵⁸⁸ These plants had been recognised as a national emblem of Scotland since the sixteenth century and had standing as a national badge, or the personal badge of the King of Scots, for at least the century before that.⁵⁸⁹ Their prominent inclusion affirmed the donors’ Scottish connections and identity. These vessels would have been used by everyone attending communion services, which were the high point of the Protestant calendar.⁵⁹⁰ As well as helping to cement Protestant fellowship, their use in communal drinking at these ceremonies will have affirmed participant’s Scottish identity. On a more mundane level, two account books, documenting distribution of poor relief between 1616 and 1644, also pronounce the

⁵⁸⁵ Leveson Gower, 1909, 42-4. Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1892).

⁵⁸⁶ SCOTO VERANORUM FACTORVM CONSONVS ARDOR QUATUOR AD DOMINI DICAT NOS POCULA MENSAM ANNO AD SEXCENTOS ET MILLE A VIRGINE MATRE BIS DECIMO IANO MENSE ET PASTORE MDVFFO.

⁵⁸⁷ Sketch of one of the 1620 silver communion beakers from the Scottish congregation at Veere from Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1892), p.176.

⁵⁸⁸ Detail of foliate decoration, silver Netherlandish communion beaker, 1634, from Ellon kirk, Aberdeenshire, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, Q.L.1960.28.

⁵⁸⁹ Fox-Davies, 1909, 270-1.

⁵⁹⁰ Todd, 2002, 86.

Scottish nature of the parish. Even though it is likely that, because of their involvement in the work of the staple, the elders making entries were, like Cunningham, proficient in Dutch, the records are written in Scots, using the distinctive Scottish secretary hand.⁵⁹¹ Furthermore, great consternation arose in 1643 when the Porterfield family erected a coat of arms in the kirk as a memorial for a deceased family member, Elizabeth Cant.⁵⁹² Cant was a relative of Patrick Drummond, then Conservator at the port, whose Royalism was an obstacle to the activities of the Covenant-supporting majority.⁵⁹³ In response, elders of the kirk session sought and received backing from the Dutch and English ministers from two local towns, and the Privy Council in Edinburgh, for removal of the monument.⁵⁹⁴ Tellingly, the reason given for rejecting the 'scandalous arms' was that they were 'a meer novatioune in the Scottish kirk here'.⁵⁹⁵ Opposition to the memorial can be understood to have an embedded political aspect, related to Drummond and his Royalist affiliation, but the reason given voice was that the display departed from Scottish kirk tradition. Materially, in writing and in action, the diasporic community at Veere continued to affirm and perform Scottish identity through the early decades of the seventeenth century.

Reformed religion was enmeshed with this performance because Protestantism permeated the life of the Scottish community at the staple port. When the reader was appointed in 1614, his instructions, issued by the Burgh of

⁵⁹¹ Elders of the Scottish congregation at Veere, *Registers houdende rekeningen van de diakenen van de Schotse Gemeente te Veere, Volume I (1616 – June 22 1635) and Volume II (1635 - June 24 1644)*, Zeeuws Archief, 2721,1 and 2721, 2. Alison Rosie, *Scottish Handwriting 1500 - 1700*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1994), unpaginated. For Cunningham writing in English see Cunningham, 1640, in Dutch see Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68 Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141 and in Scots see Zeeuws Archief, 2721, 1, files 54-6.

⁵⁹² Courthope in Courthope (ed.), 1928, xix.

⁵⁹³ Courthope in Courthope (ed.), 1928, xix.

⁵⁹⁴ Courthope in Courthope (ed.), 1928, xix – xx.

⁵⁹⁵ Courthope in Courthope (ed.), 1928, xix.

Edinburgh, required that he 'tak notice and inspection of all wairis cumming from Scotland ... that he may the better ingather the ministers dewtie ... for payment making to the minister of his stipend quarterly', as well as collecting the comparable 'Conservator's dewtie'.⁵⁹⁶ While serving the parish 'in all thinges belonging to the office of ane reidar', and taking instructions 'expedient for the better government of the kirk' from the minister and elders, he was also to do what the Conservator's deputy found 'expedient for policie', as well as policing standards of behaviour among kirk and port officials by finding caution from them.⁵⁹⁷ This onerous job description, written in Edinburgh, reveals just how closely port and parish were tied together. The minister and officers of the staple alike were funded by duty on trade and considerable authority over both religious and secular activity was vested in the person of the reader. Todd remarks on the inseparability of religion from other aspects of Scottish life, in the context of the Reformation, and is supported by Goodare's observation of how intertwined doctrine, government and law became.⁵⁹⁸ Seventeenth-century Veere is, indeed, illustrative of this.

Regular exchange with Scotland kept the staple port community close to socio-political developments and informed their opinions as the Bishops' Wars brewed. Ships bringing cargo would also have carried formal communication from the Scottish burghs, the General Assembly and parliament, whilst sailors, soldiers and other travellers carried personal accounts of the latest news.⁵⁹⁹ These communications were augmented by interchanges between influential individuals, including Veere's minister, William Spang, who kept up a regular correspondence

⁵⁹⁶ Burgh of Edinburgh to Thomas Ewing, July 1614, in Rooseboom, 1910, 152 - 3.

⁵⁹⁷ Burgh of Edinburgh to Thomas Ewing, July 1614 in Roseboom, 1910, 153.

⁵⁹⁸ Todd, 2002, 30-1. Goodare, 1999, 301-2.

⁵⁹⁹ Enthoven, 2007, 46.

with his relative, the Glasgow minister and Covenant propagandist, Robert Baillie.⁶⁰⁰ The two exchanged gifts, including 'Glasgow water' (whisky), whilst Spang sourced books published in England and on the Continent for Baillie.⁶⁰¹ In return, Baillie kept Spang abreast of the news, providing personal commentary along with copies of documents and letters circulating among prominent reformers, and the rumoured contents of King Charles' forthcoming Scottish prayer book.⁶⁰² Although unwilling to condemn it sight unseen, saying, 'For myself, I suspend my judgement till I see the Booke', Baillie anticipated the worst - that it would be divisive and 'to the hurt of our poor Church'.⁶⁰³ It was from this point of view that he would have collated and mediated the information he sent to Spang which, in time, included a lengthy and approving account of Scotland-wide Covenant-swearing and preparations for war.⁶⁰⁴ Differing opinions to Baillie's were being published but, in September 1638, a pro-Covenant stance, and accompanying sense of threat, had come to dominate the diasporic community of the staple.⁶⁰⁵ This informed the kirk session's unanimous recognition of a 'most necessary cause of fasting and praying' over the 'wellfare and woe of our native country and mother church'.⁶⁰⁶ Understanding that this was a 'most fearful and dangerous time' had grown as Covenanters in Scotland moved towards conflict.⁶⁰⁷ Frequent communication with contacts across the water allowed

⁶⁰⁰ Laing, 'Preface' in Laing (ed.), *The letters and journals of Robert Baillie 1637 - 1662 Volume I*, (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1841 - 1842), pp. v - xii, vi - vii.

⁶⁰¹ Robert Baillie to William Spang, 29 January 1637, in Laing (ed.), *The letters and journals of Robert Baillie 1637 - 1662 Volume I*, (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1841 - 1842), pp. 2 - 12, 3, 10, 11.

⁶⁰² Baillie to Spang, 29 January 1637, in Laing (ed.), 4.

⁶⁰³ Baillie to Spang, 29 January 1637, in Laing (ed.), 4 - 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Baillie to Spang, 5 April 1638, in Laing (ed.), 62 - 6.

⁶⁰⁵ For example, see the pamphlet by John Forbes, *A Peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland*, (Aberdene: Edw. Raban, 1638). Yair, 1776, 220 - 1.

⁶⁰⁶ Cited in Yair, 1776, 220 - 1.

⁶⁰⁷ Cited in Yair: 1776, 221.

performance of Scottish identity in Veere to develop over time, in response to political events in Scotland.

‘Brotherlie vnitie is good and plesant’: materialising kinship at the staple port

It might therefore be expected that expression of Scottish Protestantism at Veere encompassed the concept of extended kinship which had been written into reformed religion via the iconic bonds signed by early reformers of the Kirk. This was indeed the case, with the account books and communion beakers discussed above showing that the congregation understood their parish as a mutually supportive Scottish brotherhood, which was part of a larger, more dispersed, Protestant kinship.⁶⁰⁸ The decoration of the beakers includes tied bundles of ten arrows, representing the factors’ unity and strength in numbers, while each of their undersides bears a section of the dedicatory inscription, explaining that they represent the factors’ zeal for ‘concording’ (Figures 30 and 29). The text can only be read in full when the four are together, in a material demonstration that, in 1620, their donors found kinship both functional and necessary. All four carry a verse from Psalms: ‘BROTHERLIE VNITIE IS GOOD AND PLESANT’, underscoring the centrality of the kinship concept to the life of this community and to its religious practice, even before the Covenant.⁶⁰⁹ People around the table would be able to read the inscriptions praising Scottish Protestant unity, including those on the bases of the beakers, which would become visible as they were raised to drink.

⁶⁰⁸ Batty and Greyssone, Disbursements to the poor, January 1638 - June 1639, in *Registers houdende rekeningen van de diakenen van de Schotse Gemeente te Veere, Volume II (1635 - June 24 1644)*, Zeeuws Archief, 2721, 2, files 61-80.

⁶⁰⁹ Psalms, 133: 1.

Consequently, all communicants were afforded an opportunity to see a physical performance of kinship in these ceremonies. The account books, meanwhile, show this kinship extending to include people outside the congregation. In a sample eighteen-month period, between January 1638 and June 1639, poor relief was distributed by elders Alexander Batty and Robert Greyssone, who maintained written records of incomings and outgoings.⁶¹⁰ Each month saw repeated payments, representing the upkeep of the parish's resident poor, but also many one-off disbursements.⁶¹¹ Frequently, these went to 'ane puir man' or 'ane puir woman and bairns', but also to people recorded as 'Inglish' or 'Schots' or to travellers passing through Veere en route to 'Ingland', 'Schotland', 'Irland', Antwerp or 'Zolland'.⁶¹² Regardless of which elder had responsibility, assistance was not restricted to immediate neighbours, causing the parish to extend a network of support far beyond its physical boundaries. Conceptualisation of identity as membership of an extended, supragenetic kinship, was intrinsic to the activities of the Scottish kirk at Veere.

'Schotlandt voor myn vaderland'

This was the environment in which Thomas Cunningham, factor, and later Conservator, of the staple port, had been immersed from birth. Just as the Veere congregation did, Cunningham materialised a Scottish identity for himself, which he promoted to the wider world. His manuscript *Memorie A*, written in Dutch, describes a lost scheme of twelve stained glass windows (*'twaelff geschilderde Raemglasen'*) he commissioned and installed at his house, known as *'het Lanmeken'* (the Lamb)

⁶¹⁰ Todd, 2002, 11. Alexander Batty and Robert Greyssone: 1638 - 39, in Zeeuws Archief, 2721, 2, files 61-80.

⁶¹¹ Batty and Greyssone, 1638 - 39, in Zeeuws Archief, 2721, 2, files 61 - 80.

⁶¹² Batty and Greyssone, 1638 - 39, in Zeeuws Archief, 2721, 2, files 61, 73, 63, 70, 66, 75.

on the quayside at Veere (Figure 32).⁶¹³ Although the existence of these windows has been noted in a survey of Netherlandish glass, their content has not been studied.⁶¹⁴ Amongst other heraldry, the glass displayed Cunningham's arms beside those of his Dutch wife, Apollonia de Myster.⁶¹⁵ It was customary to install such windows in affluent Netherlandish homes, as celebration of a marriage.⁶¹⁶ Very little is known about Scottish stained glass of the time, because almost none survives.⁶¹⁷ However, since the few existing secular roundels are heraldic, the wealthy in Scotland may have made similar commissions.

One group of windows, on the ground floor (*'in de neder-Kamer'*), displayed the couple's arms and represented their local geographic network, by setting the heraldry of Cunningham's mother and de Myster's parents beside those of Nieupoort in Flanders, and Oostende, where they originated, and the arms of Veere, where Cunningham and his wife were born.⁶¹⁸ Alongside these were the arms of Dumfries, the birthplace of Cunningham's father, and those of Scotland. A second group of windows laid out Cunningham's genealogy. This was achieved via the arms of his parents (Thomas Cunningham and Josma de Naeghele), his grandparents (John Cunningham and Elizabeth Gledstains) and his great-grandparents (Adam Cunningham and Isobel Hunter).⁶¹⁹ Representation of these familial relationships

⁶¹³ Cunningham, *Memorie A*, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, file 47. The 'Scottish Houses' on the quay at Veere, with Cunningham's house, *'Het Lanmeken'* at the left.

⁶¹⁴ Zsuzsanna Van Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained Glass in the Netherlands before 1795, Part II: The South*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 635 - 6.

⁶¹⁵ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, file 47.

⁶¹⁶ Van Ruyven-Zeman, 2011, 635 - 6.

⁶¹⁷ Michael Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing*, (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 1997), 14 - 15. Thanks are due to Dr. Jasmine Allen, Director and Curator at the Stained Glass Museum, Ely. Her discussion was most helpful in confirming the minimal state of knowledge in this area.

⁶¹⁸ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, file 47.

⁶¹⁹ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, file 47.

was less publicly visible, being located in the back windows of the upper room (*'opper-Sale ... inde achtervensteres'*).

The most prestigious place was given to the larger Cunningham network, to which Thomas was connected by name. This glass formed the front windows of the upper room (*'opde opper-Sale, inde voorvensters'*). It incorporated Cunningham's own arms (*myn wapen*) with those of the Earl of Glencairn (*'Graef van Glencairn'*) and Laird of Glengarnock (*'Baron van Glengarnock'*), social superiors who Cunningham acknowledged in his description of the glass as his chief (*'chef'*) and the head of his male line (*'Myn Gessacht Stamme'*) respectively. Inclusion of this heraldry, and reference to it in these terms, shows that, as well as following Netherlandish custom and recording genealogy, the windows reflected the broader Scottish conception of disseminated kinship. In a revealing commentary, Cunningham says that this was because Scotland was his 'fatherland' (*'dat Ick Schotlandt voor myn vaderland'*).⁶²⁰ From the front of the upper floor these pieces of heraldic glass broadcast Cunningham's representation of his identity, as a member of a geographically dispersed Scottish kinship, to passersby on the quayside and ships arriving at the port (Figure 32). Contemporaries abroad remarked the notable tenacity of Scottish identity in the diaspora.⁶²¹ Recognition that its members, like Cunningham, valued and continued to materialise such extended kinships, whilst using them as their personal frame of reference, helps understand this persistence.

Cunningham's *Memorie A*, in which he described the heraldic programme, was itself an evidentiary object which supported a kinship network (Figure 33).⁶²²

⁶²⁰ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, file 47.

⁶²¹ Steve Murdoch, 'Children of the diaspora: the "homecoming" of the second generation Scot in the seventeenth century' in Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 55 – 76, 57 - 9.

⁶²² Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141.

Memorie A is a handwritten, parchment-bound book, divided into three sections, which allow space for subsequent additions to their content. Cunningham firstly inventories his account books, then records the particulars (*'particulariteyten'*) of his children and, lastly, recounts his offices and privileges, genealogy and notable life events.⁶²³ Detailed entries recount the appointments, marriages and offspring of his children. These show that the eldest sons, Thomas and Arnout, advanced in both the Scottish and Dutch communities, gaining senior positions at the staple port (*'factour van de Schotish Nation'*) and in the local workers' guild (*'overdreken van t' arbeyders gilde'*).⁶²⁴ The final section traces Cunningham's heritage, back to 1131, in a 'Register of my male line genealogy, indicative of my descent from the original family of the house of the earl of Glencairn in Scotland' (*'Geslacht Register ofte Genealogie, Aenwysende Myn Hercomst ofte Oorspronkelycke Stamme, uyt het Graeflyck Huys Glencairn in Schotland'*).⁶²⁵ This is followed by an extensive alphabetical list of noble family branches (*'Edessuyden Cunninghams'*) which he claimed as kin, and an account of his positions and privileges.⁶²⁶ Plainly, blood ties between Cunningham and the members of the sixty seven branches of the surname he lists were dilute at best. Nonetheless, he considered these people kin - close enough to be detailed in this very personal document, devoted to his family's affairs. Although his business network, reflected in multiple burgess-ships, lists of ledgers and his sons' positions, is an important theme, an equivalent amount of space is devoted to this extended Scottish kinship.⁶²⁷ Cunningham evidently felt this to be

⁶²³ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 4 - 24, 24 - 36, 38 - 48.

⁶²⁴ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, file 27.

⁶²⁵ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 45 - 6. Thanks are due to Dr. Esther Meijers (University of Edinburgh) for her advice on the nuances of kinship descriptors in seventeenth-century Dutch.

⁶²⁶ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 47 - 8.

⁶²⁷ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 48, 4 - 24, 24 - 48.

highly significant, warranting establishment in as much depth, and with as much authority, as possible. Replicated in parchment and paper, *Memorie A* performed the functions of a charter *kist*, preserving the evidence of Cunningham's obligations and kinship network for future generations.

In penning *Memorie A*, Cunningham adopted practices from contemporary spiritual life writing. Reformation had removed the confessor-priest as judge of personal conduct, shifting responsibility onto the individual.⁶²⁸ Additionally, Christians wishing to assure themselves of salvation needed to scrutinise their lives for signs of God's intervention and evidence of grace.⁶²⁹ These requirements for self-examination underlie the proliferation of diary writing seen in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁶³⁰ Although *Memorie A* does not take the form of a diary, it does document evidence of godly behaviour over time. The biographies and personal information it contains paint Cunningham as patriarch and provider whilst details of christenings, marriages and funerals confirm his family's involvement with the kirk.⁶³¹ His summary of business records supplies evidence of virtuous industry.⁶³² Initially, the final section presents a contrast, in self-aggrandising lists of positions and privileges, offices, burgess-ships and eventual ennoblement.⁶³³ However, in terms of spiritual self-examination, this is Cunningham's evidence of intervention by God in his life, of accumulating grace and the hope of salvation. Alongside delineation of Cunningham kinship for transmission to the future, *Memorie A* functions as an ongoing spiritual account book. While these seventeenth-century

⁶²⁸ Effie Botonaki, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's' Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Spring 1999, Volume 30, Number 1, pp. 3 - 21, 4.

⁶²⁹ Botonaki, Spring 1999, 4.

⁶³⁰ Botonaki, Spring 1999, 3.

⁶³¹ Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 24 - 36.

⁶³² Cunningham: Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 4 - 24.

⁶³³ Cunningham: Archives.nl - 68, Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 38 - 48.

Protestant concerns for salvation are not especially remarkable, Cunningham had particular reason for reassuring himself of heavenly approval. As the Second Bishops' War approached, his Protestant kinship, joining him to Covenanters in Scotland, was the source of increasing conflict with the duty he felt to the King.

Cunningham intended the evidence contained in *Memorie A* to be disseminated through his children's families and was successful in this endeavour. A survey of his surviving documents shows that Cunningham was systematic - setting out a detailed table of contents in a *Journal* and numbering its pages, as well as those of the *Memorie A*, and *Explication* and using letters to denote different sections or volumes within the *Explication* and his inventory of account books.⁶³⁴ This observation permits identification of *Memorie A* as the first in an alphabetic series of *Memories*, perhaps with a copy intended for each of Cunningham's children. These would have supplied evidence of Cunningham kinship to branches of the family as they grew and formed roots in the Netherlands. The appearance of a different hand, making later entries, shows that the process was indeed continued by the next generation.⁶³⁵ The 1696 *Nieuwe cronyk van Zeeland* classifies the Cunninghams as members of the Zeeland nobility, acknowledging them as 'high nobles from Scotland' ('*hooge Edelen uit Schotland*').⁶³⁶ Compiled by a local historian, who summarised and extended earlier chronicles, this book was partly financed by the States themselves and promoted Zeeland as a prosperous area, populated by the elite.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere 1640 - 1654*, (Edinburgh: The Scottish History Society, 1928), 62 - 9. Cunningham, 1640. Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68 Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 4 - 24.

⁶³⁵ For examples of this hand, see the interpolated total of Josyna Cunningham's '*uyt kinderen*' and the entries relating to her son, Thomas Alexander Cominck, in Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68 Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141, files 26, 35 - 6.

⁶³⁶ Mattheus Smallegang, *Nieuwe cronyk van Zeeland*, (Amsterdam: Johannes Meertens and Abraham van Someren, 1696), 1089.

⁶³⁷ Zeeuwse Ankers, *Cronyk van Zeeland*, (Middelburg: Zeeuwse Ankers, undated), <<https://www.zeeuwseankers.nl/verhaal/cronyk-van-zeeland-1>>.

Consequently, its inclusion of the Cunninghams indicates that Thomas' representation of his kinship became sufficiently well-known, and accepted, outside his immediate family, to be useful in characterising Zeeland as a prestigious location.

The *Thrissels Banner* and the *Explication*: materialising the Covenant

It is against this context of Scottish Protestant identity, intertwined with the notion of belonging to extended kinships, that Cunningham's response to the impending crisis of the Second Bishops' War must be viewed. In this light, his gunrunning is understandable. As earlier bonds had done, the Covenant also encompassed the potential for violence. Traditional reciprocal bonds of maintenance and manrent, with their mutual defence provisions, required that partakers give their 'power', 'strength' and even 'very lyves', if circumstances demanded.⁶³⁸ Obligations like these were carried over into the iconic *First Band*, made in defense of Protestantism in 1557, and the other religious bonds, discussed above, which followed.⁶³⁹ The Veere communion beakers demonstrate that Scottish Protestants continued to understand this potential for defensive violence as a facet of their kinship. Here the factors chose a bundle of arrows, repeated three times on each cup, rather than some other more peaceable signifier, such as a chain, or knotted rope, to represent the strength of their bond (Figures 29 and 30). The Covenant required subscribers to defend the Kirk 'according to our vocation and power' to the 'danger of both body and soul' and that they would 'at the uttermost of their power' 'fortify, assist, and maintain the true preachers and professors of Christ's religion,

⁶³⁸ Dawson, 2014, 156, 160.

⁶³⁹ Dawson, 2014, 162.

against whatsoever enemies'.⁶⁴⁰ This phraseology shows clear anticipation that at least some of these enemies were temporal, physically dangerous and would require violence to overcome.

The question of whether Cunningham signed the Covenant arises here. He may, after all, have been strongly approving, without subscribing. Sadly, the record books of the Veere kirk session, which would likely have recorded the event, are lost.⁶⁴¹ Certainly, a Covenant document could have been available for him to sign in Veere, since there was no single Covenant – copies were produced and dispersed to congregations around the country, who made their own arrangements for signing.⁶⁴² With its regular shipping connections, such a copy could more easily have reached Veere than, say, a remote settlement in Sutherland. Although Cunningham's *Journal* opens after the First Bishop's War, and therefore, after the initial wave of subscriptions, it nonetheless provides evidence that Cunningham did personally commit to the Covenant.⁶⁴³ As conflict spread, engulfing Charles' kingdoms, November of 1643 found Cunningham 'setting out ... my friggott the *Lorne*... for guarding the seas and hindering of supplies sent from forraign parts to the Irish rebels'.⁶⁴⁴ The *Lorne* had made a similar sailing in 1642, on condition that, if the rebels were subdued, costs would be reimbursed from their estates.⁶⁴⁵ Regardless, these exercises entailed the risk of loss of the vessel, which was unlikely to be accepted unless for a personal cause. Indeed, Cunningham was even prepared to risk his life – reporting 'being personally present' in August 1642 when, 'I did not only

⁶⁴⁰ Archibald Johnston of Wariston and Alexander Henderson, 'The National Covenant', (Edinburgh: 1638), in The Reformed Presbyterian Church, *Reformation History*, (Edinburgh: The Reformed Presbyterian Church, 2010), <https://reformationhistory.org/nationalcovenant_text.html>.

⁶⁴¹ Blom in MacIntosh (webmaster), 2016, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/veere/veere_13.pdf>, 6.

⁶⁴² Stevenson, 1988, Volume 23, Part 2, pp. 255 – 99, 259.

⁶⁴³ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928

⁶⁴⁴ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 73.

⁶⁴⁵ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 66.

animate and excite' another commander on the expedition 'but also most really assist and concur with him towards the securing of the Ile of Wight, and of all the castles and forts in and about the same'.⁶⁴⁶ If doubt remains, the Committee of Estates has the final word. When instructing Cunningham for a 1644 mission to the United Provinces it wrote:

'You shall acquaint yourself with the preachers of Gods word in these countreys and labour to procure their zealous concurrence to stirre up the people to a right understanding and sense of our condition, to join with us in the Covenant and really assist this cause wherein the glorie of God and the propagation of his gossell are so much interested'.⁶⁴⁷

Although the date that Cunningham subscribed to the Covenant remains unclear, it is inconceivable that Covenanters would dispatch an emissary lacking personal commitment to recruit others to their bond.

As such, Cunningham's supply of arms and munitions to the Covenanter army was not only justified but required. His Scottish identity was based on centuries-old practices which defined kinship in terms of bonds in preference to geographical location. This identity was reinforced by, and bound up with, the kinship of Protestantism's socio-religious bond, which extended its influence into all aspects of society in which Cunningham lived. Membership of these kinships came with an obligation to extend mutual defence, even to the danger of 'very lyves' and 'according to ... vocation' and so, for an official at the staple port, who oversaw cargo-shipment day and daily, fear of impending harm obligated supplying his Protestant kin in Scotland with what they needed, including weapons of war.

⁶⁴⁶ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 66.

⁶⁴⁷ Cancellarius Loudon, 'Instructions from the Committee of Estates of the kingdome of Scotland to Thomas Cuninghame in his employment to the Estates of the United Provinces', 10 May 1644, in Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, pp.85-8, 86.

As well as supplying arms in the lull between the two Bishops' Wars, when further conflict appeared inevitable, Cunningham also designed the *Thrissels Banner* (Figure 28).⁶⁴⁸ The associated historical literature is minimal. In noting its manufacture, David Stevenson identifies the *Banner* as a significant Covenanter artefact.⁶⁴⁹ Stewart briefly highlights some of the political complaints it contains, associating them with generalised anxiety amongst Covenanters about the dual monarchy of Charles I.⁶⁵⁰ Meantime, part of an article on Covenanter flags, by George Dalglish and Lynn McClean, posits the *Banner* as their iconographic forerunner.⁶⁵¹ Although only extending to a few paragraphs, this coverage recognises the *Thrissels Banner* as a noteworthy intervention in the discourse of the Covenant in particular, and the British monarchy, in general. It does, however, leave room for a more in-depth cultural analysis.

Two hundred *Banners* were printed on satin and eighteen hundred on paper.⁶⁵² A twelve-page *Explication* pamphlet accompanied each copy (Figure 34).⁶⁵³ Their iconography and texts set out the principles of Covenanted society, alongside an assessment of the British political situation, advising Charles I that only by comporting himself as a Scottish king could he avoid further conflict and personal disaster. Cunningham's account of commissioning the *Banner* appears in his 1654 *Journal*, with the time lag between production and reporting allowing him the

⁶⁴⁸ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 5.

⁶⁴⁹ David Stevenson, *The Covenanters: the National Covenant and Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1988), 42-4.

⁶⁵⁰ Stewart, 2016, 148, 166.

⁶⁵¹ George Dalglish and Lynn McClean, 'Thistles and Thrissels: Scottish Covenanting Flags of the 17th and early 18th Century' in Maria Hayward and Elizabeth Kramer (eds.) *Textiles and Text: Re-Establishing the Links between Archival and Object-Based Research, Postprints of Third Annual Conference of AHRC Research Centre for Textile Conservation and Textile Studies*, (London: Archetype, 2005), pp. 189 – 96, 191.

⁶⁵² Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 5.

⁶⁵³ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 5. *Explication of Thrissels Banner*, Thomas Cunningham, (Antwerp: 1640), (front page), University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13. 1-2.

opportunity to intellectualise the process and take account of its outcomes.⁶⁵⁴ The design is characterised as the product of intense thought and a deep-felt need to balance seemingly conflicting duties owed to King and kin. He recalls 'being much perplexed in mynde' about how to respond to the king's apparent intent 'with all his power [to] execute his wrath against his native land' and pondering how to square the need to appeal to Charles, and prevent him 'loos[ing] either his crown or his peoples heart, if not both', with the wish to 'serve as an encouragement and cordiall antidote to my unjustly persecuted countrey men'.⁶⁵⁵ After 'much pensiveness', the way to accommodate both his 'sympathising bowells and condoling spirit' became clear, allowing him to issue 'a warning shout ... under the title of Thrissels Banner', which was 'chiefly intended for the information, satisfaction, and cordiall reconciliation of the King and his faithfull subjects'.⁶⁵⁶ With these words, Cunningham portrays himself taking on a deeply-considered mediatory role as the Second Bishops' War approached, trying to prevent violent escalation from the first conflict and, although his account contains some amount of self-aggrandisement, close visual analysis confirms that, at the very least, development of the *Banner's* content and appearance took considerable time and effort (Figure 28).

In the two surviving examples, the edges of the satin fabric are either finished with buttonhole stitch, in white thread, or retain impressions of where such stitches once were (Figure 35).⁶⁵⁷ The main feature, a square banner, flies from an upward pointing sword, which Cunningham describes as sheathed, and has its hilt resting on a book (Figure 28).⁶⁵⁸ There are five rings at the banner's left-hand edge and a

⁶⁵⁴ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928.

⁶⁵⁵ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 4-5.

⁶⁵⁶ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 5.

⁶⁵⁷ Detail of *Thrissels Banner*, 1640, showing indentations from lost stitching - National Museum of Scotland, A.1943.346, and stitching in situ - University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13.

⁶⁵⁸ Cunningham, 1640, B, 'Standing upon *the Sheath, is a Warning to the King*'.

garter, lacing through these and around the sword, ties the two together and secures them with a knot around the sword's guard. A free-floating banderole sits to its left of the sword, whilst a thistle, topped by a crown, sits precariously on the very point of the weapon. Two additional components complete the design: a streamer, tied to the thistle by a cord, flies above the banner and a dedicatory inscription, in a decorative border, occupies the space beside the book. All the components are covered in fine text, which includes some Latin tags but is mostly in English. This provokes the viewer to approach the *Banner* very closely in order to read it. Proximity reveals that the central forty-three lines on the pictorial banner form a poem, bisected horizontally, vertically and on both diagonals by fine dotted lines (Figure 36).⁶⁵⁹ These pick out an acrostic – a pattern of letters, within in a larger text, spelling out a word or phrase. The spacing of letters in the main poem has been varied as needed to bring the required characters into position for this puzzle to work (Figure 35). It reads:

‘WHEN ONLY THRISSELS KING OUR FAYTHFUL STEWARD BORN
S ANDREWS CROSS ENJOYD WE LIVD BY TRUETHS PLANTATION
BUT SINCE THE DOUBEL CROS OF BRITTANS CHIEF WAS WORN
WORDLINGS DID EVER CROSS OUR PEACE AND REFORMATION’.

A second acrostic, formed by the first letters of every line of the main poem, says:

‘WO TO THEM THAT CONTROL US WEEL FEAR GOD THEN CAROLUS’.

Such word play was a feature of Netherlandish culture. The *Wilhelmus*, the song eventually adopted as the Dutch national anthem, includes an acrostic.⁶⁶⁰ In

⁶⁵⁹ Detail of *Thrissels Banner*, 1640, showing variable lettering density and dotted lines delineating acrostic, University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13.

⁶⁶⁰ Royal House of the Netherlands, *National Anthem*, (Netherlands: Royal House of the Netherlands, undated), < <https://www.royal-house.nl/topics/national-anthem>>.

lyrics known from 1572, attributed to the Secretary of William of Orange, the first letters of the verses spell out 'WILLEM VAN NASSOV'.⁶⁶¹ People of lesser social status than the Secretary could also participate in this type of literary activity by joining the one of the *Rederijkerskamer* (Chambers of Rhetoric), found in many towns.⁶⁶² As well as providing social support for the community, as guilds did, members developed material for public entertainments, including poems, recitations and plays.⁶⁶³ Peter Blom of the Zeeland Archives in Middelburg reports that the Veere *Rederijkerskamer* produced poetry in a variety of formats, including acrostics.⁶⁶⁴ Cunningham did not pretend to be an accomplished poet, describing himself 'a continual amator, yet no daily practiser[)], being but a new graffed impe in comparison of those innumerable flourissing famous (and yet neverthe-lesse controlled) poets'.⁶⁶⁵ Nonetheless, his efforts may have been inspired by experience of his local *Rederijkerskamer*, or its output. Although distinctively Scottish in its intent, and in the social bonding on which it drew, the *Thrissels Banner* was also influenced by the Dutch cultural context of its production.

Similar interplay with Dutch culture is evident in the other objects from Veere considered here. The communion vessels take the traditional Dutch beaker shape, rather than that of the mazers commonly produced in Scotland, which are characterised by a broad, shallow bowl on a thick stem, with a foot.⁶⁶⁶ The bundled arrows in the beaker's decoration reference the heraldic iconography of the Dutch Republic, in which each arrow represented a territorial area, as seen on a

⁶⁶¹ Royal House of the Netherlands, undated.

⁶⁶² Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille: Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400 – 1650)*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 1-2.

⁶⁶³ van Bruaene, 2008, 19.

⁶⁶⁴ Thanks are due to Peter Blom for sharing his expertise on Veere's social networks and activities.

⁶⁶⁵ Cunningham, 'The Preface', 1 March 1640, in Courthope (ed.), 1928, pp.11 – 12, 11.

⁶⁶⁶ Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1892), 191.

contemporary coin (Figures 29, 30 and 37).⁶⁶⁷ In the beaker's case, there are as many arrows in the bundle as donor factors.⁶⁶⁸ Similarly, Cunningham would also borrow from Dutch marriage traditions when commissioning the stained glass windows for his house and chose to write his *Memorie A* in Dutch, despite also being competent in Scots and English.⁶⁶⁹ This ability to engage with and adapt existing, or local forms, has already been exposed in the domination of popular broadside discourse by Robert Sempill and Robert Lekprevik, usurpation of the Henry VII chapel by James VI & I and Elizabeth Curle's re-invention of Netherlandish elite portraiture. As other Scottish people had done before him, as a moment of crisis loomed, in making the *Thrissels Banner*, Cunningham turned a local form to his advantage and produced a hybrid object.

The complicated, interconnected iconography and multi-directional texts make the *Thrissels Banner* difficult to interpret, opening the door to misunderstanding, but Cunningham anticipated this and took steps to address it. Each copy was 'accompanied with my owne explication', *Explication of Thrissels Banner*, which translates the Latin tags, expounds on the meaning of the poem, identifies the iconographic elements, explaining their significance and interaction, as well as providing numerous bible references to add weight to the argument (Figure 34).⁶⁷⁰ Additionally, the *Explication* highlights the presence of the acrostic, explaining how to read it, its meaning and the significance of its form.⁶⁷¹ Publication of this pamphlet exposes concern about message integrity and, indeed, the preface makes it clear

⁶⁶⁷ Coin of the Dutch Republic, 1595.

⁶⁶⁸ Leveson Gower, April 1909, 43.

⁶⁶⁹ For Cunningham writing in English see Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, in Dutch see Cunningham, Archives.nl - 68 Family Van Borssele van der Hooge, 141 and in Scots see Zeeuws Archief, 2721, 1, files 54-6.

⁶⁷⁰ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 5. Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640.

⁶⁷¹ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, B2.

that, by 'faythfully Declar[ing] My Meaning and Intention in everie thing', Cunningham aimed to counter all the 'false glosses' he expected - both the good-faith misunderstandings of 'ignorants' and deliberate misrepresentation by 'malicious partial calumniators'.⁶⁷²

The *Explication* allows modern-day viewers insight into what Cunningham intended the *Banner* to convey, showing that its iconography depicts the structure and internal connections of Covenanted society. Beginning with the book, which represents the bible, and is therefore 'the Foundation and Ground' of the scheme, Cunningham explains that the sword stands for authority, the crowned thistle for Scotland, the garter for the bond of peace, the banner for reformed religion, the rings for faithful Covenanters ('Nobilitie, Gentry, *Borrows* (burghs), Ministers and Commons'), the streamer for the 'good Cause' of Protestantism and the cord for the 'Bond of the Covenant'.⁶⁷³ He goes into detail about the many interdependencies between these features, drawing attention to, for example: the 'Knitting of the *Thrissele* and *Sword*' signifying 'the Mutual Band betwixt *King* and *Subiects*' and the impossibility of drawing the sword without toppling the thistle or breaking the garter's ties. He also notes that, even if the garter were to be undone, the rings (Covenanters) will not have been separated from the banner (reformed religion).⁶⁷⁴ Consequently, the reader is led to understand that Covenanted society is highly interconnected, strong and cohesive, whereas the Scottish thistle's relationship with the sword of the king's authority is a finely balanced equilibrium, easily upset by ill-judged moves.

⁶⁷² Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A2.

⁶⁷³ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3 - A5.

⁶⁷⁴ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3 - A5.

The larger of the two acrostics, which superimposes the form of the Flag of Great Britain onto the pictorial banner, is a commentary on Charles' dual monarchy. James VI & I had developed this flag, in support of closer union between his kingdoms, by combining the English St. George's and Scottish St. Andrew's crosses.⁶⁷⁵ Dotted guides outline its pattern on the small banner but position the Scottish cross on top of the English, rather than in its correct position, underneath (Figure 36). This is an indication that Scottish concerns should take precedence over those of England. Indeed, Cunningham describes the St. Andrew's cross as '*the first or Formest*', whilst saying St. George's cross is '*the Second*'.⁶⁷⁶ This idea is taken up by the acrostic rhyme they delineate, which the *Explication* deconstructs to reveal that a golden age, '*Tyme of the Blessed Reformation*', existed when the King of Scots bore St. Andrew's cross alone and did not sit on the English throne.⁶⁷⁷ Continuing this complaint, which Stewart identifies as that of 'the perceived deracination of the house of Stuart since the union of the Crowns', Cunningham argues that the Kirk lost this '*Joyful Estate*' as a result of the union with England, and appeals to Charles to think as a Scottish king to resolve the impending crisis.⁶⁷⁸ An acceptable resolution requires the King to prioritise Scotland over England. Meantime, the smaller, vertical acrostic makes it clear that that Covenanters fear God more than the King and so will prioritise their religious beliefs over loyalty to the crown.

Cunningham uses the texts of the *Banner* and *Explication* to navigate his divided loyalty between King and Covenant, while presenting his analysis of the

⁶⁷⁵ Crawford, 'The Union Jack' in Fox-Davies (ed.), *The art of heraldry: an encyclopaedia of armory*, (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1904), pp. 399 - 401, 399.

⁶⁷⁶ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, B2.

⁶⁷⁷ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, B2.

⁶⁷⁸ Stewart, 2016, 148. Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, B2.

political situation. The words on the leaves of the thistle - 'SI DEVS NOBISCVM QVIS CONTRA NOS' - unequivocally place the Covenanters in the right, with God on their side.⁶⁷⁹ However, Cunningham carefully skirts the implication that the King is in the wrong by blaming '*Wicked Counsellours*' for Charles' bellicose stance, and advising that if he will only '*Close his Eares and Barre his Court-doores*' to them, he will see reason.⁶⁸⁰ This was, as Stevenson says, a 'standard' Covenanter position.⁶⁸¹ It allowed the criticism to be made, in the guise of fulfilling the duty a subject owed to his King – to offer good counsel. Cunningham goes on to say that, should Charles undo the garter's knot by drawing the sword against his Scottish subjects, the King 'shal always be a *Loser*', even if he wins the war, because he will have gained just '*Frothy Prayse of Flatterers, and Bellie blowers*' and '*ane outward Show of Compelled Obedience*' from the people, but will have lost their '*Hearts and Affection*'.⁶⁸²

Cunningham's detailed exposition reveals the great extent to which his viewpoint was informed by Scottish conceptions of kinship and the activities associated with it. He turns to the language of traditional social bonding. He cites 'the Mutual Band betwixt *King* and *Subiects*', which he says Charles is about to break again, and repeatedly refers to typical obligations of bonds of maintenance, manrent and friendship, such as requirements 'to Maintayne and Defend'; to be 'Bund and Obliged to give due Respect and Honour'; and also be 'firmely Bund and Obliged (Conjunctly and unseparably) to Mayntayne, Defend, and Cleave fast unto'.⁶⁸³ This formal language is augmented by more than twenty references to bonds/*bands*,

⁶⁷⁹ 'Those who have God on their side need not fear who is against them' - trans. Cunningham, 1640, '*Explication of the Matter Expressed in Thrissels Banner*'.

⁶⁸⁰ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3.

⁶⁸¹ Stevenson, 1996, 42. Dawson, 2014, 163.

⁶⁸² Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, B.

⁶⁸³ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3, A5.

knots, *wouping* (binding), fastening, knitting, wrapping and the like, made in the *Explication*, and visually reinforced by the *Banner*'s numerous iconographic representation of knots and other physical connections between its components.⁶⁸⁴ Such a heavy concentration of bond-related vocabulary and imagery is a strong indicator that Cunningham understood the political situation in terms of bonds. As Stewart suggests, he was indeed concerned that King Charles was not behaving in a sufficiently Scottish manner.⁶⁸⁵ Additionally, Cunningham advanced bond-based tradition as the best mode of approach to the situation, and the most suitable corrective.

His use of bonding as the frame of reference makes Cunningham's decision to use '*Banner*' in the title of his commission particularly meaningful. Since the *Explication* states that a title should allow 'the *Spectator* at the first *View*, and the *Reader* in one *Word*' to understand the content before them, the author's wording must have been carefully considered.⁶⁸⁶ This prompts recognition that the title, '*Banner*', is more than descriptive. As discussed in Chapter One, banners were culturally significant to Scottish people. Complaints about broken bonds and violence were paraded before the community by displaying painted banners, memorialising the dead, which recorded evidence of *skait* (harm) and prompted kin in their duty to seek *assythment* (compensatory settlement).⁶⁸⁷ As well as complaining to a lord about violent crime committed in his locality, such banners simultaneously accused him of failing his bonded duty to protect his men. Indeed, Cunningham tells the reader that this is what the *Thrissels Banner* does, saying that it presents 'A

⁶⁸⁴ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3, A4, A5, B.

⁶⁸⁵ Stewart, 2016, 148.

⁶⁸⁶ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3.

⁶⁸⁷ Brown, 2003 [1986], 29 - 30.

complaint To and Of the Kings Ma^{tie}.⁶⁸⁸ Cunningham marshalled evidence that harm had been done to Charles' Scottish subjects, whilst arguing that this resulted from the King having broken his bond with the people and failing to protect them. His complaint was presented in the accepted form - as a banner, whose titular allusion to the thistle announced it as the complaint of an entire country.

The materiality of the silk *Banners* set them apart from Covenanter pamphlets and broadsides printed on paper. Cunningham had 'caused engrave the Banner in copper and print of it 200 upon whyte satin and 1800 upon paper', which must have been a costly exercise, due to the highly skilled nature of copper plate production and printing and the expense of silk fabric.⁶⁸⁹ Professor Helen Smith and her colleague, Nick Gill, both have an interest in reconstructing historical printing processes.⁶⁹⁰ They advise that, in terms of its ability to pass through a printing press, satin likely has similar mechanical characteristics to the high rag-count papers of the seventeenth century.⁶⁹¹ Indeed, Michael Bury has found that, although few examples survive, printing on a variety of fabrics was common in sixteenth-century Italy.⁶⁹² Contemporary sources describe such textile productions being presented to the patrons of the work, or to influential individuals.⁶⁹³ Perhaps influenced by sight of prints on textile imported through the staple port, Cunningham deliberately fashioned some copies of the *Thrissels Banner* for an influential audience.

⁶⁸⁸ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, B3, Point 7.

⁶⁸⁹ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 5. Anon., *Rules, to observe diligently in the printing of copper plates as well as woodcuts*, 16 November 1628, pp. 14 - 19 in Anja Grebe and Ad Stijnman, 'A Manual for Printing Copper Plates Predating Abraham Bosse's Treatise of 1645', in *Art in Print*, November - December 2013, Vol. 3, No. 4 (November - December 2013), pp. 12-20, 14 - 19.

⁶⁹⁰ Professor of Renaissance Literature, University of York. Printer-in-Residence at Thin Ice Press, University of York.

⁶⁹¹ Thanks are due to Professor Helen Smith (University of York) and Nick Gill (Printer-in-Residence, Thin Ice Press) for their advice on Early Modern printing substrates and processes.

⁶⁹² Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550 - 1620*, (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 48. Poor survivorship may be due to a tendency to succumb to attack by insects.

⁶⁹³ Bury, 2001, 48.

Comparison with another Covenanter image also reveals marked differences in appearance. As Karin Bowie explains, an effect of the cost of their production was to make illustrations uncommon in Scottish print output until the 1730's.⁶⁹⁴ However, the title page of *The Beautie of the Remarkable Yeare of Grace* is illustrated and can serve as a comparator (Figure 38).⁶⁹⁵ This publication represents the Covenant as a fruitful apple tree, perhaps likening Covenanted society to the Garden of Eden. The woodblock image is relatively coarsely delineated, lacks detail and is iconographically unsophisticated. It also wants the graduated shading seen across the *Banner*, particularly evident on the bible, only achieved by the fine etching possible on a copper printing plate (Figure 28). For native Scottish audiences more accustomed to linear pamphlets, largely unillustrated, or perhaps occasionally relieved by simple woodblock imagery, such as that of *The Remarkable Yeare of Grace*, *Thrissels Banner* was a visual Covenanter novelty. People who received a copy, either paper or satin, were encouraged to spend time and attention on the *Thrissels Banner* and its content.

The unusual materiality and imagery of the *Banner* have implications for its mode of distribution. Covenanter pamphlets are known to have been produced in large quantities, with some reportedly being strewn about in public places.⁶⁹⁶ However, the relatively high production costs and limited volume, unique materiality and appearance of the *Banner* and the intention that readers should receive it with the *Explication* imply that it was distributed in a far more controlled way. Cunningham

⁶⁹⁴ Bowie, 2020, Chapter 4.

⁶⁹⁵ T. H., *The Beautie of the Remarkable Yeare of Grace, 1638, The yeare of the Great Covenant of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: George Anderson, 1638).

⁶⁹⁶ Fox, 2020, 95.

describes 'freely dispersing them both in Scotland, and everywhere abroad', indicating that they were not sold and, since a mere 2000 copies met his entire Scottish and European requirements, they must have been directed quite deliberately to individuals.⁶⁹⁷ In comparison to a coarse broadside found in the street, they could have been interpreted as personal gifts.

Cunningham targeted influential people with the *Banner* and *Explication*, enhancing his own reputation in the process. His *Journal* includes his transcription of a letter from the Committee of Estates, thanking him for 'that faire and rare testimony of your skill and affection to our cause', indicating that Committee members had seen *Thrissels Banner* and approved.⁶⁹⁸ There is no reason to doubt the veracity of this document. The letter recalls that, 'posterity will remember with thankfull acknowledgement your name amongst the registers of these worthy men that have their native countrey beholden unto them'.⁶⁹⁹ Evidently, the *Banner* advanced Cunningham's status in the Covenanting world.

The approval of the Committee of Estates was long-lived and instrumental in taking the *Banner* to more distant audiences. It will be recalled that, in 1644, Covenanter leadership appointed Cunningham to a mission to the United Provinces, aimed at encouraging the citizens 'to join with us in the Covenant'.⁷⁰⁰ Accordingly, in 1645, Cunningham approached the Holland and Westfriesland Assembly, urging its members to 'consider whether they doe not conceive it expedient to enter into a

⁶⁹⁷ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.): 1928, 5.

⁶⁹⁸ A. Leslie, Balmerino, Naper, Hepburne et al., *Missive from the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland to me Thomas Cunningham Factor at Campveer, upon my publishing and explication of Thrissels-Banner*, 19 May 1640, in Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 37.

⁶⁹⁹ Leslie, Balmerino, Naper, Hepburne et al., 19 May 1640, 37.

⁷⁰⁰ Loudon, 10 May 1644, in Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 86.

nearer alliance and covenant' with Scotland.⁷⁰¹ To support his case, Cunningham records presenting the Assembly his 'scriptural proposition and appendix' – the *Thrissels Banner* and the *Explication*.⁷⁰² This episode not only reveals that efforts were made to promulgate Covenanting far afield, but also that the *Banner* played a key role in these endeavours. The *Thrissels Banner* spoke for the Covenant to decision-makers in Europe.

'A national standard'?: using the *Thrissels Banner*

By presenting his influential readers with paired items Cunningham dictated, to some extent, the arrangement of their reading environment and thereby encouraged acceptance of his position. To physically manage the *Explication* and the *Banner* a reader needs to be seated, whilst spreading the *Banner* out, and looking up the bible verses indicated by the *Explication*, requires a table. Furthermore, working through the complex web of iconographic details, acrostics, poetry and the connections between the *Banner's* elements demands quiet and concentration. In meeting these needs, the reader naturally adopts a studious attitude and the sense that they are gathering information and learning is reinforced by the physical movements made while cross-referencing the materials. Cunningham's authorial tone is in tune with this engineered environment since, as has been noted of other Covenant pamphleteers, it is that of 'reasoned argument'.⁷⁰³ He does not harangue,

⁷⁰¹ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 146.

⁷⁰² Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 146.

⁷⁰³ Waurechen, 2009, 78.

but marshalls evidence and sets out precedent for his cause, as can be seen in his orderly item by item presentation throughout the *Explication*, his citation of biblical authority and his previously noted use of language associated with bonding.⁷⁰⁴ The scholarly setting into which he encouraged his readers, combined with his voice and the content of the texts to make the arguments they present as persuasive as possible.

The *Banner* and *Explication* delivered a unique tactile experience to their readers, enhancing Cunningham's messaging. Satin *Banners* afforded their readers an encounter with a textile surface, but all of Cunningham's audience experienced a variety of textures as they read, because of the need to cross reference between *Banner*, *Explication* and bible, touching their various materials and the underlying table as they did so. According to Daniel Miller, modern Western readers are largely conditioned to the 'depth ontology' – the idea that surface equates to shallowness and lack of importance and should therefore be dismissed.⁷⁰⁵ However, Claire Canavan has presented a convincing argument that the accoutrements of reading, including their surfaces, were important in constructing meaning for early-modern Protestants, by showing how touch helped direct the reading experience and engaged the body in the thought process.⁷⁰⁶ As she points out, even the deepest contents of a book become a surface when the page is opened and there are 'possibilities for reading outside as well as inside', from components other than the printed text.⁷⁰⁷ People engaging with a satin *Banner* would have been encouraged to

⁷⁰⁴ Cunningham, *Explication*, 1640, A3, A5.

⁷⁰⁵ Daniel Miller, 'Style and Ontology', in Jonathan Friedman (ed.), *Consumption and Identity*, (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994), pp. 71–96, 71.

⁷⁰⁶ Claire Canavan, 'Reading Materials: Textile Surfaces and Early Modern Books' in *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, Issue 8, 2017, pp. 1-36, 9.

⁷⁰⁷ Canavan, 2017, 4.

see the Covenant as a strong, flexible and valuable substrate for society, just as the fabric was for the printing, but by manoeuvring his whole readership into a space with a bible, Cunningham also connected the *Banner* to this highly significant personal object. Redolent with individual meaning and memories, which were activated by its touch, the reader's bible turned each copy of the *Banner* from a gift into something individual and unique.

This tactile experience was further enhanced by the surroundings in which seventeenth-century people read. Much reading occurred in cabinets, closets or gardens - spaces which were deliberately furnished or planted.⁷⁰⁸ These surrounded their occupants with tapestry, embroidery or foliage and might also display collections or curiosities, any element of which might catch the eye as reading progressed, perhaps encouraging physical movement around the space as part of the process.⁷⁰⁹ This interaction with the surroundings and prized possessions kept there, which Bruce Smith describes as 'ambient reading', added to the meaning extracted from the text, again fitting it to the individual, helping to shape the derived experience as truly personal, encouraging acceptance of the *Banner's* message and retention of the object.⁷¹⁰

The unusual materiality of the *Banner* allowed it to be personalised in a variety of ways, which encouraged people to treasure and keep it as a meaningful object. Binding allowed the personalisation of printed texts. It would have been possible to bind the *Banner*, along with the *Explication*, according to the owner's choice and budget, as has been done with the copy held in the University of

⁷⁰⁸ Smith, 2013 [2009], 127.

⁷⁰⁹ Smith, 2013 [2009], 127-8.

⁷¹⁰ Smith, 2013, [2009], 127-8.

Edinburgh's Special Collections.⁷¹¹ From the fourteenth century onward, prints had been modified by the application of paint.⁷¹² This practice, which continued throughout the seventeenth century, allowed mass-produced images to become unique, since even the work of professional colourists produced minor variations between sheets.⁷¹³ Paper *Banners* would have been open to colouring in this way but satin copies also had the potential to be enhanced by embroidery. Of the two known examples, one has been stitched around the edge with buttonhole stitch and the other bears impressions of where similar stitching once was (Figure 35).⁷¹⁴ Since this stitch prevents cut fabric edges from fraying, and was in use in the seventeenth century, this was likely part of the preparatory process before printing but it will also have prompted owners to recognise the possibility of embroidering their object.⁷¹⁵ These options - binding, colouring and embroidery - some of which could be done in the home, would have allowed people of varying social status to develop their own, individualised object from the *Banner*, making it into something with which they had a personal connection, but knew they had in common with many other people.

This capacity for individualisation extended into the *Banner's* use. The object is large enough for someone familiar with its content to use didactically, to illustrate and persuade others of Covenanter arguments which had the approval of the Committee of Estates. Copies used for this purpose could have been shown on kirk walls, as Stewart suggests, and were also an appropriate size for domestic

⁷¹¹ University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13.

⁷¹² Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Colour in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 9.

⁷¹³ Dackerman, 2002, 26, 9.

⁷¹⁴ University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13. National Museum of Scotland, A.1943.346.

⁷¹⁵ Marguerite Fawdry and Deborah Brown, *The Book of Samplers*, (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1980), 43.

display.⁷¹⁶ The lengthy poem on the small pictorial banner is suited to social oral reading or use as an exercise during the in-home schooling which was so common in Scotland.⁷¹⁷ Usefulness in helping to inculcate Covenanter ideas, alongside reading and listening skills, may have encouraged retention of the object.

Textile copies may have come into their own as flexible, durable, portable objects, well-suited to being carried, or concealed, on the body. The strength and great compressibility of silk fabric have favoured its use as a substrate for military maps since the Han dynasty (second century BCE).⁷¹⁸ For example, during World War II, it was possible to smuggle silk-printed maps, of a comparable size to the *Banner*, to prisoners of war, because they could be rolled into very small spaces, such as the inside of a pencil.⁷¹⁹ The ingrained folds seen on both extant satin *Banners* argue for these examples having spent extended periods folded up, rather than opened out flat (Figure 39).⁷²⁰ Folding would have fitted the *Banner* into a pocket or bag, let it be carried on the owner's person, or with their valuables, readily available to consult for reference, or show to a confidant. At the time, men's clothing was well-equipped with pockets and, as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, women were increasingly able to carry small items privately, thanks to the growing popularity of tie-on pockets.⁷²¹ The *Thrissels Banner* was an expression of the Covenant which could be kept close, concealed in times of danger, or displayed at a moment's notice.

⁷¹⁶ Stewart, 2016, 149.

⁷¹⁷ Fox, 2020, 27, 35.

⁷¹⁸ Barbara A. Bond, 'Silk Maps: the story of MI9's excursion into cartography', in *Cartographic Journal*, 1984, Vol. 21(2), pp.141-4, 141.

⁷¹⁹ Bond, 1984, 143.

⁷²⁰ University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Df.1.13. National Museum of Scotland, A.1943.346.

⁷²¹ Unsworth, September 2017, 148.

This *Banner* was not intended for use as a flag. One evocative nineteenth-century account of the *Banner* describes it as a 'national standard' which the Covenanter army carried into England in 1640.⁷²² If a standard is conceived as a large flag on a pole, legible from a distance, this idea appears 'absurd', given the *Banner's* size and text density, as Stevenson, Dalgleish and McClean point out.⁷²³ If, instead, a national standard is understood as a token in the shape of a meaningful, personal object, carried individually by many people, party to a common cause, this description helps understand how the *Banner's* materiality could have been put to practical use. Just as Cunningham equipped the Covenanter army with physical arms and munitions, his *Banner* and *Explication* would have equipped their bearers with the ability to present evidence and argument for the Covenanting cause, or to shore up their own belief should it falter, wherever they might be.

Although evidence about contemporary reception is limited, what there is indicates that the *Banner* was inspiring and regarded as a remarkable object. As noted above, Cunningham's *Journal* records that the Committee of Estates had thought it a 'faire and rare testimony of your skill'.⁷²⁴ Their approval must have been key to the 'highly influential' effect the *Banner* exerted on the design and textual content of later Covenanter flags, detected by Dalgleish and McClean.⁷²⁵ Another commentator is the Scottish minister James Yair, who, when he wrote in 1776, had access to primary source documents from Veere, which are no longer extant, and had committed many years to their study.⁷²⁶ Although critical of its political content,

⁷²² John C. Johnston, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant*, (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1887), 643.

⁷²³ Stevenson, 1996, 43 - 4. Dalgleish and McClean, in Hayward and Kramer (eds.), 2005, 191.

⁷²⁴ Leslie, Balmerino, Naper, Hepburne et al., 19 May 1640, in Cunningham, in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 37.

⁷²⁵ Dalgleish and McClean in Hayward and Kramer (eds.), 2005, 192.

⁷²⁶ Yair, 1776, xiii - xiv.

Yair was impressed enough with the appearance of the *Banner* to call it 'curious and elaborate', 'a piece of dexterity' which had 'no doubt cost him [Cunningham] a world of labour', recording that, in Cunningham's time, 'it was then looked on as an ingenious and very artful contrivance'.⁷²⁷ Such attributes will have encouraged recipients to value the *Banner*, increasing the likelihood that they would keep, rather than discard it.

Some of these recipients were of high social status and likely included Charles I. The production of silk and paper copies indicates that Cunningham's intended audience comprised two distinct groups of differing status. It follows that people of the higher order were targeted with the silk version. Its materiality, in combination with the complexity, ingenuity and skilled workmanship discerned by the Committee of Estates and Yair, will have suited it for addition to their collections of curios or prints. Furthermore, Cunningham's willingness to approach Charles I in person, and repeatedly, about confirmation of his appointment to the post of Conservator, and dogged pursuit of the matter until he eventually received satisfaction from Charles II, show that he was not overawed by the crown.⁷²⁸ This, combined with content which directly addressed the King, suggests that Charles did indeed receive a copy of the *Thrissels Banner*, whether direct from the author or through his network of intelligence agents.

The *Banner's* flexibility in use and potential for personalisation represents an important development in production for the mass market by Scottish people. Mass-produced objects, capable of personalisation, had been available since the advent of printing. Books, including volumes of Scottish authorship, had offered purchasers the

⁷²⁷ Yair, 1776, 224 - 5.

⁷²⁸ Cunningham in Courthope (ed.), 1928, 53, 60, 62, 120 - 21.

opportunity to choose a binding and colour any images or even to use them for devotional purposes, as in the case of the illustrated edition of *La Mort De La Royne D'Escosse*, by Adam Blackwood, discussed in Chapter Two.⁷²⁹ However, the *Banner* presented more, and more varied, opportunities for people to develop a personal connection with a mass-produced object. They could make it appear as they wanted using colour or embroidery, display it in their home or kirk, use it for pedagogy, share it through social reading, add it to a print collection, or carry it secretly on their body as a token. As they did so, they were constantly reminded, by touch, language and iconography, of the extensive network of Covenanters with whom they shared a bond.

Conclusion

Bonding had allowed Scottish people to form kinship networks which provided mutual support and defence, transcending blood and locality. The bonds which supported these kinships were not standardised, allowing them to be adapted to suit a variety of situations. Their making and breaking were documented and supported by performances and material objects. Scottish people were able to conceive the Protestant Kirk, and later the Covenant, as an extended kinship

⁷²⁹ Dackerman, 2002, 9. Helen Smailes and Duncan Thomson, *The Queen's Image: A Celebration of Mary, Queen of Scots*, (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1987), 58. Blackwood, *La Mort De La Royne D'Escosse*, (1589), The British Library, London, 288.a56.

because they already understood and participated in non-familial networks such as this.

Membership of such extended kinships allowed identity to be understood in terms of the network to which a person belonged, rather than their location. This, in turn, supported the offspring of the diaspora, like Thomas Cunningham, and other members of the Veere congregation, in retaining a strong Scottish identity.

Communion beakers and account books produced by the congregation at Veere demonstrate that they understood themselves to be part of a dispersed Scottish, Protestant social network.

Thomas Cunningham constructed his identity through a kinship network, based on the Cunningham name, using bonding as a reference frame. He materialised this identity publicly in his scheme of stained-glass windows and, more privately, in the spiritual inventory he titled *Memorie A*. His view of the First Bishops' War, and the impending crisis of a second conflict, was filtered through the same lens and, accordingly, he perceived the Wars as breaches of a bond between the King and his Scottish subjects. Cunningham met the competing requirements of the duty owed to kin and King by supplying aid to his fellow Covenanters and producing the *Thrissels Banner* to advise Charles.

The *Banner* was a remarkable object, both visually and materially, and had the potential for substantial personalisation. These attributes encouraged recipients to keep and treasure it, promoting the understanding of having a deep personal connection with a widely dispersed kinship network of other Covenanters who owned similar, but not identical, mass-produced objects.

Cunningham and other members of the Veere congregation engaged with local cultural forms, including communion vessels, marriage windows and word play. These were melded with the Scots language and Scottish iconography in materialising diasporic Scottish identity. As crisis threatened, Cunningham turned to a cultural form which was particularly meaningful to Scottish people – the banner. Presenting his ideas in this way allowed him to simultaneously advise his King, express his complaint and present evidence to the Protestant community at large. As the Regent Moray’s household and Elizabeth Curle had done before him, Thomas Cunningham took advantage of this particular Scottish cultural precedent, as he sought to influence the discourse of crisis.

Chapter Four - ‘His Solitudes and Sufferings’: Charles I, St. Jerome and *Eikon Basilike*.

Introduction and historiography

Thomas Cunningham’s fears of further conflict were not only realised but exceeded. The Second Bishop’s War (1640) came hard on the heels of the First, ushering in more than a decade of civil wars across the British Isles.⁷³⁰ By April 1640, the need

⁷³⁰ Kishlansky and Morrill, ‘Charles I’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

for funds to meet military demands had forced King Charles to engage with Parliament, which he had not summoned for over ten years previously, having elected to rule alone. Rebellion erupted in Ireland in 1641, as indigenous Catholics moved to recover lands and freedoms which had been lost to the governing Protestant population, planted there by the English crown, from the 1550s onwards. Thousands were killed on both sides, with many more displaced, and King Charles again found himself needing to make an armed response to events outside England. Meantime, members of Parliament took the opportunity to flex their political muscle, annexing power for the body and seeking increasing policy concessions. Having come to loggerheads, the King left London in 1642 to raise an army, intending to regain governmental control by means of force.⁷³¹ As a result, the people of his kingdoms endured years more suffering, and great loss, in the far-ranging, entangled civil conflicts, which became known as the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. These did not end until 1653. For his own part, Charles surrendered to Scottish Covenanters in May of 1646 and was handed over to the English Parliament. Following a period of imprisonment and a show trial, he was beheaded in London on 30 January 1649, leaving behind a country riven by continued division between his Royalist supporters and Parliamentarians.⁷³²

Conflict was not the King's only legacy – a carefully crafted visual and textual portrayal appeared. Given the extent of the turmoil, this portrait would need to be exceptional if it was to foster positive remembrance of the King. It was presented to the public as a book, entitled *Eikon Basilike* (royal portrait).⁷³³ The text set out an

⁷³¹ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷³² Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷³³ John Gauden and Charles I, *Eikon Basilike, The poutraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, (London: R. Royston, 1649).

apparently personal version of Charles' acts leading up to, and during, the Wars, whilst an engraved frontispiece featured his portrait (Figure 40).⁷³⁴ This picture has become one of the most iconic printed images of Stuart rule, yet it embeds unconsidered iconographic and cultural nuances. These connect Charles to St. Jerome and link the frontispiece to the hagiographic line of earlier Stuart 'vendetta portraits', discussed in preceding chapters.

Synthesising these observations with ideas about how consumers use objects to materialise their identity, drawn from work by Aaron C. Ahuvia and the scholarship of Susanna Burghartz and her co-authors, allows a novel analysis of intentions for the *Eikon* and its use in practice.⁷³⁵ Re-examination of the iconic frontispiece portrait of Charles reveals the hitherto unremarked saintly characterisation, indicating a specific appeal to female buyers which I connect to contemporary developments in women's dress. Furthermore, I propose that the book was a mass-produced relic, providing owners with a direct conduit to the King, in some ways superior to that provided by more customary relics. I argue that these aspects of the book, accompanied by opportunities for personalisation, encouraged development of a quasi-religious relationship between owner and object, by promoting meditation on the King and materialising membership of an extended Royalist community.

Visual references to Scottish memorial portraits of Charles' forebears are also explored, developing another new interpretive layer to the scholarship of the

⁷³⁴ William Marshall, 1649?, *King Charles I praying* (frontispiece of the *Eikon Basilike*), Hind's plate E, Wellcome Collection, item 2029454i.

⁷³⁵ Aaron C. Ahuvia, 'Beyond the Extended Self: Loved Objects and Consumers' Identity Narratives' in *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (June 2005), pp. 171-84. Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart, Christine Göttler, and Ulinka Rublack, 'Introduction: Materializing Identities: The Affective Values of Matter in Early Modern Europe' in Burghartz, Burkart, Göttler, and Rublack (eds.), *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1750*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), pp.23-56.

frontispiece image. As noted above, this helps locate *Eikon Basilike* as an extension to the Stuart visual hagiography developed in earlier chapters, and also as an antecedent of the later Jacobite ‘treacherous objects’ identified in work by Murray Pittock.⁷³⁶ The Scottish theme continues with consideration of Charles’ exposure to Covenanter propaganda and Adam Blackwood’s *La Mort de la Royne D’Escosse*.⁷³⁷ Together, these strands of research allow identification of Scottish material cultural influences on the nature of book and frontispiece, enhancing the existing understanding of how and why the King’s image and personal reflections were presented to the market in book format.

This work generates new insights into the *Eikon*, Stuart portraiture, the intentions which shaped them and their reception and use in the hands of the public. By developing novel connections between sixteenth-century objects produced in Edinburgh and *Eikon Basilike*, I expose the enduring influence Scottish material culture exerted abroad, as a royal member of the diaspora faced the ultimate personal crisis.

Historiography and methodology

Eikon Basilike has provoked repeated inquiry into its authorship. Questions regarding who wrote the book, and when, have formed a significant part of the discourse surrounding it, from the earliest days. This scholarly focus has developed a sound framework in which to situate it, temporally and textually. Francis Madan’s case for co-authorship by John Gauden, bishop of Winchester, in collaboration with Charles, has stood the test of time, while Madan’s meticulous inventory of editions and printers illuminates the significant evolution the book underwent as the

⁷³⁶ Pittock, 2013.

⁷³⁷ Blackwood, 1589.

seventeenth century progressed.⁷³⁸ More recently, Robert Wilcher has set out a detailed timeline of the writing process, making an invaluable exposition of a distinct and deliberate turning point at which the purpose of the *Eikon* was transformed, from the apologetic rhetoric of a king expecting forced abdication, into a conscious and carefully planned memorial for a monarch whose execution looked increasingly likely.⁷³⁹ The visual and material evidence presented here adds weight to their cases for Charles' direct involvement in the book. Indeed, although Madan viewed the portrait frontispiece as a collaborative effort between Gauden and the engraver, I argue that it referenced paintings, portraiture and propaganda material which the King encountered at significant points in his life, constructing a strong case for his involvement in developing the imagery as well as the text.⁷⁴⁰

Madan and Wilchers' determinations regarding the perennial concerns of 'who?' and 'when?' freed scholars to investigate other aspects of *Eikon Basilike*. Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler and Helen Pierce have developed opinions about the methodology underlying the book and the responses it generated. They detect profound effects, ranging from the collective to the personal, with Skerpan-Wheeler proposing that the *Eikon* translated Charles into the original celebrity royal and Pierce finding that individual people developed close personal connections with the volume they owned.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁸ Francis F. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike of King Charles the First*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950).

⁷³⁹ Robert Wilcher, 'Eikon Basilike: The Printing, Composition, Strategy, and Impact of "The King's Book"' in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 29 November 2012), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199560608.013.0016>>. Wilcher, 'What Was the King's Book For?: The Evolution of Eikon Basilike' in *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Volume 21, Politics, Patronage and Literature in England 1558-1658 Special Number (1991), pp. 218-28.

⁷⁴⁰ Madan, 1950, 175.

⁷⁴¹ Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler, 'The First "Royal": Charles I as Celebrity' in *PMLA*, Vol. 126, No. 4, Special Topic: Celebrity, Fame, Notoriety (October 2011), pp.912-34. Helen Pierce, 'Text and Image:

Elements of this literature problematise the perceived novelty of the *Eikon*. Expressing the belief that '[t]oo-rigorous attention to historical contexts may limit our ability to perceive creativity and innovation in historical forms', Skerpan-Wheeler concludes that the *Eikon*, as an artefact, 'break[s] with instead of developing from established forms', finding it so innovative as to 'transcend established interpretive categories'.⁷⁴² She argues further that Charles' celebrity shaped the materiality and innovative appearance of *Eikon Basilike* and the interventions people made with it.⁷⁴³ The idea is intriguing but, arguably, identification of cultural creativity and innovation is only made possible by close attention to cultural context. In addition, the success of any portrait, whether textual or iconographic, is dependent on the viewer understanding the symbols or conventions used to represent character traits of the subject, which cannot be directly depicted.⁷⁴⁴ It inevitably follows that *Eikon Basilike* communicated in ways a seventeenth-century reader could already apprehend. Taking up a material-cultural approach helped to expose cultural factors which shaped Charles' book, by locating overlooked cultural precursors and inspirations. Furthermore, interrogation of the materiality of individual volumes informed proposals regarding their use. Together, these paired strands of investigation offer an alternative to Skerpan-Wheeler's understanding of the *Eikon*, conceiving Charles as a member of the Scottish diaspora, rather than as a celebrity.

Pierce, meantime, advocates for looking attentively at the frontispiece image. She notes that, although a frontispiece sets the scene for a reader, helping them to

William Marshall's Frontispiece to the *Eikon Basilike* (1649) in Geoff Kemp (ed.), *Censorship Moments: Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp.79-86, 80.

⁷⁴² Skerpan-Wheeler, October 2011, 912.

⁷⁴³ Skerpan-Wheeler, October 2011, 912.

⁷⁴⁴ Brilliant, 2002 [1991]), 8-9.

gain purchase on the text that follows, to date, little has been written about what Marshall's portrait could have led a reader to expect.⁷⁴⁵ Arguing that the King is shaped as a martyr, she goes on to explore the enduring importance of the image in sacralising Charles after his death, establishing the portrait as foundational to a Royalist hagiography.⁷⁴⁶ What follows here builds on her understanding of the portrait, revealing additional visual prompts, layered with those of martyrdom, likely to resonate with different sectors of the public, which linked the King to established Christian and Stuart hagiography. Understanding of these devices will have helped contemporaries develop personal connections with the book, such as those Pierce observes developing between readers and their copies of the *Eikon*.⁷⁴⁷

The ideas presented by Skerpan-Wheeler and Pierce invite further investigation of how *Eikon Basilike* shaped Charles and interacted with its owners. This was achieved considering examples drawn from an extensive collection of volumes held by University of Cambridge Special Collections, following an overview of copies held there and by the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh, with print dates between 1648/9 and 1700. The Cambridge collection was particularly useful for this since it contained more than sixty copies, allowing for side-by-side comparison of a wide range of volumes and editions, many of which retained original bindings.⁷⁴⁸ They varied in size from books smaller than an open hand to great tomes, suitable for use on a lectern, reminiscent of church bibles. Among those with original bindings, there was a varying density of gilding and leather colours ranging from brown to red to black. Some, (generally the

⁷⁴⁵ Pierce, 2015, 81.

⁷⁴⁶ Pierce, 2015, 80-2.

⁷⁴⁷ Pierce, 2015. 80.

⁷⁴⁸ See the Introduction for discussion of the historical development of this collection and an assessment of the mediatory effect of collecting policy on its components.

smaller, earlier books), had signs of heavy wear and frequent handling, such as abraded leather, worn gilding and staining on the page edges, whereas others (the very largest, later volumes) bore far fewer marks of handling.

My attention was most closely directed towards 1648/9 imprints in English, printed in England, having concluded that these were the most likely to reflect the presentation intended by the authors.⁷⁴⁹ Madan's detailed catalogue of editions and issues known to him reveals that thirty-five editions met these criteria. Of these, ten were printed in octavo-format (page size approximately 120 x 230 mm). Small-format duodecimo volumes (page size approximately 125 x 185 mm) were more prevalent, comprising twenty-five editions.⁷⁵⁰ Pierce notes that some 1649 volumes were even smaller than this.⁷⁵¹ Accordingly, care was taken to examine small-format books as well as those of larger size.⁷⁵² The process identified several books which had been personalised to varying degrees and their materiality was interrogated for any discernible implications for their use.

Making the *Eikon*, shaping the King

Eikon Basilike drew on popular literary and theatrical styles, which likely drove public demand for the book. *Basilikon Doron*, a publication by Charles' father, James VI & I, offered a model for a king's book, discussing how best a monarch could relate to and manage different sectors of society.⁷⁵³ It followed the venerable tradition of

⁷⁴⁹ Thanks are due to Liam Sims, Rare Books Specialist, University of Cambridge Library, for his advice on the content and composition of the *Eikon Basilike* collection.

⁷⁵⁰ Madan, 1950, 11-46.

⁷⁵¹ Pierce, 2015, 80.

⁷⁵² In particular, Gauden and Charles I, 1648-9, University of Cambridge Special Collections items CCE.8.8, CCE.8.13, CCE.8.17, CCE.8.20.

⁷⁵³ James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

royal instruction manuals, written by reigning monarchs addressing their heir.⁷⁵⁴ Instead, presenting as a diary of moral self-examination, *Eikon Basilike* drew on a popular contemporary written form - the spiritual diary. As discussed in Chapter Three, devoted Christians amongst Charles' subjects recorded details of their lives and spiritual practices in this form, as a means of reflection and self-improvement.⁷⁵⁵ The ability to share in the King's diarising would have been a powerful motivator to purchase, for those who engaged in similar practices. As Kathleen Lynch discusses, the *Eikon* also provided a way for Charles to return after death to speak for himself.⁷⁵⁶ Such revenants, loquacious spirits of the unjustly killed, who appeared to the living to tell their story, were a trope of early-modern popular culture, with seventeenth-century British examples ranging from murdered infants in popular ballads, such as *The Duke's Daughter's Cruelty*, to the character of Banquo in William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.⁷⁵⁷ Here again, by drawing on a familiar literary form, as Sempill had done in his broadsides referencing the Regent Moray, the authorship of the *Eikon* worked to make the book appealing to a broad public.

The timing and sheer volume of publication also encouraged public uptake of the book. The first copies were in readers' hands in the days before Charles' execution, when there would naturally have been a great deal of public interest in the King and his impending fate.⁷⁵⁸ Loyal buyers purchased an opportunity for vicarious participation in the King's mental preparation for death. Chapmen had copies for sale

⁷⁵⁴ James VI, 1599, 'To Henry, my dearest sonne'.

⁷⁵⁵ Bottonaki, Spring 1999, Volume 30, 3 - 21.

⁷⁵⁶ Kathleen Lynch, 'Religious Identity, Stationers' Company Politics, and Three Printers of "Eikon Basilike"' in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, SEPTEMBER 2007, Volume. 101, Number 3 (SEPTEMBER 2007), pp.285-312, 291.

⁷⁵⁷ Anon., 'The Duke's Daughter's Cruelty' (about 1690) in Francis James Child (ed.), *English and Scottish popular ballads*, (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1904), pp. 38-9, 38-9. William Shakespeare, *The Tragedie of Macbeth*, (London: Edward Blount and William Jaggard, 1623).

⁷⁵⁸ Lynch, September 2007, 289.

on the street soon after and it was available in booksellers' shops within a few days of the regicide.⁷⁵⁹ Many more of the books flowed from the presses in the months that followed: thirty five English-language editions, as well as others in European vernaculars and Latin, with a total of 50 000 books estimated for the first year of printing.⁷⁶⁰ Both the scale and timing of the *Eikon's* production allowed vendors the best chance to capture the largest possible market.

This level of production was made possible because key people involved in making the book were personally dedicated to Charles' cause. Richard Royston, who printed the first edition, already had a history of imprisonment for producing anti-parliamentarian material.⁷⁶¹ In 1649, when the Council of State had his equipment broken, he moved outside London to restart the press and continue printing the *Eikon*.⁷⁶² This move is reminiscent of Robert Lekprevik's shift from Edinburgh to Stirling when forbidden from producing further material relating to the Regent Moray. So important was the effort to memorialise Charles that Royston was prepared to own the seditious act by appending his name to the book, as can be seen from the title page of at least one 1649 edition.⁷⁶³

Royalists amongst the English engravers were equally dedicated. It is likely that William Marshall, the engraver of the frontispiece, was also a Royalist, in the light of his work with Francis Quarles, a notable Royalist pamphleteer.⁷⁶⁴ Certainly, Marshall associated himself with the frontispiece image, broadcasting his authorship, by signing it and continuing to do so repeatedly when reworking his design, as

⁷⁵⁹ Lynch, September 2007, 289.

⁷⁶⁰ Lynch, September 2007, 289.

⁷⁶¹ Pierce, 2015, 80.

⁷⁶² Pierce, 2015, 80.

⁷⁶³ Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.17.

⁷⁶⁴ Pierce, 2015, 82.

printing plates wore out and replacements were needed (Figure 40).⁷⁶⁵ Other English engravers, such as Thomas Rawlins and Robert Vaughan, who made versions of the image after Marshall, were also sufficiently invested in the project to sign their work.⁷⁶⁶ Indeed, they were willing to do so, even in the face of ongoing parliamentary harassment of Royston and other printers, and increased penalties for involvement in producing such material.⁷⁶⁷ In effect, these men participated, and enabled Charles, in an early form of the 'seditious memorialization' which Murray Pittock identifies as an important feature of later memorials made by and for Jacobites.⁷⁶⁸ Their dedication, in spite of the potential consequences, is a strong indicator that this circle of artisans was personally, ideologically, committed to producing *Eikon Basilike* and the frontispiece.

The portrait frontispiece of the *Eikon* was produced by an engraver who was experienced in working with emblems (Figure 40). William Marshall had been responsible for the emblematic frontispiece of the *Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne*, as well as supplying many of the illustrations for Francis Quarles' *Emblems of the life of man*.⁷⁶⁹ This portfolio confirms Marshall's familiarity with the technique of using symbols to illustrate abstract concepts and characteristics. It is likely that Marshall deployed these skills in his contribution to the *Eikon* since a portrait must communicate nebulous ideas, such as character traits. Consequently, an iconographic reading of his frontispiece is warranted.

⁷⁶⁵ Pierce, 2015, 82.

⁷⁶⁶ Pierce, 2015, 82.

⁷⁶⁷ Lynch, September 2007, 298-9.

⁷⁶⁸ Pittock, 2013, 4.

⁷⁶⁹ George Wither, *Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne*, (London: Printed by A. M. for Richard Royston, 1635). Francis Quarles, *Emblemes*, (London: Printed by Iohn Dawson for Francis Eglesfeild, 1639). Pierce, 2015, 82.

The image is divided vertically, by the open entrance to a closet, allowing a view into two scenes, one outdoors, to the left, and one indoors, to the right. A number of Latin labels help in interpreting the content, just as the textual portions of a contemporary emblem book would have done.⁷⁷⁰ Some editions include *The Explanation of the Embleme*: explanatory verses expounding the meanings of the image components, printed below the scene.⁷⁷¹ The presence of a single human figure initially draws the eye to the right side, within the closet, where Charles kneels on his left knee, before a table. He looks up to heaven and gestures towards his neck, which the headsman will soon cleave. He wears a voluminous, ermine-trimmed robe, which hangs in deep, heavily shaded folds from his shoulders. The downward direction of these folds, in combination with their darkness, imbues them with a fluid quality, causing them to anticipate the blood which will flow from the severed neck. Despite wearing this kingly garb, Charles' earthly crown, labelled as *VANITAS* (vanity) and *SPLENDIDAM AT GRAVEM* (splendid but heavy) has been cast to the floor and instead he grasps the *GRATIA* (grace) of a crown of thorns, which is *ASPERAM AT LEVEM* (rough but light) and representative of Christ's suffering. A shaft of heavenly light, coming through a window, presents a vision of a starry, new, blessed and eternal (*Beatam et aeternam*) crown which the King will receive in heaven. The glorious light from above also illuminates the orderliness of the cabinet's man-made panels and furnishings, persuading the viewer of Charles' studiousness, learning and capacity for control.

These elements make a marked contrast with the left-hand part of the image, where dark clouds fill the sky, the intemperate forces of nature cause waves to batter

⁷⁷⁰ Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 2003), 1.

⁷⁷¹ Madan, 1949, 13.

a great rock in the sea and a forest encroaches on the entrance to the king's closet. Drawing on the natural world, Marshall characterises the kingdom as the rock, assailed on all sides by malign forces, and implies that Charles' unenviable role is to hold them at bay. Despite these troubles, there are sparks of hope. The rock stands unmoving and triumphant (*IMMOTA TRIVMPHANS*) at the heart of the storm and the palm trees which tower over the rest of the forest signify victory and eternal life, while heavy masses borne up by their branches indicate that virtue grows under the pressure of weight (*CRESCIT SVE PONDERE VIRTUS*). Also, the texts surrounding Charles offer reassurance that he has not lost faith, showing the viewer that, in prayer among the books and papers of the cabinet, he has found the path of Christ (*Christi tracto*) and hope in the word of God (*IN VERBO TVO SPES MEA*).

Seventeenth-century audiences were accustomed to interpreting emblem-based imagery like this and would have recognised the parallels between Charles and Christ. Books which listed, illustrated and interpreted emblems had been printed from the middle sixteenth century and gained a readership across Europe.⁷⁷² The earliest Protestant examples were produced in Germany, but printers in other countries began to bring versions in their own languages to the market, as evidenced by Marshall's portfolio prior to the *Eikon*.⁷⁷³ This made the contents of emblem books more widely accessible and the resulting popular familiarity with the decoding process would have helped people interpret the *Eikon*'s frontispiece. The crown of thorns, which Charles grasps so readily, symbolising the passion of Christ, encourages the viewer to see the King as enduring similar agonies. Once Christ's final suffering is identified as a theme, the king's prayerful attitude, while pondering

⁷⁷² Adams, 2003, 1.

⁷⁷³ Adams, 2003, 1.

his impending execution, then calls to mind the agony in the garden of Gethsemane where Christ contemplated his fate. Skerpan-Wheeler affirms this visual connection, which was first proposed by Roy Strong, cemented by his observations of portraits of Charles by Anthony van Dyck.⁷⁷⁴ In this reading, therefore, the cabinet and the mass of trees outside represent Gethsemane. The ethereal crown, promising a heavenly reign after death, completes the likeness. In emblematic terms, then, the deceased King was chosen by God, endured Christ-like suffering and, as a result, will rule in heaven. These ideas align with Charles' avowed belief in the divine right of kings, but the frontispiece also embeds a second, unexpected, layer of meaning, hitherto unrecognised by scholars, in which Charles is likened to St. Jerome.

Jerome has a well-defined iconography which depicts him as either a suffering penitent or a scholar (Figures 41 - 46).⁷⁷⁵ In penitence, he humbles himself before God, holding a stone in his left hand, with which to beat his breast, (Figures 41 and 42). As a scholar, he works at his books in a closet or study (Figure 43, 44 and 45), where he may adopt a prayerful posture similar to that of the penitent (Figure 44). Vanitas elements, such as a skull and a tree stump, appear (Figures 43, 44 and 45), reminding viewers of the fleeting nature of life. These are paired with indicators, such as discarded cardinal's robes or hat, that Jerome cast earthly status

⁷⁷⁴ Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, (New York: Viking, 1972), 30. Skerpan-Wheeler, October 2011, 920.

⁷⁷⁵ Titian (Tiziano Vecelli) c. 1575, *Penitent Saint Jerome*, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain, item 406 (1933.4). Titian (Tiziano Vecelli), c.1575, *Saint Jerome in Penitence*, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, Spain, Bridgeman Education, XJL71390. Albrecht Dürer, c. 1512, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, item 19.73.68. Dürer, 1512, *Saint Jerome in a Cave*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, item 31.57.1. Domenico Fetti, c. 1613-22, *Saint Jerome*, Royal Collection Trust RCIN 405499, Hampton Court Palace. Nicolò Boldrini (attributed), mid-sixteenth century, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, after Titian, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, item 22.73.3-119.

aside, longing instead for the glory of heaven (Figure 43 and 44). He is often accompanied by a docile, dog-like lion (Figures 41 – 44 and 46).⁷⁷⁶

Charles' kingship had given him opportunities for travel and acquisition that will have familiarised him with images of Jerome, alerting him to the possibilities of aligning himself with the saint. The king was keenly interested in art and amassed a large collection, which included several paintings by Dürer.⁷⁷⁷ As a favoured artist, it is possible that his lesser works, such as the St. Jerome prints, were also purchased (Figures 43 and 44). Charles had spent several months at the Habsburg court in 1623, seeking marriage with the Spanish infanta.⁷⁷⁸ His foreign adventure gave him the chance to see two versions of Titian's *The Penitent Saint Jerome* in the royal collection, which both depict classic elements of the saint's iconography and the familiar penitent posture (Figures 41 and 42). In later years, at Whitehall, the king would also have had ample opportunity to contemplate his own purchase - Domenico Fetti's atmospheric *Saint Jerome*, in which the titular subject is set against the backdrop of a gloomy forest, and gazes deeply into the empty sockets of a skull, while resting one arm on his books (Figure 45).⁷⁷⁹ The association of encountering Titian's rendering of the saint with an eventful foreign journey would have helped impress the images on Charles' memory - remembrances which sight of Fetti's work could reinforce in later life.

The landscape in which Jerome appeared was an important element in portrayal of his character and work and Marshall used a similar approach to characterise Charles and the *Eikon*. Artists often located the saint, or his cabinet, in a

⁷⁷⁶ Farmer, 'Jerome' in Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints (5th ed.)*.

⁷⁷⁷ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷⁷⁸ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷⁷⁹ Domenico Fetti, c. 1613-22, *Saint Jerome*, Royal Collection Trust, Hampton Court Palace, item RCIN 405499.

wilderness, to reflect his asceticism and time spent in solitude, at work and prayer in the desert (Figures 41, 42 and 46). Northern European artists interpreted this wilderness as a forest, reflecting the landscape they and their audiences knew (Figures 41, 42 and 46). It had long been held that the forest was a wilderness - the dangerous haunt of wild animals, bandits and broken men.⁷⁸⁰ Persistence of this idea late into the seventeenth century is illustrated by a popular ballad, *The Duke's Daughter's Cruelty*.⁷⁸¹ It situates the transgressive aspects of a tale of extra-marital sex, secret pregnancy, infanticide and damnation under the oaks, thorns and other trees of the 'wide wilderness'.⁷⁸² Notwithstanding such negative connotations, the forest was also the site of significant economic activity, where food, timber and other valuable commodities were produced.⁷⁸³ Consequently, sylvan backdrops to Jerome's cabinet, imagined by northern artists like Dürer, projected the idea that the writings of the saint were valuable fruits, plucked from a hostile environment. Positioning the *Eikon's* portrait of Charles in a cabinet, set amidst an encroaching forested wilderness, induced viewers to conclude that the king was like Jerome: learned, studious and sanctified (Figure 4*). Accordingly, his book, the product of that wilderness, was one to be valued. Indeed, the subtitle of the *Eikon*, '*The poutraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings*', encourages the idea that parallels should be drawn between the ascetic, penitent saint and the King.

Images of Jerome use opposition to build a positive perception of his character, a strategy also pursued by Marshall in representing the King. Extreme tonal differences (Figures 41 and 42) and multiple juxtapositions of the natural and

⁷⁸⁰ Richard Hayman, 'Ballad of the Green Man', in *History Today*, 2010-04-01, Volume 60(4), pp.37-44, 39-40.

⁷⁸¹ David Atkinson, "History, Symbol, and Meaning in 'The Cruel Mother'" in *Folk Music Journal*, 1992, Volume 6, Number 3, pp.359-80, 360.

⁷⁸² Anon., about 1690 in Child (ed.), 1904, 38-9.

⁷⁸³ Simon Schama, *Landscape and memory*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 143-4.

man-made (Figures 43 and 44); the earthly and divine (Figures 41, 42 and 44), the living and the dead (Figures 43 and 45) are common constituents of representations of Jerome. These contrasts associate him with light, order, knowledge and command of the environment and, as a result, encourage the idea that he was a source of illumination, inspired by God, and a bastion standing against chaotic, destructive forces. Marshall's frontispiece takes the same approach by placing Charles in an orderly cabinet, furnished with books and illuminated by heavenly light, which contrasts strongly with the wild wood and the dark, raging storm outside (Figure 40).

The sense that Charles is like Jerome was compounded by other visual cues. The royal crown, cast aside on the floor, becomes a *vanitas* object which, like Jerome's discarded cardinal's robes, indicates that worldly things have been set aside. Adoption of the saint's posture implied that Charles too was a notable penitent, patiently suffering. As already remarked, modern writers have commented on visual similarities between the frontispiece and contemporary portrayals of Christ's agony in the garden of Gethsemane.⁷⁸⁴ Since Jerome is often considered a mirror of Christ, these visual ploys helped confirm to Charles' followers that he too had been elevated to the divine after death, since he had shared the penitential agonies endured by Jerome and Christ. Association with Jerome was also in line with an established policy for the image of the King since, from as early as 1642, Charles had been determined to cast himself as the suffering servant of the realm - a characterisation which, to his adherents, only became more apposite as time went on.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁴ Skerpan-Wheeler, October 2011, 920. Strong, 1972, 30.

⁷⁸⁵ Wilcher, 1991, 218-19.

Portraying Charles in this way encouraged readers of the *Eikon* to regard it as an authoritative, divinely inspired text. Jerome was known for his scholarly writing and, in particular, for his standardised version of the Latin bible - the ubiquitous Vulgate - which he was understood to have derived from primary sources.⁷⁸⁶ The Catholic church had long accepted this as the definitive version of their holy book, with the Council of Trent declaring it to be 'authentic, and that no one dare under any pretext whatsoever to reject it'.⁷⁸⁷ Having discerned the strong connections between Charles and Jerome presented in the frontispiece of the *Eikon*, it was but a short step for Royalist readers to conclude that the King's book was as authentic and authoritative as Jerome's work had been thought.

Charles' image could be positively shaped by association with Jerome because sectors of the public were also familiar with the saint. As one of the four fathers of the church, Jerome had been a favoured subject for artists since medieval times, making his image a common sight in churches.⁷⁸⁸ Printmakers, such as Dürer, had disseminated his picture widely on the popular market in the sixteenth century, allowing it to become familiar in secular spaces as well. Survival of their output to the present day indicates that these prints were valued and preserved during Charles' reign (Figures 43 and 44). Artists such as Nicolò Boldrini produced new images of Jerome in print, referencing their predecessors' works and continuing to represent him in his stereotypical prayerful pose (Figure 46).⁷⁸⁹ In England, the market for these pictures would have been driven by Jerome's inclusion in the abbreviated

⁷⁸⁶ Farmer, 'Jerome' in Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (5th ed.).

⁷⁸⁷ Council of Trent, "Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures", 8 April 1546, Session IV, in H.J. Schroeder (trans.), *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1941), p.18, 18.

⁷⁸⁸ Farmer, 'Jerome' in Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (5th ed.).

⁷⁸⁹ Nicolò Boldrini (attributed), mid-sixteenth century, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, after Titian, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, item 22.73.3-119.

calendar of saints, retained by the post-Reformation English church, which called for annual celebration of his life and work.⁷⁹⁰ As a result, the iconography of the penitent scholar in the dangerous wilderness was alive and relevant to the seventeenth-century public. Jerome's established place in English public consciousness made the saint's iconography available as a vehicle to elevate the King's memory by casting him as a saintly, penitent, suffering scholar. Likewise, Scottish Catholics, who remained alert to the saints and their attributes, would have found meaning in this allusion. In contrast, the visual reference may well have eluded their Protestant counterparts north of the border, who had no institutionally approved calendar of saints.⁷⁹¹ Nonetheless, as the final section of this chapter demonstrates, the frontispiece of Charles' *Eikon* made other visual references more likely to be meaningful to Charles' northern Protestant subjects. This multivalency of imagery confirms that the King's book was deliberately crafted to engage different social groups.

Poetry and pockets: personalising the King's book

Variations in format between early editions of the *Eikon* reflect the danger its printers faced but also their desire to reach as many readers as they could. The examples examined dated 1648 and 1649 contain either octavo- (approximately 120 x 230 mm) or duodecimo- (approximately 125 x 185 mm) sized pages (Figure 46).⁷⁹² Kathleen Lynch proposes that the continued circulation of very small volumes around May 1649, when octavos were apparently unavailable, was the result of a need for

⁷⁹⁰ James VI & I, *The Booke of Common Prayer*, (London: Robert Barker, 1604), viij, September.

⁷⁹¹ Todd, 2002, 184-5.

⁷⁹² Duodecimo editions of the *Eikon Basilike*, University of Cambridge Special Collections items CCE.8.20, CCE.8.17, CCE.8.13

secrecy.⁷⁹³ It seems intuitive that this was the case, and a response to parliamentary suppression measures, since a greater number of small pages could be printed with a single operation of the press. This would have reduced printing time for a single book, speeding production overall and making it easier to conceal the manufacturing process. Nonetheless, there is also evidence that production in very small formats was fuelled by the desire to reach a wide, socially diverse, audience. Some London stationers, who focused on the popular market, had begun producing their best-selling lines as small books, even as small as sextodecimo-size (approximately 100 x 170 mm), in the 1620s.⁷⁹⁴ Low production costs allowed for cheap pricing, with a consequent increase in sales and diversification of readership.⁷⁹⁵ These developments, which began long before *Eikon Basilike* went to print, reveal that, by 1649, printers knew that producing a book in a small format was a way to put it in the hands of more, and different, people. For the threatened, but ideologically committed *Eikon* printers, duodecimo volumes served a dual purpose: they mitigated the risk of printing seditious material while simultaneously facilitating its widest possible readership.

The inclusion of illustrated capitals, which are limited to the duodecimo volumes of these early *Eikons*, was another strategy to develop the greatest readership for the King's book. Inspection of the duodecimo *Eikons* reveals that they contain varying numbers of illustrated capitals, which are absent from the octavo editions (Figure 48).⁷⁹⁶ Carving blocks, at such a small scale, to print this additional pictorial content, would have increased the difficulty, production time and cost of

⁷⁹³ Lynch, September 2007, 298.

⁷⁹⁴ Fox, 2020, 390.

⁷⁹⁵ Fox, 2020, 390.

⁷⁹⁶ Illustrated capitals from duodecimo editions of *Eikon Basilike*, Cambridge Special Collections items CCE.8.8, CCE.8.13, CCE.8.17, CCE.8.20.

bringing these tiny books to market. This implies that printers had specific reasons for doing so. Woodcut illustrations are found in surviving small format English books from 1617 onwards.⁷⁹⁷ Their emergence, in numbers, in a specific title, is known to have coincided with a change to producing that title in a smaller format.⁷⁹⁸ Given this, and the knowledge that small format printing captured a wider market, adding illustrated capitals to the *Eikon* was another means to increase and diversify its readership. As well as attracting people who could not afford octavo editions, illustrated duodecimo copies might encourage less confident readers to buy, allowing first-hand engagement with Charles' message by less well-educated sectors of society.

In combination with small volume size, the images encouraged quasi-religious use of duodecimo copies of *Eikon Basilike*. In earlier times, a tiny book of hours, carried on a chatelaine, had publicly demonstrated a woman's piety whilst facilitating passing spare moments of the day in spiritual contemplation.⁷⁹⁹ A copy of the *Eikon*, small enough to carry on the person, would have enabled a similar daily contemplation of the dead King. The illustrated capitals pick out a sequence of important events in Charles' life, which would support such meditation. They include his summoning of parliament, negotiating with his opponents, taking leave of queen Henrietta Maria and a simplified version of the frontispiece (Figure 48). A similar technique had already been used in an illustrated edition of Adam Blackwood's *La Mort De La Royne D'Escosse*, a piece of propaganda memorialising Mary, Queen of Scots, in which a series of prints highlights significant moments during her advance

⁷⁹⁷ Fox, 2020, 390.

⁷⁹⁸ Fox, 2020, 390.

⁷⁹⁹ Lucia Savi, *Bags Inside Out*, (London: V&A Publishing, 2020), 14.

to the scaffold (Figure 49).⁸⁰⁰ Modern-day analysis of the prints characterises them as derivative of the Way of the Cross - an element of Catholic practice in which people reflected on a series of images tracing the major events of Christ's Passion.⁸⁰¹ According to Smailes and Thomson, the pictures Blackwood presented encouraged his readers to view Mary's execution as an equivalent to the Way of the Cross.⁸⁰² This would allow meditation on particular moments and discernment of an inevitable progress towards martyrdom. The *Eikon's* illustrated capitals perform similarly, prompting readers to spend time in meditation on specific moments of the King's life. This helps to frame his actions leading up to, and during, the Wars as part of an inevitable progression towards execution. The illustrated capitals assist in promoting Charles' sanctity, glorifying the incidents portrayed. Engaging with the scenes the capitals portray becomes a pious meditation.

Arguably, another purpose of the book was to be a relic, manufactured en-masse. Relics were usually formed from the body parts of holy people, or from objects which had been in contact with them.⁸⁰³ These items acted as physical conduits for prayers and for reciprocal supernatural interventions in the ordinary world.⁸⁰⁴ Understanding of relic production as a key process in popular sanctification of the dead is evidenced by the strict measures taken at the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Attendance had been tightly policed and opportunities for gathering relics were minimised.⁸⁰⁵ The Queen's clothing and effects had been burned and

⁸⁰⁰ Smailes and Thomson, 1987, 50. Adam Blackwood, *La Mort De La Royne D'Escosse*, (1589), The British Library, London 288.a56.

⁸⁰¹ Smailes & Thomson, 1987, 50-1. Ann Ball, *Encyclopedia of Catholic Devotions and Practices*, (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 2003), 604-5.

⁸⁰² Smailes & Thomson, 1987, 50-1.

⁸⁰³ Krueger in Bagnoli, Klein, Mann and Robinson (eds.), 2011, 5, 9.

⁸⁰⁴ Angenendt, in Bagnoli, Klein, Mann and Robinson (eds.), 2011, 21.

⁸⁰⁵ Wingfield, in Cust 1903, 94 - 9.

anything contaminated by blood was washed.⁸⁰⁶ Since preventing relic formation had been essential to Elizabeth I in controlling Mary's memory, Charles' circle may have concluded that they should take charge of his memory by disseminating relics as widely as possible.

The diary format of *Eikon Basilike* assisted with this. Over the course of the seventeenth century, life writing had moved away from formulaic replication of trite exempla and towards 'capturing the peculiar character of the individual'.⁸⁰⁷ In following this trend, the King's book allowed owners to understand that they had a conduit to Charles' true person - something far more intimate than could be had through touching a mute primary or secondary relic. An owner of the *Eikon* had a direct line to the King's very thoughts and thus the ability to experience interactions with the King, through his book, which were as uniquely personal as a conversation.

Physical relics of Charles were made, and the King's book became enmeshed with this activity. A witness reports that, at the execution 'His blood [was] taken up by divers persons for different ends : by some as trophies of their villainy ; by others as relics of a martyr'.⁸⁰⁸ It was predictable that this would happen if the crowd was not restrained. English Catholics had maintained reverence for relics after the Reformation and a culture of retaining body parts of, or objects associated with, significant Protestant dead had developed rapidly in reformed religion.⁸⁰⁹ Indeed, English people, whatever their confession, were especially likely to wish to make

⁸⁰⁶ Wingfield, in Cust 1903), 94 - 9. Anon., 'Tanner MS.78 F.129' in Scott of Abbotsford (ed.), 1895, 256.

⁸⁰⁷ Sharpe, "Whose Life is it Anyway? Writing Early Modern Monarchs and the 'Life' of James II", in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds.), *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 233-52, 233.

⁸⁰⁸ Anon., 'An account of the execution of Charles I' in James Harvey Robinson (ed.), *Readings in European History Volume II*, (Boston: Ginn, 1906), pp.243-5, 245.

⁸⁰⁹ Walsham, 2010, 126-31, 131-9.

royal relics because of a contemporary belief in the healing power of royal touch.⁸¹⁰ Pieces of clothing, locks of hair and scraps of blood-stained fabric, all said to have come from the King's body, persist to the present in collections such as those of Lambeth Palace, the Royal Collection, the Society of King Charles the Martyr and Dunfermline's Carnegie Library and Galleries.⁸¹¹ In one notable case, strips of blue fabric, allegedly from Charles' garter ribbon, which he wore at his execution, have been integrated into the material of a copy of the *Eikon*, and can be used as tie closures (Figure 5*).⁸¹² Book and ribbon amplify each other's potency as relics by reuniting the dead King's physical presence with the content of his thoughts. Other *Eikon* owners would have been able to make equivalent transformations of their own volumes, using the numerous material memorials reportedly procured at the execution, or items falsely represented as such.⁸¹³ Of course, the authenticity of relics can be difficult to determine, as exemplified by the uncertainty surrounding the Royal Collection's supposed garter ribbon. Another exists in Dunfermline and, although Royal Collection curators have conducted extensive scientific and documentary research, this has produced inconclusive results as to the authenticity of the ribbon.⁸¹⁴ In this respect, a copy of the *Eikon* could even be superior to other

⁸¹⁰ Walsham, 2010, 137-8.

⁸¹¹ The Society of King Charles the Martyr, *Relics*, (London: The Society of King Charles the Martyr, undated), <<http://skcm.org/gallery/relics/>>. Royal Collection Trust, *Eikon Basilike: the portraiture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings 1649*, London: Royal Collection Trust, undated), <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/1080417/eikon-basilike-the-portraiture-of-his-sacred-majestie-in-his-solitudes-and>>, RCIN 1080417. OnFife, *Royal & Abbey - Garter Ribbon*, (Kirkcaldy: OnFife, 2022), <<https://www.onfife.com/royal-abbey-garter-ribbon/>>.

⁸¹² Gauden and Charles I, *Eikon Basilike*, 1649, with attached blue ribbons, Royal Collection Trust, item RCIN 1080417. Royal Collection Trust, 'Description' in *Eikon Basilike: the portraiture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings 1649*, (London: Royal Collection Trust, undated), <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/1080417/eikon-basilike-the-portraiture-of-his-sacred-majestie-in-his-solitudes-and>>.

⁸¹³ Anon., in Robinson (ed.), 2006, 245.

⁸¹⁴ OnFife, 2022, <<https://www.onfife.com/royal-abbey-garter-ribbon/>>. Royal Collection Trust, *Interpreting the Inscription*, (London: Royal Collection Trust, undated), <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/conservation/book-conservation-the-eikon-basilike/interpreting-the-inscription>>.

relics, since its authenticity could be affirmed by cross-checking with other volumes, or against broadside and personal accounts of the events of the Civil Wars.

This view of the early *Eikon* as a para-religious object is supported by developments in later editions and their use after the monarchy was restored. As Britain moved towards the 1660 Restoration of the monarchy, Royalism became acceptable once again and numerous new editions and variants of *Eikon Basilike* appeared.⁸¹⁵ This indicates that the market valued not only the royal image but the book itself. These later volumes grew in scope and sophistication, with the addition of more prints and texts to the content from 1649.⁸¹⁶ Examples examined at Cambridge show that some also attained significantly larger physical size. Since their content was no longer proscribed, it was not necessary for them to be easy to conceal. Indeed, one volume required both hands, and considerable effort, to lift.⁸¹⁷ Such a book must necessarily have been used very differently to tiny duodecimo copies, and it calls to mind a bible intended for a lectern. Preaching glorifying the dead King did indeed go on, beginning in 1649 and becoming understandably more popular after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660.⁸¹⁸ The *Eikon*, as ‘a virtual[] ... royalist book of devotions’ provided material to inform these sermons and, when, in 1657, a musical version became available, a choral service could be performed.⁸¹⁹ The frontispiece was evidently regarded by some as a religious image, since, in 1664, the diarist Samuel Pepys (1633 - 1703) reported seeing ‘the picture usually put before the King’s book, put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a

⁸¹⁵ Kishlansky and Morrill, ‘Charles I’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸¹⁶ Madan, 1950, 69-87.

⁸¹⁷ John Wilson, *Psalterium Carolinum*, (London: John Martin and James Allestry, 1657), University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCB.8.1.

⁸¹⁸ Helen W. Randall, ‘The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I’ in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10 (1946-7), pp.135-67, 136-7.

⁸¹⁹ Randall, 1946-7, 137. Wilson, 1657, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCB.8.1.

pretty piece to set up in a church'.⁸²⁰ This incident reflects the capacity of the frontispiece to exist independently of the rest of the book, as noted by Pierce.⁸²¹ Stuart supporters venerated Charles after his death with the *Eikon* as a whole, and the frontispiece individually, playing a fundamental role in the performance of that reverence.

Pepys' remarks illustrate that *Eikon Basilike* could be adopted as part of a revisionist point of view of Charles, in the years following his death. As a youth, the diarist had been an approving attendee at the King's execution.⁸²² However, his comment on seeing the frontispiece portrait in the church makes it clear that, by 1664, Pepys' opinion of the dead King had been reversed. Evidently, the imagery of the King's book was intimately connected with that revised view. Indeed, by 1700, Pepys was engaged in *Eikon* scholarship, going to some pains to annotate his personal copy according to a notable volume donated to the collection at Lambeth Palace.⁸²³ Echoing Jerome's work on the Vulgate, Pepys detailed a plan to meticulously search out and compare 'the pages, lines and words' in an effort to produce the most authentic version of the text possible, by returning to an authoritative source.⁸²⁴ At least for Samuel Pepys, deep, studious, engagement with Charles' *Eikon* was a feature of post-Restoration life.

⁸²⁰ C.S. Knighton, 'Pepys, Samuel' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/21906>>. Samuel Pepys, Sunday 2 October 1664, in Henry B. Wheatley (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.*, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893).

⁸²¹ Pierce, 2015, 82-3.

⁸²² Knighton, 'Pepys, Samuel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸²³ Edmund Gibson to Pepys, September 28 1700 and October 3 1700, in J.R. Tanner (ed.), 1926, 77, 80. Pepys to Gibson, September 30 1700, in Tanner (ed.), 1926, 77.

⁸²⁴ Pepys to Gibson, October 5 1700, in Tanner (ed.):1926, 81. Farmer, 'Jerome' in Farmer (ed.), 'Jerome' in Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints (5th ed.)*.

Books present their owners with opportunities for personalisation, which can enhance the depth of connection felt, and the *Eikon* was no exception. Strategies observed included geometric and floral gilding to the binding (Figure 47), signatures claiming ownership and hand-inked red lines bordering pages.⁸²⁵ These could have been applied to any book, but other methods were more specific to the *Eikon* and Charles' memory. Some examples have contemporary bindings in mourning black, tooled with gilded crowns, skulls, and Charles' monogram, whilst others are wrapped in martyr's red, materialising the range of emotional reaction Royalists had felt in response to the execution.⁸²⁶ In one instance the frontispiece had been skilfully coloured, significantly increasing the visual impact of the image and encouraging time spent in meditation over it (Figure 51).⁸²⁷ Here, red pigment applied to the King's robe adds to the suggestion, made by its vertical folds, that he is drenched in blood, pouring down from his neck. This translates him into a variant Holy Blood figure. Owners of duodecimo volumes would also have had the opportunity to extend colouring like this to their illustrated capitals.

Still other owners introduced texts they considered significant into the *Eikon*, by transcribing them onto end papers and other blank pages. These include an extended, two-stanza version of a single-stanza poem by James Graham (1612 – 50), marquess of Montrose:

*'Great, Good and Just, could I but rate
My Grief and Thy too Rigid Fate!*

⁸²⁵ Gauden and Charles I: 1648, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCD.8.3; Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.17; Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCD.8.5.

⁸²⁶ Gauden and Charles I, 1648, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.20. Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.17.

⁸²⁷ Coloured frontispiece from *Eikon Basilike*, University of Cambridge Special Collections item Keynes.A.3.25.

*I'd weep the World in such a Strain,
As it should deluge once again:
But since Thy loud-tongu'd Blood demands Supplies,
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' Eyes,
I'll sing thy dirge with Trumpet-sounds,
And write Thine Epitaph with Blood and Wounds.*

*'Here lyes Inshrind in Sacred dust
Charles the Great, the Good the Just,
Goodness was his greatest Crime,
Justice his charge; then 'till time
And after ages Registrare
How Virtue's mir'd now by Fate
And Greatness overthrown by those
He Created: Thistle, dowble Rose*

Fate dare you pr??d; or cease to budde

*Till Aust revenge great Joulius bloud.*⁸²⁸

Although initially reluctant, Montrose had signed the Covenant, took a leading role in gathering other signatures and led the vanguard of the Covenanter army into

⁸²⁸ Found in Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCD.8.18. Montrose, 'His Metrical Vow' in Weir (ed.), *Poems of James Graham Marquis of Montrose*, (London: John Murray, 1938), 33.

England at the start of the First Bishop's War.⁸²⁹ However, having become increasingly disenchanted with the intentions of the Covenanter parliament towards the King, he joined Charles' army, conducting a successful military campaign against Covenant forces in Scotland in 1644-5.⁸³⁰ Later failed operations, in support of Charles II, led to the marquess' capture and he was executed by the Covenanters in Edinburgh on 21 May 1650.⁸³¹ The editor of his surviving works has found that Montrose's 'loyalty [to the King] is echoed in every line of his poetry'.⁸³² The single-stanza piece, presently known as *His Metrical Vow*, is understood to have been published in a broadside collection of epitaphs before 1700, but probably after Montrose's death.⁸³³ Its readers were called to action by the poet's assertion that the regicide warranted being more like the mythical giant, Briareus, who had one hundred hands, than the watcher, Argus, who had one hundred eyes.⁸³⁴ Such a rallying cry would have been appealing to those who favoured continuing the fight for a monarchical society and it is understandable that an owner of the *Eikon* could see the verse as a fitting addition to their book.

The second verse, meantime, is a novel composition, perhaps authored by the owner of the book. Its writer ascribes equal blame for the King's death to both his kingdoms – the 'Thistle' of Scotland and 'dowble [English] Rose'. However, their apparent neutrality, unaligned with national identity, is belied by the remainder of the verse, which portrays Charles as outstanding in his virtue, unparalleled in his

⁸²⁹ David Stevenson, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose', in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/11194> >.

⁸³⁰ Stevenson, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸³¹ Stevenson, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸³² J.L. Weir, 'Introduction' in J.L. Weir (ed.), *Poems of James Graham Marquis of Montrose*, (London: John Murray, 1938), pp.1-9, 5.

⁸³³ James Graham marquess of Montrose, in Weir (ed.), 1938, 33. Weir, in Weir (ed.), 1938, 7.

⁸³⁴ Helicon, *Hutchinson Dictionary of World Mythology*, (Abingdon: Helicon Publishing, 2005), 109, 41, 123.

goodness. For this writer then, Royalism was more important than country. Their words signal a level of interaction with the *Eikon* far deeper, more considered and more personal than simply copying Montrose's lines, however apposite these may have been. For this writer, identity was anchored in allegiance to the King and sustained by interaction with this amended version of his book.

Yet another volume has a hand-copied extract from a later text, Thomas Sprat's *Observations on Monsieur de Sorbier's Voyage into England*.⁸³⁵

*'We have one small Book which we dare oppose to all the Treasures of ye Eastern and Western Languages: it is that which was written by our late King & Martyr; whose Majestical Stile & Divine Conceptions not only mov'd all his readers to admire his Eloquence, but inclin'd some of ye worst of his enemies to relent their cruelty towards him.'*⁸³⁶

Frenchman Samuel Sorbière first published an account of his 1663 trip to England as *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre*, in 1664.⁸³⁷ This book, which included a report of his experience of joining the Royal Society, was highly critical of many aspects of English life, including the Society, and had provoked a riposte from Thomas Sprat, himself a Fellow, first published as *Observations*, in August of the same year.⁸³⁸ In countering Sorbière's criticisms, Sprat skewed to the opposite extreme, finding England, and the English, incomparable, as exemplified in his assessment of the

⁸³⁵ Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge item CCD.8.5. Thomas Sprat, *Observations on Monsieur de Sorbier's Voyage into England*, (London: August 1, 1664).

⁸³⁶ Sprat, 1664, 273.

⁸³⁷ Samuel Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre, où sont touchées plusieurs choses, qui regardent l'estat des sciences, et de la religion*, (Paris: L. Billaine, 1664).

⁸³⁸ See, for example, the later, translated edition, Sorbière, *A voyage to England, containing many things relating to the state of learning, religion, and other curiosities of that kingdom, By Mons, Sorbiere. As also observations on the same voyage, by Dr. Thomas Sprat, Fellow of the Royal Society, and now Lord Bishop of Rochester*, (London: J. Woodward, 1709), p.4 for Sorbière's description of the 'very lazy' English people, pp.35-8 for his uncomplimentary thoughts on the Royal Society and p.62 for complaints about English food. Sprat, *Observations on Monsieur de Sorbier's Voyage into England*, (London: August 1, 1664).

Eikon as the greatest book ever written.⁸³⁹ Sprat's hyperbole on the subject will have made his text appealing to the Royalist community and its introduction into the *Eikon* helps turn this particular copy of the book from a defence of Charles into a broader defence of England. Furthermore, the introduction of text, first published in 1664, into a volume printed in 1649 shows that personalising the King's book was an ongoing process, in which the relationship between owner and original content could evolve over time.

These personally selected additions to individual copies of the *Eikon* attempt to intervene in its reception by directing the reaction of the reader to those specific books. Montrose's poetry invokes the rawness and anger of new grief, demanding revenge for Charles by exacting 'blood and wounds' from his enemies.⁸⁴⁰ In contrast, the Sprat quotation encourages a longer view, from which the reader should recognise the persuasive power of the dead King's writing and the benefits to be had from reading it.⁸⁴¹ Their promises of revenge and attribution of near-magical properties of persuasion to the *Eikon* are indicative of the great range of feelings individual readers could experience when engaging with their books. According to Susanna Burghartz and her co-authors these feelings, associated with a mass-produced object, would have helped support understanding of the existence of a collective identity.⁸⁴² This identity was, of course, Royalist in nature and its materialisation would, in turn, have strengthened the wider Royalist community as it adjusted to the reality of Charles' death.

⁸³⁹ Sprat, August 1, 1664, 273.

⁸⁴⁰ Montrose, 'His Metrical Vow' in Weir (ed.), 1938, 33.

⁸⁴¹ Sprat, August 1, 1664, 273.

⁸⁴² Burghartz et al, 2021, 28.

A variety of content supplied by different printers, in different editions, allowed even unaltered copies of the *Eikon* to feel somewhat personal. These variations ranged from a number of prayers said to have been used by the King, to the verse supplying the *Explanation of the Embleme*, a letter from the Prince of Wales, the content of broadsides relating to the King's trial, texts of speeches, an epitaph, small variations in the frontispiece and other portraits.⁸⁴³ As well as affording buyers a certain amount of choice as to the appearance of their purchase, these variants accommodated individual ideas about what constituted an authentic *Eikon* and how the King should be remembered, even amongst those who could not afford elaborate gilding, coloured binding or tinted prints.

Some of Charles' supporters went into exile in Europe, where they were able to use the *Eikon* to materialise a very public Royalist identity. Among them was Thomas Killigrew (1612-83), the English dramatist, who sat for a portrait with his copy (Figure 52).⁸⁴⁴ The portrait bust of Charles which hangs on a wall in the background affirms that this image was intended to broadcast enduring Royalism and dedication to the dead King. For contemporary viewers, familiar with the *Eikon*, this recognition was supported by more subtle visual cues. The subject's pose, seated at a book-laden desk, is reminiscent of that adopted by Charles in Marshall's frontispiece, although Killigrew turns his head to directly address the viewer. Again, like the King, Killigrew is wrapped in a voluminous robe. A dog, symbolising loyalty, sits by his feet, and calls to mind the submissive lions often portrayed attending Saint Jerome (Figures 41 – 44 and 46). Aside from these indicators, recreation of the

⁸⁴³ Madan, 1949, 13, 14, 19, 20, 33.

⁸⁴⁴ J.P. Vander Motten, 'Killigrew, Thomas', in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 03 January 2008), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/15538> >. William Sheppard, 1650, *Thomas Killigrew*, National Portrait Gallery, London, item NPG 3795.

cabinet from the frontispiece, including a depiction of the *Eikon* itself, makes it apparent that the book provided an underpinning to Killigrew's enduring Royalism and had become a recognisable way to materialise that loyalty in public view.

On the other hand, many *Eikon* owners remained in Britain, where the proscribed status of the book affected how they were able to interact with it. Liam Sims, Rare Book Specialist at the University of Cambridge, suggests that two examples with identical, plain leather bindings indicate that a printer supplied these octavo volumes ready-bound, which was unusual for the time.⁸⁴⁵ It would, however, have relieved nervous buyers of the need to expose their Royalist sympathies to a bookbinder. Others among the books examined have relatively plain bindings, without titles on the spines, which could allow them to pass unnoticed in a cursory inspection of an owner's library.⁸⁴⁶ In contrast, the three duodecimo volumes with original bindings are decorated with coloured leather and gilding, some of which is very dense and highly elaborate (Figure 47). The relative ease with which such a small book could be concealed made it possible to own a visually attractive copy of the *Eikon* which could be used to make an impressive private display of loyalty and wealth in the presence of fellow Royalists. Sharing such an interaction with the book would enhance the sense of community felt between the people involved. The smallness of these volumes allowed them to evade the decorative restrictions safety concerns placed on larger editions in the immediate aftermath of Charles' execution.

It would be facile to conclude that duodecimo editions of the King's book had feminine appeal purely because they were small and light but other evidence points

⁸⁴⁵ Liam Sims, 'Charles I and the Eikon Basilike', in *Cambridge University Library Special Collections Blog*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 30 January 2014), <<https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=6793>>.

⁸⁴⁶ For example, Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections items CCC.8.1 and CCC.8.2.

to female ownership. Possession of three volumes by women, during the middle to late seventeenth century, is suggested by some delicate floral gilding and confirmed by contemporary inscriptions naming Eliza Moore, Sarah Needham and Harriet Hatley as owners.⁸⁴⁷ Although it is not certain that these books were in female hands when they were new, it is apparent that seventeenth-century women did own and value them. Saint Jerome was renowned for the spiritual guidance he had offered to Christian women.⁸⁴⁸ As a result, the Jeromian references made by Marshall's frontispiece could have made any edition of the book particularly appealing to female readers.

However, female appreciation for the *Eikon*, and the wish to own it, may also have been sparked by an interest in politics. By the time of Charles' execution, encouraged by the pamphlet culture of the war years, women represented a sizeable audience for political material.⁸⁴⁹ Widespread awareness of this is evidenced in a pamphlet, by W. Wilson, *The Parliament of Women*, which satirises increasing female political activity, suggesting that women's interest was merely directed at securing 'liv[ing] in more Ease, Pomp, Pride and wantonnesse'.⁸⁵⁰ If anything, such commentary betrays concern at actual, growing, female influence. The King must have understood that women could be potent actors for the Royalist cause, since one of his most valuable secret agents during the Wars had been Jane

⁸⁴⁷ Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCD.8.16. Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCD.8.21. Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.13.

⁸⁴⁸ Farmer, 'Jerome' in Farmer (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints (5th ed.)*.

⁸⁴⁹ Marcus Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640-1660*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 2. Leah Knight and Micheline White, 'The Bookscape' in Leah Knight, Micheline White and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Women's Bookscapes in Marly modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2018), pp.1-18, 3-4.

⁸⁵⁰ W. Wilson, *The Parliament of Women*, (London: 1645).

Whorwood.⁸⁵¹ As a result of social change wrought by civil war, and personal experience, the circle responsible for the *Eikon* may well have identified women as a target audience, capable of being activated to the benefit of the King's memory, if the *Eikon* could be made appealing to them. Certainly, the varied editions and unique viewpoint the *Eikon* offered would have made it a desirable purchase for a range of female buyers, whether devotees of St. Jerome, diarists, or the politically motivated.

The growing popularity of tie-on pockets afforded women opportunities to carry objects like the *Eikon* privately on their person. Historically, their personal possessions had been highly visible, often fastened to chatelaines or held in purses worn at the waist, over the clothes.⁸⁵² These doubled as indicators of status and so invited public scrutiny, and criticism, of the small objects women carried with them.⁸⁵³ Tie-on pockets, in contrast, were textile bags with a vertical slit opening, worn on a tape tied round the waist, concealed under the clothes, and accessed through a small split in the skirts.⁸⁵⁴ They have been reported from Tudor times and became increasingly popular in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵⁵ Such hidden pockets made it possible for women to carry objects secretly, removing their small personal possessions from the public critique which the chatelaine, especially, had encouraged. The confluence of increasing female interest in politics with these pockets, which allowed objects to be carried in privacy, fostered the ability of women to own and engage with forbidden material such as the *Eikon*.

⁸⁵¹ John Fox, 'Whorwood [*née* Ryder], Jane' in Cannadine (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/29341>>.

⁸⁵² Savi, 2020, 14.

⁸⁵³ Savi, 2020, 14.

⁸⁵⁴ Savi, 2020, 16.

⁸⁵⁵ Unsworth, September 2017, 157-8.

Such concealed pockets also promoted the formation of deeply personal relationships with the objects carried inside. They were made from a variety of textiles, ranging from linen to leather, allowing them to be decorated and made personal with stitching or quilting.⁸⁵⁶ This presented opportunities for choice and variation, allowing each woman to have pockets which were distinct from all others. The sense of individualism and personal significance this engendered was further developed by the custom of giving pockets as gifts, often signed, in stitches, by the maker.⁸⁵⁷ They were used to carry a range of small, personal items, which might include 'letters, books, keys, combs, rosaries, money and handkerchiefs'.⁸⁵⁸ As a consequence, objects carried within these singular, hidden pockets had multiple ways of acquiring an aura of exceptionality: by concealed contact with the body; by being enveloped within a pocket which was itself intensely personal; or by direct contact with the other personal items being carried.

This aspect of female dress impacted on how women could use the *Eikon*. A small edition of the book could readily be accommodated in a pocket, while remaining concealed, protecting the owner from criticism, and allowing her to keep the book nearby. Duodecimo volumes were particularly well-suited for this (Figure 47). Pierce has noted that their smallness allowed an owner to develop deep, personal connections with their book.⁸⁵⁹ The pocket supplies a mechanism by which this could happen, and the connections it promoted were doubtless enhanced by the knowledge that what was being carried was forbidden.⁸⁶⁰ When it was safe, the King's book could be brought out for study, or for display to a confidant, in an

⁸⁵⁶ Savi, 2020, 16.

⁸⁵⁷ Savi, 2020, 16.

⁸⁵⁸ Unsworth, September 2017, 162.

⁸⁵⁹ Pierce, 2015, 80.

⁸⁶⁰ Pierce, 2015, 80.

expression of Royalist community, at a moment's notice. Without disclosing its presence, the *Eikon* could be used as a palm stone would be - to soothe and reassure through touch. Lacking hidden pockets, women would have found it more difficult, and risky, to keep the book constantly by them, to consult whenever they wished, or to use as a personal talisman and source of immediate comfort.

Eikon Basilike and its portrait frontispiece offered many opportunities for personalisation, which in turn encouraged meditation on the dead King. Tie on pockets provided women with a way to carry the book on their person, in secret, which facilitated development of a close relationship between owners and individual volumes. Ownership also materialised membership of a Royalist community and could be used as public signification of membership of that community. The intimate access the text granted to the King's thoughts empowered the book as a form of mass-produced relic and it is apparent that, in adding other texts to the *Eikon*, people used it to reflect a range of emotional responses to the Regicide.

Thistles and *hamesucken*: was *Eikon Basilike* a Scottish book?

Charles' downfall was set in train by his attempted imposition of the unwanted new prayer book on the Kirk and, in turn, it was Scottish people who handed him over to incarceration and eventual death.⁸⁶¹ These incidents and the striking symmetry between them, could overshadow an assessment of his relationship with his northern subjects. Regardless, Charles had paid attention to Scotland and made efforts during his reign to make a distinct material cultural approach to his northern subjects. The Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England was highly important to

⁸⁶¹ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

him, as evidenced by the very visible commitment he made to it in major artwork commissioned for the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall.⁸⁶² This section discusses some of the examples of Scottish communication available to, and made by, the King, before interrogating the ideas that particular editions of the *Eikon* were designed to appeal north of the border and that Scottish material culture exerted more general influences on the form of the book, the way in which it was published and presented to the public, as well as on the appearance of the frontispiece portrait.

Although almost the entirety of his reign was spent in England, Charles took opportunities to represent himself as a Scottish king, found political value in doing so and, at times, appealed to his Scottish subjects as a distinct audience. The King had left the royal palace at Dunfermline, for London, by the age of four and did not return north until a brief visit for his Scottish coronation, aged thirty two.⁸⁶³ However, Charles had a familial model of the performance of Scottish identity in England - his father, James VI & I, who, according to Goodare, had been successful in remaining connected with the Scottish political scene.⁸⁶⁴ This had been achieved by maintaining a circle of Scottish advisors at court and, crucially, well-managed communication between Whitehall and Edinburgh.⁸⁶⁵ James had demonstrated that, although physical distance could impose practical difficulties on engagement, the King of Scots' residence in London did not demand that he become politically distant from his northern subjects.⁸⁶⁶ Charles evidenced his awareness of this in a proclamation of 1639, when war with the Covenanters was becoming increasingly

⁸⁶² Peter Paul Reubens, *The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland*, c.1632-4, Banqueting House, London, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 408417.

⁸⁶³ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸⁶⁴ Goodare, 2004, 109.

⁸⁶⁵ Goodare, 2004, 110.

⁸⁶⁶ Goodare, 2004, 110.

likely, by characterising Scotland as 'Our ancient and native Kingdom'.⁸⁶⁷ The statement betrays hope that emphasising his Scottish identity might help a difficult situation.

Earlier, more material, examples of a specific approach to Scotland come from Charles' journey to be crowned King of Scots in 1633.⁸⁶⁸ A lavish performance in Edinburgh put him on public view and shows that he found enough value in appearing in front of the city's populace to warrant the time, expense and difficulty of a long trip.⁸⁶⁹ The pageantry was supported by the issue of a commemorative gold medal, giving prominence to Scotland and Scottish iconography (Figure 53).⁸⁷⁰ On the obverse, the King wears the Scottish crown and a robe decorated with thistles, which surmount English roses. Scotland also takes precedence in the inscription listing his kingdoms: 'CAROLVS. D:G. SCOTIAE. ANGLIAE. FR. ET. HIB. REX' (Charles, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France and Ireland). The reverse shows roses and thistles growing twined together, with the thistle in the strongest, central foreground position. It also carries the inscription 'HINC. NOSTRAE. CREVERE. ROSAE.' (our roses are grown here). In combination, these visual and textual garden references reminded viewers that Scotland had been Charles' nursery, playing a most significant role in growing this flower of the realm to adulthood and kingship. The return south was commemorated by a silver medal, which placed London in a position of prime importance, showing the sun rising over

⁸⁶⁷ Charles I, 'A Proclamation and Declaration to inform Our loving Subjects of Our Kingdom of England of the seditious practices of some in Scotland, seeking to overthrow Our Regall Power under false pretences of Religion. [Whitehall 27 February 1639]' in James F. Larkin (ed.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. 2: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625–1646*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 662-7, 665.

⁸⁶⁸ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸⁶⁹ David M. Bergeron, 'Charles I's Edinburgh pageant (1633)' in *Renaissance Studies*, June 1992, Volume 6, Number 2, pp.173-84.

⁸⁷⁰ Nicholas Briot, 1633, *Medal commemorating the Scottish coronation of Charles I*, Royal Collection Trust, item RCIN 443093.

the Thames, on the reverse (Figure 54).⁸⁷¹ There is no mention of Scotland as a distinct entity - it is absorbed into Great Britain in an inscription on the obverse, reading: 'CAROLVS AVGVSTISS! ET INVICTISS! MAG! BRIT! FRAN! ET HIB! MONARCHA' (Charles, the exalted and invincible king of Great Britain, France and Ireland). Together, the King's writing and the coronation medals show that he was willing and able to adjust his written and visual vocabulary to suit the audience, recognising that some occasions demanded he prioritise Scottish identity, while others required representation of Great Britain as a whole. His reliance on traditional thistle symbolism to address his northern subjects indicates recognition of significant cultural differences between his kingdoms.

Consequently, if the *Eikon* was to be Charles' memorial in all of Britain, evidence of an appeal to Scottish people would be expected - and it is there. The title pages of two of the four different duodecimo editions examined are ornamented by an English rose, to the left, and a Scottish thistle, to the right (Figure 55).⁸⁷² These devices were often combined to portray Charles' dual monarchy, as on the gold medal commemorating the Scottish coronation (Figure 53).⁸⁷³ Although the King's words, presented in the text, could not be substantially varied without calling their authenticity into question, design elements, such as those on the title page, could be adapted to suit different audiences. Placed nearest the cut edge of the page, the thistle is seen first, as a reader opens the book, and so takes visual precedence over the rose, even though both flowers are printed level and of equal size. The presence of a thistle would announce that the content was of interest to Scottish people, but

⁸⁷¹ Briot, 1633, *Medal commemorating the return of Charles I to London after his coronation in Scotland*, Royal Collection Trust, item RCIN 443094.

⁸⁷² Title pages *Eikon Basilike*, 1649 - printed for R. Royston, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.17 and reprinted for John Williams, University of Cambridge Special Collections item CCE.8.13

⁸⁷³ See also the central illustrated capital in the top row of Figure 47.

the thistle's subtle spatial primacy could have made these particular editions even more appealing. Decorations like these, on title pages of books were largely dependent on the printer's choice and stock of devices and so this use of Scottish iconography could be attributed to a pragmatic desire to sell more books, to make more profit.⁸⁷⁴ However, increasing sales also equated to spreading Royalist ideas more widely. Considering the printers' ideological commitment to the *Eikon*, in spite of parliamentarian suppression, utilisation of these thistles was a way to promote a favourable version of the King's memory to as much of the population as possible.

Alongside the power of Scottish iconography, Charles had been alert to propaganda methods and recognised those employed by the Scottish Covenanters as particularly effective. During the Bishops' Wars (1639-40), the Covenanters subjected England to a barrage of printed propaganda, the likes of which had never before been seen in the kingdom.⁸⁷⁵ Some pamphlets were directed to specific individuals as personal correspondence.⁸⁷⁶ However, in moves reminiscent of Robert Lekprevik's flooding of Edinburgh with broadsides, texts also poured into public spaces, where the general population encountered them strewn about the streets by dedicated supporters of the Covenanting cause.⁸⁷⁷ Some 10 000 copies of one publication alone were reported and such quantities enabled Covenanter material to reach almost anyone, of any social status, rather than just those with Scottish connections or people willing to buy a broadside.⁸⁷⁸ In turn, this fostered development of an English public discourse about the Covenant and ushered in a

⁸⁷⁴ Madan, 1949, 2.

⁸⁷⁵ Waurechen, 2009, 66.

⁸⁷⁶ Fox, 2020, 93.

⁸⁷⁷ Fox, 2020, 95.

⁸⁷⁸ Fox, 2020, 95.

new era of print-based popular politics in this realm.⁸⁷⁹ Charles found this unprecedented mass distribution of propaganda particularly troublesome, complaining in a proclamation that the Covenanters had ‘assumed to themselves Regall power’ since ‘the Print is the Kings in all Kingdoms’.⁸⁸⁰ Indeed, he used the severity of the threat offered by Scottish pamphleting to justify taking up arms, ‘to set our kingly authority right again’.⁸⁸¹ Evidently, the new paradigm of mass communication the Covenanters had modelled was worryingly efficacious and made a marked impression on his Majesty.

It is not surprising then, that production strategies for the *Eikon* echoed some of these Covenanter methods. Ideologically committed craftsmen allowed printing to continue, despite practical difficulty and personal danger. This ensured that, like Covenanter pamphlets, large numbers of the books were available, allowing as many people, of as many different sorts as possible, to experience their contents. The duodecimo books also echoed the work of Covenanter and pamphleteer, Thomas Cunningham who, as demonstrated in Chapter Three, made efforts to unite an extended Protestant community by giving people mass-produced objects which they could personalise. Printed on silk, and representing the structure of Covenanted society, it provided owners with a materialisation of their beliefs in a portable, durable, material novelty which could be customised by choice, using colours or embroidery, and carried on their person. Similarly, by packaging affirmation of Charles in a mass-produced, customisable object, suited to being carried on the

⁸⁷⁹ Waurechen, 2009, 66.

⁸⁸⁰ Charles I, 27 February 1639 in Larkin (ed.), 1983, 664. Waurechen, 2009, 72.

⁸⁸¹ Charles I, 27 February 1639 in Larkin (ed.), 1983, 665.

body, the producers of the *Eikon* encouraged Royalists to keep, carry and repeatedly reference the version of the King it contained.

It is likely that Charles' approach to his execution was informed by the example set by his grandmother, Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been beheaded in 1587. Careful management of dress and bearing had allowed Mary to usurp control of the meaning of her death and transform it, from the judicial killing of a traitor, into a martyrdom.⁸⁸² She had also taken care to provide her followers with portrait miniatures, so her image could be reproduced after her execution.⁸⁸³ As discussed in Chapter Two, Mary had been brought back into the public eye in 1612, when her remains were reburied and a cult of royal miracles had developed around her tomb at Westminster Abbey.⁸⁸⁴ Charles was twelve that year and, within months, had acted as chief mourner for his elder brother, Henry, in a service at the Abbey, where Mary's huge monument would have been in plain sight.⁸⁸⁵ Either event could have fixed Mary in Charles' mind, associating her with his change in status as he became heir to the throne. Furthermore, in life, the king was known for his love of protocol, ritual and ceremony - for example, making the eight-hundred-mile round trip in order to follow the Scottish coronation rite and being known for following a precise, repetitive timetable of daily activities.⁸⁸⁶ Accordingly, once it became clear that he was to die, he may have studied execution behaviour, including that of his grandmother. In the event Charles paid close attention to his own clothing and performance on the scaffold, and his *Eikon* replicated Mary's provision of portraits to

⁸⁸² Tassi, 2013, 102-3. Maria Hayward, "‘We should dress us fairly for our end’: The Significance of the Clothing Worn at Elite Executions in England in the Long Sixteenth Century" in *History*, April 2016, Volume 101 (345), pp.222-45, 238.

⁸⁸³ Tassi, 2013, 108-9.

⁸⁸⁴ Northampton, 10 October 1612, ff. 23. Angenendt in Bagnoli et al (eds.), 2011, 21. Freeman, 2011, 23, 26. Dempster in Irving (ed.), 1829, 464.

⁸⁸⁵ Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸⁸⁶ Bergeron, June 1992. Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

her supporters - on a much larger scale.⁸⁸⁷ This suggests that the King was, indeed, aware of the ancestral examples set by the Queen of Scots.

Given this, and the King's concern with the success of Scottish propaganda methods, it is plausible that ideas for the post mortem management of his image drew on the work of Mary's Scottish biographer and propagandist, Adam Blackwood. In the weeks following Mary's death Blackwood had produced a book, telling the execution story, which came to be published in several variations: *La Mort De La Royne D'Escosse*, *Martyre De La Royne D'Escosse* and *Histoire et Martyre De La Royne D'Escosse*.⁸⁸⁸ The *Mort* is the most concise, focusing on the execution day, whilst the *Martyre* and *Histoire* compile that text with supplementary material, including a French funeral oration and a full biography. All three adopt the standpoint that, as the innocent victim of religious persecution by her cousin, Elizabeth I, Mary was a martyr.

The parallels between Blackwood's books and the *Eikon* are striking. Blackwood had visited Mary in her confinement, prior to the execution, which would have allowed the queen to engage in planning her memorial book, as was the case with Charles and the circle which produced the *Eikon*.⁸⁸⁹ The Queen had been portrayed as a martyr and as, Pierce notes, so was Charles.⁸⁹⁰ The *Mort* and its variants appeared in multiple editions, over a period of years, as did the *Eikon*.⁸⁹¹ In both cases, some of these editions display a particular appeal to Scottish buyers, using thistle iconography or by presenting themselves as Edinburgh publications

⁸⁸⁷ Anon. in Robinson (ed.), 1906, 243-5. Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸⁸⁸ Blackwood, 1587-9.

⁸⁸⁹ Tassi, 2013, 103. Wilcher, 1991, 219-27.

⁸⁹⁰ Pierce, 2015, 81.

⁸⁹¹ Blackwood, 1587-9.

(Figure 55).⁸⁹² Just as with the *Eikon*, the *Mort* acquired accretions of related texts, added to the primary content and printed as integral parts of other editions.⁸⁹³ This gave the reader the impression that a discourse, favourable to the subject of the volume, was being conducted within its leaves. In turn, this encouraged the persistence of positive emotions towards Charles and Mary. Such emotions enhanced the reader's sense of belonging to a wider community which held similar views.⁸⁹⁴ The varied content could also have fostered collecting behaviour, conceivably contributing to the cults which formed around both dead monarchs.⁸⁹⁵

The strength of the connections between *Eikon* and *Mort* is even more apparent in their utilisation of imagery. One version of the *Mort* has four illustrative prints bound into the text at important moments in the account of the execution performance. These show the delivery of the death warrant, Mary's response, the walk to the scaffold and the executioner poised to strike (Figure 50).⁸⁹⁶ As Smailes and Thomson observe, the sequence is reminiscent of the Way of the Cross in its portrayal of key moments on a journey towards inevitable, and bloody, self-sacrifice and, as noted above, the illustrated capitals in the duodecimo *Eikons* form a similar series.⁸⁹⁷ Furthermore, a simple woodblock frontispiece from the same edition of the *Mort* performs some of the functions of Marshall's frontispiece to the *Eikon* (Figure

⁸⁹² Blackwood, *Martyre De La Royne D'Escosse, Dovairiere De France*, (Edimbourg: Chez lean Nafeild, 1587), The British Library, London, G.1738. Blackwood, *Martyre De La Royne D'Escosse, Dovairiere De France*, (Edimbourg: Chez lean Nafeild, 1588), The British Library, London, 600, b.40. Blackwood, *Martyre De La Royne D'Escosse, Dovairiere De France*, (Edimbourg: Chez lean Nafeild, 1589), The British Library, London, 600, b.29.

⁸⁹³ Blackwood, A., *Histoire et Martyre De La Royne D'Escosse, Dovairiere De France*, (Paris: Pour Guillaume Bichon, au Bichot, 1589).

⁸⁹⁴ Burghartz, et al 2021, 28.

⁸⁹⁵ Dempster in Irving (ed.), 1829, 464. Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 1.

⁸⁹⁶ Blackwood, 1589, The British Library item 288.a56.

⁸⁹⁷ Smailes and Thomson, 1987, 50-1.

56).⁸⁹⁸ The image is a calvary, with an empty cross, impaled by stakes at the four points where Christ was pierced by nails and spear. A skull, symbolising death, sits at the foot and the upright is crossed by a banderole saying ‘*IN HOC SIGNO VINCES*’ (in this sign you will conquer). Positioned as an opening image, this calvary primes readers to view the subject of the text that follows as Christ-like, just as Marshall’s frontispiece does for the *Eikon*. Both images also use Latin inscriptions to promise that the royal dead will be victorious in heaven. Furthermore, each illustrates a temporal relation between itself, the subject’s life and that of Christ - the *Mort*, appearing after Mary’s death, uses a post-crucifixion image, whereas the *Eikon*, appearing just before Charles’ death, recreates Gethsemane.

Physically, duodecimo copies of *Eikon Basilike* are very similar to the *Mort* and they may have been used in similar ways. The copy of the *Mort* examined is tiny, (approximately 100 x 40 mm) - smaller than an open hand. Bound in martyr’s red, it is delicately gilded and would have been suitable to either perform a visual display of loyalty to the dead queen, or for concealment. It shows signs of heavy wear, with abraded binding edges and worn, stained page margins, indicating repeated contact, handling and reading. The inclusion of imagery in both this book and *Eikon* prompted contemplation over the incidents depicted and the life of their subject, as well as allowing the owner a degree of choice about which aspect of the dead monarch’s life they would consider on any occasion. Each of these books enhanced this invitation using colour since, although very faded, one of the prints from the *Mort* retains traces of pigment, showing that it, like one of the *Eikon* frontispieces, was once painted

⁸⁹⁸ Calvary frontispiece from Adam Blackwood, *La Mort De La Royne D’Escosse, Dovairiere De France*, 1589, The British Library item 288.a56.

(Figure 49).⁸⁹⁹ Owners of both titles were offered opportunities to personalise their books and spend time looking, as well as reading.

Charles may also have appreciated that contentious discourse generated by Blackwood's books had sustained Mary's memory in the public eye over a long period. Responses, positive and negative, had supported an ongoing discourse about Mary, keeping her in sight during the closing years of the sixteenth century.⁹⁰⁰ The *Eikon* spawned similar sparring in print, conducted in responses which variously questioned and supported its authenticity, extracted the most significant parts, or satirised its visual and textual content.⁹⁰¹ Whatever their stance, these texts prolonged the discourse about Charles' life and death, keeping the King, his book and the frontispiece portrait active and significant in the public eye during the interregnum. Following the methods of the Scottish propagandist, Blackwood, by making a memorial book, allowed Charles to direct what happened to his memory in the future. The results are seen in the burgeoning market for new formats and editions of *Eikon Basilike* after the Restoration, when the meaning retained by book

⁸⁹⁹ This is the print titled *Comme Le Prevost Et Archers Vindrent Le Matin Pour Mener La Dite Royne*, and shows Mary being accompanied by guards on the way to the scaffold. Gauden and Charles I, 1649, University of Cambridge Special Collections item Keynes.A.3.25.

⁹⁰⁰ John Staines, *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560 - 1690: Rhetoric, Passions and Political Literature*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 99.

⁹⁰¹ John Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, (London: Matthew Simmons, 1649).

Anon., *Eikon Alethine The povrtraitvre of truths most sacred majesty truly suffering, though not solely : wherein the false colours are washed off, wherewith the painter-steiner had bedawbed truth, the late King and the Parliament, in his counterfeit piece intituled Eikon basilike : published to undeceive the world.* (London: Thomas Paine, 1649). Anon., *Eikon E Piste Or, the faithfull pourtraicture of a loyall subject, in vindication of Eikon basilike. Otherwise intituled, the pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie, in his solitudes & sufferings. In answer to an insolent book, intituled Eikon alethine: whereby occasion is taken, to handle all the controverted points relating to these times 1649*, (London: 1649). William Levitt and Samuel Keble, *An account of the several impressions, or editions of King Charles the martyr's most excellent book, intituled, Eikōn Basilikē that were printed without the prayers at the end, and some with the prayers, / with a letter transcribed from the original. Written by Mr. William Levet, Page of the Bedchamber in Ordinary to his majesty King Charles the I. he having observed His Majesty oftentimes writing the said book*, (London: printed for Sam Keble, 1695). John Gauden and Charles I, *Aurea Dicta. The gracious words of king Charles I of glorious memory: for the Protestant religion of the Church of England. Collected out of Eikon Basilike*, (Oxford: L. Lichfield for John Barksdale, 1682).

and frontispiece, through the discourse they generated, made them available for communicating a new Stuart story to the people.

Exposure of the King's image to the public via a mass-produced object reimagined Scottish memorial portrait practice and married it to Covenanter propaganda methods. Memorial 'vendetta paintings' were paraded in public, as in the cases of the *Moray* and *Darnley Banners* as well as the banner for David Forester, discussed by McGavin.⁹⁰² Such performances were sufficient to bring an image to the people of a locality, or a small city such as Edinburgh, but would not have been practical for disseminating a memorial portrait of the King to subjects dispersed across Britain. This is where the presses of Royston and his peers, and their high-volume output, came into play.⁹⁰³ The tens of thousands of volumes they produced made Marshall's portrait available to great numbers of people, across the King's realms, just as Covenanters had flooded England with their pamphlets. In support, the steps taken to make *Eikon Basilike* personalisable, and appealing to as many people as possible, ensured that Charles' portrait reached groups from across the social spectrum and became personally important to them. It is more than a little ironic that Covenanter propaganda techniques, which had so concerned the King as the Bishops' Wars began, were amongst those used to broadcast his own memorial rhetoric.

In publishing his book under the title *Eikon* the King's circle followed an approach to crisis established by earlier Stuarts in Scotland – memorialisation and

⁹⁰² Crosby (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland, Volume 3, 1 March 1570, Randolph to Cecil. Crosby (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland, Volume 2, 15 June 1567. Crosby (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland, Volume 2, 18 June 1567, Drury to Cecil. Hume (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Simancas, Volume 14, 21 June 1567. Anon. in Pitcairn (ed.), 1830, 68. McGavin in Williams and McClure (eds.), 2013, 295-8.

⁹⁰³ Lynch, September 2007, 289.

elevation of the dead, using portraits which also presented their subjects as innocent victims of crime. Charles' book was originally to be called *Suspiria Regalia* (*The Royal Plea*), its name only being changed once his trial process had begun and it was understood that he was likely to be executed.⁹⁰⁴ Reimagining the book as a portrait, rather than a plea, was therefore connected to his impending death. This is significant because, by 1649, Scottish people, including the Stuarts, had a near century-long history of producing memorial portraits in times of crisis.⁹⁰⁵ Examples of their 'vendetta paintings' have been discussed in the preceding chapters and it will be recalled that they used symbols and setting to elevate their subjects to quasi-divine status and depict them as the victims of heinous attacks. Secondary landscape scenes were important to these constructs. By emphasising the domestic nature of the site of the assault, these insets presented their subjects as victims of *hamesucken*, then a capital crime.⁹⁰⁶ When paraded in public these features presented evidence of an unlawful killing to the local community, reminding them that the dead were innocent - owed loyalty and revenge. Published in print, the frontispiece of the *Eikon* allowed Charles to parade his death portrait, and a similar message, before people across his kingdoms.

Charles had opportunities to learn about 'vendetta paintings' and had been able to see examples in person. One of two original copies of the 1567 *Darnley Memorial* was gifted to James VI, forming part of the royal collection to which Charles had dedicated a great deal of attention (Figure 6).⁹⁰⁷ The *Memorial* itself depicts another such painting of the deceased lord Darnley, on a banner, in a

⁹⁰⁴ Wilcher, 1991, 222, 227-8.

⁹⁰⁵ Brown, 2003 [1986], 29-30.

⁹⁰⁶ DSL, 'hamesucken' in *Dictionars o the Scots Leid*, (Glasgow: DSL, Data Version 3.0), <<https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/hamesucken>>. This crime continued to be raised in Scottish courts, as a lesser offence, into the twentieth century.

⁹⁰⁷ Thomson, 1975, 18. Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

landscape showing the battle of Carberry Hill, inset at the bottom left (Figure 8). The *Blairs Memorial* (Figure 18) discussed in Chapter Two, was another image of this type and a copy of it may also have been in the collection, having been recorded in one of the royal residences in 1684 and tentatively matched to a Caroline inventory by Lionel Cust.⁹⁰⁸ Charles' Stuart relatives, the Lennox-Darnley family, also owned versions of two of these paintings, firstly having retained one of their pair of *Darnley Memorial* commissions and later having acquired a copy of the *Blairs Memorial*, sometime before 1672.⁹⁰⁹ The King had the chance to see them, at the Lennox's Cobham Hall seat, during a stay on his wedding journey, in 1625.⁹¹⁰ The importance of the occasion, and Charles' intense interest in art, would have helped impress the images on his memory.

Sectors of the English populace were also able to learn about such pictures and their use. As discussed in Chapter One, English agents returned reports of high-profile examples, such as those produced following the killings of lord Darnley and the Regent Moray, to their superiors in London. In addition, as shown in Chapter Two, copies of the early seventeenth-century *Blairs Memorial*, made to commemorate Mary, Queen of Scots, infiltrated the art collections of several members of the English nobility. Furthermore, another instance appeared in the mythology of the 1600 Gowrie Conspiracy. In this strange incident, James VI had reportedly escaped kidnapping by the sons of William, earl of Gowrie.⁹¹¹ The unlikely story formed the basis of a cult of miraculous Stuart survival, which James promoted

⁹⁰⁸ Cust, 1903, 108-9.

⁹⁰⁹ Cust, 1903, 108-9.

⁹¹⁰ Margaret Toynbee, 'The Wedding Journey of King Charles I' in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Volume 69, 1955, pp.75-89, 88.

⁹¹¹ Johnston in Pitcairn (ed.), 1833, 295.

in Scotland, before transplanting it in English soil after his move south in 1603.⁹¹² Initial English reactions to the fantastic tale were sceptical but weekly sermons and an annual national religious holiday, celebrating the king's escape, were established.⁹¹³ These provided attentive audiences with the chance to learn how James had been confronted with a 'vendetta painting' - 'the pictour of the *wmq*' (deceased) William Erll of Gowry', with its accompanying accusation 'Does not now thy conscience accus thé of his innocent blud?' and the threat 'I sall be revengit now wpone thé!'.⁹¹⁴ Along with the earlier reports, and the copied paintings, religious performances such as these allowed some English people opportunities to learn about 'vendetta paintings' and to develop an understanding of the messages about the spilling of innocent blood which they conveyed. Consequently, the form was available as a way for Charles to transmit ideas about his death to these knowledgeable sectors of the public. Outside Scotland, those most likely to recognise the references were other members of the Scottish diaspora or people with a personal commitment to Charles' Stuart forebears - partakers in either the cult associated with Mary, Queen of Scots or James' Gowrie cult. 'Vendetta painting' imagery could provide visual encouragement of such people towards development of another royal, Caroline, cult, thus helping to sustain a positive public memory of the King.

Although 'vendetta paintings' had first appeared after the murder of Henry Stewart, lord Darnley in 1567, the form retained relevance, and continued in use, over many years. A decision from the 1598 General Assembly, 'that no pictures nor

⁹¹² Peter McCulloch, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 116-7.

⁹¹³ McCulloch, 1998, 119, 117-8.

⁹¹⁴ Johnston in Pitcairn (ed.): 1833, 295.

images be carried about at burials, under the pain of the censures of the Kirk' indicates that, by then, the phenomenon was a well-known part of Scottish death rituals, even if not institutionally approved.⁹¹⁵ Furthermore, a contemporary description of a 1605 funeral procession for the murdered Laird of Bargany, reporting 'the Banner Of Rewendge quhairin was payntitt his portratour, with all his wondis' shows that the attempt to suppress the image-type was unsuccessful and that their use continued into the seventeenth century.⁹¹⁶ If it could reinvent the 'vendetta painting' in print, the *Eikon* could present Charles as an innocent victim, deserving of loyalty and revenge, in a way that was culturally significant to his Scottish subjects and other people aware of this picture-type.

Charles did indeed utilise this Scottish pictorial tradition, drawing on its methods for the frontispiece of the *Eikon*. Just as in the *Darnley Memorial*, the frontispiece synthesises text, portraiture and symbolism in constructing its subject (Figures 6 and 40). Both use royal interiors and attributes such as the crown to affirm Darnley and Charles as rightful kings, with Darnley lying in state in a royal chapel and Charles appearing in a richly accommodated closet (Figures 6 and 40). Unusually, neither shows any injury but an Image of Pity displays proxy wounds for Darnley, who is thought to have died by suffocation (Figure 6), and Charles gestures to his own neck, where a wound will soon be (Figure 40).⁹¹⁷ As noted above, the deep folds of his robe, particularly when coloured, give the impression of blood pouring down his body, emphasising the nature of the injury he is about to sustain

⁹¹⁵ Calderwood, *A True History of the Church in Scotland*, (Edinburgh:1678), 422.

⁹¹⁶ Anon. in Pitcairn (ed.), 1830, 68. Bargany had been struck by a lance 'throw the *craig* (neck) and throw the *throppill* (windpipe)' and so his memorial banner must have made for grim viewing. Anon. in Pitcairn (ed.), 1830, 49.

⁹¹⁷ Greig, 'Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany [known as Lord Darnley]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

(Figure 51). The picture also draws on the concept of *hamesucken*. It will be recalled that 'vendetta' paintings attempted to persuade viewers that their subjects were victims of this crime. A roundel on the bier in the *Darnley Memorial* depicts the subject being attacked in his bed, the 'Bonnie' earl of Moray is shown assaulted at a family home, whilst the inscriptions of the *Blairs Memorial* complain that Mary, Queen of Scots was executed under the auspices of a kinswoman, to whom she had turned for help (Figures 6, 7 and 18). Charles, meanwhile, is depicted in a closet, or cabinet, and is known to have constructed such a room at Whitehall, to house his treasured collections of books, curiosities and antiques.⁹¹⁸ The visual implication of showing this most private accommodation was that the regicides had assaulted the King in his home, a place where he should have been safe, so committing the awful crime of *hamesucken*. Use of these conventions in the frontispiece would have allowed contemporaries who had been exposed to such paintings, or reports of them, to recognise this element of *Eikon Basilike* as a variant of the Scottish memorial portrait tradition. Those who did so might also recall such pictures calling for unity in response to the death depicted.

By making visual associations with earlier 'vendetta paintings', the frontispiece allowed Charles the political advantage of connecting himself, and by implication, his heirs, to an enduring line of Stuart succession constructed by such images in earlier years. As discussed in Chapter One, banners depicting the corpses of lord Darnley and the Regent Moray, had developed a hagiography of male Stuart line, Protestant sacrifice, in a way that suited display before the public. Understandably, visual quotation of these pictures could encourage the knowledgeable to include Charles in

⁹¹⁸Kishlansky and Morrill, 'Charles I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

that heavenly dynastic grouping. It can also be viewed as an extension of the practice, used after the Union of the Crowns and noted by Murray, of using portraits in print to bring prematurely dead Stuart family members back into the public eye.⁹¹⁹ The new, Royalist, hagiography discerned by Pierce in the *Eikon* frontispiece extends and expands the visual rhetoric of these pictorial lines.⁹²⁰ However, in Marshall's portrait scene the King's figure plays a dual role. His kneeling posture also calls to mind the dependent kin 'sittand at his kneysis' often shown in other 'vendetta paintings' (Figures 6, 8 and 18).⁹²¹ In the aftermath of the Darnley and Moray killings, the banners displayed in the streets had allowed the kneeling, praying figure of the infant James VI to become the embodiment of continued Stuart rule in a time of crisis.⁹²² In the echo of these earlier productions, not only was Charles elevated, sacralised and joined with his dynastic dead, but his kneeling pose also offered hope for the future of the Stuart dynasty .

Arguably, it is not surprising that the *Eikon* embedded supplemental layers of meaning, such as the association with St. Jerome and these 'vendetta painting' references. The book was intended to construct, elevate and maintain the public memory of the King but concealment was necessary because of Parliamentary edicts against such activity.⁹²³ As Pittock argues, in the case of such 'treacherous objects' their 'sophistication grows as their ability to communicate overtly decreases'.⁹²⁴ Relying on the ability of some viewers to make particular 'personal or

⁹¹⁹ Murray, 2017, 1, 144.

⁹²⁰ Pierce, 215, 80.

⁹²¹ Anon. in Pitcairn (ed.), 1830, 68.

⁹²² Crosby (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland, Volume 3, 1 March 1570, Randolph to Cecil. Crosby (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland, Volume 2, 15 June 1567. Crosby (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland, Volume 2, 18 June 1567, Drury to Cecil. Hume (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, Simancas, Volume 14, 21 June 1567.

⁹²³ Lynch, September 2007, 298-9.

⁹²⁴ Pittock, 2013, 14.

discourse associations' which others did not, allowed the *Eikon* frontispiece to communicate selectively.⁹²⁵ Whilst some might simply see a representation of a pious, Protestant king, others would be able to perceive some, or all, of these other, more subversive, ideas.

In small, printed details, some editions of *Eikon Basilike* were equipped with visual appeal for Charles' Scottish subjects. Meantime, features common to all the books, including form, scale of production, evolving content and capability for personalisation, drew on the methods of the Scottish propagandists Adam Blackwood and Thomas Cunningham. In these ways, the *Eikon* was indeed a Scottish-inspired book. Furthermore, embedded at the heart of William Marshall's frontispiece was a call on the tradition of the Scottish 'vendetta painting'. It allowed Marshall's portrait of the King to present initiatives with an idea even more deeply seditious than the belief in the divine right of kings, or the saintliness claimed in the Jeromian imagery – reassurance that Stuart rule continued in heaven and would, somehow, persist on earth.

Conclusion

Francis Madan's already strong case for the King's participation in the development of the *Eikon*, strengthened by Robert Wilcher's study, is now further supported by the visual and material evidence presented here. My work reveals the impressions left on the King's book by the iconography, performances and memorials of St. Jerome, Mary, Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley. That Charles encountered them at significant moments - as he became heir to the throne, visited Spain, worked

⁹²⁵ Pittock, 2013, 16.

on his beloved art collection and travelled for his wedding - can only advance the idea that he was personally, and deeply, involved in constructing the many layers of meaning which comprise the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*.

The *Eikon* readers bought was the product of a circle of committed Royalists. Gauden and Charles worked on the text and the King's experiences contributed to developing Marshall's frontispiece image. Beyond this small circle was a larger one, which included the frontispiece engravers and the printers who produced volumes for sale. They too were committed Royalists, convinced of the value of placing a copy of the *Eikon* in as many hands as possible. Their 'on the ground' decisions about the small details of their output and their experience of the print marketplace must have been invaluable in tailoring the books to different sections of the public including women, collectors and the people of Scotland.

The book drew on existing cultural practices and established methods to convey Charles' message, with Scottish forms amongst those integrated into its structure. The frontispiece uses emblems and saintly iconography to establish the character of its subject. In a similar manner, the text component uses a diary format which would have been familiar to many of the King's subjects. A more innovative aspect of the publication was the synthesis it developed between emblematic portraiture, Scottish memorial portraiture and Covenanter propaganda techniques. These facets of the King's book have escaped earlier, Anglo-centric analyses but this broader consideration of Charles' material-cultural experience, as a member of the diaspora, establishes the usefulness of adopting a Scoto-centric mode of inquiry.

The *Eikon* was, in many respects, a Scottish book. Although, as his execution approached, Charles had reason to rue aspects of his relationship with Scotland, the

objects and performances he produced in earlier years show that he was alert to Scottish material culture and knew how to utilise its forms. Methods employed by Scottish propagandists helped inform the appearance and production of *Eikon Basilike*, whilst individual editions made visual appeals to Scottish buyers. 'Vendetta paintings', conceived by earlier Scottish patrons, helped determine the appearance of the iconic portrait frontispiece, allowing it to embed supplementary, hopeful, meanings for Royalist initiates.

The coincidence of these varied market appeals with a public grown politically active in the Wars helped ensure the success of the *Eikon*. Anyone who bought a copy received a new kind of relic, which allowed them to reach into Charles' mind. This supported the materialisation of Royalist community achieved by placing the King's portrait in the hands of the people. If anything, this sense of community was strengthened as alterations and adaptations were made in later editions. These actions changed the King's book, but kept it vital, ensuring that Charles' *Eikon*, and his memory, remained available to picture and inform the political discourse of Great Britain, and the monarchy, at the Restoration.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that Scottish people were adept at elevating the reputations of victims of violent death, and through a process akin to sacralisation were able to reinvent them as politically potent figures in their historical afterlife. These processes were employed in memorialising Charles I, months before Montrose was executed and were so successful that the imagery and objects produced were utilised in portraying the restored Stuart monarchy in the later seventeenth century. In this way, my work has potential to inform study of acts of commemoration performed after 1650, and even after the Restoration, including those connected to Montrose.

This thesis has explored ways in which Scottish people made material counters and responses to past, present and potential crises, both in Scotland and abroad, from c.1570 to 1650. A case-study from Edinburgh was followed by others from the diasporic communities of London, Antwerp and Veere. Consideration of patrons from royalty to the merchant elite, men and women, Catholic and Protestant, Covenanter and Royalist supported development of a broad picture of the cultural strategies Scottish people employed when under socio-political stress. Considering a range of patrons, operating in response to a variety of circumstances, I have sought to recover an unrecognised, resilient lexicon of cultural expression, employed by

Scottish men and women from diverse social standings, locations and religious beliefs, as well as across genders.

My research has examined performances, sites and a wide variety of objects: well-known, forgotten or lost, and of both high and low status. This range was matched by the diversity of the primary documentary evidence used, both manuscript and print, produced within Scotland and beyond its borders, including broadsides, personal correspondence and a spiritual diary. These resources were supplemented by reference to antiquarian literature, ranging from the formal *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to chains of letters printed in weekly correspondence journals such as *Notes & Queries*. Indeed, this thesis underlines the continuing value of antiquarian writing to academic researchers in the present day. Antiquarianism counted eminent figures in its ranks, including David Laing LLD, editor of the works of John Knox, but also people who, in the present, are known only by the initials appended to their contributions.⁹²⁶ Regardless of scholarly recognition their aim was to recover, preserve and better understand history, through the study of objects. As such, their work is foundational to the field known in the present as 'material culture'. Work by Laing, on the Regent Moray's tomb, and by other antiquaries regarding the Antwerp cenotaph, proved invaluable in retrieving and reconstructing overlooked, lost, or damaged objects, and their afterlives, for this project.

Re-examination of the memorialisation of the Regent Moray, in Chapter One, demonstrated the facility with which Moray's household, personal connections and an associated circle of Protestant sympathisers, mobilised a multi-media campaign

⁹²⁶ Laing, *The Works of John Knox Volumes I-VI*, (Edinburgh, James Thin for the Wodrow Society, 1846-64).

to shape the memory of the deceased, following his assassination. This programme, promoted on the streets of Edinburgh, sacralised the dead Regent, intending to raise him to heroic, heavenly status, and characterised him as an Aeneas-like, unifying father of the nation. Aspects of these representations were designed to appeal to varied constituencies - Catholics and Protestants, members of both King's and Queen's Parties, Latinists, the literate and illiterate. Performances made whilst the city was at its busiest ensured that their messages would be carried across the country by oral eye-witness reports. Broad dissemination was further supported by cheap, popular print, which took a very particular vision of Moray as a unifying Protestant leader, appointed by God, across the border to London. These memorials for the Regent drew on existing cultural forms, including broadsides, posthumous 'vendetta' portrait banners and the sermon, blending them into an apparent popular discourse which the people of Edinburgh had numerous opportunities to encounter as they went about their daily lives. As time passed, instructions about how to remember the Regent were delivered in increasingly physically substantial ways, eventually becoming solidified in a stone monument. This tomb utilised transgressive occupation of Protestant sacred space, and memory of Catholic custom, to secure a place for Moray, and the edifice itself, in both the Scottish popular narrative and, eventually, the court culture surrounding James VI & I in London. Study of Moray's memorialisation set the analytical framing for the rest of the thesis, highlighting 'vendetta paintings' as an important object type and drawing out elevation, and sacralisation, of the dead, extended kinship, bonding and national identity as significant concepts which are revisited in subsequent chapters.

Moving beyond Scotland, Chapter Two began to explore objects and performances produced in the diaspora. It probed the ways in which James VI & I

and members of the Curle family addressed the past crisis of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots as they responded to the uncertainties arising from James' new, dual monarchy. As had happened to her husband, lord Darnley, Mary was redeveloped in death as a symbol of martyrdom and piety, to be used in furtherance of the political and religious aims of others. My work has exposed the ways in which physical and performed portraiture were used to achieve this.

Consideration of the Queen's reburial and Westminster tomb site revealed Scottish influences at play. These became apparent in the use of northern funeral practice, which assisted in sacralising Mary, and mirroring of a lost Stuart memorial site in St. Giles' church Edinburgh, centred on the tomb of the Regent Moray, recovered here. Embedded appeals to Catholics and Protestants were exposed, as was the role played by these memorials in developing an apparent popular discourse, supportive of Mary, which located her within authoritative historical and religious narratives of English society. Meantime, examination of a Flemish noble portrait and cenotaph, commissioned by the Curles in Antwerp, brought out devices used to raise the executed Queen to sainthood as well as revealing references to 'vendetta' portraiture. Retrieval of an imaginary head relic illustrated the power of the cenotaph to inspire new memories of Mary which propagated locally and abroad. Furthermore, visual analysis of prints deriving from the Antwerp memorials exposed ways in which imagery produced by Scottish émigrés in the Low Countries influenced the portrait narrative of the Stuarts in England and was used to express support for James' English rule, union between his kingdoms and the divine right of kings. Taken together, these strands of investigation demonstrated diasporic Scottish patrons referencing the experience of their home as they layered new meaning onto

the body of the Queen of Scots, and onto her portrait, in negotiating crises of dynastic change and confessional insecurity.

Chapter Three investigated the persistence of Scottish identity in the diasporic Protestant community of the staple port at Veere, showing the role objects, including communion cups, played in materialising that identity, making it visible to the congregation and outsiders. Initial consideration of evidence of retained Scottish identity identified social bonds, and the kinships they supported, as a reference frame valued by this community. The first discussion of Cunningham's scheme of heraldic windows, reflective of the extended kinship in which he situated himself, offered an unprecedented view of stained-glass, commissioned by a Scottish person, from this time. Meantime, review of his *Memorie A*, previously only mined for biographical information, identified it as a business-focused example of a spiritual diary. Exploration of the materialisation of Protestantism as an extended kinship followed, with subsequent discussion of manifestation of the Covenant, and Cunningham's complaint to King Charles, in *Thrissels Banner*. This built connections between Cunningham's *Banner*, 'vendetta' banners and their use in presenting evidence that social bonds had been broken. Examining the textual, visual and material techniques Cunningham used to promote retention and personalisation of the *Banner* revealed it as a truly innovative object, remarkable in blending print and costly textile at a time before the production of printed fabric had begun in Europe. Exposure of the synthesis it made, between the twin concepts of bonding and extended kinship, and the wordplay of the Dutch *Rederijkerskamer*, uncovered even greater depth to its conception and identified it as a cross-cultural hybrid object.

Finally, in Chapter Four, visual analysis of the frontispiece portrait of the *Eikon Basilike* of Charles I exposed the likeness the image draws between the dead King

and St. Jerome. Consideration of opportunities for personalisation and the ways in which small volumes might have interacted with pockets allowed exposition of the ways in which the materiality of *Eikon Basilike* facilitated development of a deeply personal relationship between book and owner. This, taken in combination with the access the text provided to the King's thoughts, allowed identification of Charles' memorial book as a mass-produced relic. Parallels drawn between the portrait and aspects of 'vendetta' paintings, and the mirroring of Scottish propaganda techniques was also explored. In closing, the chapter concluded that the circle responsible for developing and producing the *Eikon* drew on various aspects of Scottish material culture as they directed public remembrance of the king. Their efforts imbued the book with appeal for a Scottish audience but also embedded it with seditious messaging about the continuation of Stuart rule.

Adopting a Scottish point of view has shed new light on familiar objects and spaces, including the *Blairs Memorial*, *Eikon Basilike* and part of the interior of Westminster Abbey. The findings built upon existing analyses – not replacing them, but expanding the body of knowledge they construct, and extending the conceptual frameworks in which this new analysis rests. Anglo-centrism has informed and directed the academic literature relating to commissions made by diasporic Scottish people. I have responded to this bias by highlighting a need to consider Scottish material culture as an influence on patrons, both in Scotland's diaspora and within the British Isles, as the forms and practices of the dual monarchy, and the concept of Great Britain, developed.

In connection, I make a call to re-examine the evolution of early cultural expressions of 'Britishness'. Some visual quotation of Scottish conventions in early representations of Britain, such as the St. Andrew's cross within the Flag of Great

Britain, are still readily recognised. As I show, both James VI & I and Charles I made other Scottish visual and material references, as they sought to stabilise Stuart rule and uphold the memory of monarchy. These conventions were necessary components in constructing significant sites of royal memory. This is important because it shows that these first Stuart kings of England consciously addressed multiple publics and were influenced by traditions from beyond London. Questions therefore arise regarding what cultural references are yet to be recognised in their other commissions. Potential foci include performances and images, such as the court masques favoured by James, and the painted ceiling Charles added to the Westminster Banqueting House.⁹²⁷ Viewing through a new lens may reveal that these too retain echoes of Scotland which have passed unnoticed.

This work forges links between art history and longstanding findings from social and political history. Since the 1980s, historians have recognised feud, ritualised revenge, social bonds and extended kinships as substantial underpinnings of early modern Scottish society, particularly in the period prior to the Union of the Crowns. Interrogation of objects, performances and sites has exposed ways in which these significant concepts were materialised and continued to be shaped, even into the middle years of the seventeenth century. Accordingly, I have made efforts to revitalise the art historical narrative, especially of portraiture associated with violent death, which had not kept pace with the above-noted developments in the study of violence in Scotland, made by historians of feud. This study also supports the enduring importance Scottish people afforded the conception of kinship as a

⁹²⁷ Bergeron, Fall 2016, 845-7. Rubens, *The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland*, c.1632-4, Banqueting House, London, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 408417.

construct which was capable of being consciously built. Members of the diaspora carried this idea with them and used it as a frame of reference. The extended confessional and political kinships they built reached across borders, supported by personalisable, mass-produced objects and hybridisation with local cultural forms and symbols. As a result, my observations support a broader, stronger platform for studying early modern Scotland through its culture, having brought cross-disciplinary understandings of responses to violent death into closer alignment.

I have also built a bridge between early modern Scotland and the academic literature of material culture relating to the early Stuart years in England. Work already published by Murray, for example, investigates the appearance, in the period after 1603, of portrait prints which indicated that deceased Stuarts endured in heaven - images which hoped to assuage public concern about premature royal deaths.⁹²⁸ This thesis presents an opportunity to frame those images as a derivation, and continuation, of the more sanguine Scottish 'vendetta' portrait tradition, which, although centred on fatal wounds, nonetheless proposed that the notable dynastic dead continued to observe earthly life from beyond the grave.

Turning to specific object types, this thesis confirms that, for Scottish people, 'banner' could connote more than a variety of flag. Banners expressed complaints about broken social bonds and could exist either literally or figuratively. Although a potential for political load is implicit in primary source descriptions of 'vendetta paintings' carried as banners, this conceptual attribute of 'banner' had not previously been drawn out explicitly in the literature. Reviewing contemporary reports with this in mind may lead to new readings of situations in which banners were used. Banners

⁹²⁸ Murray, 2017, 1.

bearing portraits of the dead transiently materialised the bloodfeud, allowing complaints about broken social bonds to be publicised in a locality, simultaneously calling for unity in response. Translation of such imagery into high-status portraiture and print enabled the expansion of complaints and demands into different, and more distant, spaces, placing them before larger audiences. As a result, these pictures become enduring components of national and trans-national narratives of crisis response.

My work has reclaimed 'vendetta paintings' from art historical neglect and misunderstanding. It has established these portraits as a significant form of cultural expression for Scottish people, at home and abroad, and as an enduring point of reference in their responses to violent death, whether recent, historical, or anticipated. The painting's representation of the egregious crime of *hamesucken* is brought forward as a key feature which has gone unremarked until now. Identification of links to Holy Blood iconography has exposed the role of these images in elevating and sacralising the reputation of the murdered dead, alongside their activation of Protestant memory of Catholicism in the period following the Reformation. The identification of three unrecognised examples, one reportedly commemorating the earl of Gowrie, the *Blairs Memorial*, made in remembrance of Mary, Queen of Scots and the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*, intended to direct the memory of Charles I, has expanded the scope for further study of this type of portrait and its use. These examples show that even royalty itself found images of this kind appropriate for their own representation. I show that these pictures were considered suitable for patronage by Catholics and Protestants, women and men. Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated that, whilst they contributed to secular death rituals performed by those close to their subjects, these images also translated the dead into political

symbols. Furthermore, I have revealed their deployment in national and international politics. It is now apparent that 'vendetta' images were conceptually complex, performed important memorial, social and political functions and that their relevance crossed societal boundaries. In quashing the idea that they were crude novelties, this thesis has relocated 'vendetta paintings' as a significant tradition within the development of Scottish, and Stuart, portraiture.

This thesis demonstrates that print and literacy, although intimately connected to Protestantism, also played a crucial role in manipulation of the dead and in building and supporting dispersed political communities. In 1570, print allowed Moray's adherents to broadcast their representation of the Regent. Utilisation of the press allowed them to reach a range of audiences at a distance, as well as to reiterate their messaging and introduce it into private spaces – from the home to the pocket. In time, other Scottish people refined this model of influence by repetition, finding ways to encourage retention and repeated engagement with their output. Attention to materiality and provision of opportunities for personalisation encouraged readers to keep and value single pieces of printed matter. The close relationships formed with these objects fostered a sense of kinship with others in the extended ownership community, whether Covenanter, Catholic or Royalist, helping to sustain, and, in some cases, elevate, the subject.

I have shown that elevation and sacralisation of victims of violent death was key to crisis response. Patrons found ways to achieve this, using visual and performance effects, or iconographic symbols, to implicitly liken their subjects to Christ, the saints and the Virgin Mary, to the classical hero, Aeneas or to ideals of noble bearing. These varied points of reference allowed their commissions access to restricted religious spaces, whilst imbuing their subjects with an air of virtue, capable

of cross-confessional appeal. Even in the face of apparently insurmountable disunity, Scottish patrons exhibited a great capacity to materialise unity by memorialising the dead. This understanding will be key to future analysis of the vilification, degradation and eventual recuperation of the marquess of Montrose.

The impact of my work extends beyond the study of crisis response. Although ordinary people, and those who did not actively engage in politics, were not a direct target of this work, my findings offer some insight into the ways that such people encountered the crisis-responsive activity of the elite. Chapter One, in its characterisation of the Regent Moray's memorials as an apparent, supportive, discourse, which was near unavoidable on the Edinburgh streets, was especially revealing in this respect. Consideration of the aural aspect of the memorials, and their repeated occupation of public space, highlights the existence of an interface where the apolitical, and members of lower social orders, had opportunities to meet the commissions and activities of the nobility. Such 'small people' can be difficult to reach in the historical record and are typically poorly served by the art history of the early modern period. This thesis flags a route towards recovery of an aspect of the cultural landscape they inhabited, using sound and procession as vehicles.

More generally, I signpost the potential of commissions made in the diaspora to advance the study of Scotland and its material culture. Objects examined here, including those produced by the community of the staple port at Veere, illustrated that members of the diaspora valued Scottish identity and that they carried Scottish modes of expression with them, finding worth in their continued use. Consequently, I conclude that Veere, and other communities of émigrés, present under-utilised opportunities to extend and augment understanding of Scottish identity and its reflection in cultural productions.

There are also ramifications beyond art history, in relation to gender studies. Confirmation of the capacity of Scottish women to instigate, and participate in, a public discourse of memorialisation, was an implicit, but nonetheless, important aspect of my findings. As shown, Annas Keith, the widow of the Regent Moray, and Elizabeth Curle, formerly lady-in-waiting to Mary, Queen of Scots, were both able to commission, and present to the public, works which successfully shaped posthumous reputations. Their patronage was intended to direct discourse and was successful in doing so, with the productions of both women found to have exerted influence on the international stage, whilst influencing the remembrance of major figures. Writers including Brown, Maureen Meikle and Ruth Grant have discussed political activity performed by elite noble women in Scotland and reactions to it.⁹²⁹ This thesis demonstrates the materialisation of that capacity, as well as showing that capability for such action extended to levels of society other than the foremost elite.

Throughout it has been my aim to restore early modern Scotland from a place on the cultural periphery assigned by the prevailing art-historical narrative. In recognising their active involvement in European cultural exchange, I have shown that Scottish people made sophisticated cultural responses and counters to crisis which exerted national and international effects, continuing to influence representation of the Stuart dynasty even at the Restoration of the Monarchy.

⁹²⁹ See, for example, Brown, 2000, 140. Maureen M. Meikle, 'Holde her at the Oeconomic rule of the House: Anna of Denmark and Scottish Court Finances' and Ruth Grant, 'Politicking Jacobean Women: Lady Ferniehurst, The Countess of Arran and the Countess of Huntly, c.1580-1603', both in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2021), pp.152-60 and pp.140-51.

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