

Knighthood, Chivalry and the Crown in Fifteenth-Century
Scotland
1424-1513

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Abstract

The Scottish crown's relationship with knighthood and chivalry during the fifteenth century has not been the subject of sustained analysis. However, how knights were used by the crown and how chivalric ideology affected them is of seminal importance in understanding the relationship between the king and his nobility. Knighthood was not only a military status which members of the nobility could attain, but also a powerful social and political tool for the crown. James I, James II, James III and James IV all used knighthood as a way of controlling members of the nobility. The honour was usually bestowed to signify a man's commencement in royal service, or to reward him for service which he had already provided.

Over the course of the century the need for knights in a military capacity declined, and knighthood changed from a career which esteemed heroics on the battlefield to one which demanded equal parts of martial skill and administrative, political and diplomatic abilities. However, while warfare was changing so dramatically, the ideals of chivalry underwent a revival. This was manifested through ideas promoted in literature, but also through traditional chivalric displays. These displays, namely tournaments, were held infrequently throughout the century, until the reign of James IV, who adopted a programme of chivalric reform, which included numerous crown-sponsored tournaments and jousts.

Whilst knights were important in everyday court life, there was a steady decline of interest in chivalric knighthood from the start of the century. James I returned to Scotland with ideas for reform based on what he had witnessed during his years at the English court, and he focused more on using his knights in political and administrative posts. James II had a keen interest in chivalry, but his time was spent predominantly on waging military campaigns of a type which increasingly rendered the knight's traditional role futile. James III showed less interest in chivalry than his predecessors, and although scholars have often credited him with founding a chivalric order of knighthood in the 1470s, these assertions are ill-founded. In fact, James III all but ignored the common ideology which was shared by an important section of his nobility. There was, however, a revival of chivalry in the reign of James IV, when the king attempted to promote himself as a chivalric patron and encouraged his knights to pay tribute to the ideals of the mythical Arthurian court.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has been composed solely by myself.
None of this work has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Katherine Christie Stevenson

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Although many people have helped with the preparation of this thesis, all errors, of course, are my own.

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Abbreviations

- A.B. Ill.* *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1847-69).
- Abdn. Counc.* *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570*, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1844).
- Abdn. Reg.* *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1845).
- ADA* Thomas Thomson (ed), *The Acts of the Lords of Auditors of Causes and Complaints* (Edinburgh, 1839).
- ADC* Thomas Thomson (ed), *The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes* (Edinburgh, 1839).
- APS* Thomas Thomson and C. Innes (eds), *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
- Bannatyne Misc.* *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1827-55).
- Barbour, Bruce* John Barbour, *The Bruce*, A.A.M. Duncan (ed), (Edinburgh, 1997).
- BL* British Library
- Black Book of Taymouth* *The Black Book of Taymouth with Other Papers from the Breadalbane Charter Room* (Edinburgh, 1855).
- Blind Harry, Wallace* *The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailyeand Campioun Schir William Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie*, STS (Edinburgh & London, 1889).
- Buchanan, History* George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland*, J. Aikman (trans), (Glasgow & Edinburgh, 1827-29).
- Cal. Scot. Supp., I.* E.R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-1422*, SHS (Edinburgh, 1934).
- Calendar of State Papers (Milan)* Allen B. Hinds (ed), *Calendar of Papers and Manuscripts, existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan* (London, 1912).

- Cawdor Bk.* C. Innes (ed), *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor: A Series of Paper Selected from the Charter Rooms at Cawdor, 1236-1742* (Edinburgh, 1869).
- CDS* J. Bain (ed), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland A.D. 1108-1526* (Edinburgh, 1881-8).
- Chron. Auchinleck* Thomas Thomson (ed), *The Auchinleck Chronicle, ane Schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis for Addicioun* (Edinburgh, 1819/1877).
- Chron. Bower* Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, D.E.R. Watt (ed), (Aberdeen, 1993-8).
- Chron. Extracta* W. Barclay and D.D. Turnbull (eds), *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie: From the Ancient Manuscript in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh*, Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1842).
- Chron. Fordun* W.F. Skene (ed), *Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1871-2).
- Chron. Pluscarden* F.J.H. Skene (ed), *Liber Pluscardenis* (Edinburgh, 1877-80).
- Chron. Wyntoun* Andrew Wyntoun, *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MS*, F.J. Amours (ed), STS (Edinburgh & London, 1903-14).
- CPL* W.H. Bliss *et al* (eds), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* (London, 1921).
- Edin. Chrs.* *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh AD 1143-1540*, SBRS (Edinburgh, 1871).
- Edin. Recs.* *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh AD 1403-1528*, SBRS (Edinburgh, 1869).
- ER* J. Stuart *et al* (eds), *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).

- Foedera* Thomas Rymer (ed), *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica* (London, 1816-69).
- Fraser, *Caerlaverock* William Fraser, *The Book of Caerlaverock* (Edinburgh, 1873).
- Fraser, *Douglas* William Fraser, *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh, 1885).
- Fraser, *Lennox* William Fraser, *The Lennox* (Edinburgh, 1874).
- Fraser, *Maxwells* William Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollock* (Edinburgh, 1863).
- Fraser, *Melville* William Fraser, *The Melvilles Earls of Melville and Leslies Earls of Leven* (Edinburgh, 1890).
- Fraser, *Menteith* William Fraser, *The Red Book of Menteith* (Edinburgh, 1880).
- Froissart, *Chronicles* Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, Geoffrey Brereton (ed), (London, 1978).
- HBC* E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, I. Roy (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, third edition, (London, 1986).
- Highland Papers* J.R.N. Macphail (ed), *Highland Papers*, SHS (Edinburgh, 1914-34).
- HMC *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1870-).
- Inchcolm Chrs.* D.E. Easson and Angus MacDonald (eds), *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, SHS (Edinburgh, 1938).
- IR* *Innes Review*
- James IV Letters* R.L. Mackie (ed), *The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-13*, SHS (Edinburgh, 1953).
- JR* *Juridical Review*
- Lesley, *De Origine* John Lesley, *De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum Libri Decem* (Rome, 1578).
- Lesley, *History* John Lesley, *The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I in the Year 1436 to the Year 1561*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1830).

<i>Letters and Papers of Henry VIII</i>	R.H. Brodie (ed), <i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere</i> (London, 1920).
<i>Midl. Chrs.</i>	<i>Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and Other Collegiate Churches in Mid-Lothian</i> , Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1861).
<i>Mort. Reg.</i>	<i>Registrum Honoris de Morton</i> , Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1853).
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
<i>Orkney Recs.</i>	Joseph Storer Clouston (ed), <i>Records of the Earldom of Orkney</i> , SHS (Edinburgh, 1914).
<i>Orkney-Shetland Recs.</i>	Alfred W. Johnston and Amy Johnston (eds), <i>Orkney and Shetland Records</i> (London, 1907-13).
<i>Pinkerton, History</i>	John Pinkerton, <i>The History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, with Appendixes of Original Papers</i> (London, 1797).
<i>Pitcairn, Trials</i>	Robert Pitcairn (ed), <i>Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624</i> (Edinburgh, 1833).
<i>Pitscottie, Historie</i>	Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, <i>The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fiftein Zeir</i> , STS (Edinburgh & London, 1899-1911).
PRO	Public Record Office
<i>Prot. Bk. Foular</i>	W.Macleod and M. Wood (eds), <i>Protocol Book of John Foulas 1501-28</i> , SRS (Edinburgh, 1930-53).
<i>Prot. Bk. Young</i>	Gordon Donaldson (ed), <i>Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515</i> , SRS (Edinburgh, 1952).
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>

<i>RMS</i>	J.M. Thomson et al (eds), <i>Registrum Magni Sigili Regum Scotorum</i> (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
<i>Rot. Scot.</i>	D. Macpherson et al (eds), <i>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati</i> (London, 1814-19).
<i>RSS</i>	M. Livingstone et al (eds), <i>Registrum Secreti Sigili Regum Scotorum</i> (Edinburgh, 1908-).
<i>SBRS</i>	Scottish Burgh Records Society
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>SHS</i>	Scottish History Society
<i>SHS Misc.</i>	<i>The Miscellany of the Scottish History Society</i> (SHS, 1893).
<i>SP</i>	J. Balfour Paul (ed), <i>The Scots Peerage</i> (Edinburgh, 1904-14).
<i>Spalding Misc.</i>	<i>Miscellany of the Spalding Club</i> , Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1841-52).
<i>SRS</i>	Scottish Record Society
<i>St A Cop.</i>	James Houston Baxter (ed), <i>Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter-Book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St Andrews (1418-1443)</i> (Oxford, 1930).
<i>St Giles Reg</i>	<i>Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh</i> , Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1859).
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society
<i>TA</i>	T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul (eds), <i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1877-1916).

Conventions

All references to page numbers have been specified as such. For example, Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 117. All references that are not specified as page numbers relate to document numbers or chapter numbers. For example, *RMS*, II, 1034, relates to the second volume, charter number 1034. *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 2, is book XVI, chapter 2. *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 110, is volume VI, page 110.

All dates have been modernised. For example, 25 February 1448/9 appears here as 25 February 1449.

All place names and surnames have been standardised where possible.

Introduction: Chivalry in Fifteenth-Century Scotland

Of all officis of honourabilitee the knyghtis office be the lawast office of dignitee vnder jmeriale or ryale magestee. Neuertheless the ordre is hyest and maist honorable. Ffor quhy yat all Emperouris and kingis aw to bere that ordre or ellis thair dignitee is nocht perfyte. Ffor ellis may thai mak na knyghtis [...] The office alssua of knyghtede aw to defend his natural lord and manetene him- ffor a king is bot a man allane but his men. And but thame thare may na king gouerne na deffend his peple na yit nane othir lord ffor thai ar bot synglere personis.¹

So wrote Gilbert Hay in 1456 in his translation and reworking of Ramon Llull's *Libre del ordre de cavayleria*, thus defining the ties between king and knight. These bonds have so far received little attention in studies of fifteenth-century Scottish society, but an exploration of this link should naturally follow the work already done on the politics and associations between noble families and the crown.² Highlighting the relationship between knighthood and the crown and also the crown's exploitation

¹ Jonathan A. Glenn (ed), *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay Volume III: 'The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede' and 'The Buke of the Gouvernaunce of Princis'*, STS (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 16.

² The Stewart dynasty series only discusses knighthood if it impacted directly on the politics of the reigns. For example Michael Brown discusses James I dubbing his nobles at royal ceremonies, such as his coronation in 1424 and the baptism of his sons in 1430. Brown concludes that James made a royal monopoly on knighthood part of his renewed authority, although whether this was actually the case will be further explored in this thesis. See Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 117. Similarly, Norman Macdougall recounts that in the lead-up to Sauchieburn, James III knighted three men in parliament in order to secure their loyalty to him. See Norman Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 237. Works on noble families ignore knighthood in its social context in favour of a political approach. Michael Brown's study of the Black Douglases does not lay as much emphasis as it might have done upon the knightly lives of these prominent nobles, renowned for their prowess on the battlefield and their great influence in the politics of the realm. See Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (East Linton, 1998). Similarly Barbara Crawford's studies of William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, who commissioned Sir Gilbert Hay's translations of chivalric treatises, place little emphasis on the role that knighthood and chivalry had in the Sinclairs' lives. See Barbara E. Crawford, 'The Earls of Orkney-Caithness and their Relations with Norway and Scotland, 1158-1470', (Ph.D., St Andrews University, 1971), and Barbara E. Crawford, 'William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, and His Family: A Study in the Politics of Survival', in K.J. Stringer (ed), *Essays in the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985).

of knighthood and chivalry across the reigns of James I, James II, James III and James IV is crucial to a richer understanding of late medieval society.

The relationship between knighted nobles and central authority has emerged as a theme in the works of some Scottish historians. Revisionists such as Jenny Wormald and Alexander Grant argue that the traditional interpretation of a weak crown made weaker by the irresponsible antics of anarchic feudal barons is a naïve view, and that Scotland's allegedly over-mighty magnates were, in fact, engaged in a constructive and positive relationship with the crown. By the same token, the early Stewart kings were astute realists who recognised that a powerful nobility was an essential component of effective governance.³ Roger Mason agrees with Wormald and Grant and argues that crown-magnate relations in fifteenth-century Scotland were, on the whole, co-operative rather than confrontational.⁴ However, more recently Mason pointed out that 'post-Revisionists' see the Stewart monarchy 'as much more self-confident, aggressive and predatory than revisionist historians have generally allowed'.⁵ Nobles were a crucial, indeed dominant, force in society through the variety of roles they undertook as masters, employers, householders,

³ Roger Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', in Roger Mason and Norman Macdougall (eds), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 70, n. 41, Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 5, Jenny Wormald, 'Taming the Magnates?', in K.J. Stringer (ed), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 270-1, Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984), esp. chs. 6 and 7.

⁴ Roger Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland', *SHR* 66 (1987), pp. 125-51, reprinted in Roger Mason, *Kingship and the Commonwealth: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), p. 8; see also Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995), p. 2.

⁵ Roger A. Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's *Scotichronicon** (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 73-4. See also Michael H. Brown, 'Scotland Tamed? Kings and Magnates in Late Medieval Scotland: A Review of Recent Work', *Innes Review* 45 (1994), pp. 120-46.

patrons, purveyors of justice, and holders of royal or public offices. They commanded in war, took the lead in national politics and directed local government through the power they derived from the control of their men. The manpower at their disposal was secured through a range of different mechanisms and relationships: through service in their households, tenancy of their estates, and employment and payment for services.⁶ Within most of these roles a nobleman's behaviour was theoretically regulated by his status as a knight.

The role of noblemen within crown politics has been the focus of much work by Scottish historians. Scholars such as Roger Mason, Norman Macdougall and Alexander Grant have engaged in debate over whether the Scottish political community was held together by a cohesive force preventing it from disintegrating.⁷ It is certainly an attractive view that there was a common ideology which encouraged aristocratic unity. Grant suggests the nobility were bound together by the 'fundamental principle that royal authority must not be flouted. If it was, that was ultimately treason.'⁸ He asks:

Can it be argued that the development of the principle of royal authority, when taken to its logical conclusion, threatened a counter-productive effect of the cohesiveness of the political community? I am not sure; but I do have a sense of two sets of political principles, the Crown's and the community's, running in parallel through the fifteenth century, and at times tending to collide.⁹

⁶ Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 2-3. For a discussion and definition of the nobility in fifteenth century Scotland see Alexander Grant, 'The development of the Scottish peerage', *SHR* 57 (1978), pp. 1-27, where he describes a change, around 1450, in definition of levels of nobility, from earls, 'provincial lords', 'greater barons' and freeholders, to lords of parliament and lairds. See also Jenny Wormald, 'Lords and Lairds in Fifteenth-Century Scotland: Nobles and Gentry?' in Michael Jones (ed), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (Gloucester & New York, 1986).

⁷ Mason, *Kingship and the Commonwealth*, p. 26, Alexander Grant, 'To the Medieval Foundations', *SHR* 73 (1994), p. 6, Norman Macdougall, 'Response: At the Medieval Bedrock', *SHR* 73 (1994), pp. 25-6.

⁸ Grant, 'To the Medieval Foundations', pp. 9-10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

One cohesive factor may well have been chivalry, or its practical application through knighthood; binding knights and nobles to a common philosophy and a goal, which, with its enshrined codes of conduct on and off the battlefield, provided a type of social (if not political) order.

However, the relevance of chivalry to late medieval society has long been questioned. The Huizinga school of thought put forward the idea that ‘traditional’ chivalry, that is, chivalry based on romantic notions of the mythical court of King Arthur, declined across the fifteenth century and was replaced by more prosaic ideals for contemporary knights.¹⁰ Huizinga argued that the ideals of chivalry were furthest removed from the realities of knighthood in the fifteenth century, which naturally raises the question of whether this was the case in Scotland.¹¹ Malcolm Vale, on the other hand, suggests that it is doubtful whether knighthood ever conformed to chivalry as a guide to social behaviour and an ethical code.¹² Maurice Keen thinks that it did and argues that chivalry ‘was at once a cultural and a social phenomenon, which retained its vigour because it remained relevant to the social and political realities of the time.’¹³ In Scotland, chivalry was still a prominent ideology,

¹⁰ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Fritz Hopman (trans), (Harmondsworth, 1972). Although Huizinga personally authorised Hopman’s English translation, and collaborated with him to produce this new variant version of the book, a recent translation from his original Dutch has been published, claiming to be more accurate in reproducing Huizinga’s original text. See John Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (trans), (Chicago, 1996). See also Raymond Lincoln Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry As Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages* (Harvard, 1937), and Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (London, 1960), works which enlarged on Huizinga’s thesis.

¹¹ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 65.

¹² Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), p. 5.

¹³ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven & London, 1984), p. 219.

influencing social and political relationships, and knighthood was still a crucial component of noble society, both in terms of war-making and public duty. James I, II, III, and IV all used chivalric symbolism in their political and social policies. There was no constant or common expression of this across the reigns; instead each king utilised chivalry in an individual manner pertinent to the social and political pressures he faced. Given the paucity of late-medieval Scottish sources, a significant study of these questions is difficult, more so when the abstract notions of chivalry are embraced within the definition. Instead, a more appropriate course of action is to seek meaning in the chivalric tradition in fifteenth-century Scotland and its use as a tool by the crown.

No adequate or precise definition of chivalry, an ideal with moving boundaries and difficult concepts, has yet been achieved.¹⁴ Maurice Keen's work still provides the most useful model, proposing a very flexible definition of chivalry.

While recognising that a word so tonal and imprecise can never be pinned down within precise limits of meaning, we are now a great deal nearer to being able to suggest lines of definition that will do for working purposes...chivalry may be described as an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together. I say fused, partly because the compound seems to be something new and whole in its own right, partly because it is clearly so difficult to completely separate the elements in it.¹⁵

Keen argues that whilst one component may be more prominent in any given situation, the others were never completely absent, and that chivalry was 'a way of life in which we can discern these three essential facets, the military, the noble, and

¹⁴ See J. du Quesnay Adams, 'Modern Views of Chivalry, 1884-1984', in H. Chickering and T.H. Seiler (eds), *The Study of Chivalry* (Kalamazoo, 1988), pp. 41-89 for an example of the difficulties in pinning down a precise definition of chivalry.

¹⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 16.

the religious; but a way of life is a complex thing, like a living organism; we have only the beginnings of a definition, and there is plenty left to explore.’¹⁶ Maurice Keen certainly intended his work to be a launching pad for other studies on chivalry and knighthood. However, his work is so thorough and convincing that historians are no longer searching for an alternative or more accurate definition of chivalry; generally they are satisfied to apply Keen’s definition to their own areas of study. For example, Richard Kaeuper’s recent exploration of chivalry in terms of the violence it promoted defined chivalry in very similar terms, adding only that courtly love was an essential element.¹⁷ Indeed, this thesis will not proffer a significant alternative to Keen’s work, except to examine, within the context of fifteenth-century Scottish society, the three elements of chivalry he emphasises.

Research on chivalry and knighthood within Scottish history has made limited use of Keen’s ideas. Apart from Alan Macquarrie’s *Scotland and the Crusades*, which looks at a particular type of knightly culture, and one which was of limited relevance in fifteenth-century Scotland, little work has been undertaken on knighthood to date.¹⁸ However, contributions on the wider impact of chivalric ideals in Scotland have been more forthcoming. In 1992 Roger Mason pointed out that

although chivalric ideas constituted the dominant secular value system throughout later medieval Europe, their importance in shaping the outlook and aspirations of contemporary Scots has never been explored. Scottish historians have tended simply to dismiss chivalry as so much rarefied idealism with no purchase on social reality.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁷ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), p. 302.

¹⁸ Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095-1560* (Edinburgh, 1985), esp. chapter 5, ‘The Long Decline, 1410-1472’, and chapter 6, ‘Castles in the Air, 1472-c.1560’.

¹⁹ Mason, ‘Chivalry and Citizenship’, p. 58, particularly at note 37, where Mason points out that Ranald Nicholson treated chivalry dismissively and that Alexander Grant barely mentioned it at all. See Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974) and Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*.

Mason laments that a poor regard for the impact of chivalry on Scottish society has meant that no work has been undertaken to determine how the chivalric code operated in the kin-based and localised society of Scotland.²⁰ This is certainly an area ripe for further exploration, but one which cannot be undertaken in this study, which principally considers crown-knight relationships. Mason also sees a distinction between the relationship of an individual to local powers and their relationship to the crown, although ‘in both such contexts, the martial values of the chivalric code had a lot to offer a highly militarised and honour conscious society.’²¹ This thesis encompasses this distinction and therefore the first stage in understanding how chivalry functioned in Scotland is necessarily to give definition to the role of the knight under royal patronage, the relationship between king and chivalry, and between knighthood and royal authority. Addressing these issues should provide enough scope for further research into the functions of knighthood in wider society and ultimately a more precise definition of the influence of chivalry in late-medieval Scotland.

Roger Mason also addressed aspects of the chivalric code in Scotland in relation to its impact on national identity. He argued that national identity in the fifteenth century was defined and sustained through the manipulation of a usable past, that is the development of a Scottish ‘*mythomoteur*’ which was ‘capable of explaining the community to itself (and others) by lending meaning and purpose to

²⁰ Mason, ‘Chivalry and Citizenship’, p. 58.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

the particular complex of myths, memories, values and symbols from which it derives its individuality'.²² Mason sees this national identity as 'essentially martial and chivalric in character' and argues that it is worth viewing the 'Scottish *mythomoteur* as a domestic equivalent of the great historical mythologies of chivalry...which exemplified the values of Europe's militarised élites more generally.'²³ Mason views John Barbour's fourteenth-century epic poem, *The Bruce*, as the prime example of the creation of a Scottish national identity at work, as he considers that Barbour combined the codes of chivalry with the cause of freedom, brought together to instruct and inspire the knights of Scotland.²⁴ However, Carol Edington warns that

the fusion of chivalric and national- not to say nationalistic- ideas was not as straightforward as has sometimes been assumed, and any examination of chivalric heroes raises important questions concerning the layered nature of perceived loyalties in medieval society.²⁵

Mason's conclusion, that Scottish versions of chivalric literature such as *The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conqueror Alexander the Grit* and *Lancelot of the Laik* indicated that 'the Scots participated fully in this cosmopolitan chivalric culture', is certainly a pertinent point and one which warrants further exploration.²⁶

Recently, Carol Edington also related national identity to the chivalric ideal, suggesting that centuries of war with England had 'not only coloured accounts of the

²² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁵ Carol Edington, 'Paragons and Patriots: National Identity and the Chivalric Ideal in Late-Medieval Scotland', in Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay and Michael Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 70.

²⁶ Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', p. 57, Graeme Ritchie (ed), *The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen*, 4 vols, STS (Edinburgh, 1925), Margaret Muriel Gray (ed), *Lancelot of the Laik from Cambridge University Library MS*, STS (Edinburgh, 1912).

distant past, [but] they also provided an important corpus of material which reinforced the links between traditionally knightly ideals and Scotland's national history.²⁷ Edington suggests that these wars conflated nationalistic and chivalric ideologies, but traditional chivalric assumptions still existed alongside this and often over-rode patriotic considerations. Alastair J. MacDonald, on the other hand, hints that it was the pursuit of territorial and political power, particularly in the Scottish borders in the late fourteenth century, that proved a more important ambition in making war than nationalistic or chivalric motivations. However, he emphasised that chivalry played a major contributory role in motivating border wars, as to a lesser extent did patriotism.²⁸ MacDonald also addressed the problems of defining chivalry in Scotland. He suggests that

two aspects of this are the apparent exclusivity of 'chivalry' as an influence on the knightly and upper classes and the nature of the chivalric code, which seems to have had a powerful influence, yet was little practiced in all its rigour.²⁹

He defines the Scottish chivalric ethos as predominantly 'the desire to attain glory and renown through military feats and the enjoyment of martial endeavour for its own sake.'³⁰

Even more recently, Alasdair A. MacDonald has undertaken further research into the influence of chivalry on fifteenth-century Scottish society and believes that there was a rich chivalric culture at this time, which he argues included the founding of a chivalric order of knighthood under James III, an idea which will be explored in

²⁷ Carol Edington, 'Paragons and Patriots', p. 72.

²⁸ Alastair J. MacDonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 170, 178, 190.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

chapter six.³¹ In his latest study MacDonald discusses chivalry as a catalyst of cultural change in late-medieval Scotland. MacDonald suggests that the return to Scotland of James I in 1424, after eighteen years of exposure to both the English and French courts, entailed ‘a high level of cultural awareness. Innovations were to be expected, and...the cultivation of chivalry was one such new departure.’³² MacDonald’s argument highlights a turning point in Scottish kingship and crown administration. James I brought new ideas of the crown’s responsibilities to promote chivalric knighthood: James’s use of knighthood, both politically and socially, will be examined in chapter two. One of MacDonald’s main suggestions is that the cultural influence upon Scotland in the fifteenth century did not stem exclusively from England and France as has been widely assumed, but was much derived from Burgundy, especially in the ‘matter of chivalry’.³³ MacDonald’s thesis is very compelling, especially given Scotland’s economic and political ties with Bruges and Gelderland during the fifteenth century, but it requires more extensive exploration.³⁴ The argument complements MacDonald’s wider views on Scottish chivalry, especially with regard to an order of knighthood. He even makes a direct link between the Order of the Golden Fleece and the Order of the Thistle.³⁵ By pointing out that in the fifteenth century the royal court was not always the chivalric centre of

³¹ Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal Folly or Venerable Shrine?’, in L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S.L. Mapstone (eds), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Peeters, 2000), p. 34, Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change in Late-Medieval Scotland’ in Rudolf Suntrup and Jan R. Veenstra (eds), *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change* (Frankfurt am Main & Oxford, 2001), p. 161.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 157.

³⁴ For more on this see Alexander Stevenson, ‘Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges’, in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and Authority, Scotland c.1050-c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to Grant G. Simpson* (East Linton, 2000).

³⁵ MacDonald, ‘Chivalry as a Catalyst’, p. 161.

Scottish society, MacDonald's work demonstrates that questions need to be asked about each individual king's relationship with chivalry.³⁶

MacDonald also attempts to bring more coherence to the definition of chivalry in Scotland. He regards late-medieval chivalry as involving 'at least such key features of knightly conduct as respect for a generally shared code of honour, and prowess in deeds of arms.'³⁷ He argues that the development in the princely culture of fifteenth-century Burgundy meant that during these years 'chivalry came to be regarded much more as an inspiration, generation and expression of true nobility. Central to this notion is that the essence of true nobility was seen as stemming from virtue rather than any accident of birth, rank or fortune.'³⁸ Whilst not rejecting the religious component outright, MacDonald implies that it was the martial and noble aspects which were most relevant to fifteenth-century Scottish knights. This definition of chivalry is much more appropriate to Scotland than Keen's general definition.

Nevertheless, Keen's definition warrants examination and evaluation in a Scottish context. The martial component he describes naturally relates to the knight's function as a warrior. Throughout the fifteenth century, Scottish knights were still engaged in warfare: in battles, sieges, military campaigns and the staged warfare of the tournament, which will be discussed in chapter four. All knights were expected to fulfil a martial function and there is no suggestion any were exempt from

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159. MacDonald's thesis builds on work by Sally Mapstone, who argued that the Scottish royal court was not the main centre for literary production and that non-royal patronage was common. See Sally Mapstone, 'Was There a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26 (1991), pp. 410-22.

³⁷ MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', p. 158.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

fighting, except the elderly and infirm. Richard Kaeuper claims that scholars have over-emphasised the romantic, courtly aspects of chivalry:

chivalry was not simply a code integrating generic individual society, not simply an ideal for relations between the sexes or a means of knocking off the rough warrior edges in preparation for the European gentleman to come. The bloody-minded side of the code...was the essence of chivalry. The knight was a warrior.³⁹

Chroniclers like Walter Bower and poets like Blind Harry take delight in recording and describing Scottish knights' activities in warfare. The individual and his martial function were never far removed from each other. It is in their capacity as warriors that most knights upheld the ideals of chivalry and in warfare the ideals of chivalry could most easily be applied. Knights and warfare will be discussed further in chapter three.

Nobility was also an essential part of Scottish chivalry. During the twelfth century on the Continent and in England, warriors of low social status who held no land and who had no political power were called knights; the title of knight referred to their function as a fighter rather than to their social status.⁴⁰ In the first half of the thirteenth century, Frederick II ordained that a man who did not have men of knightly status in his ancestry should not be considered to be eligible for knighthood, and his chancellor, Peter de Vineis, stated that nobility was hereditary. Thus knighthood officially became a matter of blood, lineage and birth.⁴¹ By the end of the thirteenth century knighthood had come to signify warriors of high social status.

³⁹ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁴¹ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 143. Around this time the Templars also insisted that no man should be admitted to the Order unless he could show that he was a legitimate son of a knight and a lady of gentle blood, and that he was descended on his father's side from a line of knights. See Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 144.

Similarly by this time squires had also acquired social rank and the entitlement to hold such status was principally dependent upon a proven noble lineage.⁴² Part of this development stemmed from higher demands upon men-at-arms, due to ever-increasing internal and international conflicts, which meant that a larger section of the general population became involved in warfare as armoured warriors. Thus, a clear-cut distinction between ordinary soldiers and knights became more crucial. Pressure applied by young men from newly-wealthy families who sought the social status that came with knighthood, also provoked a response from the nobility and as the desire to enter into knighthood became more widespread, the criteria for eligibility and acceptance became more stringent (therefore making knighthood even more attractive and desirable).⁴³ To a degree, this further fused nobility and knighthood, predominantly seen in a knight's public duties, which he held as both a man of noble status and as a man of knightly status.⁴⁴ This not only occurred throughout the Continent and England, but also in Scotland, where it was well established by the fifteenth century that knighthood should only be granted to men of noble status.

By this time it was also generally accepted that knightly virtues were intrinsically inherited and acquired from the men with whom a boy was in direct

⁴² Richard Mortimer, 'Knights and Knighthood in Germany in the Central Middle Ages', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 96-8, and Matthew Bennett, 'The Status of the Squire: the Northern Evidence', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 10-11, Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 143, Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 189-90.

⁴³ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 121.

⁴⁴ Martin Aurell, 'The Western Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: A Survey of the Historiography and Some Prospects for New Research', in Anne J. Duggan (ed), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 272.

contact, from his father to his wider community. A knight from an elevated background was expected to embody the qualities of his lineage and a nobleman was obliged to display proper knightly behaviour and honour his inheritance.⁴⁵ As noble birth and knighthood were so closely linked, Elspeth Kennedy poses the question of how far the position and reputation achieved by a knight was dependent upon personal effort and vocation, as exemplified by his qualities and acquired skills, or simply by merit of his noble ancestry.⁴⁶ Indeed it is generally accepted throughout works of chivalric literature that chivalric qualities are rooted in hereditary inheritance.⁴⁷ For example the good Sir James Douglas had an appropriate lineage, being born into a family of middle baronial rank, hence enabling his outstanding knightly career.⁴⁸ *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* supported this idea, stating that a knight should come of good lineage and must have sufficient wealth to support his rank.⁴⁹ Being born into a noble family was considered to be essential to a knight. However, there were notable exceptions, and whilst distinguishing nobility based on measures of wealth was an essential part of its social construction, in reality the poorer noble or the wealthier burgess blurred the distinction which noble wealth was meant to make visible and in some cases, proof of nobility became accepted through the family's style of living and its general reputation.⁵⁰ The Forresters of

⁴⁵ Matthew Bennett, 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France, c.1050 –c.1225', in D.M. Hadley (ed), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London & New York, 1999), p. 76.

⁴⁶ Elspeth Kennedy, 'The Quest for Identity and the Importance of Lineage in Thirteenth-Century French Prose Romance', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood II: Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference* (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 72.

⁴⁷ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 190.

⁴⁸ Sonja Våthjunker, 'A Study in the Career of Sir James Douglas', (Ph.D., University of Aberdeen, 1992), p. 27.

⁴⁹ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 43.

Corstorphine were such a family. They rose from burgess status to knightly status under royal patronage and this will be outlined in chapter two.

Nobles' relationships with the crown were predominantly expressed in political terms and many held administrative positions within the royal household or government. Most of these posts were held by knighted nobles, such as Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, who was James I's treasurer, although positions such as Chancellor, Treasurer and Secretary were held almost exclusively by clerics until the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵¹ The degree of separation of nobility and knighthood is problematic, as these often appear intertwined. The Scottish nobility was a small group and with social status being a requirement for granting of knighthood, consequently it could only be from amongst these men that a king chose his public officers. Gilbert Hay, more than his original French sources, stressed the idea of a knight's public responsibilities, making it clear that knights were public figures with public duties to perform.⁵² It was within these terms, those of a knight's responsibilities to his wider community, that Hay attempted to reinterpret the values of the chivalric code. He suggested that knighthood was not meant solely to elevate an individual, but that knights were intended to serve the crown for the 'commoun prouffit'.⁵³ Other chivalric writers emphasised similar points, such as Geoffrey de

⁵¹ *HBC*, pp. 182-3, 187-8, 193, Athol L. Murray, 'The Procedure of the Scottish Exchequer in the early Sixteenth Century', *SHR* 40 (1961), pp. 89-117, Athol L. Murray, 'The Comptroller, 1425-1488', *SHR* 52 (1973), pp. 1-29, Peter J. Murray, 'The Lay Administrators of Church Lands in the 15th and 16th Centuries', *SHR* 74 (1995), pp. 26-44. For more on the positions held by lay nobles from James III's reign see A.L. Brown, 'The Scottish "Establishment" in the Later 15th Century', *Juridical Review* 23 (1978), pp. 89-105, and Trevor M. Chalmers, 'The King's Council, Patronage, and the Governance of Scotland, 1460-1513', (Ph.D., University of Aberdeen, 1982), esp. pp. 127-31, 151, 333-4.

⁵² Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 18, Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', p. 58.

⁵³ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 21.

Charny who, in his fourteenth-century *Livre de chevalerie*, stressed the propriety of a king choosing his officers from amongst the knighthood.⁵⁴ The crown's use of knighthood in governmental and administrative roles will be discussed in chapter two.

The Christian element of chivalry is far less apparent than the noble and martial aspects in fifteenth-century Scottish knighthood. In his general model Huizinga suggested that the Christian element could not possibly be an integral aspect of chivalry:

medieval thought did not permit ideal forms of noble life, independent of religion. For this reason piety and virtue have to be the essence of a knight's life. Chivalry, however, will always fall short of this ethical function. Its earthly origin draws it down.⁵⁵

However, there was clearly an expectation that religion should play a central role in Scottish chivalry with Gilbert Hay's 1456 translated prose highlighting the proximity of knighthood to the defence of Christianity. Hay writes:

And as all thir proprieteis beforesaid pertenis till a knycht as to the nabilnes of his corps- Rycht sa is thare othir proprieteis pertenant to the saule....And forthy quhen a knycht has all strenthis and habiliteis yat appertenis to the corps- and has nocht thame yat appertentis to the saule- he is nocht verray knycht- bot is contrarious to the ordre and inmy of knycthede...ffor the principale caus of the ordre is to the manetenaunce of the cristyn faith.⁵⁶

However, whether Hay's motives were to encourage knights to behave in a more

⁵⁴ Geoffrey de Charny, 'Livre de chevalerie', in K. de Lettenhove (ed), *Oeuvres de Froissart* (Brussels, 1873), tome I, part III, discussed in Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 14.

⁵⁵ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 67.

⁵⁶ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knycthede*, p. 17.

pious fashion, or to attempt to elevate knighthood beyond the aggressive and violent characteristics it naturally held, is difficult to ascertain. Hay's opinions may stand alone, but as he was a knight, and not a cleric, his writings and thoughts remain significantly pertinent. Although pious crusading ideals had waned by this time and the Church played a lesser role in secular institutions such as knighthood (for example, within the dubbing ceremonies of which detail survives, the clergy and the Church were barely involved), religious aspects, which were inherent in society as a whole, cannot be divorced from chivalry.⁵⁷

Keen's model, therefore, is generally a reasonable pattern to be applied to fifteenth-century Scottish knighthood. Chivalry was a set of ideals which knights fundamentally believed in and aspired towards. Scottish chivalry not only suggested appropriate codes of conduct, but also supported its martial function, promoted its elitism through emphasis on nobility and encouraged piety and model Christianity. However, this must be tested to establish how these chivalric ideals operated in practice, both in the field and within royal government. More importantly, what must be considered is whether chivalry regulated the way in which knights were recruited and behaved.

⁵⁷ See Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 65, 76, for descriptions of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century examples of the Church's role in the dubbing ceremony.

The Crown and Knighthood: The dubbing of knights in the fifteenth century

In his study of chivalry, Maurice Keen concluded that there were three normal occasions on which knighthood was bestowed. The first was at solemn court events or coronations, the second to signify a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre (either before, during or after the pilgrimage), and the third on the eve of a battle or the storming of a city, when men sought knighthood 'in order that their strength and virtue may be the greater'.¹ It should not be ignored that these three occasions also correlate broadly to Keen's three-fold model of chivalry: the noble aspects of chivalry are encompassed within court events; the martial element is demonstrated by dubbings on the eve of a battle; and the religious component linked to the pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Many questions arise: were these three occasions the same ones upon which men were knighted in Scotland and did Scottish kings have any other occasions upon which they usually dubbed knights? Did men seek to be knighted or were they chosen for the honour, and were knights made by other knights or was there a royal monopoly on dubbing? It is also important to establish whether there was any direct link between where and when a man was knighted and whether dubbing had any effect upon his subsequent activities. In addition, we can ask why James I, James II, James III and James IV knighted particular men and whether this new status brought new responsibilities to these men.

¹ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 79, who directs his readers towards P. Contamine, 'Points du vue sur la chevalerie en France à la fin du moyen âge', *Francia* 4 (1976), p. 272ff.

Solemn Court Events: Coronations

The first occasion at which knighthoods were habitually granted encompasses not only coronations, but also baptisms and formal governmental meetings. In Scotland, these events included the baptism of James II and a parliament of James III. However, from amongst the Stewart kings, it was James I who most frequently used these occasions to bestow knighthood upon his nobles. In the years prior to his release from English captivity, James I had been exposed to the lavish displays and use of chivalry and knighthood at the English court of Henry V. For many, Henry was the epitome of the ideal medieval king. He embodied a number of desirable knightly qualities, having a reputation for prowess in arms and success in warfare.² When James reached the age of twenty-five, Henry's attitude to his royal prisoner changed and he began to treat him more as if he were a foreign visitor to his court. In 1420 James even accompanied Henry to the siege of Melun in France.³ After they returned to England, Henry's queen, Catherine, was crowned on 23 February 1421. At the coronation banquet held at Westminster Hall James was seated on her immediate left, demonstrating his high status at court and allowing him to be a close observer of proceedings.⁴ In March 1421, Henry began a tour of the major towns of England and James accompanied him. It was whilst on this tour, on St George's

² G.L. Harriss, 'Introduction: the Exemplar of Kingship', in G.L. Harriss (ed), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 19-20.

³ James Hamilton Wylie and William Templeton Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 212.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269. There is no indication that there were any knightings at this ceremony.

Day, that Henry knighted James at Windsor Castle.⁵ By July 1421 James and Henry were back in France, where James spent another year assisting Henry in his military campaigns.⁶ In early 1424, James finally returned to Scotland, undoubtedly with an increased awareness of how he too could use knighthood and chivalry to create a strong kingship and further his political goals.⁷

James's coronation was a display of restored royal prestige and power following years under the Albany regency, with its primary intention being to emphasise the king's leadership of a politically united kingdom.⁸ Alasdair MacDonald supports this idea and claims that James I attempted to assert his authority on his return by engaging in chivalric ritual, similar to that which he had witnessed in Henry V's court. One such demonstration was the dubbing of new

⁵ John Shirley, 'The Dethe of the Kyng of Scotis', in Lister M. Matheson (ed), *Death and Dissent: Two Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 25, Wylie and Waugh, *Reign of Henry the Fifth*, pp. 270-1. For James's knighting see PRO E.101.407.4, 17. James was not made a Knight of the Order of the Garter, although the Order's annual meeting took place on this day at Windsor. See William A. Shaw (ed), *The Knights of England: A Complete Record from the Earliest Times to the Present Day of the Knights of All the Orders of Chivalry in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors* (London, 1906), I, p. 10, where James would have been listed if he had joined the Order.

⁶ Wylie and Waugh, *Reign of Henry the Fifth*, pp. 326-7, 358.

⁷ In February 1424, approximately sixty hostages for the king and other nobles met James on his release at Brancepeth, near Durham. *CDS*, IV, 941, 942, *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 245. For more on the hostages see Michael Brown, *James I*, p. 40, *Rot. Scot.*, II, pp. 242, 244, *CDS*, IV, 942, 947, 948, 950, 952, 954, and for a discussion on the monetary worth of nobles see A.A.M. Duncan, *James I King of Scots, 1424-1437* (Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, 1984), esp. p. 7. Michael Brown proposes that the attendance of most of Scotland's leading subjects in such a large group indicated that the Scots were anxious to meet and influence their newly restored king. Although most of the nobles who attended had been named as hostages and were present primarily for this reason, Brown suggests that some may have used the opportunity of this meeting with the king as a chance to ensure James's support of their local political concerns. Brown stresses in particular the positions of the earl of March and the earl of Angus, who had both been named as hostages, but were concerned about the future of their lands with the return of royal control. He claims that they used the opportunity to influence the king in order to disable the Black Douglas dominance in the south. Brown, *James I*, pp. 27, 40, 42-3. Faced with the problems with a nobility which had been led and controlled by the Albany-Stewarts and the Douglases, James proceeded to Scotland to claim his crown.

⁸ Michael Brown, *James I*, p. 48.

knights.⁹ MacDonald describes the return of James I to Scotland in 1424 as the start of innovations and developments effected by the ‘dynamic new ruler with personal experience of life’. He claims that James’s cultivation of chivalric attitudes, and his subsequent attempt to implement a royal monopoly on knighthood, was one of these new departures.¹⁰ Bestowal of knighthood at royal and state events was a necessary display of power by the king, especially one who had suffered a lengthy absence from the throne. The anonymous writer of the *Book of Pluscarden* highlighted that wearing a crown on such occasions further emphasised the symbolism and authority of royal power. The chronicler wrote that the king should wear a crown at:

Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Whitsunday, Ascension Day, the Assumption of Our Lady, the raising of the Holy Cross, All Saints; also on all days on which he holds general judicial sittings in parliament, and on days on which he confers knighthood in state,¹¹

clearly demonstrating the close link between knighthood and the crown. Ritual ceremonies played a crucial role in the way men recognised their social obligations towards one another. The coronation ceremony was a vital expression of the king’s relationship to his nobles and their own inter-relationships.¹² Through his coronation ceremony James I proclaimed that, as king, he was the leader of his nobility in both

⁹ MacDonald, ‘Chivalry as a Catalyst for Cultural Change’, pp. 151-2, Jennifer M. Brown, ‘Introduction’, in Jennifer M. Brown (ed), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 5. David II did knight some ‘nobles of the kingdom of Scotland’ at his coronation in 1331, so the practice was not unheard of in Scottish coronation ceremonies. See *Chron. Fordun*, II, p. 346. However, Robert II and Robert III do not appear to have done so at their coronations, although the evidence for what went on in these assemblies is hardly full. See *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 36, XV, 1.

¹⁰ MacDonald provides little evidence to support this assertion, and his study concentrates mainly on the reigns of James III and James IV. MacDonald, ‘Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change’, pp. 152-3. Indeed, James’s father, Robert III was heavily criticised for being a politically insecure and weak monarch, particularly in his relations with his magnates. See Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996), esp. ch. ‘Conclusion: The Kindly King’, pp. 302-13.

¹¹ *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 62.

¹² Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 216.

times of war and peace and that he expected his magnates to be loyal.¹³ This assertion became more stringent after the death of the fourth earl of Douglas, as James attempted to capitalise on the weakening of Douglas's power-base by securing the service of his most loyal adherents.¹⁴

James I bestowed knighthoods *en masse* at his coronation at Scone on 21 May 1424. According to the chronicler Walter Bower, James's coronation was conducted by sir Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, and he was installed upon the royal throne by Sir Murdac Stewart, duke of Albany, by the right of his privilege as earl of Fife.¹⁵ The *Pluscarden* chronicler described the ceremony in much the same way as Bower and writes that 'many aspirants were girded and decorated with the belt of knighthood by the king.'¹⁶ Bower recorded that James knighted twenty-seven men, although only the following twenty-five are named: Alexander Stewart, the son of the duke of Albany; Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown, the son of the fourth earl of Douglas; William Douglas, earl of Angus; George Dunbar, earl of March; Adam Hepburn of Hailes; Thomas Hay of Yester; Walter Haliburton; Walter Ogilvy; David Stewart of Rosyth; Alexander Seton of Gordon; Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford; Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, sheriff of Angus; John Red Stewart of Dundonald; David Murray of Gask; John Stewart of Cardney; William Erskine of Kinnoul; William Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland; John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee; Alexander Irvine of Drum; Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock; Herbert Herries of Terregles; Andrew Gray of Fowlis; Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs;

¹³ Brown, *James I*, p. 117.

¹⁴ Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 235.

¹⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 2.

¹⁶ *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 279.

Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie and William Crichton of that Ilk.¹⁷ By accepting knighthood, men pledged themselves to exemplify the virtues of the order of knighthood. When receiving the honour in a communal ceremony, they were bonded not only to the wider community of knights, but also in an immediate sense, to the group that had been unified through that particular collective experience.¹⁸ An underlying component of this unification was the control of factional dissent.

Whilst the chroniclers preserve an impressive list of some of the most prominent nobles in Scotland at the time of the coronation, it is not possible that all of these men were knighted at this time. For instance, Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs was already a knight before May 1424. On 7 October 1423 Robert's name appeared on a witness list designated as squire, but he was knighted by 4 February 1424, when in two charters of that date he was designated *miles* (knight), nearly four months before the coronation.¹⁹ Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock had also been previously knighted, sometime before 28 October 1420.²⁰ Alexander Irvine of Drum was a knight before 20 February 1424.²¹ However, this does not necessarily mean that these men were not knighted on a second occasion, granting them royal honour, and having their status raised to knight banneret.

¹⁷ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 10. See also *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 279, and *Chron. Extracta*, p. 227, which excludes Walter Ogilvy and Andrew Gray of Fowlis.

¹⁸ Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago & London, 1980), pp. 300-1.

¹⁹ NAS GD16/3/8. Earlier charters also style him as squire, or give him no knightly designation: a charter dated 28 January 1423 does not style him as knight. Fraser, *Menteith*, II, *Menteith Charters*, pp. 291-2, see also *RMS*, II, 48, for a 1420 example. In the safe-conduct issued on 3 February 1424 to meet James at Durham he is not styled knight, but this may have been an oversight on the part of the scribe. *RMS*, II, 16, 17. Nigel Saul has argued that the terms *armiger* and *scutifer*, both meaning squire, had different applications. However, this was not the case in Scotland where they were interchangeable (some scribes even doing so for the same individual on the same day, see David Crichton of Cranstonriddel, *RMS*, II, 956, 957.) Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 15-20.

²⁰ *RMS*, II, 48, Fraser, *Maxwells*, I, no. 29, pp. 155-7, no. 30, pp. 157-9.

²¹ *Abdn. Reg.*, I, pp. 220-1.

In other countries, particularly England, knights could be dubbed a second time and raised to the status of banneret. Maurice Keen argues that the title of knight banneret had strong military implications, usually indicating that the banneret could raise a considerable retinue to serve him. The association between bannerets and warfare were strong, stemming from the square banner displaying personal arms which the knight could use on all martial occasions, at war or tournament.²² However, there were no knights styled 'knight banneret' in Scotland, nor do we find them being made on the battlefield. Indeed, when the duke of Gloucester made thirty-two English knights banneret and fourteen new knights whilst on campaign in Scotland in July 1482, the duke of Albany only dubbed new knights.²³ One example which could tentatively be proffered as one where bannerets were made on the battlefield is the case of Sir James Douglas at Bannockburn in 1314. There has been much debate surrounding his receiving knighthood prior to the battle. Many scholars have argued that Douglas's career was so advanced by 1314 that he must have been raised to banneret at this time, not simply knighted.²⁴ However, Barbour gives no indication that Douglas was made banneret and refers to him consistently as without knightly status in the years prior to Bannockburn.²⁵ This does not, of course, prove

²² This differed from the pennon which all knights could bear. Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 168.

²³ Shaw (ed), *Knights of England*, II, pp. 18-19, see below p. 86.

²⁴ See Anne McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17 (1981), pp. 168-9, also printed in W.H. Jackson (ed), *Knighthood in Medieval Literature* (Woodbridge, 1981), and G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (3rd edn., Edinburgh, 1988), where Barrow remarks that it is 'strange' that Douglas only received his knighthood on the eve of Bannockburn. Barrow then cites a French account which claims that Sir John [*sic*] Douglas was knighted, implying that he was raised to banneret, although Barrow himself warns the account is 'characterized by a mixture of gross error and accurate detail', p. 367, n.42.

²⁵ Barbour, *Bruce*, XII, 417-18.

conclusively that knights banneret were not made on Scottish military campaigns in the fifteenth century.

If the status of knight banneret was a military accolade, then it seems improbable that James I raised knights to that status at his coronation. However, there are a number of instances in Scotland in which the rank of banneret was specifically referred to, mainly in parliaments held during James I's reign. In 1426, the parliamentary acts were reported to have been made by certain lords of parliament, bannerets, barons, freeholders and wisemen.²⁶ Moreover, in 1428, bannerets were directly mentioned as part of a parliamentary reform in line with English patterns.²⁷ Parliament stated that 'all bishoppis abbotis prioris dukis erlis lordis of parliament and banrentis' should attend parliament if the king desired.²⁸ If James I did attempt to introduce this new status, just below the rank of earl, then it is possible that he raised Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs, Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock and Alexander Irvine of Drum to knight banneret at his coronation. However, they were never styled as such, nor do they appear to have been heavily involved in parliamentary proceedings. If we assume that Grant is right in concluding that James I was attempting to emulate an English parliamentary model, then he might well have sought to elevate knights to bannerets at his coronation, but

²⁶ *APS*, II, p. 13. This occurred again in 1431, *APS*, II, p. 20.

²⁷ For more on James I's use of English terminology and concepts, with direct reference to this act, see Grant, 'Development of the Scottish Peerage', pp. 18-21.

²⁸ *APS*, I, p. 15. Although Grant argues that from 1437 banneret became synonymous with lord of parliament, he heavily emphasises the parliamentary implications of the status of banneret during James I's reign. Grant, 'Development of the Scottish Peerage', p. 20. Grant argues that in 1476, when John of the Isles was made '*baron banrentum et dominum parliamenti*' that these were the same title. However, it is quite clear that they are not, although '*baron banrentum*' does not appear to be a knightly styling either. Sir James Ogilvy of Airlie, knight, was similarly made '*barone et banret et lordis of this parliament*' in 1491. *APS*, II, pp. 113, 228.

the evidence is inconclusive. Moreover, it is clear that the rank did not become a permanent feature of the aristocratic hierarchy in fifteenth-century Scotland.

If these men were raised to the status of knights banneret, they do not appear to have been significantly involved in James I's administration. Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs was on the jury at the Albany trial in 1425 along with many of those who were included on the list of men knighted at the coronation.²⁹ He was also one of four chiefs despatched shortly after the Albany trial on an expedition to Loch Lomond against James Stewart, son of Murdac, duke of Albany.³⁰ Alexander Irvine of Drum came from a family with a strong martial reputation. His father, also Alexander Irvine, had served the earl of Mar on his foreign expeditions between 1406 and 1408, and was killed whilst fighting at the battle of Harlaw.³¹ Irvine's father, as a knight, was involved heavily in the martial aspects of knighthood, dying in the only way esteemed to be truly honourable by the chivalric code – on the battlefield. This ensured not only his son's eligibility for knighthood, but also left him the legacy of a strong family reputation. However, Alexander Irvine's only public duties seem to have been when he sat on the jury for the trial of the Albanys in 1425 and when he sat on a general council under James II in 1441. Unlike his father, he did not distinguish himself in any recorded battle or siege.³² Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock was not especially prominent in James I's reign, but by 1449 he had established a reputation for martial abilities and was one of the Scottish leaders at the battle of Sark. He also undertook diplomatic activities for James II, and as an

²⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 10.

³⁰ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 11, *SP*, IV, pp. 231-2. At this time, James Stewart also slaughtered John Red Stewart of Dundonald, who was knighted at James I's coronation.

³¹ *Chron. Bower*, XV, 21, Brown, *James I*, p. 50.

³² *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 10, *APS*, II, p. 57.

admiral and warden of the Marches he was conservator of various truces with England from October 1450 to May 1453.³³

Other men on Bower's list were not present at the coronation and thus could not have been knighted at this time. For instance, Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford, was a hostage for James's release, exchanged at Durham some months earlier. He remained in English captivity until 1427 when he was exchanged for Malise Graham.³⁴ James obviously wanted the earl of Crawford back in Scotland and he manipulated Graham's social position in order to ensure Lindsay's release. The earl of Crawford took part in public affairs almost immediately on his return.³⁵ Crawford witnessed only one charter for James, on 27 July 1429 at Inverness, styled earl of Crawford, but not as a knight.³⁶ He was present only a few months later at parliament on 10 March 1430, he was an ambassador to England in January 1431, and on 31 March 1438 he was appointed by James II as a commissioner for the truce with England.³⁷ Although it is generally held that as an earl he was automatically of knightly status, D.E.R. Watt suggests that he may never have received the honour and there is no evidence of him ever being knighted.³⁸ However, Crawford's case

³³ *Rot. Scot.*, II, pp. 341, 353, 367, *SP*, VI, p. 475. Herbert Maxwell had close associations with many of the nobles who were knighted at James I's coronation, and he married the daughter of Herbert Herries of Terregles. Fraser, *Caerlaverock*, p. 138.

³⁴ In his work on the Lindsays, Lord Lindsay argues that Alexander was present at the coronation and then immediately went to England to take his place as a hostage. Lord Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays, or A Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres* (London, 1849), I, p. 120. However, Lindsay took the oath of an hostage on 28 March 1424, two months before the coronation and it would seem unlikely that he returned to Scotland for the coronation, only to go back England again, *CDS*, IV, 942, 953.

³⁵ Malise Graham had been disinherited from the earldom of Strathearn in 1427, but was granted the earldom of Menteith six weeks later, which suggests that James granted Graham the earldom to raise his rank so that he could be sent south to London to replace the earl of Crawford. See Brown, *James I*, p. 86.

³⁶ *RMS*, II, 127.

³⁷ *APS*, II, p. 28, *Foedera*, X, pp. 446-7.

³⁸ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 10, notes p. 353.

raises questions as to whether a man could receive knighthood *in absentia*. There is no evidence, apart from Bower's list, that suggests this could happen and from English evidence it would appear that a knight had to be physically present at the ceremony.³⁹

Along with the earl of Crawford, Alexander Seton of Gordon was also in England as a hostage when the coronation took place and he could not have been knighted at the ceremony.⁴⁰ Moreover, Seton had been knighted before 2 January 1420 and could not have received the honour from James I.⁴¹ However, Seton of Gordon's inclusion on Bower's list may suggest that the list was amended in the 1440s to include those who wished to be associated directly with the crown. It is also impossible for Andrew Gray of Foulis to have been knighted at the coronation as he too was being held as a hostage in England. Gray was released on 9 November 1427 in exchange for Malcolm Fleming, younger of Cumbernauld.⁴² It is clear he was knighted some time before 1436, when he was one of the knights who accompanied Margaret of Scotland to France on her marriage to the dauphin, along with Sir Walter Ogilvy, treasurer, Herbert Herries of Terregles, John Maxwell of Calderwood, and other nobles.⁴³ Under James II, Andrew Gray was created a Lord of Parliament in 1445, indicating that he held a prominent position in the 1440s,

³⁹ The statutes of the Order of the Garter indicate that when a companion was elected he was notified but he had to be installed in person within a year before he was a member. D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 135.

⁴⁰ *CDS*, IV, 942, 952, 963, 973.

⁴¹ *A.B. Ill.*, IV, p. 181, *Spalding Misc.*, IV, p. 117.

⁴² *Foedera*, X, pp. 334-6, 382, *CDS*, IV, 1011.

⁴³ These included John Campbell of Loudoun; Thomas Colville; John Wishart; John Stewart, provost of Methven; Maurice Buchanan, the dauphiness' treasurer; Alexander Seton, master of Gordon; the lord Graham; Henry Wardlaw of Torry; William Carlyle; David Kennedy; and David Ogilvy., *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 12. For Andrew Gray's knighting see Appendix B, Table Two, no. 52.

which may explain why Bower included him on the list of men knighted by James I.⁴⁴ Gray was an ambassador and guarantor of the truces with England in 1449 and 1451 and on 22 January 1452 he was issued with a safe-conduct to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury.⁴⁵ In 1452 Gray was appointed Master of the Household of James II, around the time that he was involved in the king's killing of the eighth earl of Douglas, and in 1459 he was appointed Warden of the Marches.⁴⁶

Walter Bower claimed that Walter Haliburton, lord of Dirleton, was also knighted at James I's coronation. Again, however, this was not the case as Haliburton was in English captivity at the time.⁴⁷ Haliburton was never styled as a knight when he witnessed charters for James I throughout his reign, but he immediately appeared as Walter Haliburton, *miles*, after James II's coronation, suggesting that he may have been knighted in 1437 and not 1424.⁴⁸ As Haliburton held a position of considerable royal favour as treasurer from 1437 to 1440, around the time Bower may have begun to compile his *Scotichronicon*, it is possible that Bower was unclear at which coronation Walter had been knighted. Additionally, it is quite possible that Bower included men in his list who were of influence in the 1440s and whom he wished to associate directly with the murdered king. Bower clearly felt James I was a picture of ideal leadership.⁴⁹ Although not a knight in James I's reign,

⁴⁴ *APS*, II, p. 60.

⁴⁵ *Foedera*, X, pp. 235, 243, 244, 245, 294, 300, 306, *SP*, IV, pp. 273-4.

⁴⁶ *ER*, V, 491, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 47, *SP*, IV, pp. 273-4.

⁴⁷ *CDS*, IV, 942, 952, 963, 973, 981, 983. He was not released until 1425 when he had leave until Michaelmas.

⁴⁸ *RMS*, II, 81, 127, 201, 203, 206, 210, 211, 212. Although there is no direct evidence showing that James II knighted men at his coronation, it was a usual part of the ceremony. A number of newly made knights appear at this time, indicating that he probably did grant new knighthoods.

⁴⁹ Haliburton did have strong ties to the men whom James I knighted: in 1408, he had assisted the reconciliation of George Dunbar, earl of March, with the duke of Albany and the consequent restoration of his earldom, linking him to men who were knighted by James I in May 1424. Fraser, *Menteith*, I, p. 210.

James still sought Haliburton's services, both in a military capacity and as a diplomat. Haliburton took part in James's highland campaign against the Lord of the Isles in 1429, in January 1430 he had a safe-conduct to meet the English at Hawdenstank to redress complaints; and in January 1431 he was an ambassador to England.⁵⁰ On James II's accession the new king not only knighted him, but also immediately granted him a high position in the royal household.⁵¹ Haliburton was loyal to the crown and James II in part may have knighted him as reward for services to his father. However, by knighting him James II also ensured that he retained Haliburton's services and loyalty for the future, a great concern for the young king's advisors, given the circumstances of his father's death.

With Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs, Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, Alexander Seton of Gordon and Alexander Irvine of Drum already having received knighthoods by May 1424, Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford, Andrew Gray of Foulis and Walter Haliburton all being held in English captivity at the time of the coronation, the number of men who actually received knighthoods on 21 May 1424 was much fewer than the chroniclers reported. Only the following eighteen men could have been knighted by James I at his coronation: Alexander Stewart, son of the duke of Albany; Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown and son of the fourth earl of Douglas; William Douglas, earl of Angus; George Dunbar, earl of March; Adam Hepburn of Hailes; Thomas Hay of Yester; David Stewart of Rosyth; Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, sheriff of Angus; John Red Stewart of Dundonald; David Murray of Gask; John Stewart of Cardney; William Erskine of Kinnoul; William Hay of

⁵⁰ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, *RMS*, II, 127, *CDS*, IV, 1032, *APS*, II, p. 28, *Foedera*, X, pp. 446-7.

⁵¹ *ER*, V, p. 20, *SP*, IV, p. 334, Brown, *James I*, p. 102.

Errol; John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee; Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen; Herbert Herries of Terregles; Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and William Crichton of that ilk. Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, also listed by Bower, may not have been knighted in May 1424, as he was not styled as knight in a safe-conduct to Flanders, issued in England on 8 June of that year.⁵² However, by 10 July Ogilvy was back in Scotland and appeared as a witness for James I styled as knight.⁵³ Of course, it is possible that he had been knighted at the coronation, but it would be expected that he would have indicated his knightly status immediately, especially given that this was the standard practice. Needless to say, James could have knighted him on his return from Flanders, or the safe-conduct may have been applied for prior to his knighting. Alternatively, Bower's list may have included some men nominated for knighthood and Ogilvy may have presented himself when he was available to be dubbed. Ogilvy took on various roles in James I's administration and acted in various diplomatic capacities. In 1426 James used him as an advisor in the north over the Mar issue, he was appointed Treasurer and Auditor in 1425 and he was Master of the Household by 16 November 1431.⁵⁴

What is significant about this group is not only that they were drawn predominantly from the upper nobility, but also that many of them were used by James in diplomatic, administrative and military roles once they had been knighted.⁵⁵

⁵² This safe-conduct was issued to Walter bishop of Brechin; John abbot of Balmerino; Sir John Forrester, knight; Walter Ogilvy, esquire; Master Alexander of Lauder, archdeacon of Dunkeld; Master Edward Lauder, archdeacon of Lothian; and forty attendants, *CDS*, IV, 962.

⁵³ *RMS*, II, 4.

⁵⁴ *RMS*, II, 54, 55, 56, 57, *A.B. Ill.*, IV, p. 389, *HMC, 7th Report*, II, p. 707a, Brown, *James I*, pp. 82, 92, 195. However, in April 1431, Ogilvy's knightly status was not used in a charter witness list, where he was styled as Master of the King's Household. *HMC, Home*, p. 19, no. 4.

⁵⁵ The Pluscarden chronicler confirms the high social status of many of these men, calling them 'peers of the realm and greater lords'. *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 281.

Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse and William Erskine of Kinnoul were made auditors of taxation for the payment of James I's ransom at the parliament immediately following the coronation.⁵⁶ Archibald Douglas, fifth earl of Douglas, William Douglas, earl of Angus, George Dunbar, earl of March, William Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland, Herbert Herries of Terregles and Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse also sat on the trial of the duke of Albany in 1425.⁵⁷ In 1426 Patrick Ogilvy was made auditor of the crown's revenues.⁵⁸ The earls of Douglas, Angus and Crawford, along with William Crichton of that Ilk, Walter Haliburton of Dirleton and Adam Hepburn of Hailes all accompanied the king on his Highland campaign in 1429.⁵⁹ William Hay of Errol was appointed one of the Wardens of the Marches in 1430.⁶⁰ Adam Hepburn of Hailes was made keeper of Dunbar castle in 1435.⁶¹ Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, Herbert Herries and Andrew Gray of Foulis were part of the party which accompanied James's eldest daughter to France to be married.⁶²

Knights, particularly those in royal service, had a number of civic responsibilities including governmental, judicial and diplomatic duties, in addition to any post which they may have held in the royal household and their assumed primary duty of bearing arms on the battlefield. Naturally some of their duties were more relevant to their noble status, but as nobility and knighthood were so closely related, ideal knightly careers included all duties expected of men of noble status. Very few

⁵⁶ *APS*, II, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 10. Whilst Bower lists Gilbert Hay, constable of Scotland, this is in fact William Hay. At the time of the trial, Gilbert, William's son and heir, was being held as a hostage in England. *CDS*, IV, 942, 952, 954.

⁵⁸ *ER*, IV, p. 400.

⁵⁹ *RMS*, II, 127.

⁶⁰ *SP*, III, p. 563.

⁶¹ *ER*, IV, p. 620, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 24, note p. 374.

⁶² *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 12.

knights' careers can be elicited in full, and those which are more accessible tend to be of those knights who were heavily involved in the royal household, such as William Crichton of that Ilk. After Crichton was knighted by James I at his coronation, he became a close counsellor of the king. Later in that same year he was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber and by 14 April 1435 he was appointed Master of the King's Household. In 1434 he was appointed captain of Edinburgh Castle and sheriff of Edinburgh in 1435.⁶³ He was styled Lord Crichton by 1436.⁶⁴ Crichton was also involved in diplomatic duties for James I and on 8 May 1426 he was appointed to treat with Eric, king of Norway and Denmark, for firm and lasting peace between Scotland and these two kingdoms. In this case, Crichton's diplomatic services demonstrate that there was a measure of real royal trust from the king. As a knight, Crichton undertook martial duties and served on the 1429 highland campaign. Around this time he also began to appear as a witness to royal charters.⁶⁵ After James II's accession he was appointed Chancellor, then keeper of Edinburgh Castle in 1438 and in the same year again became sheriff of Edinburgh.⁶⁶ In 1448 he undertook further diplomatic duties, travelling to France to ratify the ancient league and to seek out a bride for James II.⁶⁷ Crichton then travelled to Burgundy where the party secured Mary of Gueldres. On his return he founded the Collegiate Church of Crichton.⁶⁸ Crichton then resumed his martial duties and was present at the siege of

⁶³ Brown, *James I*, p. 132, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 10, 33, *RMS*, II, 127, 134, 142, *ER*, IV, pp. 573, 602, 607, *SP*, III, pp. 57-8.

⁶⁴ *ER*, IV, p. 684.

⁶⁵ *CDS*, IV, 941, 942, *RMS*, II, 127, 134, 142.

⁶⁶ *HMC*, *6th Rep. Manuscripts of Sir Robert Menzies*, p. 691, no. 18, *SP*, III, pp. 57-61.

⁶⁷ *SP*, III, pp. 57-61.

⁶⁸ *Midl. Chrs.*, pp. 305-12, *SP*, III, pp. 57-61. Margaret Scott argues that founding churches was an assertion of nobility, usually to prove wealth and benevolence. Margaret Cochrane Scott, 'Dress in Scotland 1406-1460' (Ph.D., University of London, 1987), p. 65.

Dundas in January 1450.⁶⁹ It is clear that throughout his career Crichton was heavily involved in household, diplomatic and military duties for the Scottish crown.

Some of the men who were supposed to have been knighted at James's coronation were of such status that it would be unusual had they not been considered for knighthood previously. D.E.R. Watt argues that it is impossible that Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown and the son of the fourth earl of Douglas, had not already been knighted by 1424. He claims that this was because the earl of Wigtown was a commander at the battle of the Baugé in 1421 and such a position would imply a knightly status.⁷⁰ Similar suggestions can be made for William Douglas, earl of Angus, Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford, and George Dunbar, earl of March, whose high noble status might suggest that they had been knighted prior to James's coronation. However, there is no evidence to prove that any of these men had been knighted earlier, nor is there any indication that their having been granted earldoms would necessarily imply that they would also have been knights. Additionally, those who had been knighted appear to have been styled as such, for example in 1431 the earl of Angus appeared as '*Willelmi de Douglas militis comitis Angusie*'.⁷¹ Whilst these men would have held the amount of lands required to sustain knighthood, an

⁶⁹ *ER*, V, p. 345.

⁷⁰ *Chron. Bower*, p. 243, XV, 33, Fraser, *Douglas*, I, p. 405.

⁷¹ *RMS*, II, 195.

increase in level of nobility did not require or enforce the need for knighthood.⁷² Indeed, that they had not been knighted until this time may suggest that they had been waiting for the return of the king as their only opportunity for a royal knighting, to add more prestige to their existing status. Gilbert Hay's amendment of the *Scotichronicon* to show he was knighted by Charles VII implies that royal dubbings were certainly preferable.⁷³ Whether prospective knights had to formally apply for knighthood, or were granted it on the basis of a more impartial judgement of their merits, has never been made entirely clear by the sources or by historians. However, there is enough indirect evidence from works like the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* to indicate that men did have an element of choice in when and by whom they were knighted.⁷⁴

Of course, squires did not always accept knighthood, either for financial or personal reasons and there are some recorded cases of men who refused to be dubbed. The fourteenth-century French chronicler, Jean Froissart, recounts the story of a squire refusing knighthood at the battle of Otterburn in 1388. Froissart introduces 'the gallant squire' David 'Colleime' when he was already dead, lying

⁷² In the twelfth century lords who held a certain amount of land were required to take knighthood: Walter Lindsay, lord of Lamberton and Molesworth, sheriff of Berwick and justiciar of Lothian, inherited a vast amount of property on his mother's death in Lancashire and Westmorland. With this increased land-holding he must have entered a level of wealth which automatically insisted that he became a knight. However, he did not wish to be knighted and he paid a fine of two merks of gold to be respited from taking knighthood against his will. He further delayed being dubbed to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of St James. Lindsay may not have been able to afford the knightly lifestyle, and indeed some nobles who were relatively affluent preferred not to take on the further expense and responsibilities that knighthood brought, although whether this was also true in the fifteenth century is difficult to ascertain.

⁷³ See Sally Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon's* First Readers', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's *Scotichronicon** (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 32-3, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 26, notes.

⁷⁴ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, pp. 4-5.

beside the wounded earl of Douglas, bearing Douglas's banner beside him.⁷⁵ The chronicler wrote that David had that day refused to become a knight, even though the earl of Douglas had wanted to dub him, because 'wherever he fought he had been an outstandingly good squire'.⁷⁶ Given the chivalric ethos of developing a well-known reputation as a knight, it is possible the squire may have been concerned that he was not renowned as a knight. Consequently, he may have felt he could not perform as well on the battlefield with a new status. Presumably in a battlefield context, David could not expect that Douglas would provide him with lands and goods to support his potentially raised status, and this may also have been a deterrent if he did not have the means to support it himself. Of course, Froissart's wider point may simply have been that it was better to die a famous squire than an unknown knight.

Whilst there are at least some details of James I's coronation ceremony which have been recorded, the particulars of standard fifteenth-century ceremonies have been more difficult for historians to ascertain. In the late-1970s, Roderick Lyall examined a series of seventeenth-century accounts which detailed the 'coronation, according to the antient forme of that our kingdome'.⁷⁷ He compared the seventeenth-century versions with a description said to be of the coronation of Robert II in 1371 and proved that the letters had a common, vernacular, medieval source. The ceremony began in the morning when two bishops, two abbots and twenty-four other members of the clergy came to the king. Four noblemen, along

⁷⁵ Froissart, *Chronicles*, pp. 344-5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁷⁷ C. Rogers (ed), *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters Relative to the Affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia from 1615 to 1635* (Edinburgh, 1885), I, p.292, 5 July 1628. This is also quoted in Roderick J. Lyall, 'The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth-Century Evidence', *IR* 28 (1977), p. 3.

with the Constable and the Marischal and six commissioners for the burghs, joined them. They sat the king down and asked him if he was the lawful successor to his father and willing to accept the dignity of the crown. After more formalities, the crown was placed upon his head and he was given a sword and a sceptre. Towards the latter stages of the ceremony, the Constable took the crown off the king's head. He laid it before the king and all the nobility proceeded to touch it and pay homage to the king.⁷⁸ This description of Robert II's coronation dates the ceremony incorrectly, placing it on 23 May 1371 at Holyrood, whereas the coronation actually took place on 26 March 1371 at Scone. This has led Lyall to propose that a canon of Holyrood may have 'sought to improve the status of his house by inventing a precedent for the coronation of James II, who *was* crowned at Holyrood', thus implying that the canon described a fictitious precedent for James II's coronation ceremony.⁷⁹ Lyall's hypothesis is certainly seductive, especially given the lack of alternative information about James II's coronation. However, there is no mention in these accounts of dubbings carried out during the ceremony. Given that the coronations of both James I and James III definitely included dubbings as part of the proceedings, their omission from James II's ceremony seems unlikely.⁸⁰ Indeed, it was quite common and expected for knightings to be included in the coronation ceremony: *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* opens with a young squire wanting to be knighted at the king's coronation, which suggests that royal dubbings provided more prestige than receiving knighthood from other lords or knights.⁸¹ Furthermore,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-11.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁰ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, *Chron. Bower*, Book IX, Harleian MS Additions, Ch. 9., p. 139, *Chron. Extracta*, p. 237.

⁸¹ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, pp. 4-5.

in light of the shock that James I's murder gave the nobility and the royal household, those around the young James II would surely have used all the tools at their disposal to encourage loyalty to the crown, one being the granting of knighthoods that aimed to secure service and loyalty.

In a retrospective section of his *History*, covering the reigns of James II and James III, John Pinkerton describes how 'knights were generally created with a great solemnity by the king himself'. He also draws attention to a section of a book published in Edinburgh in 1594 entitled *Certaine Matters Composed Together*, which included a knightly oath. This 'ancient oath administered in Scotland' gives further insight into the type of oaths which knights took at the end of the sixteenth century and is 'a curious relique of the spirit of chivalry'.⁸² The oaths may also suggest that the chivalric ethos was adjusted and manipulated by post-Reformation Scottish society. The book records the knightly oath was as follows:

1. I shall fortifie and defend the Christian Religion, & Christes holy Evangell, presently preached in this Realme, to the vttermost of my power.
2. I shalbe leille and true to my soverane Lord the Kings Majestie, To all orders of Chieualry, and to the noble office of Armes.
3. I shall fortifie and defend Iustice at my power, and that without favour or feed.
4. I shall never flie from my soverane Lord, the Kinges Majestie, nor from his Hienes Lieutenants in time of mellay, and battell.
5. I shall defende my natiue Realme, from all allieners and strangers.
6. I shall defend the just action and quarrell of al Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendles Widdowes, of Orphelings, and of Maidens of good fame.
7. I shall do diligence, where soever I heare there is any Murthers, Traytours, or masterfull Reavers, that oppreseth the Kings Lieges, and pure people, to bring them to the Lawe at my power.
8. I shall maintaine and vphold the noble estate of Chevalrie, with horse, harnes, and other Knightly abillzements: And shall help and succour them of the same order at my power, if they haue neede.
9. I shall enquire and seeke to haue the knowledge and vnderstanding of al the Articles and points contained in the book of Chievallry.

⁸² Pinkerton, *History*, I, pp. 426-7.

All these premisses to obserue, keepe, and fulfill: I oblesse me, so helpe me God, by my owine hand, so helpe me God.⁸³

Whilst it is difficult to know whether similar oaths were sworn in the fifteenth-century, as Pinkerton inferred, it is not improbable. The fact that such a strong emphasis was placed on chivalric duty in these oaths indicates that chivalry was still thought to be relevant in the sixteenth century in Scotland.

Unlike the coronation of James I which contemporary and near contemporary chroniclers record with a fair amount of detail and at least partial accuracy, the coronation of James II goes almost unnoticed.⁸⁴ James II had been knighted by his father at his own baptism in 1430, and he was only seven at the time of his coronation.⁸⁵ James was crowned on 25 March 1437 at Holyrood Abbey but the chroniclers make no mention of him bestowing any knighthoods. This is understandable given that their main concern was with recording the details of the aftermath of the murder of James I and the subsequent prosecution of the assassins.⁸⁶ Knightings at coronations were the usual practice but it may be possible that James's guardians and the queen had more pressing concerns than who was a suitable candidate for the receipt of a royal bestowal of knighthood.⁸⁷ However, James II did

⁸³ *Certain Matters Composed Together* (Edinburgh, 1594), Folio F, pp. 2-3., bound under the title of *Description of Scotland*. This also prints a list of the knights of Scotland in 1594. The knightly oath is also quoted in Pinkerton, *History*, I, p. 427, where he standardised the spelling.

⁸⁴ If Roderick Lyall is correct, then the source he uses detailing the coronation of Robert II was actually a description to legitimise James II's coronation at Holyrood. See Lyall, 'The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service', pp. 6-11.

⁸⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, Fraser, *Douglas*, I, pp. 478-9, Francisque Michel, *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse* (London, 1862), pp. 206-8.

⁸⁶ *Chron. Bower*, Harleian MS Additions, Ch. 9., p. 139, *Chron. Extracta*, p. 237. This addition to Bower's text is only found in Harleian MS in the British Library, MS Harleian 712, composed c. March 1473.

⁸⁷ Roderick Lyall makes no reference to knightings as a significant part of the coronation ceremony. However, Lyall uses predominantly seventeenth-century evidence for the fifteenth century ceremonial and disregards the contemporary chronicle evidence which proves that knightings were a common feature of the ceremony. Lyall, 'The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service', pp. 3-21.

need to assert his authority in the face of the confusion and chaos of the aftermath of James I's murder, and the easiest way to achieve this was through knightings and sworn oaths of fealty.

Assuming that James II did confer knighthoods at his coronation ceremony, then there is certainly some indication of who these men may have been. According to the sixteenth-century *Black Book of Taymouth*, it was widely believed that Colin Campbell of Glenorchy 'throch his valiant arts and manheid was maid knight in the Isle of Rhodos' where he fought against the Turks in the 1460s.⁸⁸ However, a charter dated two days after James II's coronation provides the first example of Campbell styled as knight, suggesting that he was knighted by James II at his coronation ceremony and not on Rhodes.⁸⁹ Campbell does not appear to have had a significant career in royal service and was primarily concerned with local politics.⁹⁰

In his doctoral thesis, Alan Borthwick suggests that Robert Livingston of Drumry was also knighted by James II at this time.⁹¹ Livingston certainly held the correct social status, being the son of Robert Livingston, knight, lord of Drumry.⁹² He does not appear to have been in James I's service, but four months after James II's coronation, a charter, dated 31 July 1437, styled Robert Livingston as knight,

⁸⁸ *Black Book of Taymouth*, p. 13, see David McRoberts, 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land', *IR* 20 (1969) p. 91, for the assertion that Campbell was a Knight of St John, and Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, pp. 93-5. Macquarrie comes to the conclusion that Campbell did not receive membership of the order. 'The assertion that he was a Knight of Rhodes may spring from a misunderstanding of the nature of Hospitaller knighthood in later family tradition, or from some honour that was conferred on him during his service, other than reception into the knightly fraternity', p. 94. For more on Campbell see Alan Macquarrie, 'Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy (1400-1480) and the Knights Hospitaller', *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research* 15 (1981), pp. 8-12.

⁸⁹ NAS GD112/3/2.

⁹⁰ Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 94.

⁹¹ Alan Borthwick, 'The King, Council and Councillors in Scotland c. 1430-1460' (Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1989), p. 66.

⁹² *Inchcolm Chrs.*, p. 50, no. XLV, 12 May 1423.

perhaps having been knighted in March of that year.⁹³ Why Livingston was knighted is less clear. Livingston played an active role in James II's administration. Borthwick, however, claims this was not especially significant. Livingston witnessed only seven charters between 1440 and 1448 and sat on a general council in 1440. However, his principal service to the crown was in his role as the sheriff of Fife.⁹⁴ After the fall of the Livingstons in 1449, Robert was primarily involved with judicial matters as justiciary at Lochmaben in 1457 and 1458. He sat on a parliamentary committee for causes and complaints in 1456 and sat again in parliament in 1457, and throughout the 1460s he was involved in diplomatic activities.⁹⁵ The closeness in date of Livingston's knighting to James II's coronation suggests that he was one of a group of men who were knighted at Holyrood Abbey in March 1437. Furthermore, his subsequent career would indicate that James II knighted him in order to secure his service.

Robert Livingston of Drumry was not the only Livingston representative at James's coronation; Alexander Livingston of Callander was also probably knighted at the ceremony. In James I's reign Livingston witnessed no royal charters, nor is there any evidence for his designation as knight. However, from the start of James II's reign he witnessed royal charters with remarkable frequency as *miles*, and was a prominent political character, suggesting that he was also knighted to secure his

⁹³ *Registrum de Dumfermline*, no. 406, On 11 September 1448 Robert Livingston of Drumry again witnessed a charter for James II as knight. HMC, *Mar and Kellie*, II, p. 18.

⁹⁴ *APS*, II, p. 46, Supplement, p. 25, *RMS*, II, 232, 235, 236, *SP*, VIII, 368, 481, NAS GD 47/1, GD 124/1/1.

⁹⁵ *ER*, VI, 333, NAS GD101/779, also held at NLS MS 20771, Fleming of Wigtown, Ch. 16060, *Rot. Scot.*, II, pp. 398, 394, 408, *ER*, VI, pp. 333, 444, 447, *APS*, II, pp. 46, 56, Supplement, p. 25.

service and loyalty.⁹⁶ Alexander attained power and influence under James II and was notably involved in a dispute with Sir William Crichton, governor of Edinburgh Castle, over the possession and governorship of James II, who had been removed to Stirling Castle, where Livingston was governor. Alexander was successful in this dispute and became keeper of the king's person.⁹⁷ Livingston also held administrative posts and he also sat on a general council in 1440, 1441 and 1442. In 1444 he was Justiciar of Scotland.⁹⁸

William Cranston also seems to have been made a knight at James II's coronation. Cranston did not feature politically or administratively during the reign of James I, although he was a member of the royal household as Master of the Stable. However, Cranston did go on to have a long career in the service of James II. He was his esquire when he was duke of Rothesay and was remarkably active in his service after his coronation, indicating that he was knighted both as a reward for his previous services and to secure his future loyalty.⁹⁹ Cranston was employed by James II as an ambassador for the negotiations of a truce with England, along with his father Sir Thomas Cranston of that Ilk, for which he became a conservator. On 2 March 1452 he was made a coroner in the sheriffdom of Roxburgh.¹⁰⁰ Later that year Cranston was implicated in the slaughter of William Douglas, eighth earl of Douglas, which was carried out by the king. This was despite the fact that Cranston

⁹⁶ *RMS*, II, 203, 205, 206-208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 215-22, 224, 226-8, 230-42, 245, 247-51, 253, 254, 256-73, 275, 276, 278-82, 284, 285, 287-9, 325, 326.

⁹⁷ *ER*, V, p. xlviii.

⁹⁸ *APS*, II, pp. 56, 57, 58, *ER*, V, p. 249, *SP*, V, pp. 426-9.

⁹⁹ *ER*, V, pp. 33-4, *RMS*, II, 215-24, 226-8, 230, 231, 233, 234, 236-45, 252, 254, 258, 260-5, 268, 285, NAS GD124/1/147 10 August 1440.

¹⁰⁰ *APS*, II, pp. 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, *RMS*, II, 531, Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 67.

had accompanied Douglas to Rome for the papal jubilee in 1450, proving that his loyalties ultimately lay with the king, the man who had dubbed him.¹⁰¹

Several other Scottish nobles stand out as having been potential candidates for the receiving of knighthood at the coronation in 1437. Although recorded by the chroniclers as having been knighted by James I at his coronation, Walter Haliburton, lord of Dirleton, was most probably knighted at James II's coronation.¹⁰² His prominent career in James I's reign suggests that he too was rewarded for his loyal service to the crown and that James II wished to retain this relationship during his reign. Walter Scott of Kirkurd is another noble who may have been knighted at James II's coronation. He was not involved to any extent in James I's administration, but he appeared as a knight after 3 May 1439 in one of the first recorded royal charters of the reign.¹⁰³ Scott did not take an especially active role in James II's reign but under James III, he sat in an assembly at Edinburgh in 1464.¹⁰⁴

John Lindsay de Byres, another man active in James I's reign, was also probably knighted by James II in 1437. Although he had acted as a hostage for James I, Lindsay was not knighted by him. However, by his first appearance in James II's administrative service, on 18 July 1439, he was being styled as knight,

¹⁰¹ *Chron. Auckinleck*, pp. 46-7, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 67, 69, 122. McGladdery also points out that the rewards received by the Cranstons in the wake of the earl of Douglas's death were considerable. Whilst the *Auchinleck Chronicle* names Sir Alexander Boyd, Sir Andrew Stewart, Sir William Cranston, Sir Simon of Glendenning, and the lord Gray, the *Extracta* names only William Cranston and Patrick, master of Gray as being involved in the murder. *Chron. Extracta*, p. 242. Cranston had been part of the Douglas party to the papal jubilee in Rome in 1450, and probably took part in tourneying at Chalon. *CDS*, IV, 1229, *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 343, Fraser, *Douglas*, I, p. 466, Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 287, Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy: Studies in the History of Civilisation* (London & New York, 1929), pp. 121-2, Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 118-19.

¹⁰² See above pp. 29-30.

¹⁰³ *RMS*, II, 201.

¹⁰⁴ *APS*, II, p. 84.

suggesting that he may have been knighted at the coronation in 1437.¹⁰⁵ In 1457, as Lord Lindsay of the Byres, he was appointed Justiciar of Scotland, north of the Forth, and on 6 March 1458 he was a Lord of Session.¹⁰⁶

Another noble who was possibly given the honour of knighthood in March 1437 was Alexander Hume of that Ilk. Hume was styled *scutifer* throughout James I's reign, but by 4 September 1439 he was being styled as *miles*, again suggesting that he was knighted at James II's coronation.¹⁰⁷ Hume seems to have had a close relationship with James II after this time. A letter dated 13 November 1444 from the king to Alexander refers to a general council, held possibly around 16 October 1444, declaring James's majority, assuring Alexander that his land rights would not be affected by this declaration and that a general revocation would take place sometime in the future.¹⁰⁸ In 1450, Alexander founded the Collegiate Church of Dunglass, endowing it with lands in Chirnside and elsewhere possibly in an attempt to assert his wealth and nobility.¹⁰⁹ Towards the close of 1450, Hume accompanied William, eighth earl of Douglas, to Rome for the papal jubilee, and also probably took part in a French tournament on their journey to Italy.¹¹⁰ Hume's involvement in high profile

¹⁰⁵ *RMS*, II, 102, 203.

¹⁰⁶ *SP*, V, pp. 392-3.

¹⁰⁷ *RMS*, II, 12, 119, 204.

¹⁰⁸ Hume was concerned for his land rights, directly related to the Coldingham dispute. As he had suffered at the hands of the seventh earl of Douglas, his fears were justified, hence his concern if the eighth earl was controlling James II. However, Alexander had received lands from William, eighth earl of Douglas on 24 August 1444 and this was confirmed by James II on 20 July 1451. *RMS*, II, 484, 485, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 32, and n. 4.

¹⁰⁹ HMC, *12th Rep*, VIII, nos, 123-8. Margaret Scott argues that when the members of the nobility founded chapels, or commissioned effigies of themselves, it was an assertion of their nobility; proof to the wider community that they had the wealth and means to afford such public statements, and differentiating them from social-climbing burgesses. See Scott, 'Dress in Scotland', p. 65.

¹¹⁰ *CDS*, IV, 1229, 1232, *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 343, Fraser, *Douglas*, I, p. 466, Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 287, Cartellieri, *Court of Burgundy*, pp. 121-2, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 118-19, see below pp. 163-4.

politics was limited, but in 1451 he acted as a commissioner for James II for negotiations with England, signing a three-year truce on 14 August 1451 in the Church of St Nicholas, Newcastle, where he was also appointed as a conservator for the peace.¹¹¹

Norman Lesley of Fithkill, lord of Rothes, also seems to have received the honour of knighthood at James II's coronation. Lesley was not a knight on 30 January 1431, but he was knighted by 13 August 1439 and it is entirely possible that he was knighted by James II in 1437, although closer dating would prove more conclusive.¹¹² James Hamilton of Fingaltoun may also have been knighted by James II in 1437 as he first appeared styled as knight on 12 December 1438.¹¹³ Whilst Hamilton was a frequent witness to royal charters, no other information on his public career has survived. David Lindsay of Meikle and Walter Ogilvy of Deskfurd, Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin, George Seton, lord Seton and George Crichton of Blackness may also have received the honour from James II at his coronation.¹¹⁴ David Hay of Yester, too, first appeared styled as *miles* in early 1439, his first appearance in the administrative records of James II, suggesting that he was also possibly knighted at the coronation.¹¹⁵ Patrick Hepburn of Wauchtoun also made his debut styled as knight at the start of James II's reign, and although he frequently witnessed charters there is no sign that he played a prominent role in royal administration.¹¹⁶ Overall, although it is difficult to be certain, it seems possible that

¹¹¹ *CDS*, IV, 1235, 1239, *SP*, IV, pp. 446-7.

¹¹² *RMS*, II, 182, 203, *HMC*, *4th Report*, p. 495, no. 17.

¹¹³ *RMS*, II, 206.

¹¹⁴ *RMS*, II, 206, 218, 239, 246, 768.

¹¹⁵ *RMS*, II, 210, 211.

¹¹⁶ *RMS*, II, 203, 212, 399, 438, 497, 558, 588, *NAS GD20/1/13* 2 May 1454.

Walter Haliburton of Dirleton; Colin Campbell of Glenorchy; David Lindsay of Meikle; Walter Ogilvy of Deskfurd; Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin; George Seton, Lord Seton; George Crichton of Blackness; Alexander Livingston of Callander; Walter Scott of Kirkurd; John Lindsay de Byres; Norman Lesley of Fithkill; James Hamilton of Fingaltoun; David Hay of Yester; Patrick Hepburn of Wauchtoun; Robert Livingston of Drumry; Alexander Hume of that Ilk; and William Cranston were knighted by James II at his coronation. Although a number of these men were from the Lothians, the list demonstrates that the crown drew its knights from all areas of the kingdom.

At the coronation of James III, the dubbing of new knights was also a part of the ceremony. However, there is no record of when James III was knighted himself, and given his young age, it may well have been at the time of the crowning ceremony itself. This had occurred at least once before, at Alexander III's coronation in 1249. The *Scotichronicon* preserved a description of this event that suggested that while the preparations were being made for Alexander's inauguration, the assembly broke into an argument about whether or not a king should be knighted before he was crowned. Sir Alan Durward, justiciar of the kingdom and 'regarded as the flower of the knightly order', wanted to invest the king into knighthood immediately because a king was the military leader of his kingdom and it was therefore essential that he was a knight.¹¹⁷ However, Sir Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith,

roundly asserted that he had seen a king consecrated even though he was not yet a knight, and he had often heard, and knew for a fact, that kings had been consecrated who were never invested ceremonially with the order of knighthood. He added this also, that inasmuch as a crowned king is adorned with golden knightly insignia (which crown and sceptre

¹¹⁷ *Chron. Bower*, X, 1.

are said to signify)- comparing the position to that stated in the *Decrees* that the son of a king ought to be called a king even though he may not possess a kingdom- so all the more a king should be considered a knight.¹¹⁸

Contrary to his own argument, however, Bower wrote that Comyn managed to persuade each side that Alexander should be first knighted and then crowned, suggesting that Bower, in the retelling of this story, thought a king should be officially dubbed a knight before he accepted the crown. So as the bishop of St Andrews ‘girded the king with the belt of knighthood in the presence of the magnates of the land, and set out the rights and promises which pertain to a king [...] and readily underwent and permitted his blessing and ordination’, the correct order of proceedings, in Bower’s mind, took place.¹¹⁹ Bower’s version of events has caused much debate, as both Fordun and Wyntoun describe the coronation differently, claiming Alexander III was knighted at a later date by Henry III.¹²⁰ M.D. Legge has argued that Fordun’s account is probably more accurate. She suggests that although Bower may have been using sources which have since disappeared, it is more likely that he invented this version based on the English coronation where the king was knighted prior to his crowning.¹²¹

James III was crowned at Kelso on 10 August 1460, immediately after his father’s death. The ceremony was attended by the queen mother and the bishops and nobles of the kingdom, and during the proceedings James created one hundred

¹¹⁸ *Chron. Bower*, X, 1. This is the same logic used for the argument that lords and earls can be assumed to have been knighted, but as has been suggested, this was not always the case.

¹¹⁹ *Chron. Bower*, X, 1. Whilst in the fifteenth century there are no surviving Scottish examples of bishops or priests making knights, it was not an uncommon practice in earlier centuries throughout Europe. An early fourteenth-century Roman pontifical describes a liturgical order for the making of a knight in St Peter’s. For more on this and other examples see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 65, 71-7.

¹²⁰ *Chron. Fordun*, II, pp. 289-91, *Chron. Wyntoun*, V, p. 115.

¹²¹ M.D. Legge, ‘The Inauguration of Alexander III’, *PSAS* 80 (1948), p. 81.

knights.¹²² However, unlike the coronation of James I, where knighthoods were given for political reasons, Norman Macdougall has suggested that these hundred men were knighted primarily for the purpose of immediately increasing military might and that they were used to assist in the taking of the castle of Wark which was seized and demolished shortly afterwards.¹²³ There is no indication given by the chroniclers as to whom the hundred men were, but the sheer number of men raised to knightly status suggests that the king was indeed providing himself with a force for instant military support. The very fact that James III was crowned at Kelso, in the borders, which were being aggressively defended at the time, adds weight to the suggestion that military force was at the forefront of royal concerns. Large-scale knightings were not unusual in the Late Middle Ages and other instances occur throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially when military strength and support was required with some urgency. Indeed, the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* advised that ‘quhare grete multitude of honourable and worthy men suld assemble for honourable actis tobe done And thare suld the king mak mony new knychtis’.¹²⁴ This also seems to have been a common practice in England and in 1306 Edward I knighted his son and two hundred and seventy-six other squires for

¹²² *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 21, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 51. See also ‘The Short Chronicle of 1482’ in MacDougall, *James III*, Appendix A, pp. 311-13.

¹²³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 21, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 51. James II died whilst on military campaign at the siege of Roxburgh. Later chroniclers reported that on hearing the news the queen arrived at Roxburgh and assembled the nobles who were fighting there. She told them to be of strong courage and not allow the death of one man among them lead them to give up their task. Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 105, Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, pp. 144-5. This may imply that the queen had a hand in encouraging such a large number of men to be knighted at the coronation of her son.

¹²⁴ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 5.

the purpose of bolstering his knights and men-at-arms for a renewed war with Scotland.¹²⁵

If James III did bestow the honour of knighthood upon one hundred men at his coronation, then his court certainly did not benefit from an influx of new knights undertaking administrative duties. Unlike the beginnings of James I and II's reigns where new knights frequently witnessed charters and held positions at court, at the commencement of James III's administration this was not the case, suggesting the men dubbed were, indeed, primarily warriors. In general, the royal records show that fewer men around the royal court were styling themselves as knight. It might be expected that a number of the hundred men would appear on royal witness lists, as they acquired places in the royal household. Instead, however, there are less witnesses of knightly status to James III's early acts, or at least less denoting their knightly status, than had previously been the case in the fifteenth century.¹²⁶ This may, of course, be an indication that the role of the knight at the Scottish court changed under the rule of James III's minority regime. However, it is more probable that the knights made at James III's coronation were intended for military purposes only and were not necessarily bound in service to the king in a civil capacity.

Nevertheless, the administrative records of the early years of James III's reign point towards the identity of at least some of the hundred men knighted at Kelso. Patrick Maitland who first appeared styled as *miles* in 1463, and James

¹²⁵ Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, p. 34.

¹²⁶ See the witness lists of the Great Seal charters which demonstrate this trend, *RMS*, II, pp. 47-8, 158-60, 365-7, 848-50. In general, from James III's reign onwards, regular royal witnesses tend to be styled by the office that they held, rather than by their knightly status. For example, David Guthrie of that Ilk is styled '*Clericus Rotulorum et Registri*'. Of course, some did use both titles, like James Stewart of Auchterhouse, who was styled '*miles, Avunculus Regis*', but this was less usual. There was also a significant increase in the number of clerics engaged in royal service.

Crichton of Carnis, the son of George Crichton, earl of Caithness, who appeared styled as *miles* on 5 December 1463, may have been knighted at the ceremony at Kelso in 1460.¹²⁷ If so, James Crichton was certainly a suitable candidate for receiving knighthood as he was the son and heir of Chancellor Crichton. Additionally he had been made earl of Moray, in place of Archibald Douglas, on 12 June 1452.¹²⁸ Crichton's public career was not prominent but he was appointed keeper of Doune Castle, which he held in 1464 and 1467.¹²⁹ Other men who may have been knighted include John Colquhoun of that Ilk; William Wallace of Craigie; Alexander Napier of Merchiston; John Herries, lord of Terregles; Alexander Forrester of Corstorphine; William Hay of Nactane; Alexander Lauder of Hatton; and William, Thane of Cawdor.¹³⁰ There are no other men who clearly stand out as possible candidates for receiving knighthoods at James III's coronation.¹³¹

After James III's death at Sauchieburn, James IV was crowned on 24 June 1488 at Scone but again there are few records of the proceedings. However, like previous coronations, the ceremony probably included the bestowal of knighthoods upon significant nobles, especially given that the aftermath of Sauchieburn saw a regime eager to secure the nobility's loyalty. Sir Robert Kerr, the son of Walter Kerr of Cessford, was knighted before 1490 and he may have been given the honour at

¹²⁷ *RMS*, II, 758, 771, 921, 1088.

¹²⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 49, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 25.

¹²⁹ *ER*, VII, pp. 253, 486.

¹³⁰ *RMS*, II, 679, 797, 692, 1108, 700, 734, 765, 815, 786, 1656, NAS GD430/14, GD430/13, GD305/1/79/8, *ER*, VII, p. 34, Jean Munro and R.W. Munro (eds), *Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493*, SHS (Edinburgh, 1986), no. 79. In 1454 James II wrote a letter to his familiar squire, William, Thane of Cawdor, granting him licence to build his castle of Cawdor. By 5 June 1467, William was regularly styled as knight. See *Cawdor Bk.*, pp. 20-1, 48-9.

¹³¹ The *Scots Peerage* suggests that John Wemyss of that Ilk was also created a knight at this ceremony, but provides no supporting evidence, *SP*, VIII, p. 484.

James IV's coronation.¹³² He attended parliament in 1491, and by the mid-1490s he had built up a knightly reputation, participating in the tournament held in January 1496 to celebrate Perkin Warbeck's wedding.¹³³ Robert Kerr's military skills obviously impressed James IV and he was made master of the artillery by 10 April 1497, for which he received an annual pension of £100, participating in the border raids in the summer of 1497.¹³⁴ By 1498 Kerr was a personal favourite of James IV and accompanied the king to Kintyre.¹³⁵

Sir James Sandilands, son of John Sandilands of Calder, is most likely to have been knighted by James IV at his coronation as he first appears styled as knight only six months later, on 23 December 1488.¹³⁶ Just over a month after the ceremony at Scone, on 4 August 1488, John Towers of Inverleith was sent on royal business for James. This was the first time he was styled knight, suggesting he too was knighted at the coronation.¹³⁷ Towers held positions within the royal household and was the Principal Usher of the Door for James IV in 1490 and 1492, and in 1491 he was again ordered on personal business for the king, this time to Tantallon, presumably for matters relating to the royal siege of the castle in October 1491.¹³⁸ Other men who may have been knighted at the ceremony include James Douglas, Alexander Gordon of Midmar, William Menteith of Kerse and James Crichton of Ragarton.¹³⁹

¹³² *ER*, X, p. 652, *Prot. Bk. Young.*, no 2012.

¹³³ *APS*, II, p. 229, *TA*, I, p. 262.

¹³⁴ *TA*, I, pp. 329, 350, 365.

¹³⁵ *TA*, I, p. 379.

¹³⁶ *Prot. Bk. Young.*, no. 145.

¹³⁷ *TA*, I, p. 91.

¹³⁸ *ER*, X, pp. 229, 312, 376, *TA*, I, p. 181, Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton, 1997), p. 90.

¹³⁹ *RMS*, II, 1776, 1812, 1897, 1898.

Solemn Court Events: Baptisms

Clearly, as Maurice Keen argued, coronations were a time when knighthoods were normally bestowed. However, like coronations, royal baptisms also provided excellent opportunities to demonstrate political authority and create personal alliances through knighting and it is no surprise to find an example of this in Scotland. When a prince was knighted at the same time as his peers, taking the same pledge through accepting the honour that the others involved in the ceremony took, it bonded him in equal measure to his king and to his fellow knights. The prince, then, undertook the same rite of passage as the others, and was only distinguishable from them outside the knightly code, as Georges Duby comments ‘for the moment [he was] asking no more than to be first among equals’.¹⁴⁰

James I carefully planned that his twin sons would be granted the belt of knighthood alongside some of their peers. At their baptism in 1430 James knighted them both, along with the son of Stephen Porcari, a Roman prince who was in attendance; William Douglas, the son and heir of Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas; William Douglas, later eighth earl of Douglas and son of Sir James Douglas of Balvenie; John, son and heir of Simon Logan of Restalrig; the son of James Edmonstone of that ilk; James Crichton, the eldest son and heir of Sir William

¹⁴⁰ Duby, *Three Orders*, pp. 300-1.

Crichton; and William Borthwick, the son and heir of Sir William Borthwick.¹⁴¹ James I was keen to tie the sons of his close local allies with the princes through knighthood, as the immediate political value of the boys' birth had made his dynasty seem more secure.¹⁴² However, by binding their sons with his own, James also reasserted his own bonds with these magnates and as a result further reinforced his power-base in the Lothians.

The boys who James I knighted alongside his sons were all around five years of age. The *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* warned that 'quhen a childe is maid knycht he thinkis nocht on the poyntis of the ordre yat he sueris to kepe', so the dubbing was a long-term investment. These boys were clearly knighted because of their lineage and inherent social status, and not because they had earned a strong military reputation or had performed duties worthy of the honour. This, then, indicates that there were alternative pathways to a knightly career, dependant upon many factors including lineage. However, these knighthoods were not simply honorific, as the boys reportedly did perform knightly duties. The chronicler Walter Bower wrote of them in the 1440s that 'all of these were of tender years and are now

¹⁴¹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, and notes p. 365, Brown, *James I*, p. 117. Simon Logan's father, Robert Logan of Restalrig, is thought to have died on 6 March 1440 and since the John who was knighted in 1430 is not found as the lord of Restalrig until 25 October 1444, Bower may have known Simon as holder of the estate between 1440 and 1444 before he wrote this passage, although Simon has commonly been thought to have predeceased Robert. Stephen Porcari came from a noble family of Rome, employed in the services of Popes Martin V and Eugene IV. He was captain of Florence in 1428. His visit to Scotland was followed by visits to France and Germany before returning to Rome in 1431. *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, notes p. 364. He appears to have stayed with Robert Lauder, the son and heir of Alan of Lauder, and Robert received £27 for his expenses. *ER*, IV, p. 543.

¹⁴² Brown, *James I*, p. 132. William Crichton was the king's closest familiar at this time and his daily councillor. James Douglas of Balvenie had acted as his brother's principal lieutenant after his capture at Humbleton in 1402, and he was responsible for the defence of his family's interest in politics and warfare. From 1408 Balvenie was based at Abercorn Castle where he systematically plundered from Linlithgow and concentrated on building up connections in West Lothian. Brown, *Black Douglasses*, pp. 234-5. Although Balvenie had become a loyal supporter of James, his son's inclusion in the ceremony was a sign that the king trusted him. James I's plan of building up a core of Lothian knights and barons, essential to the extension of his authority, was well underway.

fellow-soldiers with our reigning king', indicating that it was when they were in their late teens that they took up their martial role as knights.¹⁴³

Solemn Court Events: Parliament

Another one of the solemn court ceremonies which Maurice Keen regarded as appropriate for the granting of knighthoods was parliament. Although it was not usual to knight men in parliament, it did occur at least once in the fifteenth century. On 29 January 1488, James III created four new lords of parliament, raised the Marquis of Ormond to the dukedom of Ross, confirmed William Douglas of Cavers, sheriff of Roxburgh, in his regality of Cavers and created three new knights. The new knights were David Kennedy, son and heir of John, second Lord Kennedy; William Carlyle, grandson and heir of John, first Lord of Carlyle; and Robert Cunningham of Polmaise.¹⁴⁴ In the face of the political problems around this parliament, James III publicly rewarded those whom he believed were loyal to the crown and thus attempted to ensure that he retained their loyalty.¹⁴⁵

James III's choice of new knights was primarily motivated by his desire to retain the support of these men and their families. The Kennedys were loyal supporters of James III, especially through the tensions of early 1488. David Kennedy's father had acted as an ambassador for James III in September 1484, and

¹⁴³ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 27, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16. Bower may be referring to the siege of Methven which took place around 29 November 1444, which James II led and many of his knights participated in. It seems probable that this is what prompted Bower to call them 'fellow-soldiers'. See McGladdery, *James II*, p. 32, *RMS*, II, p. 283.

¹⁴⁴ *APS*, II, 181, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 237.

¹⁴⁵ Roland Tanner suggested that the dispensing of peerages and knighthoods in this parliament simply served to further deepen the already existing division amongst the nobility. Roland J. Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates in Parliament and General Council in Scotland, 1424-1488' (Ph.D. St Andrews, 1999), p. 307.

again in May 1486, and through knighting his son, James III also honoured John, in a bid to retain his loyalty.¹⁴⁶ On the whole, however, Kennedy's contribution to public life after 1488 was understandably limited, apart from 1503 when he sat in parliament and in 1513 when he fought at Flodden and was killed.¹⁴⁷

The same applied to William Carlyle, whose grandfather, John, first Lord Carlyle, was known for his loyal support of James II and James III. James III held John Carlyle in very high regard and had made him a lord of parliament between October 1473 and July 1474. Thereafter he was in frequent attendance at parliament; regularly featured at the Lords of Council; was an ambassador for James III in France and Denmark in 1474, 1475 and in 1479-80; and a frequent witness to royal charters from April 1477 until James III's death.¹⁴⁸ James III evidently wished to reward Carlyle's loyalty by knighting his grandson. Carlyle was unshakeable in his commitment to James III and became a commander in the royal army at Sauchieburn.¹⁴⁹ Intriguingly, while Lord Carlyle disappeared completely from public life after the accession of James IV, his grandson, William, remained in royal service.¹⁵⁰

The type of men elevated on the various occasions outlined above and the subsequent duties they undertook were not uniform. They had vastly varied roles within the royal court, some holding significant positions, others barely appearing except to witness charters. The men knighted by James III at his coronation appear

¹⁴⁶ Robert Hamilton of Fingaltoun and Gilbert Johnston of Elphinstone were ambassadors. *Foedera*, XII, pp. 235-41, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 213-14, 217, *CDS*, IV, 1521.

¹⁴⁷ *APS*, II, p. 239.

¹⁴⁸ *ER*, VIII, p. 216, *RMS*, II, 1288-1730 *passim*, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 135.

¹⁴⁹ *APS*, II, p. 200, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 256, *ER*, VIII, pp. 254, 293.

¹⁵⁰ *SP*, II, pp. 382-7.

to have been made knights for military reasons, whereas at other times kings knighted their men as rewards for service or to ensure that future service was retained. However, the men knighted at solemn court ceremonies do have one common feature and that is that they appear to have been taken predominantly from the upper nobility.¹⁵¹

Pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre

According to Maurice Keen, the second occasion on which knighthoods were normally bestowed was as part of a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, with the ceremony usually performed in Jerusalem itself.¹⁵² Whilst there were men who went on pilgrimages from Scotland to the Holy Land in the fifteenth century, there is very little evidence to suggest that any received knighthoods when they were there. Around 1455, Alexander Preston, canon of Glasgow, ‘went lately with a notable company to the Holy Land to fight against the infidels, and whose father and many others of his kinsmen have fought against the infidels in the lands of the infidels and been made knights.’¹⁵³ The implication here may be that the Prestons were made knights in the Holy Land. However, none of the records indicate who the members of Preston’s group were, nor if any Prestons returned as knights. William Preston

¹⁵¹ Using Alexander Grant’s definitions, the upper nobility consisted of earls, provincial lords and greater barons, whereas the lesser nobility were barons and freeholders. From the mid-fifteenth century they were divided between lords and lairds. Grant, ‘Development of the Scottish Peerage’, p. 2.

¹⁵² Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 78-9.

¹⁵³ *CPL*, XI, pp. 158-9. Later in December 1458 it was said that Alexander Preston had been fighting for a year with twelve archers and more fighting men against the Infidels. *CPL*, XI, p. 519, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 95.

may have returned with this group, although he does not appear to have been knighted at any time.¹⁵⁴

Although pilgrimage knightings in the Holy Sepulchre have no direct royal associations, one Scottish example suggests that in one instance a king took a direct interest in knighting a man who was *preparing* for such a pilgrimage. Anselm Adornes is the only example of a man who may have been knighted with his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in mind.¹⁵⁵ Adornes was a Brugeois merchant who had become a close familiar of James III when he had attended his court on diplomatic missions in 1468 and 1469. James III bestowed knighthood upon him on 15 January 1469 and at the Scottish king's behest, Anselm undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, beginning his journey on 19 February 1470.¹⁵⁶ On his return he dictated to his son John the events of his travels, speaking at length of how he had felt ill-equipped to undertake the pilgrimage before being invested as a knight.¹⁵⁷ Writing to James III, John related his father's experience, claiming that

from day to day his eagerness was all the greater to view the holy places, when by your benign favour he had received the knightly insignia from your most illustrious majesty, and his resolution grew that he, decorated as a knight of the chivalric order, would set forth on this renowned and

¹⁵⁴ *St Giles Reg.*, no. 77, pp. 106-7, *RMS*, II, 705, 12 July 1459 where William Preston is not styled as knight, McRoberts, 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land', p. 83. This may be William Preston of the Craigmillar branch of Prestons. In 1421 his father, John Preston, died, leaving him in the tutory of his cousin Archibald Preston. *RMS*, II, 87n, *SP*, III, p. 118.

¹⁵⁵ This may have only been part of the reason he was knighted and scholars have tended to emphasise his relationship with James III as the primary motivation for his dubbing.

¹⁵⁶ Bruges, Stadarchief, Fonds de Limburg Stirum, 15 January 1469, transcribed in Alan Denis Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement in Scotland, 1095-c.1560' (Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1982), Appendix I, no. 3., Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330, 43, transcribed in Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 4, Bruges, Stadsarchief, Cartulaire Rodenboek, f. 270r-v, transcribed in Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 6. See also C.A.J. Armstrong (ed), 'A Letter of James III to the Duke of Burgundy', *SHS Misc. VIII* (Edinburgh, 1951), pp. 21-2, Alan Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III', *JR* 33 (1982), p. 15, John Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', *The Double Tressure: Journal of the Heraldic Society of Scotland* 10 (1988), p. 7, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 97. See also below pp. 252-9.

¹⁵⁷ Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 97.

noble pilgrimage, than which nothing more distinguished or more holy might be imagined, advancing from the status of novice to that of true knight, and thence to that of one out of a thousand.¹⁵⁸

From his account it would seem that Anselm may have sought knighthood from James III solely for the purpose of undertaking this journey, and this certainly suggests that receiving knighthood before going on pilgrimage was important, at least to the Brugeois merchant. However, as is explored in chapter six, Adornes' knighting is more problematic than John Adornes' account allows and is more likely to have been granted for diplomatic services.

Military Service

However, returning to Keen's model, it is certain that Scottish kings did knight men at battles and at sieges, ostensibly to encourage greater valour from their men.¹⁵⁹ New knights were created at Sauchieburn in June 1488. At least three men were almost certainly knighted at this time: Dominic Lovell, Thomas Brochton and Roger Hartilton all first appeared styled as knight on 19 June 1488, just over a week after the battle.¹⁶⁰ Notably none of these men were of a high social status.

¹⁵⁸ Taken from Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groer (eds), *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)* (Paris, 1978), p. 30, translated in MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', pp. 46-7, n. 68. The only surviving manuscript of Adornes' *Itinéraire* is in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330. The phrase 'one out of a thousand' probably refers to being made a knight, i.e. one knight out of a thousand men, not one knight out of a thousand knights who had been to the Holy Land, although both interpretations are valid and illuminating.

¹⁵⁹ This was a widespread practice: before the battle of Verneuil in 1424 many knights were created, including James Douglas, the younger son of Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas. Fraser, *Douglas*, I, pp. 393, 399. On 16 October 1449 the Comte de Dunois knighted the Scottish knight William Monypenny at the siege of Rouen. McGladdery, *James II*, p. 98, William Forbes-Leith, *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France From Their Formation until their Final Dissolution* (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 58. (Neither McGladdery or Forbes-Leith give evidence for this assertion and there is an indication that Monypenny was a knight before 15 June 1434 which may suggest that he was raised to banneret, especially as it was a French knighting, *RMS*, II, 228.)

¹⁶⁰ *RMS*, II, 1738.

Thanks to the richer variety of sources available for James IV's reign, it is evident that James IV commonly knighted his men during or after military campaigns. Patrick Hume of Polwarth's dubbing is just one example of James's bestowal of knighthood in this situation. Hume of Polwarth had been at the centre of political trouble towards the end of James III's reign and, because the Humes had defied James III over Coldingham, they were not well favoured by the king.¹⁶¹ Through his campaign against the Humes, James III had forced their allies and kin to choose whether their allegiance would lie with the crown or the Humes, but what this king did not predict was that they would choose to keep their bonds with their allies. On 2 February 1488, Prince James, duke of Rothesay, left Stirling Castle where he was being kept, and joined the disaffected Humes and their followers, a move that eventually led to the decisive conflict at Sauchieburn.¹⁶² After James III's death, the fifteen-year-old king rewarded Patrick Hume of Polwarth for his support during the events of 1488 with the office of Chamberlain of Stirlingshire.¹⁶³ In 1489 Hume was granted the position of Chamberlain of Fife and Kilmarnock. He also attempted to embezzle a small amount of James III's money which he had acquired by force after Sauchieburn. James IV overlooked this misdemeanour and even allowed him to

¹⁶¹ Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 14-5. In Macdougall's opinion, the Humes' actions over Coldingham were not ill-considered as they had powerful kin and allies, and it was a stance they could afford to take with the weakening of James III.

¹⁶² Macdougall, *James III*, p. 239. Patrick Hume had at least some association with the young prince James, duke of Rothesay. When the prince was kept in Stirling Castle, his keeper, James Shaw of Sauchie, arranged that his daughter, Helen, would be married to Patrick Hume of Polwarth. See Macdougall, *James III*, p. 238, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 15, *SP*, IV, p. 336.

¹⁶³ Macdougall, *James III*, p. 243.

keep some of the money, suggesting that Hume was held in significant favour by the young king.¹⁶⁴

In the face of an English declaration of war in late November 1496, James IV spent ten days at Hume Castle where he summoned a council of war, presumably to discuss their defence over the coming months, but it was not until the following February that the attacks began.¹⁶⁵ Patrick Hume of Polwarth was already a military leader for James IV. He was keeper of Stirling castle in 1494 and he possibly took part in the short-lived raid of Ellem in September 1496. The Hume family as a whole were heavily involved in the defence of the borders, taking a leading role at Hume in February 1497, at Duns, Melrose and Lauder in June, and Norham in July and August 1497.¹⁶⁶ Patrick Hume seems to have excelled in these raids and on 8 June he was involved in a skirmish at Duns when the English attacked the East March. Ten days later, James rewarded Patrick for his services in Duns by granting him lands in Rednach.¹⁶⁷ On 5 August 1497 at Upsettlington, two miles north of Norham, James again bestowed favour upon Patrick and, amidst wine drinking and card playing with Don Pedro de Ayala and other Spanish ambassadors, James gave Patrick five merks of the lands of Unschenach, £5 worth of the lands of Rednach, and other grants.¹⁶⁸ James also knighted Patrick at this time, probably as a reward for his

¹⁶⁴ Patrick Hume and George Towers, an Edinburgh burgess who later was appointed custumar of Edinburgh, had captured John Stewart, earl of Atholl, at or just after Sauchieburn. They had forced his countess to deliver two boxes of James III's money which Atholl was holding, but before they gave it to James IV they removed 320 Harry nobles from one of the boxes. On 21 June 1488, when the boxes were examined at Edinburgh, Hume and Towers were forced to hand over the money, but James returned forty Harry nobles to Hume. *TA*, I, pp. 79-87, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁵ *TA*, I, p. 306, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 134-5.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 137-9.

¹⁶⁷ *RMS*, II, 2365, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 137.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

military service, and he appeared not long afterwards styled as knight.¹⁶⁹ Hume continued in James's favour, being given the position of Chamberlain of Stirlingshire during 1497, 1499 and 1501.¹⁷⁰ In 1499 Hume was granted extra pay for collecting fees during the time of plague.¹⁷¹ He was made Chamberlain of Fife and Kilmarnock a second time in 1501, and in 1499 and 1501 he was Comptroller.¹⁷² In 1501 Hume also held the post of keeper of Stirling Castle for the second time. Patrick Hume continued to be rewarded for his military prowess and in 1499, for his services in war and resisting the English, James IV confirmed on him lands within the lordship of Menteith.¹⁷³

Other nobles were knighted for their military service in the summer of 1497. Robert Lundy of Balgony was not a knight when he was royal usher in 1495 and 1496, nor was he styled knight on 3 February 1497, but by 26 June 1498 he had been knighted.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that he took part in the border raids of summer 1497, especially as James IV had summoned not only his household, but also the knights and men-at-arms throughout most of Scotland. As well as the position of treasurer, Robert Lundy held various diplomatic posts and was Comptroller in 1500,

¹⁶⁹ *Prot. Bk. Young*, no. 980.

¹⁷⁰ *ER*, XI, pp. 16, 134, 212.

¹⁷¹ *ER*, XI, pp. 259, 314, *SP*, VI, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷² *RSS*, I, 335, *ER*, XI, pp. 137, 289, 357.

¹⁷³ *ER*, XI, pp. 161-3, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 152.

¹⁷⁴ *ER*, X, pp. 484, 577, 589, *RMS*, II, 2342, *ADC*, II, p. 233. From May 1498 until February 1501 Lundy was in the post of Treasurer, and although the accounts have been lost for this period, it is possible that he was a knight prior to taking on this role. However, he would still have been knighted around May or June, and as the king was in the borders at this time it is most probable Lundy was knighted on James's campaign. *ER*, XI, pp. 163, 169, 172, 217, 261, 278, *TA*, II, p. xii.

demonstrating that James used his household knights for diplomatic and administrative purposes as well as in their martial capacity.¹⁷⁵

Another man James may have knighted during the border wars was John Ogilvy of Finglask, who was knighted sometime after 1495 and before 28 October 1499.¹⁷⁶ Although Ogilvy was predominantly involved in the affairs of northern Scotland, James IV employed knights and men-at-arms from all over Scotland in the borders.¹⁷⁷ Ogilvy also seems to have retained royal favour after the border wars and in 1501 he was appointed constable of Inverness Castle.¹⁷⁸ In February 1506 he became sheriff of Inverness, at which point he was also acting as a royal messenger for James IV.¹⁷⁹

James IV may also have knighted Patrick Blackadder, who was knighted sometime between 31 October 1497 and 31 March 1498, and Peter Houston of that ilk, who was knighted sometime between 6 May 1495 and 21 January 1501, although such a wide gap in dates proves problematic.¹⁸⁰ Sir John Somerville of Cambusnethan was knighted by 8 September 1497, the closeness of this date to the siege of Norham suggesting that he too may have been knighted at this time.¹⁸¹ Sir

¹⁷⁵ *CDS*, IV, 1653, *TA*, II, p. liv, NAS GD4/24, *ER*, XI, pp. 261, 278, 264-82. In June 1499 Lundy, along with the Archbishop of Glasgow, Andrew Forman the Prothonotary and the earl of Bothwell, was sent as an ambassador to treat for James IV's marriage with Princess Margaret of England.

¹⁷⁶ *TA*, I, p. 211, NAS GD32/8/3.

¹⁷⁷ On 3 February 1496, the king had sent letters declaring that wapinshawings should be held in Galloway, Carrick, Argyll, Lorne, the Lennox, Renfrew, Kyle, Cunningham, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Forres and Elgin, Inverness, Ross, Lanark, Kirkcudbright, Berwick, Linlithgow, Annandale and Haddington. *TA*, I, p. 319. On 5 April 1497, James sent letters of muster to the sheriffs and lords of Peebles, Selkirk, Linlithgow, Roxburgh, Lanark, Dalkeith, Seton, Hamilton, Drummond, Aberdalgy, Dunkeld, Renfrew, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr, Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, the Lennox, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Glasgow, Forres and Elgin, Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine. *TA*, I, p. 327. On 19 June 1497, a second muster letter was sent to the sheriffs of Stirling, Menteith, Perth, Strathearn, Clackmannan, Kinross and Forfar. *TA*, I, p. 342.

¹⁷⁸ *ER*, XI, p. 356.

¹⁷⁹ *RSS*, I, 1214, *APS*, II, pp. 263-4, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 188.

¹⁸⁰ *TA*, I, p. 354, *RSS*, I, 182, *RMS*, II, 618, 2252, *Prot. Bk. Young*, no. 1580.

¹⁸¹ *RSS*, I, 130, *ER*, X, p. 766.

Robert Erskine of Ellem was knighted by 1497. As Erskine was a border noble and his participation in the wars is almost certain, he was most likely to have been knighted during this campaign.¹⁸² Other men who may have been knighted during the border wars were Thomas Hume of Langshaw; William Colville of Ochiltree; John Ross of Malevyn; David Sinclair; Alexander Seton of Touchfraser; William Douglas of Drumlanrig; Baldred Blackadder; and Walter Forrester of Torwood.¹⁸³ Again, many of these men came from the lesser nobility. It is certain then that James IV knighted a number of his nobles during the late 1490s border campaigns. What this tells us about James IV's attitude to knighthood is revealing. Whilst there is little indication that he bestowed knighthoods at state ceremonies, his dubbing of men during wars and campaigns highlights his emphasis on the martial aspect of knighthood.

James IV also knighted his nobles for general military service, though not necessarily in association with a particular battle or campaign. Sir Andrew Wood of Largo is one such example. Wood, a lesser noble, was active in public service under James III, and a clear favourite of the king's, especially for his naval exploits.¹⁸⁴ On 18 March 1483 Wood received a feu-charter of Largo from James III for his services and losses during war on the land and the sea, and the grant makes it clear that he had inflicted extensive damage on the English at sea. The grant of land also confirmed Wood's loyalty in the face of war with England, a time when James III needed

¹⁸² *ER*, XI, p. 4, *SP*, V, p. 608.

¹⁸³ NAS GD6/12, GD124/1/167, GD32/8/3, GD39/39/5/6, *RMS*, II, 2408, 2384, 2499, 2680, 3312, *Prot. Bk. Young*, no. 986, *TA*, I, pp. 207, 332, 354, *RSS*, I, 40, 97, 473.

¹⁸⁴ Wood was in command of at least two ships, and it was in this role, for both James III and James IV, that he was the most useful.

ships.¹⁸⁵ Prior to Sauchieburn, Wood acted as James III's personal ferryman and he also played a crucial role in the king's military campaigns in this period.¹⁸⁶ After Sauchieburn, Wood, who had been steadfastly loyal to James III, quickly transferred his loyalty to the new king and James IV recognised this loyalty by confirming his barony of Largo.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps this acceptance of Wood under the new administration was partly due to James IV's naval preoccupations: Wood commanded two ships, the *Yellow Carvel* and the *Flower*, later becoming a captain in James's navy.¹⁸⁸

In spite of a three-year truce agreed with England in October 1488, the war continued at sea. The early chapters of Pitscottie show Andrew Wood cast in the role of victorious hero, winning two sea-battles against superior English forces in the summers of 1489 and 1490.¹⁸⁹

Schir Androw Wode being bot tua scheipis as forsaid, the Zallow caruall and the Floure, the king of Inlandis schipis was fyue in number witht great artaillzerie, zeit notwithstanding the Scottis sceipis prevaillit at the length and that be wosdome and manheid of thair captane quhilk tuik all the fyue Inglis scheipis and brocht them to Leyth as pressoneris...For the quhilk wictorieous and manlie act captane Schir Androw Wode was weill revairdit witht the kingis grace and consall and haldin in great estimatioun thairefter witht the nobilietie of Scotland.¹⁹⁰

Norman Macdougall warns that Pitscottie is not reliable in these sections of his chronicle and suggests that there was probably only one sea battle.¹⁹¹ Despite this

¹⁸⁵ *RMS*, II, 1563, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 146, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 28.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49, *TA*, I, p. lxii.

¹⁸⁷ *TA*, I, p. lxxv, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 232.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁹⁰ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 227. Although Wood was a 'new' type of knight, that is, he was drawn from a mercantile background rather than an aristocratic one, the adjectives used to describe him here are used commonly in literary descriptions of knights.

¹⁹¹ There is some truth in his description of the sea-battle on 10 August 1490, when Stephen Bull, an English commander, with three heavily-armed vessels, lay in wait off the Isle of May for Wood's two ships returning from Flanders. Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 226.

activity, Wood had still not been knighted, but scholars such as Norman Macdougall have erroneously assumed that he received the honour in James III's reign.¹⁹²

During parliament on 18 May 1491 Wood was given a royal licence confirming the approval of the king and estates for building operations which he had already undertaken within his burgh and lands of Largo. Parliament recognised Wood's services in inflicting damage on the king's enemies at sea and his losses in the process and also confirmed his feu-charter of Largo.¹⁹³ Macdougall interprets the treatment of Wood in the early years of James IV's reign as a deliberate plan by the minority government that was anxious to retain the services of a skilled seaman. They hastened to confirm Wood's private enterprise in Largo by licensing his fortalice long after it had been built.¹⁹⁴ In addition James IV knighted Wood sometime after this date and before 18 February 1495, a clear indication that James was keen to reward and retain Wood's services.¹⁹⁵ On 9 August 1497 Andrew Wood was appointed keeper of Dunbar Castle and he was more active on land after this time until 1513, when James IV sent Wood, along with Archibald, earl of Angus, to relieve James Hamilton, Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, of his command as admiral.¹⁹⁶ Sir Andrew Wood is a clear example of a man who was knighted for his military services, but not until well after he had proven himself as a naval commander. This suggests two things: firstly, that it was not a requirement of outstanding military leadership to be a knight, and secondly, that knighthood was probably offered rather than sought, as Wood would have been eligible to take it much earlier in his career

¹⁹² See Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 146, 251, 255, 261.

¹⁹³ *RMS*, II, 2040, *APS*, II, pp. 227-8, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 227.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁹⁵ *RMS*, II, 2040, 2231.

¹⁹⁶ *TA*, I, p. 350, Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 184, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 269.

and might have done so from James III had it been appropriate to request his own dubbing.

Public Royal Events: Weddings and Tournaments

Military campaigns and solemn court ceremonies were not the only times dubbings took place and there were, of course, other occasions upon which knighthoods were granted by Scottish kings. These were more festive, royal public events, such as weddings and tournaments, which do not fall into the categories that Maurice Keen established. However, knightings occur as frequently at these events in Scotland as they do at other types of occasions. James II, for example, often raised the status of his nobles to honour them at public celebrations. At his wedding to Mary of Gueldres, on 3 July 1449, James II might have included a knighting ceremony, although there is no direct evidence for this.¹⁹⁷ David Bruce of Clackmannan first appeared styled as knight on 8 July 1449, and he may well have received this honour five days earlier at James's wedding.¹⁹⁸ Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll, the brother of Robert, first Lord Boyd, was knighted at some point between Martinmas 1448 and 1449, and he too may have been knighted around the time of the marriage celebrations.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Given the extravagance of Mary of Gueldres' bridal journey, which included a tournament in Bruges, it is almost certain that lavish displays were held by James II to celebrate his marriage. Gilliodts van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges* (Bruges, 1876), V, p. 498, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 130, Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Wisconsin, 1991), p. 173.

¹⁹⁸ *RMS*, II, 352.

¹⁹⁹ *ER*, V, 329, 356. Other events occur in this time period, such as the tournament held at Stirling in February 1449 between three Burgundian knights and three Scottish knights. However, there is no indication that Boyd was present in Stirling, whereas as a noble close to the king, he would have been present at the marriage.

Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll was a close familiar of James II and alongside the king he played a part in the death of William, eighth earl of Douglas, in 1452. Alexander held some position of military significance as in 1456 he was appointed Warden of Threave Castle.²⁰⁰ However, Boyd witnessed no charters during the reign of James II and he does not seem to have been involved in public life or James II's politics or administration. Boyd rose to prominence at court only under James III and he appears as a royal witness initially on 15 October 1463, after which he regularly witnessed royal charters and sat in parliament in 1463 and 1464.²⁰¹ On 11 April 1464 he was appointed as one of the envoys to treat with English ambassadors over issues of the truce, and in January 1465 he witnessed the agreement of a fifteen-year truce at York.²⁰² On 4 December 1465, following the success of the York truce, Boyd was again appointed as an envoy to meet an English ambassador at Newcastle.²⁰³ Alexander twice acted as an auditor of the exchequer, was custodian of Edinburgh Castle in 1464, and by March 1466 he was chamberlain of the royal household.²⁰⁴

Sir Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll was also reportedly personally close to the young king James III. In his introduction to the exchequer rolls, George Burnett claims that Boyd was appointed to instruct the knightly exercises of the young James III in 1466.²⁰⁵ However, there is no evidence whatsoever to support this assertion,

²⁰⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 47, *ER*, VI, pp. 208-9.

²⁰¹ *RMS*, II, 760, 776-9, 788, 811, 828, 834-5, 847-9, 853-9, 861, 863-5, 868, 870, 871, 871n, 874, 876, 877, 881-4, 1327, 1385, *APS*, II, p. 84, Supplement, p. 28.

²⁰² *CDS*, IV, 1341, *APS*, Supplement, p. 30.

²⁰³ *CDS*, IV, 1362.

²⁰⁴ *ER*, VII, lvii-lviii, as auditor, 302, 380, as custodian of Edinburgh castle, 284, 362, 422, as chamberlain of royal household, *RMS*, II, 867. See also Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 70-4.

²⁰⁵ *ER*, VII, p. lvii. The editor gives no contemporary evidence for this assertion. Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 409.

and furthermore there is no indication that this type of role was undertaken by anyone during the fifteenth century (although presumably somebody did).²⁰⁶ In fact, it seems that Burnett's suggestion may be based on an entry in George Buchanan's late-sixteenth century history that claimed that Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll was:

eminently skilled in all the showy accomplishments of a gentleman, who was introduced to the king by the other royal guardians; and particularly at the desire of John Kennedy, his relation, now, on account of age, unfit for youthful exercises, to instruct his majesty in the rudiments of military tactics, in which he was acknowledged to excel. Trusting to these advantages, the Boyds were neither content with the honourable situation they held, nor the authority they possessed at court, but determined to transfer all public power into their own family; to accomplish which, Alexander was employed to bias the mind of the king. Having found him a pliable youth, he so won upon him by his politeness and flattery, that he gained his entire confidence. Being admitted into the most intimate familiarity, he would frequently hint to the young prince:- That he was now capable of reigning himself; that it was time that he should emancipate himself from the slavery of old men; that he ought to have the military about him, and begin in earnest, those exercises in which, whether he chose or not, he must spend the vigour of his age.²⁰⁷

There are clear questions about the accuracy of this passage. Buchanan was writing for a late sixteenth-century audience and was distrustful of the influence of the great aristocracy on government. The Kennedys and the Boyds were opposed to each other in the struggle for possession of James III, so it is unlikely that John Kennedy would have actively encouraged Alexander Boyd to take any such position with the young king.²⁰⁸ On 9 July 1466 the Boyds seized possession of James and whilst the

²⁰⁶ See below pp. 100-5 for an outline of the evidence for knightly training in the fifteenth century.

²⁰⁷ Buchanan, *History*, pp. 125-6.

²⁰⁸ See Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 70-4. However, two bonds of friendship survive, one from 20 January 1466 between Robert, Lord Boyd and Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, and the second from 10 February 1466 between Sir Alexander Boyd and Gilbert, Lord Kennedy on the one side, and Robert, Lord Fleming on the other, which could be considered to support Burnett's assertion that 1466 was when Alexander took up the position as James's tutor in knightly exercises. The 10 February bond agreed that Robert, Lord Fleming would be 'of special service, and of cunsail to the Kyng' as long as Kennedy and Boyd were the same and that he promised not to remove the young king out of the keeping of Kennedy and Boyd.

young king initially pardoned them for this, three years later at the parliament of 1469 they were accused of treason.²⁰⁹ Sir Alexander was found guilty and beheaded on the castle hill of Edinburgh immediately after the trial on 22 November 1469.²¹⁰ There is no direct evidence that Alexander was commissioned to teach the young king in chivalric exercises, and it is more likely that this suggested role has been confused with his role as chamberlain of the royal household. However, what can be implied by Buchanan's entry is that Boyd had a high-standing chivalric reputation. More importantly Boyd's relationship with the crown implies that royal favour brought knighthood and that knighthood brought social and political standing.

Boyd's career may also demonstrate the typical career of a royal knight. A member of the higher nobility, as the brother of a Lord of Parliament, his place at court could be prominent. He had a close relationship with James II and was knighted by him at a public occasion. He held military positions fitting a knight of his social standing, namely warden of Threave castle, and captain of Edinburgh castle. He presumably took part in the border wars of the mid-1450s from Threave. After establishing himself in James II's reign, under James III he took on greater roles at court, as guardian of the young king and a witness to royal charters. During the 1460s his administrative and public career peaked with attendance at parliaments, ambassadorial duties and becoming an auditor for the exchequer. He also held the prestigious position of Chamberlain of the Royal Household.

Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll and David Bruce of Clackmannan are the only prominent men who might have been knighted at James II's marriage, but

²⁰⁹ *APS*, II, 185, 186.

²¹⁰ *APS*, II, 187, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 81-2.

undoubtedly there were others. So too were there other events where knighthoods were granted. In August 1503, on the third day of his extravagant and costly wedding celebrations, James IV knighted forty-one men after which a three-day joust in the courtyard of Holyrood Palace began.

After the Othe sworne and taken, the Erle Bothwell [gave] them the gylt spourneys, and the Kynge gaffe them the Stroke of his Swerde, wich was born before hym. This doon, he sayed to the Qwene, the Lady- these are your knyghts.²¹¹

Although no indication of the identity of the men knighted is given in any descriptions of the celebrations, there are, nevertheless, some men who were knighted around this time and can be linked closely enough to the crown to conclude that they probably received the honour at the wedding.²¹² One such noble is Alexander Lauder, provost of Edinburgh since 1502. In July 1503 he was still not a knight, but by 1504 he was using a knightly designation.²¹³ Robert Lauder of the Bass may also have been dubbed at James IV's wedding. Lauder of Bass had sat in parliament in 1471, 1478, 1481 and 1483 and he had been on a parliamentary committee. He had also acted as a messenger in 1488 to help the reconciliation between the king and George Broune, bishop of Dunkeld, but James III did not reward him for this service with knighthood.²¹⁴ Robert was not prominent at the start

²¹¹ John Younge, Somerset Herald, 'The Fyancells of Margaret, Eldest Daughter of King Henry VIIIth to James King of Scotland: Together with her Departure from England, Journey into Scotland, her Reception and Marriage There, and the Great Feasts Held on that Account', in Thomas Hearne (ed), *Joannis Leland Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (London, 1770), p. 298. Bothwell was given prominence at this tournament because he had been crucial in securing the marriage treaty. See also below p. 186, for more on the earl of Bothwell and his role at this tournament.

²¹² Younge, 'The Fyancells of Margaret', p. 298, *TA*, II, pp. 385-9, R.L. Mackie, *King James IV of Scotland: A Brief Survey of His Life and Times* (Edinburgh, 1958), p. 112.

²¹³ *Prot. Bk. Foular*, no. 258, *TA*, II, pp. 270, 364, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 106. Lauder sat in parliament only around the time of his knighting: 1503, 1504 and 1505. *APS*, II, pp. 239, 256, 258, 263, 266, Supplement, p. 36, *Edin. Recs.* I, pp. 87, 271-6. However, he did remain provost until 1513.

²¹⁴ Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 224-5, *APS*, II, pp. 102, 116, 121, 134, 153, 212.

of James IV's reign but he was knighted before 18 November 1503.²¹⁵ Sir Robert Bruce of Airth may also have been knighted at James and Margaret's wedding, as he received his knighthood between 8 February 1503 and 8 November 1503.²¹⁶ Other men who may have been knighted at this time include Alexander Ramsay of Cockpen; John Hay of Belltown; David Bruce of Clackmannan; John Forman of Rutherford; William Lindsay; John Melville of Raith; and Thomas Borthwick of Collielaw.²¹⁷ The courtly love overtones of this declaration that the knights were bound in service to the queen, are unusual in a Scottish context. However, what cannot be overlooked is that the report comes from an English herald. Whilst courtly romance was popular in Scotland, there is no indication from Scottish sources that these themes were ever ritually expressed at the Scottish court. There is certainly no indication that the men knighted at this time were ever bound in service to the queen, but this may be a problem with the sources which have survived.²¹⁸

Tournaments were another royal public display at which Scottish kings knighted men. As shown at James IV's wedding celebrations, the associations between the bestowal of knighthood and jousting is clear: it was an occasion at which knights were engaged in the stylised and ritualised performance of their function as warriors and was therefore tied to the acceptance of new members to the rank of knighthood. James II seems to have been very keen to promote tournaments, and it is not surprising that this led to the bestowal of more knighthoods. In February

²¹⁵ *RMS*, II, 2608, *Prot. Bk. Young*, no. 1357.

²¹⁶ *RSS*, I, 993, *Prot. Bk. Foular*, no. 193.

²¹⁷ *TA*, II, p. 182, *RMS*, II, 2781, 3046, 2745, 2759, *RSS*, I, 922, Fraser, *Melville*, I, p. 38, *SP*, VI, p. 86, *Prot. Bk. Foular*, no. 206, *CDS*, IV, Appendix no. 38.

²¹⁸ *RMS*, II, 3007, sees John Hay of Belltown (de Snaid) and *RMS*, II, 3339, sees John Melville of Raith, witnessing charters for James IV.

1449 Jacques and Simon de Lalain and Hervey de Meriadet, three noble knights from Burgundy, came to Stirling to engage in single combats presided over by James II, with James Douglas, the brother of the eighth earl of Douglas, and later ninth earl, John Ross of Hawkhead and another James Douglas, the brother of Sir Henry de Douglas of Loch Leven.²¹⁹ On the appointed day, after the Burgundians had arrived, James Douglas and his party entered the lists and were attended by a great company which included the eighth earl of Douglas.

Then the three champions, all armed, and clad in their coats of mail, dismounted at their pavilion, and afterwards all three went to do reverence to the King of Scotland, and all three prayed that he would confer on them the order of knighthood, which he freely granted to them. So he descended from his throne, and made all three knights.²²⁰

Some issues surround the knightly status of these men. Chastellain describes James Douglas as ‘maistre’ before the tournament commenced, but also says that all six men ‘were renowned as valiant knights, powerful in body and limbs’ before they were knighted by the king.²²¹ However, none of the other chronicles refer to any of the Scottish men as knights before the tournament, with the exception of the Harleian addition to Bower's *Scotichronicon*, but as this was compiled in 1473, a quarter of a century after the tournament, it is understandable how an error might have been made. Chastellain's assertion that they were valiant knights was probably just a

²¹⁹ *Chron. Bower*, Harleian MS Additions, Ch. 9, p. 141, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 40, *Chron. Extracta*, p. 238, Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, p. 207. A long-standing tradition of Shrovetide tournaments throughout Europe existed, and Tuesday was the traditional day to commence a tournament. In the earlier middle ages, the traditional day to commence was Monday. See Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1991), p. 253. A series of Shrovetide tournaments was held by James IV in the early sixteenth century which will be discussed later.

²²⁰ George Chastellain, ‘Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain frere et compaignon de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or’, in P. Hume Brown (ed), *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 33-4.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

general comment designed to highlight his subject, Jacques de Lalain's martial prowess, and cannot provide an accurate description of the Douglasses' or John Ross's knightly status.²²² Therefore, James II probably did knight these men before they entered the lists, in all likelihood so that they were evenly matched in terms of status against the Burgundian knights. Moreover, the honour of having received knighthoods from the king would spur them on to fight gallantly during the tournament, thus honouring the king and the kingdom.

Like James II, James IV also knighted men before they entered the lists. In May 1508 James put on a lavish tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, a repetition of a tournament he had held the previous year but on a much grander scale, and after which, according to Pitscottie, a sixteenth-century source, he rewarded all of his nobles and made thirty new knights.²²³ Of these thirty, only three nobles can be identified as having received the honour then (and they might also have participated in the tournament): Robert Menzies of that Ilk, Andrew Murray of Kippo and John Lindsay of Petercruvy, who all appear as knights in late May and early June of 1508.²²⁴ James IV was certainly attempting to promote himself as a chivalric and knightly king and this kind of ceremonial display would be expected of a king actively demonstrating his chivalric ethos. James took this even further and had the internationally renowned knight Bernard Stewart preside over the tournament, in order that the king himself might participate in the jousting.²²⁵ Indeed, John Lesley, another sixteenth-century chronicler, suggested that there was an element of political

²²² John Ross of Hawkhead certainly was not a knight before the tournament. *RMS*, II, 383, 411.

²²³ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 244.

²²⁴ *RMS*, II, 3232, *RSS*, I, 1650, 1688, 1684.

²²⁵ On Bernard Stewart see Douglas Gray, 'A Scottish "Flower of Chivalry" and his Book', *Words: Wai-Te-Ata Studies in Literature* 4 (1974), pp. 22-34.

calculation in the 1508 tournament, as James made overt references to the literary paragon of chivalric virtue, King Arthur. Lesley says that there was elaborate 'counterfutting of the round tabill of King Arthour of Ingland'.²²⁶ Neither Pitscottie nor Lesley make any mention of who the thirty knights James made were, but some may have been visitors from France who accompanied Bernard Stewart as part of his retinue.²²⁷

It is clear that the three occasions upon which knighthood was normally bestowed, according to Keen, were not the only occasions in fifteenth-century Scotland. Royal knightings took place at solemn court ceremonies, such as coronations and baptisms, and also during military campaigns and around the time of battles, not just specifically on the eve of battles as Keen suggested. However, the most popular occasions upon which Scottish kings might knight their subjects seems to have been royal public events, such as weddings and tournaments, which had a festive and celebratory atmosphere and were an ideal time to assert and display royal authority.

However, whether these men's careers were notable because of their knighthoods, or because they were noble, is not clear. Certainly those men who stayed at the status of squire, nobles who did not take knighthood but shared in the martial training and philosophy of knighthood, could also enjoy prominent public careers, such as Patrick Crichton of Cranstonriddel.²²⁸ He does not appear to have

²²⁶ Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 294-5, Lesley, *History*, p. 78.

²²⁷ Lesley reports that French men were present at the tournament. Lesley, *History*, p. 78. If James IV had knighted men from Stewart's party this would have further honoured Stewart. However, in turn it would have served to promote James's own chivalric reputation: by knighting a man of a famous chivalric knight, by association, this highlighted the similarities between James IV and Bernard Stewart.

²²⁸ Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p. 7.

been particularly active in public life during James III's administration, but from 1495 onwards he took on many public duties.²²⁹ In 1495 he became keeper of Edinburgh Castle, a position which he held again later in 1499 and 1501.²³⁰ In 1498 and 1499, Crichton was the ranger of the ward of Tweed and in 1513 he sat in parliament.²³¹ Although only a squire, Patrick Crichton performed the same types of public functions as knights, holding a number of royal offices. This suggests that it was not necessary to be a knight for a prominent public career.

The Age of Bestowal of Knighthood

Although there were many Scottish squires who remained at that status for their lifetimes, squires were generally perceived to be young men in training for knighthood. At their majority, they were dubbed as a rite of passage. Maurice Keen suggested that men were commonly knighted around the age of eighteen, the age at which William the Marshal had been knighted. Whether this was the case in Scotland, however, needs further exploration.²³² English records suggest that the late teens and early twenties were the common ages at which men took up arms and were knighted at their 'coming of age'. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, witnesses for disputes in the English court of chivalry over the right to bear particular coats of arms told the court how long they had been bearing arms. In the case of

²²⁹ *RMS*, II, 956, 1975.

²³⁰ *ER*, X, p. 505, XI, pp. 203, 321. Although the index to volume XI refers to him as Sir Patrick, no entries in the records confirm this status.

²³¹ *ER*, XI, pp. 101, 201, *APS*, II, p. 281.

²³² Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 19-20. William the Marshal, thanks to the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, was one of the most famous knights of the late Middle Ages. His career was exceptional and provided an exemplar for knights to aspire to. See P. Meyer (ed), *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (Paris, 1891).

Scrope v. Grosvenor in 1386, of the ninety-four witnesses for Sir John Scrope, the youngest claim was from Sir John Bromwich, saying he had borne arms from the age of eleven.²³³ Many others claimed to have been knighted in their mid-teens, but the largest group by far claimed to have been bearing arms from around twenty.²³⁴ In 1398, David Stewart, the duke of Rothesay was knighted around his twentieth birthday, at a tournament held specifically for the conferment of the honour.²³⁵ George Seton, Lord Seton, was knighted between the ages of eighteen and twenty, and James, ninth earl of Douglas, would have been at the most twenty-two when he was knighted.²³⁶ John Ross of Hawkhead, knighted at the same time as the ninth earl of Douglas, can also only have been about twenty when he received the honour.²³⁷ From these limited examples, Keen's conclusions appear relevant to the Scottish context, where men seem to have been knighted near or between the ages of eighteen to twenty-one.

It is impossible to know what proportion of knightly society was knighted at this age and it is clear that men could be knighted later in life, once their careers were well established. John Red Stewart of Dundonald and John Stewart of Cardney, who were knighted by James I in 1424, were both illegitimate brothers of Robert III and must have been reasonably advanced in years when knighted. This suggests that

²³³ N. Harris Nicolas (ed), *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry A.D. MCCCLXXXV- MCCCXC* (London, 1832), I, p. 205.

²³⁴ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London & New York, 1984), p. 191.

²³⁵ He was born in October 1378, but as there is no closer indication of the date of his knighthood, he was either nineteen or just twenty at the time. *Chron. Bower*, XV, 4, Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, pp. 57, 212.

²³⁶ *RMS*, II, 206, *SP*, III, pp. 174, 175, 178, VIII, p. 575, Chastellain, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', pp. 33-4.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4, *SP*, VII, pp. 248-50.

even royal status was not a catalyst to receiving the honour.²³⁸ At the other end of the scale, James II was knighted, whilst still an infant at his baptism in 1430, and shared the honour alongside boys of approximately five years of age.²³⁹ Of course, these were knightings for particular occasions with special associations and this must have had some influence over when they were granted. Nevertheless, a large proportion of nobles with no familial ties to the crown were also knighted once their careers were established, such as Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was knighted after around ten years of outstanding military service at sea.²⁴⁰ Walter Haliburton of Dirleton also had a career spanning the entire reign of James I before he was knighted.²⁴¹ John Lindsay de Byres, a noble who had acted as a hostage for James I in 1424, was not knighted until James II's reign, suggesting that he was at least in his early thirties, if not older, before receiving the honour.²⁴² Alexander Hume of that Ilk must also have been around thirty when he was knighted.²⁴³ Given the difficulties in ascertaining exact birth dates, it is impossible to survey the full range of ages at which men were knighted. There does seem to be a large proportion knighted in their late-teens and early-twenties, but knightings at much younger or much older ages were certainly not uncommon. If there was no usual age at which men were knighted in Scotland, this implies that knighthoods were not bestowed simply as an entry into manhood at the coming of age but from much more diverse political, personal and military motivations.

²³⁸ NAS GD124/1/129, GD124/1/423.

²³⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16.

²⁴⁰ *RMS*, II, 1563, 2040, 2231, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 146, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 28.

²⁴¹ *RMS*, II, 201, see above pp. 29-30.

²⁴² *RMS*, II, 102, 203.

²⁴³ *RMS*, II, 12, 119, 204.

Non-Royal Dubbings

Royal occasions, and crown-led battles and sieges were, of course, not the only circumstances in which knighthood could be bestowed. The sheer number of knights in Scotland indicates that at various times new knighthoods were granted without being associated with special occasions.²⁴⁴ Of the knights in royal service, a large proportion cannot have received their knighthoods at any of these events. For example, Walter Stewart of Strathavon, was knighted between 30 September 1438 and 26 June 1439, during which time no major royal 'events' are recorded, and John Montgomery of Corscrag, who was knighted between 1 June 1498 and 5 March 1501, again received the honour at a time when the king, James IV, was not engaged in wars, tournaments, or public displays of any note.²⁴⁵ This suggests either that kings were bestowing knighthoods at other times, perhaps when they were attempting to retain the service of a specific individual, like the knighting of Anselm Adornes, or that the crown did not have a monopoly on dubbing and that ordinary knights were granting new knighthoods. Indeed, some of the knights listed above as possible candidates for knighthood at the various events may not have been royal knights at all, and could have been knighted by another lord.

The crown did not have absolute control over the granting of knighthood, and there are indications that lord-knight and lord-squire relationships in non-royal retinues were still strong in the fifteenth-century. In March 1415, Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, rewarded his beloved squire, David Hume, with the lands of

²⁴⁴ See Appendix B for a list of knights in royal service and the dates when they were dubbed.

²⁴⁵ NAS GD124/1/141, GD124/1/145, GD3/2/1/12, GD3/2/1/16, *RMS*, II, 2626.

Bayherdlands, for services rendered and to be rendered.²⁴⁶ After the earl of Douglas's death in 1424, Hume appears to have sought out the lordship of William Douglas, earl of Angus, and in July 1436 Angus gave Hume, styled 'his beloved squire', the lands of Lee, Wollee and Wolhoplee and their pertinents for his services done and to be done.²⁴⁷ This was clearly a relationship based on knightly ties and presumably Hume would have wished to be knighted by the earl of Angus. In January 1439, Sir Thomas Erskine promised on oath to his cousin and his squire, Patrick Galbraith, that he would be a good and faithful lord and master to him during his life and defend him against all persons in his righteous causes in return for his services.²⁴⁸ Whilst these bonds can only indicate for certain that there were clearly defined lord-squire relationships working in Scotland, the implication behind the terminology used is that the lord would eventually knight his squire.

Late in the fourteenth century there was certainly ample evidence of a tradition of lords knighting men in their retinues. One lord who agreed to do so was Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus. Alexander Lindsay, the second surviving son of David, lord of Crawford, began his knightly career as a squire in the service of his

²⁴⁶ HMC, *Home*, p. 18. See also Brown, *Black Douglasses*, pp. 113, 177, *SP*, IV, pp. 444-5. Hume also received lands in Wedderburn from Douglas, HMC, *Home*, p. 19, no. 4, *ER*, IV, p. 379.

²⁴⁷ HMC, *Home*, p. 20.

²⁴⁸ HMC, *Mar and Kellie*, I, p. 17. See also McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 20-1, for information on the events of the Erskine claim to the earldom of Mar which was the background to this bond, and pp. 21-2, for Galbraith's involvement with the Erskines and Dumbarton Castle. See below, note 254, for a discussion of the Erskine's dubbing of knights within their own family in the second half of the fourteenth century. We can assume that if Galbraith was knighted, it would have been by Erskine, as there is no record of him having been knighted by the crown. This is a point which could be cleared up through further research into lord-knight relationships.

cousin, the aforementioned earl of Angus.²⁴⁹ Lindsay was promised the sum of forty merks of land ‘in the qwilkes the forsaid erle of Angors was obligit be his lettres to gyve me heritably, eftir I had tane the ordre of Knycht’, presumably at the hands of Angus himself.²⁵⁰ This forty merks of land served as a mark of prestige and a reward for his services as a squire, but it functioned as a bond for his services yet to come as a knight and guaranteed his exclusive personal loyalty to Angus. The sum of forty merks of land must also have been enough to put him on the threshold of the landed wealth necessary to support the status of knighthood.

Whilst aspiring knights often wanted to receive knighthood from a man of particular social distinction, such as the king, it was also of similiar honour to receive knighthood from the hands of one who had established a reputation of chivalric prowess and outstanding knightly deeds.²⁵¹ There are certainly fifteenth-century instances of this. At the battle of Humbleton (or Homildon) Hill in 1402, Walter Bower tells us that as the English advanced, showering the Scots with arrows,

²⁴⁹ It was quite usual for young noblemen to be sent to members of their kin-group to be trained as squires. For example, in his youth William the Marshal had been sent by his father, John Fitzgilbert, an English baron, to the household of John’s cousin, the count of Tankerville. Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 20. We also find that the young Walter Stewart, in John Barbour’s epic poem the *Bruce*, was entrusted to the care of his cousin, Sir James Douglas, in the lead-up to the battle of Bannockburn. Barbour, *Bruce*, II, 333. See also Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, especially chapter two, ‘Away from the family’, pp. 44-80.

²⁵⁰ See the release by Sir Alexander Lindsay to the heirs of Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus, of the obligation to give him forty merks of land on becoming a knight. Fraser, *Douglas*, III, p. 28, *SP*, III, p. 12.

²⁵¹ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 77.

a brave knight called Sir John Swinton shouted out in a harsh voice as if he were a crier saying: 'Illustrious comrades! Who had bewitched you today that you do not behave in your usual worthy manner? Why do you not join in hand-to-hand battle nor as men take heart to attack enemies who are in a hurry to destroy you with their flying arrows as if you were little fallow-deer or young mules in pens? Those who are willing should go down with me and we shall move among our enemies in the Lord's name, either to save our lives in so doing at least to fall as knights with honour.' On hearing this the most famous and valiant Adam de Gordon of that Ilk who indeed for a long time had cultivated mortal enmity against the said lord of Swinton following the death of stalwart men-at-arms from both sides in various fights, knelt down before him to ask pardon from him in particular (as the most worthy knight in arms in the whole of Britain, as he claimed) so that he might be girded as a knight by the hands of the same Sir John. This was done, and a band of a hundred respected knights followed these leaders who had thus been reconciled.²⁵²

John Swinton certainly had a fine chivalric reputation, having taken service under John of Gaunt in his earlier years, but in Bower's estimation it was Swinton's overtly chivalric rhetoric at the battle which encouraged Adam Gordon to be dubbed by this man who was the embodiment of knightliness.²⁵³

Certainly in 1402 there was no royal monopoly on the bestowal of knighthoods, as the eve of the Battle of Humbleton Hill saw other knights granting knighthoods. Sir Thomas Erskine gave John Mowbray, lord of Drummany, 'the

²⁵² *Chron. Bower*, XV, 14. D.E.R. Watt has pointed out that although the battle is customarily called 'Homildon Hill', the hill it is most likely to have occurred beside is Humbleton Hill. See notes p. 169.

²⁵³ George S.C. Swinton, 'John of Swinton: A Border Fighter in the Middle Ages', *SHR* 16 (1919), p. 262. This article outlines Swinton's career as a young knight in England and in France, his return to Scotland in later life and his death at Humbleton Hill. He also includes some discussion on Sir Walter Scott's 'Halidon Hill'.

ordre of knyghted' before the battle.²⁵⁴ He also granted him ten merks worth of land. Adam Gordon's demonstration of kneeling before Swinton and asking him to dub him also acted as a form of dispute settlement, where previously feuding men agreed to be bound together through the lord/man obligations of knighthood. In 1460, Alexander Gordon, earl of Huntly, used this act of bestowing knighthood in a similar way and dubbed James, Lord Forbes, with whom he had a long-standing history of enmity.²⁵⁵

In 1406, Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, took a retinue to England, comprising sixty men including three Aberdeenshire lords, Alexander of Forbes,

²⁵⁴ HMC, *Mar and Kellie*, I, p. 15. Although it is not specified that this knighthood was granted before the battle, Sir Thomas Erskine was captured during the battle, so the obvious conclusion is that he bestowed knighthood on John Mowbray beforehand. See Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, pp. 246, 262, HMC, *Rep X*, App VI, pp. 77-8. On 18 October 1408, John Mowbray gave up the ten merks of land and all other conditions to Sir Robert Erskine, the heir of Sir Thomas, and presumably renounced his allegiance to Sir Thomas's heir at the same time. This may have been because the lord-knight bond between Thomas Erskine and Mowbray was a personal one, and Thomas had died four years earlier. Thomas Erskine had received his own knighthood at the hands of his father, Sir Robert Erskine, in 1367. However, the way in which this was received is also a remarkable example of early Scots jurisprudence. Fordun tells us of a judicial duel between Thomas Erskine and James Douglas, a dispute over the liferent of Erskine's wife's estate. Erskine's first wife, the heiress of Dalkeith, had died during the birth of her first child around 1367, and the child also died. However, the problem being disputed arose over the question of whether the child was born alive nor not. Erskine pleaded that the child was born alive, and on this basis claimed his wife's liferent. James Douglas, the next heir, claimed the estates on the grounds that the child had died at the same time as his mother. David II decided that the dispute should be resolved by personal combat and the preparations for the trial took place over 1367 and 1368, with both Douglas and Erskine petitioning Edward III for permission to buy the required arms and armour in London. The duel finally took place in Edinburgh in the presence of David II in 1368. Just prior to entering the lists, both men were knighted: James Douglas by Sir Archibald Douglas, third earl of Douglas, his kinsman, and Thomas Erskine by his father Sir Robert Erskine. Both men fought equally well and eventually the king intervened awarding Erskine a sum of money in lieu of his rights, and awarding Douglas the estates. These men were clearly knighted within their kin groups and to attempt to increase their status and honour to ensure they fought well. Although there was no requirement of knighthood to fight in a trial by combat, this was clearly a duel with heavily knightly overtones, especially given the length of time it took to acquire full armour and ensure the quality of it. With the amount of planning that went into the duel, it is almost certain that it was planned beforehand that Erskine and Douglas would be knighted at that time, especially given the importance placed on prestige gained by performing well at battle or tournament. David Sellar, 'Courtesy, Battle and the Brieve of Right, 1368- A Story Continued', in David Sellar (ed), *The Stair Society Miscellany II* (Edinburgh, 1984), Fraser, *Douglas*, I, pp. 253-4, George Neilson, *Trial by Combat* (Glasgow, 1890), pp. 216-17, *SP*, V, p. 596.

²⁵⁵ NAS GD52/412.

Walter Lindsay of Kinneff and William Hay of Naughton.²⁵⁶ The following year, in September 1407, Mar took this company of ‘knychtis and squyeris, and gret gentyll men...men of cousaile and of wertu’ to France.²⁵⁷ Whilst there, Mar made acquaintance with the duke of Burgundy and pledged his services to the king of France, agreeing to provide a contingent for the Burgundian army against Liège.²⁵⁸ On their arrival in Liège, Mar knighted five of his men, clearly attempting to establish ties of loyalty to and amongst his men. These new knights were John of Sutherland, Mar’s nephew, who was a ‘lord appearande of wertu’, Alexander of Keith, Alexander of Irvine, Andrew Stewart, Mar’s brother, and John of Menteith.²⁵⁹ Granting of knighthoods was not even limited to earls, implying that any knight could dub another knight, and on the same campaign, Sir William Hay, lord of Naughton, knighted his kinsman Gilbert Hay.²⁶⁰ These examples raise questions about the hierarchy of knighthood. Could, for example, a knight dub a baron, or could an earl accept knighthood from a lesser lord, or even one of his peers? These are questions which cannot be answered without a further exploration of non-royal knightly relationships.

²⁵⁶ *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 179, Michael Brown, ‘Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland: The Badenoch Stewarts, II. Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar’, *Northern Scotland* 16 (1996), p. 32. On 20 September 1406 Sir Walter Lindsay and William Hay esquire, along with the earl of Mar, appeared as witnesses for Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas. NLS Adv. MSS 80.4.15, Dundas of Dundas, Mac.XXVI, Dunberny, no. 1. According to Wyntoun, this ‘honest company’ contained ten or more knights, and clerks, other of ‘gret wertu’ and sixty horses. *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 420.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 422.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 423, 429, Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London & New York, 1979), p. 55. The Burgundians retained eighty of Mar’s company but they were still led by the north-eastern lords. Brown, ‘Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland’, p. 32.

²⁵⁹ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 431-2, *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 263, Brown, ‘Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland’, p. 33, Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, I p. 112.

²⁶⁰ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 432, Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, I, p. 112.

It could be suggested, especially of the early years of the fifteenth century, that knights were bestowing knighthoods themselves as there was no king in place to do so. Even after James I returned in 1424, however, the practice continued. Walter Bower reports that in July 1429 at Senlis, returning to Paris from the coronation at Rheims, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse knighted Alexander Barclay, Laurence Vernon, Walter Leckie, John Turnbull, William Rossy, Thomas Lovell, Gilbert Hay and Nicholas King.²⁶¹ Even though Alasdair MacDonald implies that James I attempted to impose a monopoly on knightings on his return in 1424, this was clearly ineffectual.²⁶² Within the context of a military campaign abroad, this may, of course, have been an unusual case. However, there was no royal monopoly on dubbing over the rest of the century.

William, sixth earl of Douglas, allegedly knighted members of his own retinue. In the sixteenth century George Buchanan complained that the sixth earl behaved poorly by imitating royal roles. For example he would always

appear in public attended by a great train, greatly beyond the retinue of any other chieftan; to retain his ancient vassals by kindness, and to acquire new ones by gifts; to create knights and noblemen...²⁶³

²⁶¹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 26. Bower says nine men were knighted, although he only names eight. The Corpus MS version, which was annotated by Sir Gilbert Hay personally, records a different story. Hay's marginalia instructed that chapter twenty-six should be revised because it was ill-informed. Hay's corrections included that Christian Chalmers (Cristin de Camera), Laurence Vernon and Hay himself were taken from Charles VII's household and knighted by him. Ogilvy, then, only knighted Barclay, Rossy, Turnbull, Lovell and King. The Harleian MS version of the *Scotichronicon*, copied around 1483-4, accommodated these changes. See Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers', pp. 32-3, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 26, notes. See also Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, I, p. 158. Forbes-Leith claimed that Walter Leckie was already a knight and in the service of Charles VII by 1424, I, p. 43.

²⁶² MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', p. 153.

²⁶³ Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 61, Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424-1488* (East Linton, 2001), p. 99.

Whilst it is impossible to know if contemporaries thought Douglas's behaviour was wrong, it nevertheless seems that in the sixteenth century it was felt, at least by Buchanan, that knighthoods should only be bestowed by kings.

In the 1470s and 1480s, Alexander Stewart, duke of Albany, often dubbed his retainers and supporters.²⁶⁴ James Liddale of Halcerston, a steward for Albany, was one such man. Liddale had been a member of James III's household as early as 1461 when he was Master of the Queen's Avery.²⁶⁵ In 1471 he was appointed ranger of the ward of Yarrow, a post which he held until 1482, and he sat in parliament in 1478 and 1481.²⁶⁶ He was knighted around July 1471, most probably by Albany. Later, during the political conflict between Albany and his brother James III, Liddale proved himself to be ultimately loyal to the duke, although he had never received any material reward for his loyalty from Albany.²⁶⁷ In February 1483, Liddale, master of Albany's household, acted as a commissioner for Albany, along with Archibald, earl of Angus, and Andrew, Lord Gray, and concluded a treaty with Edward IV's commissioners at Westminster.²⁶⁸ In July of that year the duke of Albany and James Liddale were both commanded to attend parliament to answer charges of treason, but when they failed to appear they were forfeited.²⁶⁹ Liddale seems to be an example of a knight who remained loyal to the man who dubbed him, although the bond of

²⁶⁴ For more on Alexander Stewart, duke of Albany, see Charles Adrian Kelham, 'Bases of Magnatial Power in Later Fifteenth-Century Scotland' (Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 212-93.

²⁶⁵ *ER*, VII, p. 84, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 118.

²⁶⁶ *ER*, VIII, pp. 100, 142, 209, 266, 354, 434, 476, 583, IX, 33, 136, 187, *APS*, II, pp. 121, 134.

²⁶⁷ *ER*, VIII, p. 100, *ADA*, I, 23, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 167, 270, *CDS*, IV, 1489, *Foedera*, XII, p. 173, Kelham, 'Bases of Magnatial Power', p. 240.

²⁶⁸ *Foedera*, XII, pp. 172-3, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 180, 188-9, Kelham, 'Bases of Magnatial Power', p. 265.

²⁶⁹ *APS*, II, pp. 151-2, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 188-9.

knighthood was probably only one factor among many that dictated Liddale's behaviour.

At the height of his campaign for the throne, on 24 July 1482, near Edinburgh, Alexander, duke of Albany, knighted more of his retainers. The duke of Albany had recently returned to England from France and started negotiations with Edward IV to enter into the English king's service as the self-declared king of Scotland.²⁷⁰ With English support Albany returned to Scotland and dubbed his men, whilst a treaty was drawn up between the duke of Gloucester and Albany and an enormous English force was in the process of invading Scotland.²⁷¹ At the signing of the treaty, the duke of Gloucester made thirty-two English knights banneret and fourteen new knights, the earl of Northumberland knighted some of his men, and Lord Stanley, Steward of the King's House, made fifteen new knights.²⁷² Alexander, duke of Albany, knighted Adam Murray, Thomas Lindsay, John Cunningham and John Rutherford.²⁷³ Whether Albany knighted his men because he believed himself entitled to do so as king, or whether it was still standard practice for knights to bestow knighthoods remains unclear. These knighthoods, on both the English and the Scottish sides, were clearly granted by lords to men within their own retinues, and show that lord-knight relationships were still important in Scottish and English society. Moreover, they demonstrate that the crown did not have blanket control over the bestowal of knighthoods.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-3.

²⁷¹ Shaw (ed), *Knights of England*, II, p. 17, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 154-5.

²⁷² Shaw (ed), *Knights of England*, II, p. 19.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 18. This took place in the Englishmen's camp.

It would thus appear that there was never an absolute royal monopoly on the bestowal of knighthoods in the fifteenth century, but instead a growing emphasis on the prestige associated with receiving knighthood at the hands of the king. Whilst there were clearly Scottish knights created in the service of lords and earls and other knights, the most prominent knights of the kingdom were in royal service and received their knighthood from the king. These royal knights who had usually been dubbed at a solemn court ceremony, such as a coronation, were of high noble status and held various powerful positions at court and in royal administration. Part of the development of an emphasis on royal knighting was due to the cost of maintaining a large body of knights. Gradually the crown took on the responsibility of providing for the men who in turn served the kingdom. With the collapse of the major regional lordships, for example the Albanys and especially the Douglasses, this focus on the crown to provide knights was even more crucial. There was no vast retinue of knights which could be called upon, nor could lesser lords afford to maintain larger retinues. Potential knights, therefore, naturally sought out crown sponsorship and the crown encouraged them to do so with various social, political, and economic incentives.

Gifts of land were one such incentive. Land grants were common in association with receiving knighthood, as the lord agreed to ensure that the knight could maintain a standard of living befitting this status. *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* supported this idea, claiming that ‘the ordre of knycthede is sa hye yat quhen a king makis a knycht he sulde mak him lord and gouernour of grete landis

and contreis efter his worthines.²⁷⁴ John Barbour reported that when Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, paid homage to Robert Bruce, Bruce

knew his worthy vassalage, his great knowledge and judgement, his trusty heart and loyal service, and, for that, trusted him, and made him rich in lands and beasts, as was indeed the right thing.²⁷⁵

Conversely, this implied that men who had the required amount of land to support knightly status were expected to become knights. In England, Henry VIII insisted that those who were wealthy enough to support knightly status and the knightly lifestyle had to take up knighthood or they would suffer financial penalties. This was partly an attempt to raise revenue and partly an attempt to raise armed warriors.²⁷⁶ However, there was no similar dictum from the Scottish crown and many squires remained at that status throughout their lives.²⁷⁷

Scottish knights were no strangers to receiving financial inducements alongside their knighthoods. In 1412 Sir Gavin Dunbar received a payment of £40 for his services on the Marches during the time of war. Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth received the lands of Rednach, around the time that he was dubbed, for his services in the border wars in 1497.²⁷⁸ In the fourteenth century, Thomas Stewart gave

²⁷⁴ Glenn (ed), *Boke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 15.

²⁷⁵ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book X, 270-5.

²⁷⁶ Bennett, 'The Status of a Squire', p. 8, Francis Morgan Nichols, 'On Feudal and Obligatory Knighthood', *Archaeologia: Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 39 (1863), pp. 213-4, 228. It was extremely costly to provide arms, body armour, horses and equipment for warfare. See Ian Pierce, 'The Knight, his Arms and Armour in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 152. The knight's fee had been widely used by English kings. However, by 1641 this had changed and the members of the Long Parliament voted that no one should be fined or compelled to become a knight. H.H. Leonard, 'Distrainment of Knighthood: The Last Phase, 1625-41', *History* 63 (1978), p. 23, Nichols, 'On Feudal and Obligatory Knighthood', p. 189.

²⁷⁷ See Appendix B, Table Three, for a list of squires in royal service who never appear to have been knighted.

²⁷⁸ *ER*, IV, pp. 163-4.

Alexander Lindsay forty merks worth of land when he knighted him, and in 1402 Sir Thomas Erskine gave John Mowbray ten merks worth of land when he dubbed him knight.²⁷⁹ On 17 January 1451, James II gave John Ross of Hawkhead the lands of Tarbart in Ayrshire and Auchinback in Renfrewshire two years after he had knighted him.²⁸⁰ For supporting him at Blackness, James III granted James Dunbar of Cumnock, in feu farm, £44 worth of Morayshire lands on 20 May 1488.²⁸¹ Knights and squires could also receive occasional payments for knightly services. For instance, William Cranston received £6 13s 4d as a fee for his services as a squire to the duke of Rothesay.²⁸² Many of these types of grant were made to ensure that the knight was able to support his status. As the crown seems to have covered the shortfall in these ways, having the financial means to support the status must have been a requirement of knighthood.

The Noble Status of Knights

Wealth was not, however, the only requirement for knighthood. A noble lineage was expected for eligibility and knights generally had to be of noble status and descended from a line of knights. A warrior from an elevated background was expected to embody the qualities of his lineage, and a nobleman was obliged to display proper knightly behaviour and honour his inheritance.²⁸³ Contemporary commentators often reveal just how crucial this was. A 1420 papal supplication shows the concern with knightly lineage, when Alexander Lauder, who was 'alleged

²⁷⁹ Fraser, *Douglas*, III, p. 28, *SP*, III, p. 12, HMC, *Mar and Kellie*, I, p. 15.

²⁸⁰ *RMS*, II, 411.

²⁸¹ *RMS*, II 1727, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 35.

²⁸² *ER*, V, p. 33.

²⁸³ Bennett, 'Military Masculinity', p. 76.

to be of knightly race' was exposed as a fraud because 'whereas, although he is a kinsman of sundry knights in the second and third degrees, yet neither his grandfather nor his great-grandfather was a knight'.²⁸⁴ Alexander had been given mandate of provision of the parish church of Ratho and two ecclesiastical benefices from Benedict XIII before he was deposed. This was called into question, not only because his knightly heritage was falsely reported, but also because he neglected to mention the value of the archdeaconry which he held. Although the original enquiry doubted whether his claim was valid, Alexander was ultimately successful in his suit and the issue of his knightly background was not raised again.²⁸⁵

In the 1440s, Walter Bower discussed William Wallace's descent from a noble family. Bower attributed to him the qualities that a heroic knight should possess:

he came from a distinguished family, with relatives who shone with knightly honour. His older brother called Andrew was a belted knight who held a patrimony of lands in keeping with his status, which he bequeathed to be held by his descendants.²⁸⁶

Bower's late fourteenth-century source, the *Gesta Annalia*, attached to Fordun's chronicle, described a very different picture of Wallace's lineage. The *Gesta Annalia* wrote that amongst the earls and lords of the kingdom, Wallace was looked upon as low-born, even though both his father and his elder brother were knights, and his brother's landed estate was large enough for his social station.²⁸⁷ The

²⁸⁴ *Cal. Scot. Supp.*, I, pp. 235-6.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 290.

²⁸⁶ *Chron. Bower*, XI, 28.

²⁸⁷ *Chron. Fordun*, vol. IV, p. 321. The emphasis that both Fordun and Bower place on Andrew Wallace's estates demonstrate how necessary land was to support the knightly status. See James E. Fraser, '“A Swan from a Raven”: William Wallace, Brucean Propaganda, and *Gesta Annalia* II', *SHR* 81 (2002), pp. 5-6, 19, for a discussion of English chroniclers' comments on Wallace's low-born status.

chronicler gives no indication of why the earls and lords thought that William was low-born, but it may be a hint that Wallace was thought to be illegitimate.

By the fifteenth century, however, this aspect of Wallace's inheritance had been disguised. In the 1420s, Andrew Wyntoun asserted that Wallace had a noble lineage, arguing that his father was a manly knight and his mother was a lady. Wyntoun thus sought to place emphasis on his birth within wedlock and stressed that his elder brother was also a knight.²⁸⁸ The anonymous chronicler of the *Book of Pluscarden*, who abridged Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, claimed that Wallace was the son of a noble knight and that his brother was a 'very distinguished and gallant knight'.²⁸⁹ In the 1470s, Wallace's biographer, Blind Harry, wrote that Wallace was of worthy blood, his whole lineage was a true Scottish line, and that his father, Sir Malcolm Wallace, was a 'full gentill knycht'.²⁹⁰ The change in description of Wallace's lineage in the 1420s shows that this was a prime concern with regard to eligibility for knighthood in the early fifteenth century and one which retained its importance over the rest of the century.

Whilst it was generally accepted that only men of noble status could be knighted, there are some notable exceptions to this, such as the Forresters of Corstorphine and Thomas Todd. In cases like this, proof of nobility through the family's style of living and its general reputation could be enough to enter into lower-level noble society.²⁹¹ Land ownership also increased social standing and brought with it the privileges of lower-status nobility. Certainly this was not unheard

²⁸⁸ *Chron. Wyntoun*, V, p. 299.

²⁸⁹ *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 72.

²⁹⁰ Blind Harry, *Wallace*, I, 36. For more on this see R. James Goldstein, 'Blind Harry's Myth of Blood: The Ideological Closure of *The Wallace*', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 25 (1990), p. 74.

²⁹¹ Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, p. 43.

of in the fifteenth century. In England the Pastons rose via legal avenues from yeomen to knighthood in a few generations. In France, too, Jean Boutard did much the same in 1475 when he produced witnesses to swear that his family had always lived in a noble fashion and had served in the king's armies.²⁹² John Forrester of Corstorphine, a prominent knight in James I's service, was the descendant of a wealthy burgher, yet the family had managed over the course of a few generations to secure a high social status.²⁹³ The Forrester's tombs at the Old Parish Church of Corstorphine show Adam Forrester, his son John, and John's son, John, in effigy, all dressed in full knightly armour with swords. Most Scottish secular effigies are of knights who achieved fame for themselves on the battlefield and who attained distinction in governmental duties, such as the Douglas effigies in Douglas, or Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum in Aberdeen, and there is no doubt that the Forrester's self-promotion through the effigies served to further reinforce their relatively new knightly status.²⁹⁴

Whereas the Forrester's status may have derived from the large amount of land they acquired in the fourteenth century, this was not the case for all non-nobles who were knighted. Thomas Todd had been a burgher of Edinburgh during James III's reign and in 1488 and 1489 he acted as Comptroller for James IV.²⁹⁵ James IV

²⁹² See Richard Barber (ed), *The Pastons: A Family in the Wars of the Roses* (Harmondsworth, 1981), Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, p. 43.

²⁹³ Elizabeth Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 134. By the fifteenth century the Forrester's reputation had made them suitable to enter into knighthood and Adam Forrester, John's father, was knighted in or before 1403, and John was knighted before 1404. *ER*, III, pp. 564, 622.

²⁹⁴ Robert Brydell, 'The Monumental Effigies of Scotland from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century', *PSAS* 29 (1894-5), pp. 334, 382, David Laing, 'The Forrester Monuments in the Church of Corstorphine', *PSAS* 11 (1876), pp. 353-62, Scott, 'Dress in Scotland', pp. 104, 108-11, 143-50.

²⁹⁵ *ER*, IX, p. 511, X, pp. 21, 40, 58, 102, *Prot. Bk. Young*, no. 50, Murray, 'The Comptroller', p. 29.

must have held him in considerable esteem, as from 1490 Todd was being styled as knight, at which point he entered James's service as a royal messenger, a role which he held until at least 1497.²⁹⁶ Todd's entry into knighthood indicates that new routes to knighthood had opened up by James IV's reign, possibly due to the burgeoning royal government. Todd, however, was clearly an 'administrative' knight, not one who carried out the other duties of knighthood. His status was an individual privilege and honour rather than a permanent elevation for his family. Todd's increase in social status was not passed on to his son, also Thomas, who was simply an Edinburgh burghess in late 1506.²⁹⁷ Sir Thomas Todd seems to have been involved in mercantile enterprise up until his death, owning a tenement from which other burghesses rented booths from him.²⁹⁸ Todd did not appear to have been involved in military service or tournaments, and he must have been knighted as an individual honour for his administrative service to the crown or for his commercial and financial expertise.

The rise of the mercantile class certainly had an effect on knighthood and the nobility, as merchants competed with noble courtiers for administrative positions and some burghesses managed to elevate their position to that of squire, although they most often remained unknighthooded.²⁹⁹ Although the rank of squire was not bestowed in any formal sense, it did indicate an element of service, membership and adherence to the values of knightly society. In the 1450s, Alexander Hepburn, Archibald Hepburn, Thomas Hepburn and Robert Airth were all designated as squires, but they

²⁹⁶ Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 88, *CDS*, IV, 1571, *TA*, I, p. 314.

²⁹⁷ NAS GD430/186 28 November 1506.

²⁹⁸ *Prot. Bk. Young*, no. 1717.

²⁹⁹ Aldo Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1991), p. 21.

were also burgesses of Haddington.³⁰⁰ In the late 1450s, John Dalrymple, a burghess of Edinburgh, also appeared styled as a squire.³⁰¹ The mid-fifteenth-century effigy of Gilbert Menzies of Pitfoddels shows him dressed in full body armour although he was never knighted and was simply a successful merchant. Margaret Scott argues that Menzies' armour reflected the parliamentary act of 1430 stating the amount of armour required for different levels of society, but it is far more an indication that Menzies adhered to the codes of conduct of knightly society without being a formal member of it.³⁰² As far as the records show these men were never knighted, although they were clearly elevated to something close to knightly status, either through military or administrative duties, or a shared military training and subscription to the knightly code and way of life. Perhaps all of these burgesses had been involved in the military activities, both foreign and domestic, that played such a large part in the reign of James II.³⁰³

The Dubbing of Knights in the Fifteenth Century

The reasons for the granting and receipt of knighthood were varied, some initiating or reflecting genuine lord-man relations, others reflecting an attempt to strengthen less intimate political relationships. James I, James II, James III and James IV used the granting of knighthoods in a variety of ways. When James I dubbed his nobles he gave the honour of knighthood to ensure political allegiance and bind the recipients to his lordship. James I's knightings suggest a highly

³⁰⁰ *RMS*, II, 1477.

³⁰¹ *RMS*, II, 737.

³⁰² Scott, 'Dress in Scotland', pp. 65, 111-13.

³⁰³ See Barbour, *Bruce*, Book XVI, 79-81, and Wormald, *Lords and Men*, ch. 8. 'Uncertain Allies: Burghs and Politicians', pp. 137-56, for examples of burgesses engaged in armed conflicts.

politicised agenda. This is understandable given his prolonged absence from his kingdom, and his actions were expressed in the only way that the social norms could allow, through the conventions of courtly culture. Hence the bestowal of knighthood placed James's nobles clearly and unquestionably in a context which they understood and to which they could respond appropriately. Indeed, of James I's knights, most had highly political careers and served the crown in high-status positions at court.

The evidence surviving from James II's reign indicates that he knighted his nobles predominantly at royal events such as his marriage and the 1449 tournament. James II's focus, however, appears to have been on the chivalric aspects of knighthood, using elaborate court displays as a way of impressing royal power on his subjects. Indeed, the knights who were dubbed by him also tended to have careers focused on more 'traditional' knightly duties like military service. Sir Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll, probably knighted at James II's wedding, took part in the siege of Hatton in 1452, and the siege of Threave in 1455, becoming Warden of Threave Castle in 1456.³⁰⁴ He had earned enough of a chivalric reputation that by the sixteenth century it was claimed that he was responsible for teaching the young James III the arts of chivalry.³⁰⁵ Similarly, John Ross of Hawkhead, knighted by James II prior to participating in a tournament in 1449, later became the Keeper of Blackness Castle, although he had very little role in royal administration.³⁰⁶ As James II was heavily involved in military activity in the 1450s, this trend may simply reflect their increased attendance on the battlefield, but knights' presence in this capacity remained essential.

³⁰⁴ *ER*, VI, pp. 199, 202, 203, 204, 208-9, V, pp. 607, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 47.

³⁰⁵ Buchanan, *History*, II, pp. 125-6.

James III appears to have knighted most of his men for military purposes. In almost all recorded instances where he knighted men in state, it was under the immediate pressure of war or rebellion. For example, at his coronation, the hundred men James was directed by his advisors to knight were used at the siege of Wark castle. Most telling, during the beginnings of the disruptions in 1488, James III raised the status of many of his nobles and knighted three of them at his last parliament. The lack of records from this period makes it impossible to draw firm conclusions about the policy that James III had towards making knights and the use of knights' service. Indeed, all that can really be said is that as the duke of Albany was also bestowing knighthoods during this time, there was no royal control over dubbing.

Under James IV a strong emphasis seems to have been placed upon chivalry in day-to-day court life. In both his personal qualities as a king and in his administrative rule, James IV seems to have sought a revival of the glory days of chivalry based loosely around the ideals of the Arthurian legend, reworked and refashioned since the twelfth century. James IV encouraged a chivalric dynasty and this was almost seamlessly incorporated into his interest in the military, the navy and the knightly. Gavin Douglas dedicated his *Palice of Honour* to James IV, and wrote that he

mot haue Eternallie
Supreme Honour, Renoun of Cheualrie.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ *ER*, VII, pp. 365, 404, 500, 506, 589.

³⁰⁷ Gavin Douglas, *The Palice of Honour*, Bannatyne Club, (Edinburgh 1827, reprinted New York, 1971), p. 71, MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', p. 167.

With so much emphasis placed on chivalric and courtly ideals, it would be expected that there would be evidence of James bestowing knighthoods at large-scale, public, royal and chivalric events, but this is not the case. The most obvious aspect of James IV's bestowal of knighthood was that he did so for particularly 'knightly' reasons: for participation in tournaments and especially as a reward for fighting well in battle. Like James II, James IV knighted his nobles at public and royal events, but with the primary intention of supporting his own chivalric image, combining dubbing ceremonies with tournaments and battles, the ultimate knightly activities.

Across the fifteenth century the one consistent aspect of knighthood was that the men who were dubbed by the kings were used by them for political, administrative, judicial, diplomatic and martial duties. They were knighted sometimes as a reward for these services, at other times to initiate periods of service or to increase their performance and their loyalty. Thus knighthood could be both the beginning of a prominent career, or the mark of a distinguished career. At court ceremonials, those who were dubbed came mostly from the ranks of the higher nobility, whereas at other, less formal times, lesser nobles and even non-nobles could be knighted. This distinction can particularly be drawn between court and battlefield dubbings. Where royal ceremonies were dominated by a sense of status, lineage and place within the political community, the battlefield was a space where men of lower social status could gain honour and rewards from military service alone. Nevertheless, the picture which emerges is that James I, James II and James III all used the bestowal of knighthood to bind their nobles to the crown, as did James IV, but he also wished to bind his nobles to the knightly ethos and to highlight his own chivalric qualities.

The Knight's Role in Warfare

War was the domain in which a knight could fulfil his military function and prove his knightly worth.¹ Whether this remained the case in the fifteenth century, as technological developments changed the style of warfare, is open to debate. Although much work has been undertaken on the wars in which James I, James II, James III and James IV were engaged, no assessment of the role of knights in these conflicts has been attempted. Indeed, scholars have mostly ignored the poignant differences between the vision of the chivalric knight as the ultimate battlefield warrior and the development of weaponry, particularly guns, that threatened to make the traditional skills of knights obsolete. This chapter will look at how knights and squires were trained for martial activities, what the requirements of military service were, whether Scottish knights received payments or rewards for those services, and who can be identified as being involved in the battles, sieges and campaigns which took place in the fifteenth century.

The greatest problem in determining the knight's role in warfare is the type of records available. Andrew Ayton asked of the sources three questions: How complete and reliable a picture of military service do they provide? What proportion of those

¹ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 94. For general studies of medieval warfare, see amongst others Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), John Barnie, *War in Medieval Society: Social Values and the Hundred Years War 1337-99* (London, 1974), and Maurice Keen, 'War, Peace and Chivalry', in Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London & Rio Grande, 1996).

engaged in military service can actually be known by name? What is the nature of the distortions introduced by incomplete or imperfect evidence?² Only a very small proportion of participants will ever be known by name. Military commanders, men who performed well, and those who received financial compensation or rewards from the crown afterwards, are the ones noted. Needless to say, there were significantly more men involved than are recorded. As no private financial records exist, detailing either payments to members of retinues or the preparations an individual lord or knight made to attend a battle or siege, we only have the crown's official records to inform us about formal preparations.³ The problem with the official crown sources is that they generally only detail payments to workers or specialised fighters, and not payments, benefits or rewards given to knights. This leaves a distorted impression of warfare, which suggests that knights were not significantly involved in the proceedings. Witness lists from charters made whilst on campaign are useful in establishing who was present with the king, but these too are problematic as they do not necessarily provide the names of the knights involved in commanding or fighting. Thus the following discussion is limited by the nature of the sources.

Such evidence, however, can be supplemented by chronicle sources, which provide further information about individual campaigns. Chronicle accounts must also be treated carefully as they are imbued with a sense that warfare was a series of one-on-

² Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy Under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 5.

³ Occasional burgh records shed some light, but these are generally concerned with burgesses and not knights. See for example *Abdn. Counc.*, p. 85. The type of surviving records in themselves are revealing, as they suggest that the Scottish crown was not engaged in the type of prolonged military campaigns abroad which required the development of financial systems and records.

one confrontations. These descriptions are taken directly from a chivalric model and not from intimate knowledge of 'real' warfare. Chronicle accounts are also problematic, as they concentrate on commanders and people who, in the eyes of the chronicler, demonstrated themselves to be particularly useful or distinguished in the field. It only becomes apparent that a broader range of knights and men-at-arms were involved when a chronicler, usually from a herald's report or similar source, listed hostages or the deceased from a particular campaign. Even then there are very few contemporary accounts of battles in the fifteenth century. Walter Bower provides some information on battles fought at the start of the century, but these were well-known, fought before the return of James I in 1424, and the descriptions do not give much insight into later patterns of knightly behaviour on the battlefield.⁴ This is partly because there were much fewer Anglo-Scottish encounters at a formal level in the fifteenth century, and therefore far fewer opportunities to build up the type of reputation enjoyed by noble families like the Black Douglases. As Richard Kaeuper asserts, if fighting during war was the highest expression of prowess and the best opportunity for its display, then knights needed war.⁵ Yet the impression the sources give, that knights were not heavily involved in fifteenth-century warfare, is a difficult one to shake off and warrants further investigation.

In general, knights began their training for war when they were young squires, before the onset of puberty. They were taught the practical aspects of warfare including

⁴ Bower generally reported who the prominent figures on the battlefield were, how the Scots outsmarted the enemy and who died. See his accounts of the battles of Humbleton, Baugé and Verneuil. *Chron. Bower*, XV, 14, 33, 35.

⁵ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 166.

how to ride and control horses, how to ‘gouverne’ armour and how to use weapons effectively.⁶ Squires were taught by kinsmen in the household or in neighbouring households and by observing their fathers and elders, by being at the royal court and beside companions in battle. There is no record of any formal training programme existing in Scotland.⁷ *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* laid particular stress on the requirement of a good knight to teach his children the points and properties of chivalry, as well as the knightly codes of conduct. This chivalric manual stressed that these lessons should be taught when boys were young so as not to disadvantage them when they became knights.⁸ Maurice Keen concluded in his study of chivalry that military training was regarded as one of the social responsibilities of the nobility which should be provided from private resources, much like the equipping of oneself as a man-at-arms.⁹ Unfortunately the nature of the surviving sources cannot confirm whether this was also the case in Scotland, but as the crown did not take responsibility for knightly martial training, it must be assumed that this was done privately.

⁶ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, pp. 11-12, S.D. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 39, Bennett, ‘Military Masculinity’, p. 73, Pierce, ‘The Knight, his Arms and Armour’, pp. 152-3. For a general discussion on noble education see J.H. Hexter, ‘The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance’, in J.H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History* (London, 1961).

⁷ Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 181.

⁸ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, pp. 11-12.

⁹ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 226, *APS*, II, pp. 10, 45, 226. Ian Pierce argues that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a squire graduated to knightly status only when his military skills were perfected. This was not true in the fifteenth century, when squires often stayed at that status and could command armies without having been knighted. Pierce, ‘The Knight, his Arms and Armour’, pp. 152-3. In general, the teens were the age when young men could bear arms. King Arthur started at the age of fifteen, and Gawain aged twelve, but in Scotland, sixteen was the standard age considered suitable for men to begin armed fighting, although boys as young as twelve could be called upon. William Wallace, the national warrior hero, bore arms from the age of eighteen. *APS*, II, pp. 10-11, 48, Blind Harry, *Wallace*, p. 7, *Chron. Bower*, III, 25, see also Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Lewis Thorpe (trans), (London, 1966), p. 223.

The crown, of course, did take some interest in ensuring that men were prepared to fight in wars. In August 1456, as a response to the threat of impending war with England, James II set aside Greenside, on the road from Edinburgh to Leith, for the practice of tournaments and games of war.¹⁰ This was, of course, for the practice of skills already gained in childhood and teenage years. At the same time, parliament legislated for the training and equipping of ordinary soldiers. Wapinschawings were generally ordered by parliament and their frequency was largely determined by the threat of war. Wapinschawings were meetings of all the men of the realm who could bear arms and were intended to assess the level of weaponry available for warfare. Men were mustered through their lords, whom parliament had directed to attend. Julian Goodare has pointed out that wapinschawings served four primary functions; they impressed military values on the men present, they defined who was obliged to perform military service, they established the obligations of weapon possession and in some cases they offered military training.¹¹ In October 1456 the estates declared renewed regulations for the arms to be borne at wapinschawings, which included a threat of punishment for those who did not come fully armed to the meetings once a month.¹² In March 1457, parliament decided that quarterly wapinschawings were adequate, but at the same time criticised the Scots' interest in football and golf instead of games which would prepare them for warfare.¹³ In 1458, parliament decreed that shooting was to be

¹⁰ *Edin. Chrs.*, no. 36.

¹¹ Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 137, 151.

¹² *APS*, II, p. 45.

¹³ *APS*, II, p. 48.

practised each Sunday, from Easter to All Hallowmass, and each man was required to shoot at least six shots. Each burgh was additionally ordered to have a bowyer and fletcher, with the town supplying them with the necessary materials.¹⁴ However, as legislation was concerned with the level of skills and preparation of ordinary soldiers, we still have very little indication of the types of preparations made by knights.

Whilst most martial training for knights took place within the small community of the noble household, there were men of exceptional knightly skill who attracted a broader range of followers to their company in order to learn from their knightly wisdom and experience. Walter Bower tells us of one such knight, Sir Alexander Ramsay, who in the early fourteenth century

shone with such prowess, and was so widely honoured for his outstanding military service [...] that virtually none of the nobility, whether adult or growing boy, thought he could gain any measure of manhood or merit unless he had experience for a while in his military school. Therefore, young squires attached themselves to him.¹⁵

It seems unlikely that there was ever a fully-developed ‘school’ of chivalry in Scotland, as Bower seems to suggest, but it is possible that Alexander Ramsay did pass on advice and assistance to knights and squires who needed to improve their martial skills. The anonymous Pluscarden chronicler wrote around the same time as Bower that Ramsay was ‘a most famous knight’. At any time he could attract a retinue of between thirty and one hundred men because he was able to offer protection and enforce obedience, an

¹⁴ *APS*, II, p. 48. For more on armourers and their craft see Charles Ffoulkes, *The Armourer and his Craft from the XIth to the XVIth Century* (New York, 1912 reprint 1988), Charles Ffoulkes, ‘Some Aspects of the Craft of Armourer’, *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 79 (1929), pp. 13-28.

¹⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XIII, 47, See also *Chron. Wynthoun*, VI, p. 147.

indication that he was a man of considerable personal influence.¹⁶ Blind Harry similarly praised Alexander by saying that he was one of the best under the crown and that any gentleman who had been with Ramsay became more ‘courtly’, suggesting that his reputation stretched beyond straightforward military competence.¹⁷ However, Ramsay’s reputation cannot be viewed separately from his affinity to the Black Douglasses and his role in real and brutal Anglo-Scottish warfare. His later reputation was a direct result of his effective application of violence in border warfare.¹⁸

There is no evidence that knightly ‘schools’ existed in the fifteenth century. Indeed, the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* lamented that whilst there were schools of clerics, there were no schools of chivalry, and it asks that kings and nobles band together to right this wrong.¹⁹ There are, however, certainly records of men seeking out famous and reputable knights whom they wished to serve. This may have led to a better knightly training and an increase in reputation for the squires attached to the lords they served. In June 1472, a squire, John Paston, wrote to his relation Sir John Paston asking him to recommend him to Sir Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, (at that time exiled in London) in order that he might enter into Boyd’s service. Paston’s reasons for wishing to be tied to Boyd were that he was

the most corteys, gentylest, wysest, kyndest, most compenabyll, freest,
largeest, most bowntesous knyght [...] Hereto he is one of the lyghtest,

¹⁶ For more on this see Jennifer M. Brown, ‘The Exercise of Power’, in Jennifer M. Brown (ed), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 54, *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 218, Brown, *Black Douglasses*, pp. 36-7, 39.

¹⁷ Blind Harry, *Wallace*, VII, 904-12.

¹⁸ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, pp. 36-7, 39.

¹⁹ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 13.

delyverst, best spokyn, fayrest archer; devowghtest, most perfyghte, and trewst to hys lady of all knyghths that ever I was aqwentyd with.²⁰

Paston's list of qualities were obviously designed to curry favour with Boyd, but they also served to demonstrate that he desired to be in the company of a man who was regarded as a good knight. Whether Boyd deserved this reputation is difficult to assess as he appears in the records predominantly in association with diplomacy.²¹ Needless to say, Paston's request highlights that a more detailed study of knight-knight relationships in Scotland needs to be undertaken in the future, in order to obtain a clearer picture of the obligations which they held towards one another.

In whichever way knights learnt to do battle, their obligations to serve on the battlefield were the same. Scottish military service in the fifteenth century was still partly conducted along feudal lines, with knights owing their lords service and the lords owing the king. Individual retinues, however, were often constructed through 'non-feudal' obligations and agreements. This effectively meant that the king called his lords (who were generally all knights) to muster for battle, and the lords brought along their retinues, containing knights, squires and men-at-arms, who owed that lord military service under a variety of terms. In 1430, Alexander of Ogistoun made a bond with Sir Alexander Forbes, who was in turn a vassal of Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, agreeing that he

is becumyn lele man ande trew till a nobill man Sir Alexander of Forbes...for all the dayis of my lyffe agaynys all dedelyke myn alegeans tyll my lorde the Kyng anerly outane for a certane some of money and I [...] sall serff witht iii hors qwyll my fader leffis and effer hym witht sex.²²

²⁰ James Gairdner (ed), *The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509* (London, 1904), V, p. 144.

²¹ Buchanan, *History*, II, pp. 132-3, *SP*, V, pp. 147-8.

²² *A.B. Ill.*, IV, p. 391, Brown, 'Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland', p. 36.

Mar and Forbes, of course, may have been most concerned with Ogistoun's service in a local context. However, it is also likely that when Forbes appeared in a royal host that Ogistoun would attend in his retinue under the terms of his bond. Don Pedro de Ayala, a Spanish ambassador who visited the court of James IV in the 1490s, confirmed that Scottish landholders were vassals to the king and that they were obliged to 'serve him forty days, at their own expense, every time he calls them out. They are very good soldiers. The king can assemble, within thirty days, 120,000 horse', an obvious over-estimation, but an indication that James IV could muster an impressive army.²³

After forty days, however, the king could lose his most experienced fighters, who were there at no cost to the crown. At the siege of Dumbarton in 1489, James IV tackled the problem by using rotating call-ups. In this instance parliament drew up a timetable so that no one was in the field for longer than twenty days, allowing the king to call upon a further twenty days later in the year. Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll, the Chancellor, initially besieged Dumbarton with men from Argyll, Lennox, Menteith and Strathearn. After twenty days the lords, barons and men of Angus, Fife, Kinross,

²³ Don Pedro de Ayala, 'Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella', pp. 47-8. Although Don Pedro de Ayala grossly over-estimated the number which the king could assemble, he did report some things accurately. Letters of muster were sent out in February 1497 which specifically designated a maximum forty days of military service confirming this was the standard service time. *TA*, I, p. 320. On 2 August 1513, the Aberdeen Burgh Council authorised the raising of £400 to provide for and support for forty days a small force of men to fight for James IV in his wars with England. These men were Andrew Cullane, Thomas Waus, George Bysset, John Anderson and David Fynne. They were furnished with twenty spears, six horses, three horses for carriage and three riding men. *Abdn. Counc.*, p. 85, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 280, n. 136. Scotland seems to have been one of the few remaining countries where military service was still carried out like this: in England the last time an army was called out by the feudal levy of forty days was in 1385, although it remained a technical obligation into the fifteenth century. A system of taxation based on landed wealth, which raised the revenue to pay a mercenary army, replaced the forty day service. See Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, p. 42.

Clackmannan, Perthshire, Stormonth, Atholl and Rannoch took over, then similar intervals were to be covered by George, second earl of Huntly, William Keith, third earl of Marischal, William Hay, third earl of Errol, and Alexander, Lord Forbes, with the men of the Mearns and the country north of the Mounth.²⁴ However, measures such as this were not enough and James IV had to resort to paying men to stay in the field.²⁵ This practice continued throughout James IV's reign and he paid Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford (also of Ferniehirst) around £100 a week to be Master of the King's Artillery during the 1497 border wars.²⁶ During the course of the century the practice of paying for the employment of labourers to undertake specific duties during sieges became commonplace. The king would send bellmen into cities crying for workmen to take their wages, such as on 13 September 1496, when bellmen went out into Edinburgh to employ men for the siege of Ellem.²⁷ In July 1497 James IV was forced to pay enormous sums for skilled workers: two hundred and twenty-one men were paid for one week of work with shovels, spades and picks, and sixty-one quarriers and masons, four smiths and around thirteen gunners were required.²⁸ The total cost of the border sieges of 1497 was considerable: James's personal liability for the raids was underestimated and he was forced to coin his great chain and other effects, to provide victuals. He also levied a spear silver tax, and took an additional contribution of £670 from the abbot of

²⁴ *APS*, II, p. 124, *TA*, I, p. xc. By staggering the armies like this, James IV ensured that he could call these men out again in that year. It also meant that he exhausted the service of those situated closest to the castle in the early stages of the siege, then mobilised those further away.

²⁵ *TA*, I, pp. 123-6, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 75.

²⁶ *TA*, I, pp. 329, 339, 340, 346, 348, 350.

²⁷ *TA*, I, p. 295.

²⁸ *TA*, I, pp. 346-7, 350.

Arbroath.²⁹ Given the expense of the 1497 raids and sieges, it becomes apparent that skilled workers were increasingly useful and essential in the field. The crown relied upon them to undertake tasks which knights and men-at-arms could not or would not perform.

Knights, however, were still the core of Scottish royal armies and, in order to keep noble affinities in the field, the crown offered additional incentives to knights and squires for military service. These rewards included land grants, individual one-off payments and increased positions of responsibility and honour. For instance, Sir William Forbes received lands after the 1429 Highland campaign, and Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander was made keeper of Methven castle after the siege there in 1444.³⁰ George, second earl of Huntly, was promised one hundred marks of land from James III for his services in taking Dingwall castle from the forfeited John, earl of Ross, although Huntly considered this meagre remuneration offensive.³¹ Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlshall was well rewarded by both James III and Henry VII for his services during

²⁹ *ER*, XI, p. 120, *TA*, I, pp. cliv, clv, 82. In February 1498 the following was received by the treasurer of the tax of spears: from Andrew Aytoun for the tax of spears of Fife, £20, from the sheriff of Perth and Lady Ruthven for that localtiy, £176, from the sheriff of Clackmannan, £25 19s 6d, from the sheriff of Linlithgow, £25 4s 9d, from Kinross, £17 5s, from Forfar, £100, from Kincardine, £48 18s, from the sheriff of Edinburgh, £7, from the sheriff of Aberdeen, £86 13s 4d, from the sheriff of Murray, £8 7s 3d, from the sheriff of Renfrew, £20, from the Laird of Sorby for Wigtown, £20, from James Douglas of Pittendreich for Elgin and Forres, £14, from the young Laird of Bombie for Dumfries, £10, from Hailes pursuivants, in the name of Lord Bothwell, for the constabulary of Haddington, £40, from the Laird of Lochinver for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, £30, from John of Stirling for the Westland, £182, from Patrick Hamilton for the Upper Ward of Clydeside, £20, from the Abbot of St. Mary's Isle, £4 15s, from the Abbot of Paisley, £22, from the Abbot of Sweet Heart, £14, from the Abbot of Kinloss, £10, from the Abbot of Deer, £8, from the Abbot of Arbroath, £45, from the Abbot of Coupar Angus, £22, from the Abbot of Glenluce and Dundrennan £36, from the Abbot of Holyrood, £12, from the Abbot of Culross, £12 and from the Prior of Whithorn, £20. *TA*, I, pp. 312-13. Sir David Hume of Wedderburn also contributed £100 to the siege of Norham. *TA*, I, pp. 313-14.

³⁰ *RMS*, II, 127, *ER*, V, p. 219.

³¹ *Spalding Misc.*, IV, Papers from the Charter Chest at Gordon Castle, nos. V, VI, pp. 133-5.

Henry's invasion of England in 1485. James granted Bruce, his *familiari armiger*, some of Albany's forfeited Berwickshire lands, and Henry VII gave an annuity of £20 to Bruce 'in gracious remuneration of his good, faithful, and approved services, and his great labours in various ways heretofore'.³² Bruce had led a contingent of Scots who were serving in Henry's army at the battle of Bosworth and Henry must have granted the pension as a direct result of this. The reasons for James's favouring of Bruce are less obvious as Bruce had previously been in France, but it may suggest that Henry VII's triumph was pleasing to the Scottish king.³³

Given that these rewards indicate that the crown was keen to keep knights and their retinues in the field, then the nobility clearly remained crucial to the waging of warfare. Prior to the introduction of artillery to siege warfare, accounts of sieges were often framed by chivalric ideals. The siege of Caerlaverock in 1300 and the sieges described by Froissart in his chronicles are couched in chivalric terms and knights' one-on-one combats are vividly described.³⁴ William Douglas of Nithsdale engaged in hand-to-hand combat on the walls of Carlisle in 1385, and the siege of Cocklaws in 1403 was resolved by a duel between the captain of the castle and one of the English knights in Henry Percy's army.³⁵ However, as siege warfare changed, the possibility for hand-to-hand combat declined and the scope for knights to pursue chivalric ideals also

³² RMS, II, 1638, CDS, IV, 1518.

³³ For Bruce's involvement in Bosworth see Michael Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 9, 83, 162. It is possible that James III had encouraged Scottish participation at Bosworth to undercut the duke of Albany.

³⁴ Froissart, *Chronicles, passim*, Nicholas II. Nicolas, *The Siege of Caerlaverock in the XXVIII Edward I. A.D. MCCC: with the arms of the Earls, Barons and Knights, who were present on the occasion* (London, 1828).

³⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 48, XV, 15.

diminished. Even with knights' participation, the Scottish host was made up predominantly of a largely unskilled infantry levy supported by men-at-arms of sub-knightly status who formed a regular and experienced backbone for the army, and skilled workmen who could dig siege tunnels or break down castle walls with speed and efficiency.³⁶ So the question remains, if warfare during the fifteenth century did not allow knights to fight in the way chivalric ideology and literature presented, what were knights actually doing?

The campaigns of James I give some indication of the type of small-scale and irregular warfare that the 'king's knights' might undertake. By 1428 James I had succeeded in intimidating a great number of the Scottish nobility. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, however, remained outside royal control and James set about trying to force Alexander to pay homage to him.³⁷ James called on the military service due from the nobles, especially those who stood to benefit territorially or politically from the

³⁶ Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 5.

³⁷ *St A Cop.*, no. 26, pp. 48-53, Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', pp. 50-1. James's plans were not greeted enthusiastically and he held a general council to discuss them. According to Michael Brown only Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, and Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl, supported him. Brown, *James I*, p. 96, see also Brown, 'Regional Leadership in North-East Scotland', pp. 40-1 for Mar's motivations. Amongst those present at the council were nobles and knights including Sir Archibald Douglas, fifth earl of Douglas; Walter Stewart, earl of Strathearn and Atholl; Sir William Douglas, earl of Angus; Sir George Dunbar, earl of March; Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar; Sir Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford; James Dunbar, earl of Moray; Sir John Stewart of Darnley; Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine; Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen; Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, justiciar north of the Forth; Sir James Douglas; William Stewart, squire; Duncan Campbell of Lochaw; and Sir John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee. *RMS*, II, 108, NAS GD137/3694, Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', Appendix B, p. 389. Indeed, Tanner suggests that only the earl of Moray may have disapproved, as he was the heir of Thomas Dunbar who had connections with the lordship of the Isles. Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', pp. 51-2. Nevertheless, there was a general reluctance to support the campaign; promises made by North Berwick, Haddington, Montrose and Aberdeen to send men and supplies to Inverness, where the attack would be based, were not kept and consequently the towns were fined. *ER*, IV, pp. 488, 489, 490, 550, 586. North Berwick, Haddington and Montrose were fined for non-appearances and the Aberdeen burgesses were fined for not carrying provisions to Inverness.

campaign. Along with their own retinues, Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar; Sir James Douglas of Balvenie; Sir Alexander Keith; Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine; Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen; Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse; John, earl of Buchan; Sir William Douglas, earl of Angus; Alexander Ogilvy; Sir David Stewart; and John Brown of Midmar were all members of the expedition to the Highlands to capture the Lord of the Isles.³⁸ According to one seventeenth-century account, Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl, and William Hay of Errol, the hereditary constable, were also members of the expedition, but there is no contemporary evidence for this.³⁹ Michael Brown argues that this group was James's personal entourage rather than a full host, since the king had only called on east-coast burghs to provide contingents and provisions. Brown also suggests that James was not planning an open conflict as he had taken the queen with him.⁴⁰ Indeed, when James met Alexander at Inverness at the end of August 1428 no battle took place, although they had both brought large armies with them.⁴¹ Instead, James seized the Lord of the Isles, imprisoned him, and arrested 'nearly all of the notable men of the north'.⁴² So the knights accompanying James had essentially served

³⁸ *RMS*, II, 109-115. None on the campaign were as famous as the earl of Mar. Bower records that Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, was 'in his youth a very headstrong and wild and the outstanding leader [...] As a man of great wealth and lavish expenditure, holder of a celebrated name, he was the object of much talk in distant parts.' *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 25. Of his military achievements, Bower writes that 'the victory achieved at Liège on behalf of Sir John duke of Burgundy was ascribed to his diligent prowess, and similarly at Harlaw over the men from the Isles he was given credit for the victory, for he was extremely well-endowed in matters requiring a spirited and lively approach.' *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 25. In 1407 Mar had gone to France with a 'nobyll company' of 'knychtis and squyeris, and gret gentyll men [...] men of cousaile and wertu', where he made acquaintance with the duke of Burgundy and pledged his services to the king of France. *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 420-2. Mar agreed to provide a contingent for the Burgundian army in its battle against Liège of one hundred of his men. Vaughn, *John the Fearless*, p. 55, *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 430-2, Brown, 'Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland', pp. 32, 33.

³⁹ *Highland Papers*, I, 35.

⁴⁰ *APS*, II, p. 17, *ER*, IV, p. 473, Brown, *James I*, pp. 96-7.

⁴¹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 15.

⁴² *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 15, Brown, *James I*, p. 97.

as an impressive and intimidating force behind the king. After Alexander's arrest James sent his men to disperse the Lord of the Isles' supporters who were still in the region. This took a few days and presumably much small-scale skirmishing, looting and pillaging occurred in which knights might have been involved.

After negotiations with James I, Alexander was released from royal custody in 1429. Alexander did not fulfil his promises and in spring 1429 he rebelled against the king and attacked Inverness.⁴³ In response to Alexander's attack, James again raised a host, this time significantly larger than the one he had led in 1428.⁴⁴ James, given the difficulties he had faced the previous year, was aware of the challenge of raising an army. At the parliament of April 1429, he promised to pay his lieges for their service in going with him on campaign.⁴⁵ The crown's tenants-in-chief were required to attend by their annual forty-day obligation. Lords and knights included in his host were Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas; William, earl of Angus; Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford; Sir Walter Haliburton of Dirleton; Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon; Sir William Crichton of that Ilk; Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes; William Borthwick; and Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen; along with Walter Davidson, Sir William Forbes and his brother Alexander, lord of Forbes, who was one of Mar's closest supporters and a close councillor of James I.⁴⁶ The fifth earl of Douglas, the earl of Angus, the earl of

⁴³ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, *ER*, IV, pp. 516, 634, Brown, *James I*, pp. 100-1.

⁴⁴ Brown, *James I*, p. 102.

⁴⁵ *APS*, II, p. 20.

⁴⁶ *RMS*, II, 127. Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon did not just serve on this campaign for James, but also because he was a close adherent of the earl of Mar. Being a member of Mar's retinue, he owed him military service. Brown, 'Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland', pp. 36-7, 40-1, *ER*, IV, p. 510, Brown, *RMS*, II, 55-59, 127. Walter Bower provides a contemporary account of the 1429 campaign. However, he does not report on who was involved in the expedition, recounting only that James I was faced with Alexander's force of ten thousand men from Ross and the Isles, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16.

Crawford, Haliburton, Seton, Crichton, Hepburn, and Ogilvy, had all been knighted by James I at his coronation. It is clear that the king was calling upon the services of men whom he could trust, but were also bound to him through the lord-knight ties. Like the 1428 campaign, there is no evidence that there was a general call out of infantry forces. Instead this appears to be a force of noble retinues who would have been more mobile because they were horsed and who would thus have been more likely to find and engage the Lord of the Isles' forces. What the knights' role was in this campaign, however, is still difficult to ascertain. Walter Bower does record that a series of skirmishes took place in Badenoch on 23 June, and the noble retinues must have spearheaded the royal offensive.⁴⁷ The Lord of the Isles escaped and James turned his attentions to besieging Dingwall castle and Urquhart castle.⁴⁸ Again, the noble retinues in James's army must have been involved in imposing these blockades and sieges, but it is not known in detail how they contributed to the attack on the strongholds.

Parliament of March 1430 largely dealt with the 1429 campaign and decided on the rewards and punishments to be given to those involved in the previous summer's

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XVI, 16.

⁴⁸ *ER*, IV, pp. 497, 510. Brown, *James I*, pp. 102-3. Alexander, realising 'that he could not find any refuge within the kingdom' surrendered on 27 August. He paid homage to James 'clad only in shirt and drawers and on his knees, he offered and rendered to the king a naked sword before the high altar of Holyrood [...] while the queen and the more important lords of the kingdom interceded for him.' *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16. A 1386 description of paying homage shows that it was standard to kneel before a lord with a bare head. Sir Thomas Hay agreed to pay homage to Sir Patrick Gray for the lands of Litalon and he knelt before Sir Patrick with a bare head and offered *verba de presenti* to do homage. Needless to say, this is a much less 'punishing' way of giving homage than kneeling before a lord in underclothes. NAS GD28/35.

expedition.⁴⁹ Whilst James I had already rewarded some of his knights for their service, such as Sir William Forbes who was granted the lands of Kynnaldy, Gordy, Davach, Manach, Petnamone and Knochsoul *pro servitio ejus* after the encounter at Badenoch, parliament was more concerned with the king's lieges that James had paid to attend.⁵⁰ Legislation was passed against deserters from the royal host, especially the king's lieges who had taken the payment, which James I had been forced to grant, but who had not served on the campaign.

It is ordanyt anent the matar of the kyngis legis that warnyt war and schargyt to pas with hyme in the northt cuntre aganys hys rebellouris and bade at hame withowtyn the kyngis leife or turnyt agayne be the way withowtyn leife or tuk payment and held it [at] thar awne oyse and made na serwys tharfor that the Justice sal mak a dyt within thar Justrie and punyst thaim that ar fawtise as the caus requeris the baronys makkande requestis to the kyng for thar lywyss that beis conuikkyt.⁵¹

The problems with desertion made the knight's service even more attractive, as the crown could rely on the codes of honour-based mutual exchange which knighthood

⁴⁹ This was one of the largest parliaments of the reign, attended by many of James's supporters, amongst whom included Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl; William Douglas, earl of Angus; Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar; Alexander Crawford, earl of Crawford; Alan Stewart, earl of Caithness; Sir William Hay of Errol; Sir Robert or William Keith, lord of Keith; James Douglas, lord of Abercorn; Sir James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith; Sir Robert Erskine, lord of Erskine; Sir Duncan Campbell, lord of Lochaw; Sir Alexander Seton, lord of Gordon; Sir Walter Haliburton, lord of Dirleton; Thomas Somerville, lord of Somerville; Herbert Maxwell, lord of Maxwell; and Alexander Montgomery, lord of Montgomery. Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', Appendix B, p. 390. Of these men several had been present at the 1428 general council, at least three had taken part in the 1428 campaign, and at least four had been involved in the 1429 campaign.

⁵⁰ *RMS*, II, 127.

⁵¹ This act does not appear in the printed *APS* under the March 1430 parliament, although it does appear identically at c. 3 of the parliament held at Perth on 15 October 1431. *APS*, II, p. 20. However, Croft Dickinson thinks the legislation was probably enacted at the 1430 parliament, as it was the first parliament held after James's successful campaign, although a general council had been held in October 1429 directly after the success in the Highlands. W. Croft Dickinson, 'The Acts of Parliament at Perth, 6 March 1429/30', *SHR* 29 (1950), p. 9, Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', p. 56.

esteemed.⁵² The 1456 *Law of Armys* made it clear that ‘na man of armis [should] leve the ost under payne of dede’.⁵³ Desertion from the host, however, remained a problem which all kings faced. The serious defeat at Flodden in September 1513 has been attributed to a loss of significant numbers of the host after the siege of Norham in the August prior to the battle.⁵⁴ By all assessments, the host expected that they could go home after Norham as they had done their work and only plunder was left to be retrieved.⁵⁵ Although the crown’s reliance upon a body of knights who owed military service was crucial, as warfare changed, the skills which the chivalric code dictated they learn were no longer enough. Instead knights had to adapt to these changes by acquiring new skills.

Before the arrival of guns in Scotland, James I had been concerned with keeping the level of skill of the able-bodied men of his realm relatively high, especially in essential arts like archery. James had been witness to the English use of archers in Henry V’s war-making, where archers could make up to two-thirds of the English

⁵² James made his favouritism of knights and their prestige apparent at the same parliament, setting sumptuary statutes against ‘ordinary’ man dressing in silk or fur without his permission. Parliament specified that the only men entitled to do so were knights and lords of two hundred merks of yearly rent and their eldest sons and heirs, legislation designed to reinforce social prestige. *APS*, II, p. 18. Whilst it is difficult to ascertain which knights and lords were worth this amount, in 1424, David Ogilvy and David Menzies were valued at two hundred English marks, (worth significantly more than Scots merks) Alexander Seton, lord of Gordon, was valued at four hundred marks, whereas the earl of Atholl was valued at one thousand, two hundred marks, Thomas earl of Moray at one thousand marks, and William Douglas, the son and heir of the lord of Dalkeith, at one thousand, five hundred marks. *CDS*, IV, 952, *Foedera*, X, p. 327.

⁵³ See J.H. Stevenson (ed), *Gilbert of Hays’s Prose Manuscript (A.D. 1456), Volume I, The Buke of the Law of Armys of Buke of Bataillis* (Edinburgh, 1901), pp. 114-16.

⁵⁴ W. Mackay Mackenzie, *The Secret of Flodden, with ‘The Rout of the Scots’, a Translation of the Contemporary Italian Poem La Rotta De Scocesi* (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 48, *Edin. Recs.*, I, p. 143.

⁵⁵ Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 273.

army.⁵⁶ In his first parliament in May 1424, James decreed that all boys over twelve should practice archery and would be fined if they did not. Practice targets were ordered to be set near parish churches and in every ten-pounds-worth of land. In March 1426, parliament declared that all yeomen were to be sufficiently 'bowit' at wapinschawings.⁵⁷

In the 1440s, Bower wrote that:

There was certainly one statute among the others which the king [James I] issued that was most useful for the kingdom and the public interest, namely that the archer's art should be practiced by nearly everybody, at least on feast days, under threat of fixed money fines, with targets for shooting prepared and erected in every village, especially at the parish churches,⁵⁸

confirming that the parliamentary legislation was practised throughout the kingdom. Bower, however, criticised the developments in warfare and decline of archery claiming that:

after and as a consequence of his sad death, nearly everyone gave up bows and archery equipment without a thought, and devoted themselves to riding with lances, with the result that now at a meeting for magnates you [usually] find out of one hundred men some eighty lances and scarcely six archers. For this reason the English can now truly say about the Scots: 'The bow of the brave has been overcome'; and we in turn say of them: 'and the weak have been equipped with strength.' You should therefore read the old chronicles if you will, and you will find that the English have often beaten the Scots by means of their bows.⁵⁹

Whilst archery is not traditionally considered to be a knightly skill, there is evidence to

⁵⁶ According to Matthew Bennett, at Agincourt in 1415 archers made up to four-fifths of the army. Matthew Bennett, *Agincourt 1415: Triumph Against the Odds* (London, 1991), p. 18. See also Stewart, *Henry V*, pp. 70, 99.

⁵⁷ *APS*, II, pp. 6, 11. Similar legislation was passed by James II in 1456, by James III in 1481 and by James IV in April 1491, when parliament declared that football and golf should be forbidden, and butts erected in the parishes for archery and shooting practice. *APS*, II, p. 226.

⁵⁸ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 15.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 15. This is the only explicit comparison made by Bower between James I's reign and the 1440s. For more on this see Michael Brown, '“Vile Times”: Walter Bower's Last Book and the Minority of James II', *SHR* 79 (2000), pp. 165-88.

suggest that in Scotland it was also practised by knights. Robert Bruce reportedly used the bow of one of his squires to defend himself against three of his enemies while he was in Carrick.⁶⁰ Amongst English knights at least, Sir Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, was considered the ‘fayrest archer’.⁶¹ More convincingly, James, second Lord Hamilton, a prominent participant in tournaments throughout James IV’s reign, won the prize for the best archer on horseback or on foot at the tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady in 1508, proving that amongst jousting with swords, spears and axes, archery also had a place in chivalric sports.⁶² Of course, knights were not involved in the initial onslaught of arrows at the start of a battle or siege, nor were they part of archers’ formations.

Walter Bower’s view that archery should not be abandoned was part of his contribution to the international debate on the legitimacy of war. In general, Bower, like other commentators, warned against military careers, particularly in favour of a life devoted to religion. He tells the story of Waltheof, later abbot of Melrose, and his older brother Simon.

When the brothers were children, they understood, behaved and played as children do. Simon the elder boy was in the habit of collecting little twigs and branches to build a castle to his own little design, and mounting his horse or steed, and grasping and brandishing a little stick like a lance, he painstakingly engaged in pretend warfare with boys of his own age based on the guarding and defending of a make-believe and imaginary castle. But Waltheof as a small boy made buildings like churches out of small sticks and stones, and stretching out his hands played the part of a priest celebrating mass; and because he did not know how to pronounce the words, he used to utter sounds in imitation of the chant. The boys would often indulge in this

⁶⁰ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book V, 582-657.

⁶¹ Gairdner (ed), *Paston Letters*, V, p. 144.

⁶² Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 243. For more on Lord Hamilton’s jousting and tournaying career see below pp. 173-4, 183-5, 190, 192.

game, and they would cause many people to watch and laugh. On one occasion a certain wise monk who was standing and watching with the others said to the onlookers: 'What do you make of this children's game?' They declared that he was merely a simpleton, in that he was one of those who cannot tell their right hand from their left. He said: 'Not so, not so! For this game acts as a kind of prelude that foretells the life and end of each boy. For the first will entangle his life with warfare until his death, while the second will live as a monk and crown his days with good.' None of these words went unfulfilled.⁶³

Bower's stories and commentaries contributed to the wider theological and social discussions which had been brought about by the introduction of guns in warfare. The decline of the use of bows, and the dwindling of the need for cavalry, necessitated the need for knights to adapt to the changing technologies on the battlefield.⁶⁴

The late 1430s were a turning point in Scottish military tactics, as siege techniques were advanced by the introduction of artillery pieces. This obviously had an impact on knights' roles on the battlefield and what needs to be ascertained is what this role became. If war was the playing field for chivalrous knights, was it possible for knights to display their worth once guns had become the main siege weapons? In the first years of James I's reign, James had enforced order in his kingdom by using, amongst other things, the military might of his knights. Many of these knights were men upon whom he had bestowed knighthood at his coronation. Others held positions of responsibility within the royal household or crown administration, such as Sir James

⁶³ *Chron. Bower*, VI, 5. For a discussion on Jocelin of Furness' *Life of Waltheof* see Derek Baker, 'Legend and Reality: The Case of Waldef of Melrose', in Derek Baker (ed), *Church, Society and Politics: Papers Read at the Thirteenth Summer Meeting and the Fourteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1975). One English commentator warned his son against a military career saying that 'he that sets up his rest to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian'. Quoted by J.R. Hale, 'War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Past and Present* 22 (1962), p. 23.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. Hale argues that the influence of commentators heralding the defence of the bow was limited to England. p. 30. However, Bower clearly subscribed to similar views.

Douglas of Balvenie, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine and Sir William Borthwick. These knights, and others, had supported James in his campaigns and had been prominent participants in the fighting. Moreover, they could earn strong chivalric reputations, such as Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse who ‘was very highly regarded by the king and his subjects’, and ‘was a man of acute mind, distinguished speech, manly spirit, small in stature, but notable and trustworthy in every kind of upright behaviour.’⁶⁵ Nevertheless, as warfare developed, the emphasis on the chivalric knight in the midst of battle needed to be modified, in practice and tactics, if not philosophy and literary representation.

The first time guns were used in Scotland to any great extent was in 1436, during the siege of Roxburgh.⁶⁶ The host which James gathered was large, and Bower records that all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were summoned to the army to assist in the attack, a typical call-to-arms.⁶⁷ From Bower’s account of the siege, over two hundred thousand horsemen and as many foot-soldiers were counted.⁶⁸ Although this

⁶⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 26. In the early years of the fifteenth century many knights had achieved chivalric reputations through bold and valiant deeds on the battlefield, including Archibald Douglas, fourth earl of Douglas, Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, and Sir John Swinton.

⁶⁶ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 15, *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 287, David H. Caldwell, *Scotland’s Wars and Warriors: Winning Against the Odds* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 49. Guns were normally made of wrought iron, and many were loaded by wedging a separate chamber with the powder and shot at the breech end. This meant that guns could achieve a good rate of fire by having more than one chamber for each, but it meant there was a weakness in their design by having a join in the barrel where the powder exploded. In the second half of the fifteenth century guns began to be made with cast bronze which was much stronger and they fired metal shot which created a bigger force than the wrought iron guns. By 1474 James III was casting bronze guns in Edinburgh. Caldwell, *Scotland’s Wars and Warriors*, pp. 49-50, 53, Geoffrey Stell, ‘Late Medieval Defences in Scotland’, in David H. Caldwell, *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 39.

⁶⁷ Sir Harris Nicolas (ed), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1835), IV, pp. 310-13, Brown, *James I*, p. 162, *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 26. The only legitimate absentees from the host at Roxburgh were ‘shepherds and keepers who out of necessity of for legal reasons had to be excused.’

⁶⁸ Bower obviously exaggerated these numbers, as they seem impossibly large.

was a gross exaggeration, the knightly presence was obviously strong. Establishing exactly which knights were present is more difficult. One commentator reported that Robert Stewart of Atholl, a squire and the king's cousin, was there because he was made the constable of the host.

for [th]is same Robart Stuard aboode euyre in [th]e kingez presens, fulle famulyer abowte hym at all owrez & most prive aboue al o[th]er, & was a ful ientiel squier, ffresche & lusti & right amyable, whome [th]e king entierly louyd as his owne sune, & for [th]e tendre love [th]at he had to him he made hym conestable for al his oost at [th]e seege of Edinburgh [Roxburgh].⁶⁹

In Michael Brown's opinion, this promotion of a young and inexperienced squire to such a senior role in the borders may have caused significant hostilities between the king and his magnates, and especially with the earl of Douglas and the earl of Angus, who as wardens of the Marches, would have had grounds to feel demoted. Both Douglas and Angus had military experience and extensive local interests and may have resented Robert Stewart's authority.⁷⁰ Sir William Hay of Errol, the hereditary constable, and Sir William Keith, the Marischal, might also have been present and may have shared similar concerns to Douglas and Angus.

Thus large companies of knights and men-at-arms were present at Roxburgh and at least one squire held a commanding role, but how knights were involved in the siege is more difficult to ascertain. James was confident in the ability of his guns to take the castle. He had hired specialised gunners and artillery workers from Germany, whom he

⁶⁹ Both surviving manuscript versions make the error of recording the siege as at Edinburgh, but they should read Roxburgh. Shirley, 'The Deth of the Kynge of Scotis', p. 32.

⁷⁰ Brown suggests that the disaffection with James, leading to his murder in 1437, may have begun here, as his reliance upon foreigners and close familiars who had limited military experience, especially in what was essentially a border campaign, may have caused political tensions between the March magnates and royal authority. Brown, *James I*, p. 164.

placed under the command of Johannes Paule, Master of the King's Engines.⁷¹ Much of the siege might have involved knights raiding into the English hinterland, riding around the castle and making sure there was no possibility of the siege being lifted. For knights, there remained the prospect of hand-to-hand fighting in the vicinity.

Besieging with artillery became an increasingly important form of warfare for fifteenth-century kings. It was fast, effective and successful, as much could be achieved from afar.⁷² On 29 November 1444, James II, still in his minority, besieged Methven castle, the first military attack he had pursued in his reign.⁷³ There is no indication of why the castle was targeted for such treatment, but considerable preparation had gone into the siege from as early as the previous June. Armour for the king was assembled, including a doublet, a mantle, a hood, a shirt and a pair of leggings. Gunpowder for the bombards, bows and lances were purchased and prepared. Guns were again used to start the siege.⁷⁴ Knights and squires were certainly present at Methven including John Lindsay of Brechin; Sir Alexander Seton, lord of Gordon; Sir Alexander, lord of Montgomery; Sir John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee; James Livingston of Callander, captain of Stirling Castle, the eldest son of Sir Alexander Livingston of

⁷¹ *ER*, IV, pp. 677, 678, 679, 680. James had received military engines and armour from Flanders specifically for Roxburgh. Bower reports that in 1430 James had a huge brass bombard gun brought from Flanders, with an inscription around its girth in gold lettering saying: 'For the illustrious James, worthy prince of the Scots./Magnificent king, when I sound off, I reduce castles./I was made at his order; therefore I am called 'Lion''. *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16.

⁷² For more on this, and some other examples, see M. Warner, 'Chivalry in Action: Thomas Montagu and the War in France, 1417-1428', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 42 (1998), p. 163.

⁷³ *RMS*, II, 283. The earl of Douglas had led hosts for James II prior to this, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 36.

⁷⁴ *ER*, V, pp. lxxvii, 147, 149, 150, 180-1, 187.

Callander; his brother, Alexander Livingston of Callander (also of Phildes); and James Dundas of that Ilk, although what their role was has not been recorded.⁷⁵

Such a strong Livingston presence indicates how powerful the family were at this time. As well as dominating politics, they also appear to have been in control of this siege. Captain of Stirling castle since 1435, James Livingston became keeper of the King's Person before March 1444, later becoming Great Chamberlain and Master of the Household.⁷⁶ James Livingston had a notable military career and took part in the sieges of Inveravon and Abercorn in 1455. At Abercorn, Livingston is attributed with the success of convincing his nephew, James, first Lord Hamilton, a Douglas defector, to return to royal allegiance.⁷⁷ In 1454 and 1455 Livingston was also keeper of Inverness castle.⁷⁸ James's brother, Alexander Livingston of Callander, may well have had a commanding role at Methven, as the castle was subsequently committed to his captaincy.⁷⁹ By this stage of James II's reign, the Livingstons were well entrenched in the king's favour, but some of the other men involved at the siege were also prominent figures in the royal household. Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon and Sir John Scrymgeour had both been knighted by James I and had held some level of importance in courtly life,

⁷⁵ *ER*, V, pp. 181, 219, *RMS*, II, 283. James Dundas was never knighted and was at this siege as a squire. See Appendix B, Table 3, no. 409. In the 1440s Walter Bower recorded that William Douglas, sixth earl of Douglas; William Douglas, later eighth earl of Douglas; John Logan of Restalrig; James Edmonstone of that Ilk; William Borthwick, son of Sir William Borthwick; and James Crichton, son of Sir William Crichton were all 'now fellow-soldiers' with James II, around the time of the siege of Methven. However, by this time the sixth earl of Douglas was already dead and as Bower's accuracy has to be questioned, it cannot be assumed that they were at Methven. *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16.

⁷⁶ *ER*, IV, p. 658. At Martinmas 1451 he became Keeper of Urquhart and Inverness Castles. *ER* V p. 639. Before July 1454 he was Great Chamberlain and Master of the Household. *ER* V p. 609.

⁷⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 53, *ER*, VI, p. 209, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 87, Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 307.

⁷⁸ *ER*, V, p. 639, VI, p. 29.

⁷⁹ *ER*, V, p. 219, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 32.

including participating in James I's military campaigns. Seton of Gordon had been present at both the campaign against the Lord of the Isles in 1429 and Roxburgh in 1436.⁸⁰

Knights also led sieges, such as William, eighth earl of Douglas, and Sir William Crichton of that Ilk, who took charge of the siege of Dundas in January 1450. The tower of Dundas was being held by Archibald Dundas of that Ilk, in defiance of the king and against the Livingston family.⁸¹ Crichton had previously enjoyed a successful military career, taking part in James I's campaign against the Lord of the Isles in 1429 and being appointed captain of Edinburgh castle in 1434 and 1438.⁸² By 10 February 1450, Dundas tower had been destroyed and the eighth earl of Douglas received considerable rewards *pro ejus servitio* including the lands of Dundas, which offered some recompense for his commanding role in the reduction of the stronghold.⁸³ Douglas's favour with James II was short-lived, however, and the king besieged the Douglas hold of Craig Douglas later that year.

Following James's killing of the earl of Douglas in 1452, the king attempted to undermine any remaining Douglas support and asserted his authority by attacking

⁸⁰ See Appendix C, Table One.

⁸¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 43, *ER*, V, p. 345. Douglas was a man whose household had such a strong martial and knightly reputation that his family had dominated a tournament held by the king for three renowned Burgundian visitors the previous year. Later in 1450 he headed a pilgrimage to Rome for the papal jubilee, but his power and popularity ultimately led to James's slaughter of him in 1452.

⁸² *ER*, IV, pp. 573, 576, 621, V, p. 24, 67. See above pp. 33-4, for Crichton's full career outline.

⁸³ *RMS*, II, 317.

Hatton, the seat of William Lauder of Hatton, in March 1452.⁸⁴ There is evidence that knights were actively involved here, especially important at a time when proving loyalty to the crown was so clearly necessary. The host for the siege included Sir Walter Scott of Kirkurd; Sir Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll; John Stewart, lord Darnley; Sir Andrew Stewart; Sir Alexander Hume of that Ilk and Sir William Cranston, both previously Douglas supporters; Sir Simon Glendenning; and Andrew, first Lord Gray, Master of the Household.⁸⁵ However, there is no record of whether they were there in commanding or advisory roles, or whether they were there to provide trained and experienced military support. What is also notable is that this internal warfare seems to have generated little in the way of chivalric celebration and literary commemoration.

Some of the men with the king clearly had extensive military expertise. Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll became warden of Threave castle on its surrender to James II in 1456.⁸⁶ In the same year he became custodian of Dumbarton castle and in 1464 he was a custodian of Edinburgh castle.⁸⁷ John Stewart, first Lord Darnley, came from a line of renowned military knights. Both his father and his grandfather had been in

⁸⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 46. Hatton was a Douglas retainer and had gone with him to Rome for the Papal jubilee in 1450. See *Rot. Scot.*, II, pp. 340-1, 343, 346. Lauder had delivered the safe-conduct to his patron, William, eighth earl of Douglas, to come to Stirling in February 1452 where he was killed by the king. Lauder later defied James by maintaining allegiance to the earl. McGladdery, *James II*, p. 153. The siege began after 24 March and was over by 12 April, as Lauder was dead by this date. *TA*, I, p. ccxvii, *RMS*, II, 532, 533, 534, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 65, *ER*, V, p. 606. Christine McGladdery suggests that the siege ended on 18 April 1452, but this is erroneous.

⁸⁵ *ER*, V, p. 607, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 47. Alexander Hume of that Ilk, Walter Scott of Kirkurd and William Cranston had all received their knighthoods from James II at his coronation in 1437 and appear to have been very close to the king. However, Hume and Cranston had both accompanied Douglas to Rome for the Papal Jubilee in 1450. According to the Auchinleck chronicler these men had participated in the earl's murder and would have been keen to demonstrate their loyalty to the king at this time.

⁸⁶ *ER*, VI, p. 208.

⁸⁷ *ER*, VII, pp. 284, 362, 422, *ER*, VI, p. 209.

French military service and in 1428 John Stewart, his grandfather, had been permitted to quarter the royal arms of France with his paternal coat.⁸⁸ When, on 12 October 1463, John, Lord Darnley attempted to reach agreement with James III over his claim to the earldom of Lennox, Darnley offered to provide one hundred spears and one hundred bows for a year at his own expense, ‘in quhat part of the realme that ze [James III] will charge me, in resisting of zoure rebellis and ennemyis quhatsumeir thai be’.⁸⁹ James III may well have taken up this offer by making Darnley governor of Rothesay castle in February 1465.⁹⁰ Problems with the Lordship of the Isles in the 1460s effectively made this a ‘front-line’ commission.

In the final stages of his assault on the Douglasses, from March 1455, James II attacked and besieged the Douglas castles of Inveravon and Abercorn.⁹¹ Inveravon was not a protracted siege and guns cast down the tower with relative ease.⁹² The widespread use of guns is apparent in accounts of the siege. The Auchinleck chronicler reported that although ‘thar was mony hurt’, there was no loss of life on James’s side until St George’s Day, when Allan Pantour

that tyme the mast ingenious man that was in Scotland and mast subtell in mony divers thingis, and was slane with ane ganye throu misgovernyng of him self, [...] was richt mekle menynt be the king and mony uthir lordis.⁹³

⁸⁸ *SP*, V, pp. 346-8, Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, I, pp. 15, 16, 20, 22, 32, 33, 34, 36, 50.

⁸⁹ Fraser, *Lennox*, II, pp. 76-7.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 78-9, *SP*, V, p. 348.

⁹¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 54. The king almost certainly attended personally at Inveravon as he was present later at the siege of Abercorn and the conquest of these Douglas strongholds was of crucial importance to him.

⁹² Due to the introduction of guns, besieging became much faster. See Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 129-46.

⁹³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 54.

Given the nature of the surviving sources, again we cannot know how knights were involved in this siege, but as guns had become the principal weapon at the crown's disposal, the traditional and chivalric duties of knights had assumed a less important place in the conduct of 'real' warfare. The two knights who were certainly there appear to have been involved in diplomacy rather than fighting: Sir James Livingston of Callander coaxed his nephew Lord Hamilton to return to royal allegiance, and William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, took charge of Hamilton, returning immediately with him to Roslin.⁹⁴ When James II returned to besiege Abercorn castle at the beginning of April, he again employed artillery to reduce the castle walls. The guns, however, were not commanded by Scottish gunners, but by Frenchmen hired especially for the siege.⁹⁵

The following siege, that of Threave, was a long and protracted affair, and it required all the might of James II's arsenal to attempt to break down the castle walls, including a cannon which had arrived especially from Burgundy.⁹⁶ James's force was not strong enough to break the castle and instead James resorted to bribing the besieged into surrendering. The Douglas's custodian, Sir John Fraser, the steward of Threave castle, received a payment of £5 3s 6d, and John Quhiting, who was garrisoned within the castle received £5. John Dunbar of Cumnock (and of Mochrum), later keeper of the castle, and others who were garrisoned with him at the time, received fifty pounds to

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53, *ER*, VI, p. 209, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 87, Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 307.

⁹⁵ *ER*, V, p. 525, VI, p. 12, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 35. For James's personal account of the siege, see a letter from him to Charles VII dated 8 July 1455 in Pinkerton, *History*, I, pp. 486-8, McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 154-5.

⁹⁶ *ER*, VI, pp. 200, 203, 204, 209, 455-6, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 88.

divide amongst themselves.⁹⁷ James had annexed lands belonging to these men before the siege and these were returned to them as part of the bargain. John Dunbar, at that time a squire, received the additional estates at Kelton, Lochdougan, Kirkbride, Carlingwark and Slewindaw, but these extra rewards were for his skills as a gunner, to tempt him into the king's service.⁹⁸ According to Tabraham and Good, the treatment of John Dunbar after the fall of the Douglasses may explain his additional rewards. After the siege he was immediately employed by James II at his arsenals at Linlithgow and Edinburgh. This was limited to three years following the siege, and his last recorded payment, for drying gunpowder, was in 1459.⁹⁹ This period coincided with the gap between the death of the king's gunner, John Moray, in 1455 and the appointment of a new gunner, Dedrik the Dutchman, in 1457.¹⁰⁰ Tabraham and Good suggest that John Dunbar was considered a suitable temporary replacement for the post, hence James II's deliberate courting of him. There has also been the suggestion that John was too well advanced in years to be considered for a permanent appointment. One of Dunbar's duties involved a trip to Flanders, the centre of ordnance manufacture to supervise the purchasing and transport of articles connected with cannon.¹⁰¹

Accounts of sieges throughout the rest of the fifteenth century provide very little further information on the knight's role. Following his coronation, James III set out to

⁹⁷ *ER*, VI, pp. 203, 204, 199, XI, pp. 456-7, Christopher J. Tabraham and George L. Good, 'The Artillery Fortification at Threave Castle, Galloway', in David H. Caldwell, *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 70, Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 308.

⁹⁸ *ER*, VI, p. 202.

⁹⁹ *ER*, VI, p. 495, Tabraham and Good, 'Artillery Fortification of Threave Castle', p. 71.

¹⁰⁰ *ER*, VI, pp. 116, 385.

¹⁰¹ *ER*, VI, pp. 308-10.

besiege Wark castle with one hundred newly made knights and the rest of his father's host who had been at Roxburgh.¹⁰² That they were knighted specifically for this task suggests knights were still essential in this type of warfare, but again, there is no record of the type of role they had. Presumably though, as such a large influx of new knights indicates, they had learnt new skills necessary to the changes in warfare and were essential in the field.

The early years of James IV's reign also saw him employ siege warfare. Events were dominated by the repercussions of 1488 and James had to deal not only with his father's supporters, but also with their continued resistance to his regime.¹⁰³ Of even greater concern were his own supporters who abused their new privileged position of royal favour. By April 1489, James had begun a series of sieges against men who had supported him in 1488, Robert, Lord Lyle; John, Lord Darnley, earl of Lennox; and his son, Matthew Stewart. The main targets were the Lennox and Lyle castles of

¹⁰² *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 58, *ER*, VII, pp. 7, 33, *TA*, I, p. 74. There has been some issue as to whether James III remained in the borders after his coronation. The Auchinleck chronicler does not report whether James stayed there, but according to Buchanan, the seven-year-old James III had returned to Edinburgh Castle after his coronation, but 'the nobles thought nothing should divert their attention from the war', so they remained in the field. Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 107. However, John Lesley reported that James and his 'haill nobillis' did not return to Edinburgh until after the 'victories' at Wark. Lesley, *History*, p. 33. It would seem very unlikely that the young king would have taken over the military command of the army, but given his mother's reported attitude, the royal party may well have stayed until the Wark siege was over. Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 105, Pitscottie, *Historie*, pp. 144-5.

¹⁰³ See also Macdougall, *James IV*, Chapter 3: 'Rebels Without a Cause?', pp. 49-79, Stephen I. Boardman, 'Politics and the Feud in Late Medieval Scotland' (Ph.D., University of St Andrews, 1989), Chapter 5: '1489', for a discussion of the resistance towards James IV. For example Alexander, master of Huntly, wrote to Henry VII on 8 January 1489 and asked the English king to 'ramembir of the thresonable ande cruel slauthir of my soverane lorde and Kyng, falsly slayne be a part of his fals and untrew legis.' He goes on to say that he had made alliances with the late king's friends and kinsmen to 'caus the comittars of the said murthir to be punyst acording to justice and the honor of our Realme'. Pinkerton, *History*, II, Appendix I, p. 437, quoting BL Cotton Caligula, B. III, 19, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 259.

Dumbarton and Duchal respectively.¹⁰⁴ Parliament sat on 26 June 1489 at which Lord Lyle, the earl of Lennox and Matthew Stewart, with their abettors, were forfeited. It was decided that in order to recover the houses and estates of the rebels in the west, the king should go personally to Duchal by 19 July, along with all the barons, gentlemen and freeholders south of the Forth who should be summoned thereto.¹⁰⁵ Present at the sieges were Alexander Erskine; Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll, the chancellor; Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, earl of Bothwell; William, Lord Hay, earl of Erroll; John, Lord Glamis; John, Lord Drummond; Alexander Hume of that Ilk; John Sandilands of Hillhouse; Patrick Hume of Fastcastle; George Seton, earl of Huntly; Sir John Semple, sheriff of Renfrew; Andrew, Lord Gray; John Colquhoun of Luss; Laurence, Lord Oliphant; and William, Lord St Johnston. Alexander, Lord Forbes, Alexander Gordon, master of Huntly, and William Keith, earl of Marischall were also present, fighting with the rebels in the castle. Norman Macdougall argues that James was not particularly involved with the siege and was focused more on transacting royal business.¹⁰⁶ Only three such transactions took place, however, and as it was not unusual for royal business to be conducted whilst on military campaign, it does not seem plausible that such activity suggests lack of interest in siege proceedings.¹⁰⁷ Sir John Semple, sheriff of

¹⁰⁴ Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 67, *TA*, I, pp. lxxxviii, 108. Macdougall suggests that the attack against Lyle and Lennox may have been because they refused to contribute to taxes, or failed to ensure their proper collection in the west. However, he thinks it is more likely that the attacks were brought on by an abuse of shreival jurisdiction over Renfrew.

¹⁰⁵ *APS*, II, pp. 115, 217, *TA*, I, p. xci. Matthew Stewart did receive a remission for seizing the castle and burning the town of Dumbarton along with another seventy odd men, none of whom appear to have been knights. Fraser, *Lennox*, II, p. 132, no. 86.

¹⁰⁶ *RMS*, II, 1882, 1883, *TA*, I, pp. xc, 116-17, 119, 123-6, *APS*, II, p. 214, *ADC*, I, pp. 265-6, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 69, 75.

¹⁰⁷ *RMS*, II, 109-15, 283, 1882-4. For example, James I did the same whilst on campaign against the lord of the Isles and James II did so at Methven.

Renfrew, led the workers who were concentrating on reducing Duchal and he provided oxen to pull the artillery.¹⁰⁸ John Sandilands, laird of Hillhouse, was sent to nearby Paisley to hire workmen with spades and shovels to clear and level the road for the guns and he too may have organised a group of workmen during the siege.¹⁰⁹ By 1496 John Sandilands of Hillhouse was, in fact, in control of James IV's arsenal, and was placed in command of the bigger guns at the commencement of the wars in support of Perkin Warbeck's claim to the English throne.¹¹⁰ In Sandilands' charge were two gunners from the Low Countries, Henric and Hans, and a French gunner, Guyane, who were paid approximately ten shillings for each week's work.¹¹¹ Sandilands' role in these sieges suggests that he had acquired 'new' military expertise, beyond the traditional knightly skills. This was obviously a response to the developments in technologies employed on the battlefield.

Not only did James IV gather together a sizeable army for the 1496 campaign, one which must have included a large proportion of knightly society, but he was also able to impose a levy on the whole country to help finance his efforts.¹¹² James's campaign was focused on the taking of Norham castle, but from contemporary commentators it is apparent that booty also provided a major incentive for the host. Polydore Vergil, a contemporary Italian chronicler residing in England, remarked that the Scots, 'thus eager for booty rather than battle [...] quickly made ready for war and

¹⁰⁸ *TA*, I, p. 116, NAS GD45/1/1, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁹ *TA*, I, pp. 116-17.

¹¹⁰ *TA*, I, pp. 260, 269, 288-91, 294, 304.

¹¹¹ *TA*, I, p. 300. For other payments and preparations see *TA*, I, pp. 260, 297-301.

¹¹² *TA*, I, pp. 312-3, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 129.

hastened to march forth.’¹¹³ Vergil’s comments, however, were written for an English audience, and whether his assertions are true of the Scots must be duly considered. Commentators on appropriate knightly behaviour, of course, had always discouraged pillaging and looting. In the early thirteenth century a Provençal troubador Girart de Bornelh wrote:

I used to see the barons in beautiful armour, following tournaments, and I heard those who had given the best blow spoken of for many a day. Now honour lies in stealing cattle, sheep and oxen, or pillaging churches and travellers. Oh, fie upon the knight who drives off sheep, robs churches and travellers and then appears before a lady.¹¹⁴

Walter Bower says that the only justified payments knights could receive from someone who was below them were annual payments or reasonable compensation for wrongdoing. Bower spoke out against plundering and wrote:

Anything more which they receive [...] is plunder. It is for this reason that the Baptist taught that knights should be content with their pay, saying ‘No bullying; no false accusations; make do with your pay!’ In this authoritative source they are debarred first from two of the sins whereby powerful men usually extort money from poor men, namely threats and chicanery [...] Then it shows them that they ought to be content with their pay i.e. their estates and knight’s fees. If then they accept payment beyond these limits, they are traitors, for they despoil the sons of God who are entrusted to their care [...] The Lord elsewhere complains of this matter, saying: ‘Oppressors have stripped my people bare’.¹¹⁵

Gilbert Hay’s translation of the *Law of Armys* declared that soldiers who went to war for pillage were not entitled to wages, and those who were paid wages had no rights over booty captured.¹¹⁶ Given the number of contemporaries who criticised knights who

¹¹³ Denys Hay (ed), *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537* (London, 1950), p. 87, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 127.

¹¹⁴ Quoted by Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 233-4.

¹¹⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 13.

¹¹⁶ Stevenson (ed), *Buke of the Law of Armys*, pp. 121-2, 140-1.

plundered, pillaged and looted, it can therefore be assumed this was encouraged or seen as a natural reward for participating in warfare.¹¹⁷ Financial gain, both on an individual level and for the wealth of the realm, was at the heart of much martial activity and was encouraged, at some levels, by chivalric literature.¹¹⁸ Chroniclers record that booty was a central concern for knights.¹¹⁹ Theorists justified profits from war, which was viewed as part of the rights of the victors, as property was transferred from the loser to the winner.¹²⁰ Maurice Keen argues, particularly with regard to the Hundred Years War, that loot from warfare was the mainstay of soldier's lives, be they ordinary soldiers or knights, and the chances of financial gain could be enough of an incentive to secure an army in the field. Keen suggests that the quest for financial gain did not necessarily lie outside the idealistic boundaries of chivalry, and justifications could easily be proffered in defence of the right of a man-at-arms to keep what he won in war.¹²¹ Indeed, across the fifteenth century Scottish knights and men-at-arms hoped to make personal financial gains from war, be it through booty or prisoners' ransoms.¹²² By the early sixteenth century, Bernard Stewart was promoting the importance to the whole army of being able to seek booty. According to Stewart this was especially important after a pitched battle,

¹¹⁷ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 77.

¹¹⁸ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 155-6.

¹¹⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 3, 48, XVI, 1, *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, pp. 68, 169, 237. Other literary sources also confirm that collecting booty was a normal part of warfare. For example see Barbour, *Bruce*, Book V, 117-19, IX, 443-8, XIV, 130-2, XV, 539-41, XVII, 105-7, XVIII, 559-62.

¹²⁰ See A.R. Bridbury, 'The Hundred Years' War: Costs and Profits', in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (eds), *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher* (London, 1976), p. 92.

¹²¹ M.H. Keen, 'Chivalry, Nobility, and the Man-at-Arms', in C.T. Allmand (ed), *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976), p. 41.

¹²² Alastair J. Macdonald, 'Profit, Politics and Personality: War and the Later Medieval Scottish Nobility', in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and Authority, Scotland c.1050-c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to Grant G. Simpson* (East Linton, 2000), p. 120.

to ensure that the companies would not dissolve into independent groups running after prisoners and loot, although, of course, Stewart's experience was of mercenary warfare on the Continent.¹²³

The campaign of 1496 continued into the following summer, and James IV focused even more effort on the borders. By 1497, John Sandilands of Hillhouse had been replaced by Robert Kerr of Cessford (also of Ferniehurst), as Master of the King's Artillery. After an initial raid of Hume, James IV was quickly diverted by a sea attack on the east coast and took a considerable portion of his army with him.¹²⁴ James left Robert Kerr in the borders and ensured that he regularly received payments for furnishing the artillery. Kerr also received a fee of £33 6s 4d as a Whitsunday payment, and an average fee of £100 a week, which was significantly higher than the £100 annual pension for the post of Master of the King's Artillery.¹²⁵ Sandilands and Kerr's employment, of course, is an indication that knightly nobles were adapting to the use of guns. Indeed, Warner has remarked that:

It has often been claimed that the greater use and efficacy of artillery during the fifteenth century ruined warfare as a knightly finishing school, and that this new and destructive technology was incompatible with the chivalric ethos of the period. However, there is no evidence to support this view. Instead, the aristocratic combattants of the age readily adapted

¹²³ Élie de Comminges (ed), *Traité dur L'Art de la Guerre de Bérault Stuart Seigneur D'Aubigny* (The Hague, 1976), P. Contamine, 'The War Literature of the Late Middle Ages: The Treatises of Robert de Balsac and Béraud Stuart, Lord of Aubigny', in C.T. Allmand (ed), *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 119-20, Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 156.

¹²⁴ The raid of Hume was named as such in the *Treasurer's Accounts*, although it appears unlikely that it was Hume which was raided as Lord Hume was very much part of James IV's military campaigns at this time. The Scots, who must have used Hume as a base to make cross-border raids, also held jousting while they were camped there. *Calendar of State Papers (Milan)*, I, no 526, p. 317, *TA*, I, p. 329, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 137. The seventy English ships were probably headed off by Sir Andrew Wood of Largo.

¹²⁵ *TA*, I, pp. 329, 339, 340, 346, 348, 350, IV, p. 267.

themselves to the changing nature of warfare, throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the development of this dangerous technology.¹²⁶

Warner's studies are primarily concerned with those in command of English armies. However, in Scotland there is also some indication that knights embraced the possibilities provided by firearms. One such knight, Sir John Ramsay, appears to have held a position of responsibility over the gunners and may well have been Robert Kerr's second-in-command.¹²⁷ Two men of this name operated in James IV's court, one John Ramsay, and one Sir John Ramsay, the former Lord Bothwell, who had lost his title because of his support for James III.¹²⁸ In all probability the Ramsay who had responsibility for the gunners was the disgraced Lord Bothwell, as he was certainly involved in the beginnings of the attacks in 1496. Ramsay had been in England until early 1496 and he appears to have returned to Scotland as a spy for Henry VII.¹²⁹ Yet his conspiracies against James IV and Perkin Warbeck do not seem to have been drawn to the Scottish king's attention and it is entirely plausible that James, ignorant of Ramsay's true allegiance, placed him in a position of responsibility in the borders in 1497.

The best description of the border wars comes from the Spanish ambassador Don Pedro de Ayala, who arrived in Scotland around June 1496 and immediately joined

¹²⁶ Warner, 'Chivalry in Action', p. 166.

¹²⁷ *TA*, I, p. 350.

¹²⁸ Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 202-3, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 58-9, *SP*, II, pp. 132-4.

¹²⁹ A.F. Pollard (ed), *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources* (London, 1913), I, no. 100, 101., Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 129-30.

James IV on campaign.¹³⁰ De Ayala was actively involved in the wars and amongst his duties he acted as a mediator in negotiations for a truce at Ayton.¹³¹ The Spanish ambassador remarked that the Scots ‘spend all their time in wars’ and Raimondo de Raimondi de Soncino, the Milanese ambassador in England, expressed similar opinions, writing to the duke of Milan that ‘the Scots, who have nothing to lose, are always willing for a war with England’.¹³² De Ayala commented that he ‘can say with truth that he [James IV] esteems himself as much as though he were lord of the world. He loves war so much [...] war is profitable to him and to the country’. De Ayala observed that ‘this army does not cost the king a penny’, but contrary to this account, James did suffer financially from the wars.¹³³ De Ayala also spent a section of his letter outlining his opinions about the Scots, having been impressed by the number of military men and knights he had met on campaign. In the fourteenth century John Barbour had commented through the voice of a French knight:

what shall we say of our French lords, always stuffing their bellies with good food, willing only to eat, drink and dance, when such a knight, so noble as this one [Robert Bruce], by his chivalry had put himself in such danger, to win a wretched hamlet.¹³⁴

De Ayala noticed a less flattering distinction in Scottish knights and said that they were

¹³⁰ G.A. Bergenroth (ed), *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere* (London, 1862-1954), I, no. 211, p. 179, *TA*, I, p. cxxx, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 133.

¹³¹ *TA*, I, p. clviii, *Foedera*, XII, p. 673, *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 532, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 139, and note 151.

¹³² Don Pedro de Ayala, ‘Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, 25 June 1498’, in P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1978), p. 43, *Calendar of State Papers (Milan)*, I, no. 553, pp. 339.

¹³³ Don Pedro de Ayala, ‘Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella’, pp. 41, 45. Don Pedro de Ayala is clearly referring to the forty days of military service that he was directly observing amongst the knights and foot-soldiers of the army and therefore his comments are especially insightful.

¹³⁴ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book IX, 401-7.

handsome, vain, ostentatious and well-dressed. He also recounted that they were ‘courageous, strong, quick, and agile’.¹³⁵ However, whether de Ayala was really impressed with Scottish knights and whether these comments were recording anything beyond standard virtues, is difficult to judge.

During the fifteenth century, then, warfare developed and made increasing use of skilled workers. This type of warfare did not require knights to be at the forefront of campaigns, particularly sieges, but they were still the mainstay of royal armies. Even in the new artillery-led siege warfare, knights and men-at-arms might be required to storm a castle after the initial onslaught of gunfire, and they may have been involved in skirmishing in the vicinity of the besieged stronghold. Although they were present and prepared to fight, just how they were employed is still difficult to determine because of the type of records which have been preserved. Indeed, we could hardly expect to find a high level of knightly involvement reported in royal records, as they were unpaid and still provided military service from their annual forty-day quota. From the surviving information about sieges, it appears that knights were involved primarily in commanding roles. Yet they must have participated in other aspects of the proceedings. Although the records are silent on this point, the pitched battles and organised campaigns of James III and James IV may give a better impression of knights’ roles. However, pitched battles were relatively few, and the decline of Anglo-Scottish warfare must have had an effect on the type of military careers which a nobleman could expect. No reputations similar to those held by the Black Douglases were built up in the fifteenth century and

¹³⁵ Don Pedro de Ayala, ‘Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella’, p. 44.

commentators only seem to have been comfortable with praising men in the context of the ‘international’ conflicts. Indeed, the number of Scots serving French kings during the fifteenth century suggests that those knights who wished to pursue a career in full-scale campaigning and warfare really had to look to the Continent. There were, nevertheless, some opportunities to display knightly skill during this type of martial action in Scotland.

In 1482, James III was embroiled in war with England. The previous year the English had attacked the east coast which had been poorly defended by Andrew Wood of Largo, the captain of James III’s ships.¹³⁶ By early 1482 James III set out to defend the borders. He proposed to finance personally a garrison of five hundred soldiers, and the estates agreed to pay the wages of an additional six hundred.¹³⁷ James Borthwick of Glengelt, second son of William, second Lord Borthwick, was placed in command of garrisons at Blackadder, Wedderburn and Hume. Borthwick was asked to choose two deputies to oversee the twenty-strong garrisons of Blackadder and Wedderburn, and he held Hume himself with sixty men. James Stewart, earl of Buchan, was entrusted with the guardianship of the middle marches with commanders under him: James Edmonstone of that ilk, who was appointed captain of Cessford (with a garrison of sixty), Ormiston (with twenty) and Edgarston (with twenty); John Cranston of that ilk was given Jedburgh (with sixty), Cocklaw (with twenty) and Dolphinstoun (with twenty); and William Bailey of Lamington was given the command of Hermitage castle

¹³⁶ For more on Wood’s career see above pp. 63-6.

¹³⁷ Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 148-50. Two hundred and fifty were to be paid for by the clergy, two hundred and fifty by the barons and one hundred by the burghs.

with a garrison of one hundred men, because parliament considered it to be ‘in maste dangere’.¹³⁸ In the west borders, John Stewart, first Lord Darnley, was entrusted with the Wardenship.¹³⁹ Thomas Kilpatrick, laird of Closeburn, was given the captaincy of Lochmaben castle, the main strongpoint of the west borders, and a garrison of one hundred men. Robert Charteris, laird of Amisfield, a squire, was also given one hundred soldiers to split between Castlemilk, Annan, and Bell’s Tower.¹⁴⁰ Apart from the earl of Buchan and Lord Darnley, little more is known about the military careers of these men and why they were selected for these positions, although they were presumably regarded as militarily competent.

In June 1488 the principal noblemen of Scotland met in an armed conflict at Sauchieburn.¹⁴¹ This was one of several conflicts over 1488, including incidents at Dunbar, Blackness and Stirling Bridge.¹⁴² The battle at Sauchieburn was probably brief in duration and much of it may have been taken up with isolated skirmishes, but involvement in the actual fighting by men of knightly status cannot be ignored. This is one situation where men who had been trained as knights followed their inherent recourse to violence. Even so, James III could not place full confidence in his own supporters and he appears to have distributed money amongst his nobles and knights to

¹³⁸ *APS*, II, pp. 132-5, *RMS*, II, 1418.

¹³⁹ *APS*, II, p. 140, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 152-3. For more on Darnley’s career see above pp. 124-5.

¹⁴⁰ *ADC*, I, p. 60, Appendix B, Table Three, no. 478.

¹⁴¹ For Stirling Bridge, the day before Sauchieburn, see Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 255-6, *APS*, II, p. 204, Pitcairn, *Trials*, I, I, p. 8. See Appendix C, Table 1, for a list of men involved. For Sauchieburn see Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 206, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 243, 247, 252, 253, 256-7, Pitcairn, *Trials*, I, I, p. 2, *SP*, V, p. 4, *APS*, II, p. 201, *RMS*, II, 1723, 1727, 1730, Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 159, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 256-7.

¹⁴² For a detailed account of 1488-9 see Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 235-63, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 1-76.

secure their military service and loyalty.¹⁴³ As this was a rebellion against the crown by factional nobles, martial glory could not be achieved, at least in the eyes of the commentators. The pursuit of chivalric glory cannot have been a feature of this battle, as the primary objectives of the participants were political. Indeed, there are no 'chivalric' accounts of the battle, nor general accounts elaborating on the behaviour of the participants. Likewise, internal feuds do not appear to have generated literary commentary in the same way that Anglo-Scottish warfare did. These are rarely recorded in chronicles, and when they are, the emphasis is not on who proved their military worth. This may indicate that Anglo-Scottish warfare was the only type of war in which 'chivalric' virtues could be fully celebrated. If so, then the clerical concerns with just war and the crown's determination to identify service in its interests as especially laudable and noteworthy might have influenced accounts of warfare. The death of James III at Sauchieburn may also have prejudiced reports of the battle. Knights might not have wished to be recognised for martial prowess in a battle which resulted in the treasonable death of the king.

Flodden in 1513 had similarly disastrous results. James IV had mustered a large army with which to besiege Norham castle in August 1513. The army was well supported by a sizeable artillery train, including at least seventeen guns under the charge

¹⁴³ *TA*, I, pp. 85-7, *ER*, X, p. 82, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 254-5.

of Robert Borthwick and Patrick Paniter.¹⁴⁴ With such a force, Norham castle fell to the Scots in five days and James then proceeded to take the smaller castles of Etal and Ford.¹⁴⁵ By early September the Scottish army had taken up a strong defensive position on Flodden hill, but by this time many Scots had begun to leave the host.

A number of accounts commented on the defeat of the Scottish army and made it clear that, despite the defeat, there had been no lack of bravery on the Scots' side. A contemporary account claimed that 'it is not to be doubted, but the Scotts faught manly, and wer determynned outhir to wynne the ffeelde or to dye, they were also as well appointed as was possible at all points with armes and harnes'.¹⁴⁶ Although the Scots were severely defeated, Richard Faques, the Northumbrian writer of 'The Trewe Enountre or Batalyle Lately Don Betwene Englande and Scotlande', reported that Edmond, Lord Howard, fighting on the English side, recognised 'the great power of the Scottes' and that 'the Scottes wer of that might that the vaward was not of power nor abull to encounter thaim'.¹⁴⁷ Alexander, third Lord Hume, the chamberlain, who was captain of one of the Scots' battalions, fought against Edmond, Lord Howard, 'and betwene thaim was soe cruell batell that many of our pratye Chesshirmen and other did

¹⁴⁴ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 270, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol I, part II, no. 2246, 2283, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 275. For more on Patrick Paniter's career see Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 209. Seventeen guns were dispatched from Edinburgh castle, the same number captured by the English, although Pitscottie reports that thirty guns were employed by the Scots. Mackenzie, *The Secret of Flodden*, p. 49, *TA*, IV, pp. 515-18. Gervase Phillips points out that the range of the guns was inaccurate, but they were effective at disrupting enemy formations. Gervase Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars 1513-1550: A Military History* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 273, Mackenzie, *The Secret of Flodden*, p. 36, Hay (ed), *Anglia Historia of Polydore Vergil*, p. 217, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, I, no 2279.

¹⁴⁶ Richard Faques, 'The Trewe Encountre or Batalyle Lately Don Betwene Englande and Scotlande', in David Laing, 'A Contemporary Account of the Battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513', *PSAS* 7 (1866-7), pp. 150-1, Caldwell, *Scotland's Wars and Warriors*, pp. 53-4.

¹⁴⁷ Faques, 'The Trewe Encountre', p. 148.

flee'.¹⁴⁸ Lord Hume was also warden of the east and middle marches and had a strong link with military activities. Howard was struck down by Andrew Stewart, bishop of Caithness, but 'like a coragious and an hardy yong lusty gentilman he recoverd againe and faught hande to hande with oone Sir Davy Home, and slew him with his oun hande.'¹⁴⁹ This was Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, a cousin of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, whose military reputation was outstanding.¹⁵⁰ David Hume had previously been involved in the border sieges of 1497, contributing £100 to the enormous cost of the wars.¹⁵¹ Hume had also been one of the participants in a tournament held at Holyrood Palace on the occasion of James IV's marriage in August 1503. Andrew, second Lord Herries, and John, fourth Lord Maxwell, also played major roles in the battle and 'each of them exerted himself to make as much slaughter among the English as he was able, and well did they use their power.'¹⁵² This account of the battle presents knights fighting in one-on-one conflicts, with overtly chivalric references: the courageous Lord Howard recovered after the attack by the bishop of Caithness and pursued Sir David Hume, killing him. The report, however, cannot be trusted to provide 'accurate' information about the course of the battle, as the author's narrative was clearly influenced and shaped by chivalric ideals. Whilst descriptions of the single combats between knights must be read with this in mind, the other descriptions the writer gave are useful, especially the indication that the men featured were commanding

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148. See also Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, pp. 272-3, for another account of this.

¹⁵⁰ See above pp. 59-61.

¹⁵¹ *TA*, I, pp. 313-4.

¹⁵² 'The Rout of the Scots', in W. Mackay Mackenzie, *The Secret of Flodden, with 'The Rout of the Scots', a Translation of the Contemporary Italian Poem La Rotta De Scocesi* (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 116.

divisions within the army. Indeed, Lord Hume did command a battalion with Alexander Gordon, earl of Huntly. A second division was led by William Hay, earl of Errol, David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, and William Graham, earl of Montrose. The third division was led by the king, along with the earl of Cassillis, the earl of Glencairn, Lord Herries, Lord Maxwell, and Alexander Stewart, archbishop of St Andrews. The fourth division was led by Adam Hepburn, earl of Bothwell and the fifth group by Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, and Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll.¹⁵³

Knights, therefore, occupied positions of command and sometimes engaged in diplomatic activities at sieges, but there is no other information which suggests how they fought and whether there was any distinction on the battlefield between knights and their men-at-arms. What emerges from the evidence is that, after the introduction of guns to Scotland and the change in siege warfare, high numbers of manual workers and skilled technicians were required for sieges. Although knights were no longer required in the same capacity, they adapted to the changes in warfare, learnt new skills and retained their place of prominence on the battlefield. These changes in the martial skill of knights, also experienced across England and the Continent, sparked a debate on warfare and the knight's place on the battlefield.

Although gunpowder was openly embraced as a military weapon by Scottish kings, international commentators argued that guns were the coward's weapon, destroying the dignity of knighthood by allowing a common soldier to kill or wound a

¹⁵³ Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, p. 123.

knight from afar.¹⁵⁴ John Barbour, through the voice of Robert Bruce, made it clear that it was not knightly to attack from a distance. Bruce said to three men who attacked him whilst he was hunting in woods near Carrick:

You ought to be ashamed to shoot at me from afar, [...] But if you have the courage to come close to attack me with your swords, defeating me in this way if you can, you will be all the more esteemed.¹⁵⁵

Malcolm Vale, however, argues that guns were accepted without serious reservations and that the tensions were not as apparent as Hale suggests.

The existing gulf between chivalrous idealism and the reality of war was merely widened as a result of its appearance. The gun posed no threat to a society in which 'chivalrous' behaviour in warfare was, perhaps, the exception rather than the rule.¹⁵⁶

Vale's point is insightful, and whether chivalric ideology had a real impact or effect on warfare at that time is an ongoing debate. However, Vale fails to recognise that gunpowder had a wider impact on knightly society. Knights who had invested substantial amounts of money on their armour, equipment and horses for the purpose of fighting for individual glory or gain, desired the opportunity to achieve this.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, as the use of artillery became common, knights simultaneously developed their skills in line with these changes, but this time less as free agents and more assuredly in the service of the king, the only lord who could afford heavy investment in artillery. Moreover, with the decline of Anglo-Scottish warfare and the changes in siege

¹⁵⁴ Hale, 'War and Public Opinion', p. 29.

¹⁵⁵ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book VII, 443-9.

¹⁵⁶ M.G.A. Vale, 'New Techniques and Old Ideas: The Impact of Artillery on War and Chivalry at the End of the Hundred Years War', in C.T. Allmand (ed), *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976), p. 72.

¹⁵⁷ Hale, 'War and Public Opinion', p. 31.

technology, there were fewer battlefield arenas in which knights might prove their 'chivalric' worth. The types of warfare in Scotland required co-ordination and discipline, not war which encouraged acts of individual prowess. Although chronicle accounts retained the idea of one-on-one combat as chivalric, war was not, at least during this period, largely influenced by the chivalric code. The only arena left exclusively available to knightly society was the tournament, a stylised battleground where chivalric qualities reigned supreme.

Scottish Tournaments

The tournament as a chivalric spectacle and as stylised warfare has been explored in most studies of chivalry. It was intimately linked to the culture of chivalry and knighthood, which had found expression in the rise of courtly romantic literature and the development of a clear concept of knighthood in the twelfth century.¹ Whilst the French, Burgundian, German and English tournaments have been thoroughly explored, with studies encompassing everything from the armour used during the games to the symbolic meanings behind their pageantry, little work has been undertaken on tournaments held in Scotland. Louise Olga Fradenburg has made some attempt to investigate Scottish tournaments in her work on late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century Scottish culture, but she concentrates only on the tournaments of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady held by James IV in 1507 and 1508.² These were well-recorded tournaments, rich in imagery and spectacle. However, the tournaments of 1507 and 1508 were part of a tradition of Scottish tournaments sponsored by the crown and this chapter traces and reviews the tournaments and jousts held during the fifteenth century.

In late-medieval Scotland two principal types of chivalric activity have been recorded: the joust which took place between two men of similar knightly rank, and

¹ For more on the rise of the tournament see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, chapter V, 'The Rise of the Tournament', Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, esp. pp. 247-251, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, esp. chapter 1, 'The Origins of the Tournament', and for a discussion of the relationship between princes and chivalric display see Alison Rosie, 'Ritual, Chivalry and Pageantry: The Courts of Anjou, Orléans and Savoy in the Later Middle Ages' (Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1989).

² Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 153-264.

the tournament which was a series of jousts and other knightly games involving a larger body of knights. The chivalric joust, more than the tournament, gave the individual the opportunity to distinguish himself. This was purely an exhibition of one knight's skill pitted against that of another, designed to test his manhood, in full view of his peers.³ Both the chivalric joust and the tournament provided space for a knight to demonstrate to a public audience that he was motivated by the chivalric codes of conduct and a desire to be knightly.⁴

Duels were staged to decide the outcome of judicial trials, but these were not chivalric. According to the *Buke of the Law of Armys*, the only time judicial duels, or trials by combat, could be fought were over matters of law and usually only in times of peace.⁵ Many judicial duels took place throughout the fifteenth century in Scotland. For example, in 1412 a duel was fought between John Hardy and Thomas Smith at Battlehaugh, presided over by Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas and: 'Thomas Smith fell there as an accuser who falsely charged the said John with the crime of treason'. D.E.R. Watt has asserted that Hardy and Smith cannot be further

³ V.G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 39-40, Juliet R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 145. In the early fifteenth century, Nicholas Upton claimed the joust for honour was a test of manhood, see Kiernan, *The Duel in European History*, p. 41.

⁴ Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 266.

⁵ Stevenson (ed), *Buke of the Law of Armys* (Edinburgh, 1901), pp. xcix-ci. For more on judicial duels see: Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, esp. pp. 188-90 where he contrasts and compares duels of law, or judicial duels, and duels of chivalry or jousts, Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), esp. pp. 103-26, Cynthia J. Neville, *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), Robert Baldick, *The Duel: A History of Duelling* (London, 1965), and Kiernan, *The Duel in European History*, who defines the judicial duel as 'the ordeal by combat, intended to determine right or wrong, and the joust, an exhibition of courage and prowess', see pp. 1-2. For proceedings of a judicial duel, and a chivalric joust, allegedly contemporaneous with James I's reign, see 'The Order of Combats for Life in Scotland as they are anciently recorded in an old Manuscript of the Law Arms and Offices of Scotland pertaining to James I King of Scots', *Spalding Misc.* (Aberdeen, 1842), II, pp. 383-90, also printed in Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, pp. 261-72. This makes it clear that although there was little variation between the way the judicial duel and the chivalric duel were carried out, there was nevertheless a distinction.

identified, but neither of them appear to have been knights.⁶ This suggests that judicial duels were not fought exclusively amongst men of knightly status. If this is the case, then trials by combat, although influenced by the codes of chivalry, cannot be considered to be knightly. Walter Bower records a single combat or judicial duel between Henry Knox, a man-at-arms of gentle status, and ‘a certain common tailor’, held before the king at Edinburgh castle in 1426. The *Exchequer Rolls* confirm that this duel did take place sometime between May 1425 and April 1426. According to Bower, the tailor laid complaint before James I that Knox had verbally abused the king. When Knox was prosecuted on this account and denied the charges, the tailor accused him of treason. In the end, the outcome of the case was not decided by the duel as James called a halt to the combat.⁷ Other judicial duels were recorded in chronicle sources. The *Extracta* records that three occurred in 1453, between Sir Alexander Nairn of Sandford and Sir James Logan, William Heriot and David Galford and William Hacket and Jonathan Seton. These appear to have been held at the same time, and it is most likely that Heriot, Galford, Hacket and Seton were retainers of either Nairn or Logan. It is almost certain that these duels arose from charges of treason, possibly in connection with the Black Douglasses.⁸ In 1456 a duel between Alexander Cunningham and a man referred to as Dalrymple was presided over by James II at Stirling. Its outcome was decided by lot at James’s discretion

⁶ *Chron. Bower*, XV, 23, and notes p. 187, *Chron. Extracta*, p. 216.

⁷ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 15, *ER*, IV, pp. xcvi, 411. See also Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, pp. 275-6.

⁸ *Chron. Extracta*, p. 243. Alexander Nairn was a Douglas adherent and he had been comptroller from 1435-38, 1444-47, and 1451 to 15 January 1453. He seems to have been sent to Henry VI’s court in the wake of the murder of the eighth earl of Douglas. *ER*, V, p. 672, *HBC*, pp. 189-90, Murray, ‘The Comptroller’, pp. 4-5, *ER*, V, pp. 258, 297, 477, Fraser, *Douglas*, III- Charters, pp. 373-4, no. 303, p. 424, no. 406. Nairn was also Lyon king of arms from 1437 to 1460. George Seton, *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1863), Appendix I, no. 1., pp. 477-8. Nairn was killed during his duel with James Logan.

and honour was granted on both sides. Neither Cunningham nor Dalrymple had a knightly status attributed to them in the sources, and this also appears to have been a judicial duel.⁹ These examples suggest that judicial duels were not knightly affairs. They were fought over matters of law where proof was difficult to obtain, and not primarily for chivalric display and glory.

Most of the documented information about duels and jousting comes from chronicle sources or royal accounts of expenditure. Both of these sources are problematic. Chroniclers usually report only the names of the participants, the length of the tournament, and who won. Royal accounts detail payments to armourers, bowyers and other workers, with very few other details. However, there is one source which may describe the details of jousting in the fifteenth century. A manuscript entitled 'The Order of Combats for Life in Scotland', apparently dating from James I's reign, was found in the archives of the House of Erroll in the early nineteenth-century. The treatise details the role of officials during duelling and probably belonged to the Hays of Errol who were the hereditary Constables.¹⁰ The source itself is problematic. Nothing is known of the author, nor when it was written. If it does date from James I's reign, it has certainly been edited and modernised from its original fifteenth-century form. This causes serious problems in distinguishing between altered spelling and possibly adjusted text. The manuscript, printed by the Spalding Club, is the earliest version available, but it dates from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Whilst this makes it difficult to come to

⁹ *Chron. Bower*, Harleian MS Additions, volume IX, p. 141, *Chron. Extracta*, p. 238, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 55, Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, pp. 276-7.

¹⁰ 'The Order of Combats', pp. cxxi-cxxiii, 383-90.

reliable conclusions about fifteenth-century duelling, it can still provide some insight into how a joust may have been organised.

‘The Order of Combats’ indicates that chivalric and judicial duels, although held in the same manner and subject to the same rules, were distinct. A judicial duel began when ‘the cartell or bill of quarrell’ was brought to court before the Great Constable. When the truth of the matter could not be proven, a trial by arms was decreed and the Constable assigned a day for the battle which fell within the following forty days.¹¹ When the king agreed to this, the Constable requested that lists or rails be set up, sixty paces long and forty paces wide, which were plain and dry, ‘without riggs, hills, or other impediments’. At either end of the lists a gate or entry was made with a strong bar across it ‘to keep out the people’. Measures were also taken to ensure horses could not enter the gates. The Constable then appointed a sergeant-at-arms to guard each gate, commanding them not to let any man approach within four feet.¹² On the day of the duel the King would sit on a high seat or scaffold, at the foot of which was another seat for the Constable. The challenger would come to the east gate of the lists ‘and brought with him such armours as wer appoynted by the Constable, and wherwith he determined to fight.’¹³ The Constable approached him, asked him to state his business, then opened the visor of his headpiece ‘to see his fface, and therby to know that man to be he who makes the challenge.’¹⁴ Once the defendant had been similarly identified, the duel took place and the loser was punished. The rules for a chivalric duel were much the same, with

¹¹ ‘The Order of Combats’, p. 383.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

the only real distinction being that the knight who lost the duel was not punished. Instead, the losing knight was deemed to have lost honour.

The 'Order of Combats' suggests that during the jousting the Constable had the most prominent duties, followed by the Marischal. The Constable and the Marischal were not paid for these duties, but instead received remuneration from the jousting itself. This may explain why there is no official fifteenth-century record of the Constable or the Marischal's involvement in tournaments or jousts, or of receipt of payments for these duties. The Constable received all the armour and weapons which the loser brought with him, 'that is to say, a spear, a shield, a long sword, a square sword, and a knyfe, with the haill jewells and rings the vanquisht had about him at his entring the quarrell.' The Marischal received 'all horses, broken armour, or other ffurnitur that fell to the ground efter the combatants did enter the lists, als weill from the Challenger as from the Defender.'¹⁵ The Marischal also received all the bars, posts, rails and other parts of the lists as part of his fee.¹⁶ This treatise suggests that the king's role was simply to preside over the joust, ensure that the rules were being followed, and to call a stop to it if he felt that both parties had proved themselves worthy.

Aside from this manuscript, as discussed above, very few details of the conduct of tournaments and jousts in the fifteenth century have survived. There are, however, scattered references in the chronicles. These accounts usually record only the outcome of the event. Indeed, many crown-sponsored tournaments which took place were not mentioned by chroniclers at all. Royal records must be used in

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 389-90.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

conjunction with chronicle reports in order to obtain a broader picture of where and when tournaments and jousts were held. As many of these records have been lost, including the treasurer's accounts for the reigns of James I and James II, and most of James III's reign, it can safely be assumed that there were more tournaments held than can be discussed in this chapter. There were no tournaying societies in Scotland, as there were in Germany and the Low Countries.¹⁷ This raises the question of whether there were privately sponsored tournaments. No chroniclers record that private tournaments were held, and if they were held by prominent nobles, such as the Black Douglasses or the Albany-Stewarts, we might expect that some reference would have been made to them by contemporary commentators. However, in the absence of private financial records it is not possible to rule out the existence of privately sponsored tournaments. This lack of evidence means this study will be restricted, perhaps artificially, to the assumption that the majority of tournaments held in the fifteenth century were crown-sponsored.

The ideal medieval king was, amongst other things, a strong and powerful knight. Effective rulers were expected to hold tournaments to display to their subjects and the wider chivalric community their power, their benevolence and their adherence to knightly codes of conduct. James I had been keen to promote himself along these lines when he returned to Scotland in 1424, but there is only evidence of one tournament held in Scotland during his reign. James's apparent disinterest in knightly games and chivalric expression is strange given the way in which he used

¹⁷ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 186-7, 209-10.

knighthood and dubbing to further his political goals in 1424.¹⁸ Even though Walter Bower describes James as the ‘best of archers and a knowledgeable jouster’ there is very little indication of him having participated in activities like these. Indeed, Bower may simply have been attributing standard qualities expected of a king to James, and this may not be a real insight into the personal and knightly qualities of the king.¹⁹

James’s experience of tournaments and their promotion of the chivalric ideal had been limited whilst he was held in English captivity. At the age of thirteen, James had been witness to a duel held at Nottingham, on 12 August 1407, between Bertrand Usana and John Bolomer. Bolomer had accused Usana of treason, but this was a judicial duel, not a chivalric joust, and whether this had an impact on James is uncertain. James did not attend many tournaments during the time he was held in England.²⁰ Surprisingly, James’s earlier guardian, Henry IV, does not appear to have supported the promotion of chivalric games. Henry IV had enjoyed a remarkable tourneying career when he was earl of Derby, but after his coronation in 1399 he gave little time to the sport, holding only two court-sponsored chivalric tournaments. Both of these were in the early years of his reign before James had been taken prisoner.²¹ Whilst at this time there were many judicial combats in the Scottish borders, and James may well have taken an interest in them, he did not witness

¹⁸ Although if the ‘Order of Combats’ does date to his reign then we can assume that he had a much keener interest in tournaments than has been recorded.

¹⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 28. See also Brown, *James I*, p. 2, and E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, *James I, King of Scots, 1406-1437* (London, 1936), p. 264. Bower certainly held James I in high esteem and spent the last section of his chronicle outlining his qualities and interests. See *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 28-38.

²⁰ Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, p. 198, *Foedera*, VIII, pp. 538-40. It was James who suggested that Henry stop the duel between Usana and Bolomer.

²¹ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 37. See also Barker, *The Tournament in England*.

Henry IV use tournaments or chivalric jousts to his own political advantage.²² Henry V paid even less attention to chivalric sports. Once he had re-launched the war against France, Henry's attitude was that no chivalrous sports should be pursued if there was a chance of real combat on the battlefield.²³ Henry V's ambassadors, including James I, were entertained at the French court in June 1420 by *à outrance* feats of arms between French and Portuguese knights. Henry's response to this jousting was critical, and he stated that

I command all my own servants that tomorrow morning we all of us be ready to go and besiege Sens, where my lord the King's enemies are. There may we all tilt and joust and prove our daring and courage, for there is no finer act of courage in the world than to punish evildoers so that poor people can live.²⁴

Henry V's preoccupation with the waging of serious warfare and his formidable disapproval of all forms of jousting reflected the established tradition that knightly sports, although useful in times of peace, simply distracted the knights whilst on campaign. As James I was involved in these wars between England and France, it is possible that James was influenced by the policies of Henry V and may have returned to Scotland with similar views.²⁵

Given that James was not exposed to a culture which promoted jousting or tournaying as valid knightly pastimes, it is thus unsurprising that we only find one tournament staged by James I, in the early 1430s. An exchequer entry, of 12 May 1433 to 28 May 1434, indicates that a tournament presided over by James I was held

²² Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 37.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴ M.L. Bellaguet (ed), *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, Contenant Le Règne de Charles VI, De 1380 A 1422* (Paris, 1844), pp. 408-15, Janet Shirley (trans), *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, translated from the Anonymous 'Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris'* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 92-3, 151, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 37.

²⁵ Wylie and Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, pp. 327, 328.

at Perth at some point during this period, when eight spears were transported for the games from Dundee.²⁶ James I had called a General Council at Perth in October 1433 and this is the only possible time at which this tournament could have been held. The council was called after an English knight had arrived with commissions and instructions from Henry VI. It aimed to discuss peace with England and the advantages of entering into marriage negotiations, but even after two days of debate, no conclusion was reached.²⁷ According to Bower, all of the prelates and magnates of the realm were present at the council. If a tournament was held at this time the nobles who were present may well have taken part.²⁸ There is no indication from the chronicler that the English party attended the council, but if present, this may have seen the continuation of a tradition, begun in the 1390s, of Scottish knights jousting against English knights.²⁹ Bower, who was present at the council, may have witnessed this tournament, but makes no reference to it in his account of the council, instead focusing on the discussion of diplomacy and legislation.

During James II's reign there is a significant increase in the evidence for tourneying activities. James had a strong chivalric reputation which was well known

²⁶ *ER*, IV, p. 561.

²⁷ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 23, *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, pp. 285-6, Roland J. Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', pp. 75-6, Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 58-9. Walter Bower, who was present at the council, named the English knight as Scrope, whom D.E.R. Watt identifies as John, lord Scrope of Masham, a regular diplomatic envoy for England. However, Michael Brown thinks it was unlikely that it was Scrope who had attended at Perth, because by this time Scrope had lost favour with the English crown and had been removed as treasurer in the summer of 1433, only a couple of months prior to the council. Brown thinks it much more probable that it was Edmund Beaufort, Count of Mortain, who was sent from England, and Bower's error was with confusing Masham with Mortain. Mortain was Queen Joan's youngest brother, making his kinship with James favourable for such discussions and indeed Mortain was dispatched in August 1433 with an embassy to go to Scotland. Michael Brown, *James I*, pp. 152-3, and n.40. Roland Tanner does not pick up on, nor expand upon, this debate in his recent book on general councils and parliaments, Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 58-9, nor in his doctoral thesis, Tanner, 'The Political Role of the Three Estates', p. 75.

²⁸ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 23.

²⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XV, 4, 6, *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 103-115, 359-61.

in the European courts and he was described as ‘*un vaillant chevalier et homme de grant corage*’.³⁰ The most well-known tournament held and presided over by James, was at Stirling on Shrove Tuesday in 1449. Jacques and Simon de Lalain and Hervey de Meriadet, three noble knights from Burgundy, came to engage in single combats with James Douglas, the brother of the eighth earl of Douglas (and later ninth earl), John Ross of Hawkhead and James Douglas of Ralstoun (often styled of Lugton and Loch Leven), the brother of Sir Henry de Douglas of Loch Leven.³¹ Such a strong Douglas presence has led some historians to consider whether the Douglasses, rather than the king, were the patrons and promoters of chivalric culture within Scotland at this time. Michael Brown even suggests that the tournament gave the Douglasses the opportunity to ‘pose as the armed defenders of Scotland’s honour’.³² However, the Douglasses had been at the forefront of diplomatic negotiations with Burgundy in 1448 and 1449, therefore it is most probable that the Burgundian party directed their challenge towards this group because they had previously met them.³³ Nevertheless, James II’s vigorous attack against the Douglas family over the following years may indicate that the Douglasses’ involvement in the tournament was not confined to a competitive level. They may have been using the promotion of chivalric culture as part of a wider assertion of their social pre-eminence and political power.

³⁰ Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 9470, fo. 15, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris N.a. Fr.6214, fo. 62v, cited in Annie I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh & London, 1950), p. 208.

³¹ *Chron. Bower*, Harleian MS Additions, ch. 9, p. 141, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 40, *Chron. Extracta*, p. 238, Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, p. 207.

³² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 276.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

A lengthy account of the tournament has survived, which is so richly described that it provides a clear picture of a mid-fifteenth-century Scottish tournament. The account was penned by George Chastellain, the biographer of Jacques de Lalain. The details are generally regarded as either having been given to him directly by Jacques de Lalain, or if he accompanied Lalain to Scotland, these may have derived from his own first-hand experience. Chastellain wrote that on the appointed day, after the Burgundians had arrived, James Douglas and his party entered the lists and were attended by a great company, together with the eighth earl of Douglas. This party may also have included Gilbert Corry, the son of James Corry; James, Lord Fren draught, knight; Alexander Nairn of Sandford, Lyon King of Arms; Robert Liddale, the king's steward; James Kerr; and Adam Wawane, who were all present at the tournament and were Douglas adherents and associates.³⁴ The king mounted his throne and the Burgundian knights entered the lists. They were attended by Scots whom James II had appointed to advise them. The Burgundian knights dismounted before their pavilion, entered, and did reverence to James II. They returned to their pavilion where their harnesses had been prepared 'so they

³⁴ *RMS*, II, 319. On Nairn of Sandford's Douglas connections see Fraser, *Douglas*, III- Charters, pp. 373-4, no. 303, p. 424, no. 406. For more on James Kerr and Robert Liddale's associations with James, ninth earl of Douglas, see Brown, *Black Douglasses*, pp. 296, 300, 301. See also p. 174 for the Corry family. A fifteenth-century roll of arms may help ascertain who was also present at the tournament. However, some question has been raised as to the dating of the roll. None of the arms within it can be dated to a contemporaneous period, with the latest arms, those of Lord Herries, dating to after 7 February 1492. The editor of the roll dates it to c. 1455-1458, concluding that it may be a later copy of an earlier roll with later coats added, but this dating also seems too late as the Douglas earldoms were forfeited in 1455. If this is the case, then some of the arms may well date to 1449 and may have come from a tournament roll from Stirling. This is a highly speculative argument. However, a large number of Douglas and Livingston arms are present, putting parts of the roll firmly in James II's reign. Additionally we find the earl of Douglas arms on f. 47r., and the Ross of Hawkhead and Douglas of Loch Leven arms, side-by-side, on f. 49r. Although the presence of the arms of the three Scottish contestants at Stirling is nowhere near conclusive evidence that this is what the roll is, it certainly warrants consideration. See Colin Campbell (ed), *The Scots Roll: A Study of a Fifteenth Century Roll of Arms* (Heraldic Society of Scotland, 1995).

armed themselves at their ease, and had abundant leisure, for they had come more than three hours before the others.³⁵ Master James Douglas, John Ross of Hawkhead and James Douglas of Ralstoun arrived at the appointed time and proceeded to enter the lists. The fully-armed Scots dismounted and approached James II, who may have been seated in the manner described by the anonymous author of the 'Order of Combats'. James II 'descended from his throne' and dubbed the three Scots.³⁶

After these preliminary proceedings, the six knights decided amongst themselves with whom they would joust. It was agreed that Jacques de Lalain would fight James Douglas of Douglas, Meriadet 'who was renowned as the most powerful body' would fight John Ross of Hawkhead and Simon would fight James Douglas of Ralstoun.³⁷

...they were to fight with lances, axe, sword, and dagger *à outrance*, or till the king signified his will; but at the request of the above-named Scots, the throwing of the lance was forbidden, for they trusted greatly their lances. So the uncle, the nephew, and Meriadet agreed among themselves that they would neither fight with their lances nor throw them at their opponents, but that when they met them they would cast their lances behind them, and fight with their axes.³⁸

According to Chastellain, Jacques de Lalain then spoke with Meriadet, as 'according to the rules of the combat, each one might carry assistance to his comrade'. Lalain requested that Meriadet should not come to his assistance if he was injured, but

³⁵ Chastellain, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', p. 33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4. See above pp. 71-3, which discusses more fully the knighting of these men, and *RMS*, II, 383, 422, which shows John Ross of Hawkhead was not a knight before the tournament.

³⁷ Chastellain, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', p. 34.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34. *À outrance* jousting was with sharp weapons, those used in normal warfare, instead of blunted jousting weapons. The joust could be fought to the death, although the tournament overseer would normally halt the duel before serious injuries were sustained. See Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 100, 125-6, 160, 165.

should allow him to ‘meet such fortune, be it good or ill, as God may please to send’.³⁹ This rule, which probably only applied in *à outrance* jousting, suggests that if a knight was injured a member of his team could help him.

When the six champions were apparelled and ready to issue from their tent, awaiting the proclamations, orders, and prohibitions that are wont to be made in the lists, straightaway with sound of trumpet were thrice proclaimed at the four corners of the lists the conditions appointed by the King of Scotland.⁴⁰

The fact that the king appointed the conditions of the tournament, presided over it and provided men to attend to the Burgundians, does suggest that James II had a significant role in the organising and running of this tournament. The Douglasses cannot have solely promoted such activity and must have done so in co-operation with the king. If the ‘Order of Combats’ is accurate, the Constable, Sir William Hay of Errol, probably read the proclamations. The rules of the competition may have been much like those defined at Edward IV’s command in 1466 by the earl of Worcester, the Constable of England. The rules were that whoever broke the most spears, as they should be broken, would win a prize; that whoever hit their opponent three times on his helmet would win a prize; and that whoever met twice head-to-head would win a prize. Prizes could also be won by removing an opponent from his saddle, or forcing him and his horse to the ground. If any man was identified as having stayed longest in the field, run the fairest course, given the greatest strokes and performed best with his spear, he could also win the overall tournament prize. There were also rules outlining how a knight could lose. If he struck a horse or a

³⁹ Chastellain, ‘Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain’, p. 34. The brutal nature of *à outrance* jousting probably did require such a rule.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

man's back or disarmed him of his spear, hit the tilt three times, or lost his helmet twice he was automatically disqualified. Additional rules described how spears could be broken and what constituted a disqualifying spear break.⁴¹

After the rules and conditions of the jousting had been outlined, the Burgundians and the Scots set forth from their pavilions. As they marched towards one another their planned order deteriorated. In the end, Meriadet fought James Douglas of Ralstoun, and Simon de Lalain fought John Ross of Hawkhead. Chastellain described their jousts in much detail:

Then the said Des Lalains and Meridaet threw their lances behind them as they had agreed. Then they seized their axes, and with much vigour began to fight and strike at the Scots who defended themselves with their lances. Messire James de Duglas fought with his lance; but it did not remain long in his hand: so he took his axe and fought for a little time with it, but not for long, for Messire Jacques soon made him lose it as he had lost his lance. And this Messire James being very wroth, and disturbed at seeing himself thus disarmed of his lance and his axe, at once with great fury seized his dagger and so tried to strike Messire Jacques in the face as he fought without his vizor and with his face uncovered. But Messire Jacques seeing him approach, with great force stuck him a blow with his left hand and made him stagger backwards. Notwithstanding this, Messire James sought with all his power to strike him in the face. Then Messire Jacques threw away his axe, and with his left hand seized Messire James by the head-piece, and held him so fast that he could not approach him, and with the right hand he drew his sword (which was a short blade), holding it near the point to use it as a dagger, for he had lost his own and did not know how (some say that he who armed him did not arm him with this). And thus he sought to make a dagger of the said sword, as had been said, and sought to strike the said James with the hand with which he held the beaver; and in trying to strike him, the said blade fell from his hand and he was without a weapon. And when he saw himself disweaponed, very swiftly and furiously he seized the said James with both hands by the hollow of his head-piece, and by the strength of his arm made him move backwards to the throne of the king, twice lifting him off his feet with the intention of throwing him on the ground, and so putting him out of breath; and in so doing he did rightly, for Messire James fought in his basinet with closed vizor, which the said De Lalain

⁴¹ BL Ashmolean MS 763, II, p. 5, Herald's College MS.M.6, cited in R. Coltman Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (London, 1919), pp. 46-7.

was without his vizor and breathed freely, it being quite the contrary with Messire James, and this soon appeared, when his vizor was removed after the king had thrown down his truncheon.⁴²

Chastellain's account then describes in similar detail the fights between Simon de Lalain and John Ross of Hawkhead, and Meriadet and James Douglas. In Meriadet and James Douglas' combat, Meriadet showed superior fighting skills, and levelled Douglas to the ground, 'and it is the truth that if he had hastened to slay him, he could easily have done so, and without blame since the fight was *à outrance*.'⁴³ At the end of the tournament, the guards who had been appointed, and whose duties are outlined in the 'Order of Combats':

laid hands on the six champions as they had been ordered to do; and all were brought before the King of Scotland, who said that they had all fought valiantly and well, that he held the combat at an end, and that he wished that they should be good friends. The trial of arms over, each returned to his lodging. And some days after the king feasted them very grandly, and gave them honourable gifts for which they thanked him.⁴⁴

This indicates that Chastellain was not present at the tournament. He is likely to have been recording only second-hand information as a banquet taking place 'some days after' would have fallen during Lent. Instead, such a banquet would most probably have occurred immediately after the jousting on Shrove Tuesday.

After visiting Scotland, Jacques de Lalain went to Bruges, where he participated in a tournament held on Mary of Gueldres' bridal journey to Scotland.⁴⁵

⁴² Chastellain, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', pp. 35-6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ Lalain won the tournament. Van Severen (ed), *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges*, V, p. 498, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 173, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 130. The bridal party left Sluys on 9 June 1449, so the tournament must have taken place at the end of May or the beginning of June. Mary of Gueldres was a niece of the duke of Burgundy and it is likely that the Stirling tournament and the bridal tournament in Bruges were connected. The direct connection to the court of Burgundy may also have influenced the promotion of tournaments and chivalry in Scotland.

During the tournament Lalain competed with and defeated an English squire. The duke of Burgundy, who presided over the tournament, had deemed that their weapons were not equal. The English squire's axe was declared to be superior to Lalain's, but Lalain argued that the squire should be allowed to use it.⁴⁶ According to the chronicler Olivier de la Marche, the English squire fought with his visor closed, but Lalain left his face exposed, as he had done at Stirling. The squire tried to use this to his own advantage, but the contest remained even until he caught the open end of Lalain's gauntlet and severely cut Lalain's arm. To avoid being accused of favouring Lalain, the duke of Burgundy allowed the combat to continue, and despite his injury, Lalain succeeded in throwing the Englishman to the ground.⁴⁷ La Marche's account of the jousting does not mention the Scottish knights who accompanied Mary of Gueldres, nor whether they took part in the jousting, although their participation seems likely.⁴⁸ Scotland was often amongst the places where heralds visited to proclaim tournaments, such as for the *pas d'armes* near Calais in 1449 held by Jean de Luxembourg, bastard of St Pol. This demonstrates that Scottish knights were well enough known among knights from countries like France, England, Germany and Spain, to be invited to compete in chivalric games.⁴⁹ Chivalric ideology suggested that no knight should avoid a tournament if he could

⁴⁶ Weapons checks were a standard part of tournaments. 'The Order of Combats', p. 386.

⁴⁷ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 130-2.

⁴⁸ Sir William Crichton, the Chancellor, was one of the knights who may have participated. *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 41.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18. For the *pas d'armes* near Calais the duke of Burgundy specifically sent heralds at his own expense to England, Germany, Spain and Scotland, although it does not seem that any Scottish knights took up the challenge. A *pas d'armes* was when an individual or team of knights proclaimed that they would defend a place against all comers. Froissart reports that heralds were sent to Scotland in 1344 to proclaim the feasting and jousting to commemorate the founding of the Order of the Garter. See Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 66. In 1540 the countries that were included on the travels of tournament proclaimers were France, England, Flanders, Scotland and Spain. John Stow, *A Survey of London: Written in the Year 1598*, Henry Morley (ed), (Stroud, 1994), p. 405.

get there in time. Adherence to this ideal was, of course, variable. Many Continental knights, such as Lalain, did go on extended tours in search of tournaments and the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* remarked that a good knight 'auenturit his persone to pursue and manetene justis tourneymentis and weris'.⁵⁰

On 3 July 1449 Mary of Gueldres was married to James II at Holyrood Abbey. Contrary to what might be expected of a late-medieval royal wedding, there is no clear evidence that a tournament was held in connection with the marriage celebrations.⁵¹ There is, however, an indication that some tournaying activity took place around the time of the marriage. Between 11 September 1448 and 18 July 1449, Sir William Cranston received £20 for bows, lances and armour equipment.⁵² Before 21 July 1450, John Liddale, a squire, received £12 for lances and spears of different colours for what is described simply as the tournament, which may refer back to an earlier date in summer 1449.⁵³ Cranston, and probably also Liddale, were known Douglas adherents at this time and again the influence of the family on chivalric displays is apparent.⁵⁴ Additionally, before 18 July 1449, James II had a suit of armour made for himself and he received lances, harnesses and other martial equipment before 10 July 1449. This suggests that he had participated in jousting at some point before these dates.⁵⁵ All of these payments were made from Edinburgh

⁵⁰ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 164, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 49-51, 177, Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 3.

⁵¹ Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 173, Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 169, 172-3. It was established by the fifteenth century that jousting commonly occurred at weddings. See, for example, William Dunbar's poem, 'Schir Thomas Norny', in Priscilla Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar: Selected Poems* (London & New York, 1996), p. 162.

⁵² *ER*, V, p. 345. This is the same William Cranston who was probably knighted by James II at his coronation.

⁵³ *ER*, V, pp. 383, 385.

⁵⁴ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, pp. 257, 272, 287. Cranston quickly converted to royal allegiance when James II made it clear he was attempting to subvert the power of the Black Douglasses.

⁵⁵ *ER*, V, pp. 312, 315, 339, 345, 346.

accounts and this may further support the idea that jousting took place at James II's marriage celebrations.

After competing in the jousts at Bruges in 1449, Jacques de Lalain, with the consent and support of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, set up a *pas d'armes* near Chalon sur Saône. This tournament, called the Fountain of Tears, was held in a most unusual manner: the games were to take place on the first day of each month for an entire year. A herald, who was accompanied by a lady and an image of a unicorn, met all challengers who came. The herald's main duty was to record the names of the participants and which of the unicorn's three shields they had touched, indicating the event in which they intended to compete. The pavilion was initially pitched on 1 November 1449, but no challengers came forward until 1 February 1450.⁵⁶

Lalain had selected Chalon as the tournament's location because it was expected that many pilgrims from France, England and Spain would pass through the town on their way to Rome for the papal jubilee celebrations in 1450.⁵⁷ There is also clear evidence that a Scottish party probably attended the tournament at Chalon. William, eighth earl of Douglas and his party, comprised one of the groups that travelled to Rome for this event and would have passed through Chalon. The earl of Douglas sailed directly to the Low Countries. He arrived at the court of Philip of Burgundy at Lille on 12 October 1450, where he was joined by his escorts who had travelled through England. These men included Sir James Douglas (later ninth earl), who had jousted with Jacques de Lalain at Stirling the previous year; Sir James Hamilton; Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen; Sir Alexander Hume; Sir William

⁵⁶ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, pp. 118-19.

⁵⁷ Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy*, pp. 121-2.

Cranston; Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy; Adam Auckinleck, cleric; Jonathan Clerk, cleric; Andrew Gray; William Lauder; Thomas Cranston; Andrew Kerr; Charles Murray; George Haliburton; Jonathan Haliburton; Jonathan Dodds; Jonathan Greenlaw; George Felawe; Alan Lauder; and James Bishop.⁵⁸ Douglas's party then travelled to Paris, to attend Charles VII's court, presumably having been reminded by the duke of Burgundy of the tournament which he was sponsoring at Chalon.⁵⁹ From Paris, the party's route would have been directed through Chalon, so it is likely that the seven knights in Douglas's party would have participated in the tournament.⁶⁰ This is sufficient indication that Scottish knights also travelled to the Continent to participate in tournaments.

The Douglasses' clear involvement in the promotion of chivalry through chivalric pastimes, and their use of this to advertise themselves as chivalric exemplars for the rest of the Scottish nobility, was just one factor which contributed

⁵⁸ *ER*, V, p. 439, Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 287, Fraser, *Douglas*, I, p. 466, *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 343, *CDS*, IV, 1229, NAS GD 16/46/3, Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, pp. 123-6. The eighth earl of Douglas returned to England just after 27 February 1451, when the Garter king of arms was dispatched by Henry VI to the sea coast to await his arrival, to take him to the king's court and attend on him during his stay. *CDS*, IV, 1231.

⁵⁹ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, p. 124.

⁶⁰ During James IV's reign, Scots were also participating in Continental tournaments. In 1494, Chevalier Bayard hosted a *pas d'armes* under the walls of the town of Aire in France, for which the prizes were diamonds, and a gold bracelet enamelled with Bayard's colours. Edward Cockburn Kindersley (ed), *The Very Joyous, Pleasant and Refreshing History of the Feats, Exploits, Triumphs and Achievements of the Good Knight without Fear and without Reproach the Gentle Lord de Bayard* (London, 1848), pp. 33-9, Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, I, pp. 72-3. Forty-six men participated in this tournament, a large number of them from the Scots guard in France. Two judges presided, 'the good captain Louis d'Ars, and the Scotch lord Saint Quentin', Cuthbert Carr, Lord of St Quentin, a Captain in the Scots Guards. Bayard's biographer described the main fighting between Bayard and Tartarin, and Bellabre and a 'Scotch gentleman, the captain David de Fougar'. He describes how they jousting two and two until they had run their courses, and then they all proceeded to the sword fight. 'And though each did right well, the best were the good Knight, Bellabre, Tartarin, the captain David, one of the company of my lord des Cordes named the Bastard of Chimay, and Tardieu.' On the second day, Tardieu and David of Scotland were set against each other, and 'did their devoir right well.' It was decided at the feast that night that Bayard had won the tournament, and he could bestow his presents where he thought fit. After some consideration, Bayard gave the prize of the first day to Bellabre, and the prize for the second day to the captain David Foggo.

to James II's aggressive attempt to destroy their power. With the downfall of the Black Douglases, James was free to assert royal dominance over such activities. A few years after he had killed the eighth earl of Douglas, at a time when he was facing war with England, James II began to place more emphasis on chivalric activities. In 1456 he declared that the space at Greenside should be used for tournaments and other warlike sports.⁶¹ The Edinburgh city records do not record whether Greenside was actually used for this purpose and there are no suggestions that a tournament was ever held there. James II's intention in establishing a permanent space for jousting and tournaying is clear: he wanted to train men in skills of warfare and knighthood and planned to increase the number of trained knights and men-at-arms at his disposal. In addition, his move brought chivalric pastimes under strict royal control.

However, the decline of the Black Douglases had left a space in which other members of the nobility might patronise chivalric ideals. In particular, William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, attempted to fill this role from his castle at Roslin. Having been made Chancellor in 1454, Sinclair had been heavily involved in James's crushing of the Douglases in 1455 and 1456.⁶² Sinclair, however, had close ties to the Douglases through marriage and he shared the same social and cultural circle.⁶³ These types of ties clearly did not guarantee political unity and loyalty. By 1456 Sinclair was at the peak of his personal and political power and may have decided to champion a programme of knightly reform by commissioning Sir Gilbert Hay to

⁶¹ *'pro tournamentis, jocis, et justis actibus bellicis ibidem.'* Taken from *Edin. Chrs.*, no. 36.

⁶² Crawford, 'William Sinclair, earl of Orkney', p. 232, Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500' (D.Phil., University of Oxford, 1987), p. 66, *HBC*, p. 182, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 53.

⁶³ See Brown, *Black Douglases*, pp. 235, 238, 247, 255, 257, 262, and Genealogical Table 4, p. 98.

translate three chivalric treatises. In doing this, the earl of Orkney firmly established himself as central to the upsurge of interest in chivalry following the events of 1449. Whilst Hay's translations proved popular, Sinclair was not. He lost the Chancellorship in October of that year, followed by his immediate loss of favour at court. Sinclair's sudden decline in royal favour has been attributed to his unwillingness to further the Scottish crown's aims in Danish and Norwegian politics.⁶⁴

In contrast to James II's involvement with chivalric activities, James III appears to have entirely avoided chivalric sports. There is no surviving evidence for any tournaments or other chivalric activities held by James III. Of course, James III's neglect of chivalric pastimes may have been simply because he was not personally interested in them. Norman Macdougall sums up James's rule as one where the king did not recognise the responsibilities of kingship. He argues that James's most serious mistakes lay in not rewarding his nobles adequately and failing to provide them with an appropriate court life. Instead, he hoarded money, rather than spending it on public celebrations, such as tournaments.⁶⁵

James III's brother, Alexander Stewart, duke of Albany, did, however, participate in tournaments and other chivalric activities. The duke of Albany was reputed as: 'sa expert in all faittis of armys, that he wes haldin and repute as ane fadir in chevalry'.⁶⁶ Indeed, it has been argued that the duke of Albany was the model for Blind Harry's *Wallace* – a brave, bold warrior hero. *The Wallace*, written in the late

⁶⁴ Crawford, 'William Sinclair', pp. 232, 235-6.

⁶⁵ Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 305-6, Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1985), pp. 182-3.

⁶⁶ Lesley, *History*, p. 51.

1470s, has also been interpreted as a denunciation of James III's policy of peace with England, clearly contrasting the two brothers and favouring Albany.⁶⁷ Albany had fled to France in the spring of 1479, the year he was indicted by parliament for treason.⁶⁸ He was well received at the court of Louis XI and in January 1480 he married Anne de la Tour, daughter of the Count of Auvergne and Bouillon, after which he returned to Scotland in 1482 in an attempt to claim the throne.⁶⁹ He returned to France in 1483 after being forfeited and became a knight of the Order of St Michael.⁷⁰ His enthusiasm for jousting ultimately led to his death at the age of thirty-one, when he duelled with the duke of Orléans in Paris in 1485 and was killed by a splinter from his lance.⁷¹

Even though James III did not hold any tournaments, he must have paid some attention to chivalric institutions and pastimes as he, like his brother, was a knight of the Order of St Michael. James was also a knight of the Danish Order of the Elephant.⁷² The Order of St Michael was founded in 1469, and James III was one of the original companions. Louis XI had planned the first meeting of the order for 1471, but this was subsequently cancelled. Instead it took place under Charles VIII in 1484, at which point the order numbered thirty knights. James III did not attend the meeting, nor did the king of Denmark. They had previously been informed they

⁶⁷ Sir James Liddale of Halkerston was one of Blind Harry's main sources of information, and Liddale's relationship with both James III and the duke of Albany cannot be ignored. See above pp. 85-6. See also Kelham, 'Bases of Magnatial Power', p. 240, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 269-70.

⁶⁸ *APS*, II, pp. 125-8, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 128-9. Norman Macdougall suspects that Albany was abusing his position as a warden of the Marches, and that he was responsible for serious violations against the Anglo-Scottish alliance. Macdougall, *James III*, p. 129.

⁶⁹ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 189, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 130.

⁷⁰ Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, p. 264, Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 444. His son, John, also became a member of the order.

⁷¹ Lesley, *History*, p. 51, *SP*, I, p. 152, Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 517, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 212, *ER*, IX, p. lvi, Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, p. 264.

⁷² *TA*, I, pp. 81, 86.

did not need to attend, although there is no indication of why they were exempted from this duty.⁷³ James's membership in these Orders does not indicate that he had a significant interest in chivalry, nor that he actively promoted himself as a chivalric king. James III was heavily criticised by his contemporaries for seeking the counsel of low-born, young and inexperienced advisors, and his lack of chivalric display may be symptomatic of the importance he placed on the advice of these men.⁷⁴

In this light, his son's extravagant expenditure on tournaments, jousts, and other public celebrations, his military and naval forces and his general benevolence to his nobles, can all be interpreted as James IV's attempt not to repeat the mistakes of his father. If his father had been reluctant to display or encourage chivalric activity, James IV revived and elaborated upon chivalric culture in its most extravagant forms. Maurice Keen argues that, in the Late Middle Ages, as men rediscovered the romance and richness of the chivalric tradition, they expressed this revelation in the rituals of chivalry: dubbing ceremonies, heroic exploits and tournaments. According to Keen these ideals were so flamboyantly asserted because men, just like James IV, sincerely intended to do justice to their class ideal which placed a premium on outward expressions of the chivalric and knightly ethos.⁷⁵ In the late sixteenth century Pitscottie wrote of James IV that:

This prince was wondrous hardie and deliegent in the executioun of iustice and loweit nothing so weill as abill men and guid hors and vsed gret justing and treatit his barrouns wondrous weill that was abill

⁷³ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 427, 436, 443-4. The original members of the order included thirteen non-royal knights and French officials of the Constable, the Admiral, both Marshals, the Grand Master of the Household, and the royal governors of four of the most important provinces in France, along with René, duke of Anjou, Christian I of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and his son and successor Hans, and James III. Charles, duke of Burgundy, François, duke of Brittany, and Adolph, duke of Guelders, all refused membership.

⁷⁴ Macdougall, *James III*, esp. pp. 269-72.

⁷⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 216-7.

thairfoir, and sundrie tymes wald gar mak procleratiouns out throw his realme to all and sindrie his lordis, earleis and barrouns quhilk was abill for iusting or tornament to come to Edinburgh to him and thair to exerceis them selffis for his plesour as they war best accustomed, sum to rin witht speir, sum to fight witht the battell axe and harnis, sum to feight witht the tuo handit suord, sum to schut the hand bow, corsebow and collvering. And everie man as he faught best gat his wapouns deliuerit to him be the king in this maner; he that ran the speir best, he gat ane speir witht gould deliuerit in to him witht gilt harnis thair to kepi in memorieall of his practick and ingyne thari to, and also the harrottis blasonitt him to be the best justar and rynnar of the speir in the realme amang his bretherine; and the battell axe deliuerit to him that faught best thariwitht, and in lykewyse the suord, hand bow and corse bow deliuerit be the heraldis the samin maner to them that wssit them best. Be this way and meane the king brocht his realme to great manheid and honouris, that the fame of his iusting and tornamentis sprang throw all Europe quhilk caussit money forand knychtis to come out of strange contrieris to Scotland to seik iusting because they hard the nobill fame and knychtlie game of the prince of Scotland and of his lords and barrouns and gentillmen. Money strangeris came bot few reffussit bot they war fouchin witht and wairit in singular battell be the Scottis men.⁷⁶

Although Pitscottie was a notoriously inaccurate chronicler, his opinions about James IV appear to have been well informed. James did hold a large number of tournaments, including most famously one for Perkin Warbeck in 1496, and two called the Wild Knight and the Black Lady in 1507 and 1508. He also held many others which have hitherto been ignored.

During the 1490s James hosted a number of small-scale jousts and tournaments. On 25 May 1491, £3 12s was paid to a bowyer to provide jousting spears for the king. This suggests that James himself was either practising or participating in jousts at this time. Amongst the spears ordered for the raid of Hume in January 1497 was a payment for the heads for twenty-four jousting spears and a

⁷⁶ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, pp. 231-2.

part payment for a further thirty jousting spears.⁷⁷ Jousting and small tournaments were common when armies were on campaigns and helped to fill long periods of inactivity.⁷⁸ James IV was almost certainly encouraging his men to take part in such activities by personally providing the equipment. These entries in the treasurer's accounts also distinguish between jousting spears and spears used in war- the heads on the jousting spears were clearly distinct, and were probably blunted. Given that war spears were sharp, the existence of different heads for jousting spears suggests that by this time *à outrance* jousting may have lost some of its popularity. As the tournament became an imitation of war, it became orchestrated and elaborate and lost much of its practical martial function. The tournament became a vehicle for displaying the power of violence, rather than providing an opportunity for the exercise of it. Due to the pressing need to avoid serious injury during jousting, the use of blunted weapons became common. Tournament combat became increasingly stylised as competitors sought to display their skills and knightliness rather than their ability simply to overpower their opponent.⁷⁹ This change took place in the period after 1449, and by the late 1490s, tournaying with blunted weapons was standard.

In January 1496, a year prior to the raid of Hume, Perkin Warbeck, pretender to the English throne, married James IV's cousin, Lady Catherine Gordon. James seems to have been rather taken with Warbeck and provided him with a lavish

⁷⁷ *TA*, I, p. 310. It is possible that the 'diamonds' and 'virales' often referred to in association with heads of jousting spears were types of blunted head.

⁷⁸ For another example of this see *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 129.

⁷⁹ Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, pp. 257-8, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 194-5, Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 17-44.

wedding ceremony, clothing him in white damask at the cost of £28.⁸⁰ As part of the wedding celebrations, James held a tournament. The king personally participated in the jousting alongside Perkin Warbeck; Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford (also of Ferniehirst), later Master of the King's Artillery; Patrick Hume of Polwarth; Patrick Haliburton; and William Sinclair. Both Robert Kerr and Patrick Hume went on to distinguish themselves in the military campaigns of 1496 and 1497. The four Scots were all close to James IV, but only Robert Kerr had been knighted before the tournament.⁸¹ The knightly status of these men was also reflected in their clothing allowances for the tournament: Kerr, as the only knight, received an extra £20 for damask clothing, whereas Hume, Haliburton and Sinclair only received an extra £8 for tartan.⁸² There is only evidence that these four men, the king and Warbeck, participated in the tournament. As they were uniformly attired, we can assume that they made up a royal team. Against whom they may have fought is not known.⁸³ James was generous in meeting the additional costs of the tournament: velvet was bought for the horses' harnesses at £50, two trumpeters were gowned in Rowan tan, a type of leather, with red stockings at over £10. Laurence, the tournament armourer, was clothed in Rowan tan, a velvet doublet, a brown hogtoun and black stockings at the cost of around £14.⁸⁴ No record of the proceedings or outcome of the tournament

⁸⁰ *TA*, I, p. 263. Warbeck also received two pairs of black stockings at 35 shillings a pair, and a velvet coat of 'new fassoune' with sleeves and lined in damask at the cost of £32. For more on Perkin Warbeck see David Dunlop, 'The "Masked Comedian": Perkin Warbeck's Adventures in Scotland and England from 1495 to 1497', *SHR* 70 (1991), pp. 97-128, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 117-38.

⁸¹ He had probably received this honour at James IV's coronation, see above pp. 50-1, and Appendix B, Table Two, no. 235.

⁸² *TA*, I, p. 262.

⁸³ *TA*, I, pp. 263-4. Six hogtounes were made, close-fitting tunics worn under a hauberk, of tartan and braid ribbon at the cost of £12. Six gowns of damask were made at considerable expense, highlighting that they were dressed in a 'team uniform'.

⁸⁴ *TA*, I, pp. 262, 264.

survives, but James IV was wounded during the jousting. Blunt weapons were probably used, however, as this was a tournament clearly focused on chivalric display rather than martial glory. James's wound was only a minor hand injury, which was bandaged and worn in a sling of taffeta.⁸⁵

Around 1501, Scotland hosted a foreign visitor who wished to joust with a Scottish knight. John Caupance, a French squire, participated in a duel with Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, an illegitimate brother of James, second Lord Hamilton. This was presided over by James IV and took place in Edinburgh under the castle wall.⁸⁶ The only report which has survived of this duel was penned by Pitscottie in the late sixteenth century and must be read with the greatest caution.

Pitscottie wrote that the French squire

desyrit fighting and iusting in Scotland...bot nane was sa apt and redy to fight witht him as was Schir Patrick Hammiltoun, beand then ane zoung man strang of body and abill to all thing, bot zeit for lack of exercioun he was not so weill practissit as neid war, thocht he lackit no hardiement strength nor curage in his proceidingis....after the sound of they trumpit [they] suchit rudlie togither and brak thair speiris on ilk syde wpoun wther; quhilk efterwart gat new speiris and recounterit freischelie againe. Bot Schir Patrickis horse wtterit witht him and wald on nowayis reconter his marrow, that it was force to the said Schir Patrick Hammellton to lyght on footte and gif this Dutchman [Caupance: Pitscottie confuses his nationality] battell; and thairfor quhene he was lichtit doune, cryit for ane tuo handit suord and bad this Dutchman lyght frome his horse and end out the matter, schawand to him ane horse is bot ane wiak warand quhene men hes maist ado. Than quhene batht the knyghtis war lyghtit on fute they junitt pairtlie togither witht right awfull contenance; ewerie on strak maliciouslie at wther and faught lang togither witht wncertane wictorie,

⁸⁵ *TA*, I, p. 257, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 176, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 122-3.

⁸⁶ Pitscottie calls him John Clokbuis, a Dutch knight, although he probably meant German, as his tendency was to confuse the two nationalities. Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 234, II, p. 373. See also Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, pp. 284-5. Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil was the son of James, first Lord Hamilton, and the brother of James, first earl of Arran and John Hamilton of Broomhill. Patrick Hamilton was a favourite of James IV and he had been knighted by him around 1496. *TA*, I, pp. 360, 379, George Hamilton, *A History of the House of Hamilton*, (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 522. On 2 February 1501 he was granted the office of the sheriff of Linlithgow and the custody of Blackness Castle. *RMS*, II, 2480.

quhill at last Schir Patrick Hammilltoun ruschit manfullie qpoun the Dutchman and strak him wpoun his kneis. In the meane tyme the Dutchman being at the eird the king cast out his hatt out of the castell wondow and caussit the iudges and men of armes to sinder and red thame. Bot the harrottis and the trumpitis blew and cryit the wictor was Schir Patrick Hammilltounis.⁸⁷

There is no precise date for this duel but John Caupance was definitely in Scotland in 1499, as the exchequer granted him money for his expenses in Edinburgh and Stirling.⁸⁸ An instrument of 30 July 1501 indicated that they had fought by this date so the duel took place between 1499 and July 1501.⁸⁹

John Caupance and Patrick Hamilton have sometimes been confused with another duelling pair, Sir Anthony D'Arcy de la Bastie and James, second Lord Hamilton, James IV's cousin. Hamilton and D'Arcy fought against each other in 1506.⁹⁰ On 26 November 1506, John Heartshead was paid to go to Stirling to collect the pavilions from the duel between Lord Hamilton and the French knight.⁹¹ John Lesley reports that the duel took place on 24 September 1506. James IV was not in Stirling at this time, and so the duel probably took place around 3 July. Lesley wrote that Lord Hamilton 'faucht with him in harneis vailyeantlie, bot nether of thame

⁸⁷ Pitscottie, *Historie*, pp. 234-5.

⁸⁸ *ER*, XI, pp. 231, 235, 258-9.

⁸⁹ 'The Errol Papers', *Spalding Misc.*, II (Aberdeen, 1842), pp. 212-3, IV. A shorter version appears in *Edin. Recs.*, p. 91.

⁹⁰ According to George Hamilton, Patrick duelled with John Caupance in July 1501, and had further encounters with him in 1505 and 1507, although he gives no reference for these. Hamilton, *House of Hamilton*, p. 522.

⁹¹ *TA*, III, p. 354, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 176. Hamilton had been made earl of Arran at James IV's wedding and was amongst his close council. D'Arcy was also popular with James and he had cultivated a reputation for chivalric deeds and exploits. These were held as important qualities to the king in his revival of the chivalric code. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 176. D'Arcy remained close to James and took the proclamations of the 1507 tournament to France. *TA*, III, pp. xlvii, 358, 365. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 177, 225. D'Arcy probably did not have enough time to return to Scotland for the 1507 tournament, but he certainly fought in the 1508 tournament. Hamilton, earl of Arran also participated in the 1508 tournament, and won the honours for the best archer either on horseback or on foot. Sir Patrick Hamilton also competed and won the honours for the two-handed sword event. See Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 243.

leiset ther honor thairthrough', and this suggests that James IV awarded honour on both sides.⁹² Duels were fought between a challenger and the knight he challenged, and this provides evidence that French knights and squires wished to duel with Scottish knights (or the Hamiltons!) and were prepared to travel to do so. That the crown paid for their expenses whilst in Scotland demonstrates quite clearly that the king regarded it as his duty to support and promote such events.

In the early 1500s, James IV's patronage of the arts and of chivalry continued and his courtly aspirations were represented in the poems of William Dunbar. Dunbar was not only a prominent and popular court poet, but he also served in the royal household as a scribe, secretary and envoy. Dunbar is thought to have attended the University of St Andrews in the 1470s, and he is known to have served as a procurator at various times.⁹³ Dunbar wrote poems on various knightly and chivalric topics, including 'The Ballad of Barnard Stewart' and 'Schir Thomas Norny'.⁹⁴ Dunbar's most interesting exploration of chivalry, however, is contained within a larger poem called 'Fasternis Evin in Hell', the setting of which is Dunbar's own dream vision of the underworld. In a trance, Dunbar first envisions the dance of the Seven Deadly Sins, and then, in stanza twelve, a mock tournament between a tailor and a cobbler (soutar). Both of these were diabolic entertainments provided for the

⁹² Lesley, *History*, p. 75, *RMS*, II, 2972.

⁹³ Priscilla Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar: Selected Poems* (London & New York, 1996), pp. 2-3. Dunbar represented Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss on 15 February 1502 in a suit against members of his own family. He is known to have been in England in 1501, presumably on a diplomatic mission for James IV.

⁹⁴ Both 'The Ballad of Bernard Stewart' and 'Schir Thomas Norny' appear in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, pp. 161-4, 222-7.

celebrations of Shrove Tuesday (Fastern's Even).⁹⁵ There is considerable controversy over the date of the poem's composition. Priscilla Bawcutt dates the poem to 1505, but proceeds to suggest that the dating is symbolic rather than actual. Ian Simpson Ross dates the poem to 1507: Dunbar states that the poem was set on 15 February, and Shrove Tuesday fell on that day in 1507.⁹⁶ The poem could conceivably be dated earlier, as an actual duel took place in 1502 in which a Christopher Taylor participated, and this may have been the inspiration for Dunbar's satire.⁹⁷

Dunbar's choice of a tailor and a cobbler was deliberate, as they were the most obvious professions at which a poet might poke fun. Both crafts held little social esteem and to place them at the centre of a fictitious knightly society highlighted their lower status through humorous juxtaposition. Steven McKenna has suggested that an element of the poem constantly overlooked

is that these shrewish tradesmen are necessary for the very social order that allows Dunbar to look down on these tradesmen...The tailors and cobblers are less than ideal types, but they provide an essential service that all people want- the material with which to create an appearance that covers the reality (of unsightly physical characteristics) and which is itself a mark of social distinction.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 178, Tom Scott, *Dunbar: A Critical Exposition of the Poems* (Edinburgh & London, 1966), pp. 234-7, Ian Simpson Ross, *William Dunbar* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 168-77, Steven R. McKenna, 'Drama and Invective: Traditions in Dunbar's "Fasternis Evin in Hell"', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 24 (1989), p. 129, and Priscilla Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 283-92, where Bawcutt tackles the problem of whether the three parts of the poem can be considered as one work or three. Dante Alighieri, at the end of the thirteenth century, in the same sort of dream premise, placed the tournament in his vision of hell. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Volume I, Inferno*, Mark Musa (ed), (New York, 1984), Canto XXII, lines 6-9.

⁹⁶ Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 179, Ross, *William Dunbar*, p. 171.

⁹⁷ *TA*, II, p. 345. This duel was part of a larger tournament which James IV also participated in. *TA*, II, pp. 348, 352.

⁹⁸ McKenna, 'Drama and Invective', p. 141.

Dunbar himself made this point in his apology to the craftsmen. Of cobblers he wrote:

Sowtaris, with schone weill maid and meit,
 Ye mend the faltis of ill maid feit,
 Quhairfor to hevin your saulis will fle:
 Telyouris and sowtaris, blist be ye.⁹⁹

Of tailors Dunbar wrote:

Thocht a man haif a brokin bak,
 Haif he a gude telyour, quhattrak,
 That can it cuver with eraftis slie:
 Telyouris and sowtaris, blist be ye.¹⁰⁰

Although he made a point of apologising for his portrayal of them in the 'Fasternis Evin' poem, Dunbar's usual satirical targets were those far removed from chivalric and aristocratic values.¹⁰¹

Dunbar uses the tailor and the cobbler to highlight the farcical nature of his imagined tournament, as the usual requirement for participation in a tournament was knightly status. Dunbar writes how the tailor took to the lists with his banner of cloth in front of him, much as real knights would have entered the lists.¹⁰² Dunbar's treatment of the tailor, however, is disdainful, and he writes

For quhill the Greik sie fillis and ebbis,
 Telyouris will nevir be trew.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ William Dunbar, 'Amendis to the Telyouris and Soutaris', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 191, lines 13-16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192, lines 29-32.

¹⁰¹ Joanne S. Norman, 'William Dunbar's Rhetoric of Power', in Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone and Kenneth Simpson (eds), *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, University of Strathclyde, 1993* (East Linton, 2001).

¹⁰² Dunbar, 'Fasternis Evin in Hell', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, line 131.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, lines 137-8.

As the tailor entered the lists he lost all his boldness and ‘he chaingit hew’,¹⁰⁴ at which point

Mahoun [the Devil] him comfort and maid him knycht,
Na ferly thocht his hart wes licht
That to sic honour grew.¹⁰⁵

The tailor vowed before the Devil that he would ‘ding the sowtar doun’ but when he faced the lists and saw the cobbler approaching, his courage shrank and he was unable to speak his words of challenge.¹⁰⁶ The cobbler entered the lists as the brave defender with a banner of tanned hide,

Full sowttarlyk he wes of laitis,
For ay betwix the narnes plaitis
The uly birstit out.¹⁰⁷

When the cobbler saw the tailor, however, he also became fainthearted. Whilst the tailor had responded to his fright with

Ane rak of fartis lyk ony thunner
Went fra him, blast for blast,¹⁰⁸

the cobbler

In to his stommok was sic ane steir,
Of all his dennar, that cost him deir.¹⁰⁹

The Devil then granted the privilege of knighthood to the cobbler as well:

To comfort him or he raid forder,
The devill of knychtheid gaif him order,
For stynk than he did spitt,
And he about the devillis nek

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, line 141.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 142-4. As at the 1449 tournament at Stirling where James II knighted the three Scots nobles before they entered the lists, here the Devil, presiding over the tournament as the king would, followed the same procedure.

¹⁰⁶ Dunbar, ‘Fasternis Evin in Hell’, line 146.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 166-8.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 155-6. Steven McKenna has pointed out that anality like this was a traditional way of portraying Hell. McKenna, ‘Drama and Invective’, pp. 132-3.

¹⁰⁹ Dunbar, ‘Fasternis Evin in Hell’, lines 172-3.

Did spew agane ane quart of blek.
Thus knychtly he him quitt.¹¹⁰

As the fighting began, it became obvious to those watching that the tailor and the cobbler were both flustered and thus they were not displaying the appropriate knightly qualities such as hardiness, bravery and boldness. The tailor did not fare well on his horse: as it slid over the grass, 'he left his sadill all beschittin', and as he fell to the ground his armour broke.¹¹¹ The cobbler's horse that 'wes rycht evill', was frightened by the noise of the rattle of the breaking armour and 'ran with the sowtar to the devill'.¹¹² The Devil, worried that he would again be vomited upon, moved away from the cobbler, and deciding to pay him back

He turned his ers and all bedret him,
Quyte our from nek till heill.
He lowsit it with sic a reird,
Baith hors and man flawe to the eird,
He fart with sic ane feir,¹¹³

at which point the cobbler renounced the duel. The Devil put them into a dungeon and took away their knighthoods, a punishment which they preferred to ever having to bear arms again.

Dunbar thus emphasised the tailor and the cobbler's lack of knightly qualities, their subsequent poor behaviour and the stripping away of their new status. However, Dunbar also makes it clear that they should never have been given knighthood in the first place, as they were not of the right social status, nor did they understand the true meaning of the behaviour they were imitating.¹¹⁴ A prevalent

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, lines 175-80.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, line 191.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, lines 196-7.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, lines 203-7.

¹¹⁴ Norman, 'William Dunbar's Rhetoric of Power', p. 200.

idea in chivalric circles was that a man who was not of noble status should not participate in knightly activities. Bower likewise remarked, through the voice of Sir William de Dalzel, that children born of ‘cooks and churls, serfs and villeins, and sometimes friars and confessors’ were ‘men neither suited to warfare nor efficient at fighting battles.’¹¹⁵ This was an important point to be made at James IV’s court as a chivalric society, encouraged by the king, reasserted its definitions and values. Tom Scott remarks that

the object of Dunbar’s laughter, however, is not merely the two tradesmen, but the code of chivalry and the custom of jousting. Not merely are the petty bourgeois tradesmen being laughed at under the guise of knights, but knights are being laughed at under the guise of tradesmen.¹¹⁶

Scott correctly points out that Dunbar’s attack on the tradesmen was premised in their lack of honour, the most esteemed virtue of the chivalric code. Through this, Scott argues, the custom of tournaying is also called into question and the two lifestyles are compared and contrasted. ‘The tradesmen lack the courage and daring of knights, yet they have better things to do than waste their time and blood in useless activities like jousting’.¹¹⁷ Scott, however, fails to recognise Dunbar’s loyalty to the courtiers surrounding him. Dunbar’s sympathies clearly lie within the world of his patrons, James IV’s chivalric court, and at the end of the poem social order is restored with the craftsmen stripped of their knighthoods and cast into the Devil’s dungeon.

¹¹⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XV, 5.

¹¹⁶ Scott, *Dunbar*, p. 236.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Dunbar's 'Fasternis Evin' poem also alerts us to the types of celebrations held in Scotland on Shrove Tuesday. A long-standing tradition of Shrovetide tournaments existed throughout Europe, so much so that at Buonconsiglio Castle in north-east Italy, a series of frescoes on an internal wall of the castle represented the month of February as a tournament.¹¹⁸ Richard Barber and Juliet Barker suggest that the association of Shrove Tuesday and tournaments may go back to the time when a group of young nobles visited St Bernard at Clairvaux just before Lent, searching for tournaments in which to participate. St Bernard persuaded them, with some difficulty, not to bear arms in the few days before the fast.¹¹⁹ Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Shrove Tuesday tournaments were regularly held in Italy, Prague, England, Germany, Austria, France and Burgundy, and Scotland also held similar festivities.¹²⁰

The first recorded tournament to be held in Scotland on Shrove Tuesday was in 1449 between the three Burgundian and three Douglas knights. In 1476, 1477 and 1478, James III celebrated the day by holding games within his chamber. These were probably not chivalric and knightly games, however, but card playing and feasting.¹²¹ James IV took the celebrations more seriously and held a series of tournaments on Shrove Tuesday between 1503 and 1506.¹²² In 1503, Shrove Tuesday fell on 28 February, and the previous day two shillings had been given by the treasurer for a helmet to be used by James IV at the 'turnaying at Fastingis

¹¹⁸ See Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 176.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 60-1, 69, 109, 162, 173, 176, 189.

¹²¹ *ER*, VIII, pp. 333, 404, 512.

¹²² See Appendix C, Table Two, for a list of all the tournaments held between 1424 and 1513.

Evin'.¹²³ On 20 March 1503, 7 shillings were paid to John Mayne, a bowyer, for three white spears and an axeshaft taken from him at 'Fasteringis Evin bipast'.¹²⁴ Later in that year James Hogg was paid 24 shillings for cleaning and repairing the swords and harnesses left at the 'tourneying of Fasteringis Evin', possibly to be prepared for similar games which were held at James IV's wedding ceremony on 8 August.¹²⁵

No Shrove Tuesday tournament was held in 1504, but by 1505 James's interest in celebrating this festival had been renewed. On 3 February 1505 Robert Cutlar was paid £4 for four long swords for the lists and for four short swords for the 'tourneying at Fasteringis Evin' the following day.¹²⁶ Twenty-six shillings were paid for twenty-six socket heads, into which spear-heads were fixed, twenty-seven shillings was paid for twenty-four virales and diamonds for jousting spears, and £5 2s was paid for fifty-one spears intended for the Shrove Tuesday tournament of 1505.¹²⁷ John Heartshead was paid five shillings for drying and handling the tournament pavilions. James Hogg was paid £3 2s for the preparation of eight swords, mending their handles, and for cleaning three steel and emery saddles, two wooden axes and two spear heads, probably similar to the work for which he had been paid in 1503.¹²⁸ The level of preparation which preceded the tournament, indicates that this was a large celebration incorporating many tilts and probably involving many participants. James IV also made preparations for feasting and

¹²³ *TA*, II, p. 202.

¹²⁴ *TA*, II, p. 363.

¹²⁵ *TA*, II, p. 386, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 102.

¹²⁶ *TA*, II, p. 477.

¹²⁷ *TA*, II, p. 477.

¹²⁸ *TA*, II, p. 476.

dancing, including a new dance designed by Peter the Moor which was performed at the banquet by twelve dancers dressed in black and white stockings.¹²⁹

James held another Shrove Tuesday tournament the following year, in 1506. Much less information about its preparations have survived. On 22 February 1506 James IV paid £5 10s for spears for the jousting at 'Fasteringis evin', £6 to Robert Cutlar for six long swords and six short swords, twelve shillings for twelve spear heads and twelve shillings for virales and diamond heads.¹³⁰ It does seem to have been a much smaller affair than the 1505 tournament, but it may have been similar in size to the 1503 celebration. This suggests that in 1505 James attempted to build on his 1503 celebrations with a large and lavish tournament, which cost the crown a considerable sum, but only carried on the tradition the following year on a smaller-scale. The 1506 Shrove Tuesday tournament was the last of its kind held by James IV. It may be that the king's attempt to promote himself and his court on such occasions had not been as successful as he had hoped. Foreign knights were possibly not attending because it was difficult to travel to Scotland in the winter months and there were other Shrove Tuesday tournaments which were easier to attend. James IV's shift in 1507 to the Wild Knight and Black Lady tournaments further suggests a shift in the focus of James's attempts to use chivalric sport to promote his own chivalric image both in Scotland and on the Continent.

Shrove Tuesday tournaments were not the only jousts which James sponsored in the first decade of the sixteenth century. 1503 saw not only a tournament in February, but also two tourneys associated with his marriage to Margaret Tudor. On

¹²⁹ *TA*, II, p. 477.

¹³⁰ *TA*, III, p. 182.

Margaret's bridal journey to Edinburgh she travelled from Haddington through Dalkeith, where she stopped to rest. She then proceeded to Greensward, half a mile south of Edinburgh (not to be confused with Greenside which James II assigned for tournaments in 1456 on the road from Edinburgh to Leith).¹³¹ Here a pageant was staged for her entertainment, presided over by her future husband James IV, and witnessed by Sir Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyre, earl of Bothwell, James, second Lord Hamilton, the king's cousin, and 'many other Lords, Knyghts, and Gentylnen' who were in her company.¹³² Two knights, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil and Patrick Sinclair, squire, fully armoured, fought for the love of a lady.

Halfe a Mylle ny to that, within a Medewe, was a Pavillion whereof cam owt a Knyght on Horsbak, armed at all Peces, havynge hys Lady Paramour that barre hys Horne. And by Avantur ther cam an other also armed, that cam to hym, and robbed from hym hys said Lady, and at the absenting blew the said Horne, wherby the said Knyght understude hym, and toured after hym, and sayd to hym, wherfor hast thou this doon? He answerd hym, what will yow say therto?- I say, that I will pryve apon thee that thou hast doon Owtrage to me. The tother demaunded hyn if he was armed? He said, ye, well then, said th'other, pree the a Man and doo thy Devoir'.¹³³

Hamilton of Kincavil and Sinclair proceeded to duel and 'maid a varey fair Torney' until James intervened to halt them and with 'the Qwene behynd him' called 'Paix' and fixed a date for the settlement of their dispute over the lady.¹³⁴ It is unlikely that this was a real dispute, as it was a stylised performance directed at the princess where

¹³¹ While she was in Dalkeith the stables where the Queen's horses were kept appear to have suffered from a minor fire. *TA*, II, p. 385.

¹³² Younge, 'Fyancells of Margaret', p. 287.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 288, Douglas Gray, 'The Royal Entry in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (eds), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), p. 16. Two manuscripts of Somerset Herald's account exist: one is a seventeenth-century copy of the earlier MS held at the College of Arms 1M.13, fols 76-155v.

¹³⁴ Younge, 'Fyancells of Margaret', p. 288, Mackie, *King James IV*, p. 108.

she was honoured as the 'lady', with James indirectly asserting that he too would honour her love. This is one of the few jousts held in Scotland with the overtly courtly theme of honouring the lady and it cannot be dissociated from its performance before an English princess. Gavin Douglas, in the 1501 *Palice of Honour*, wrote of tournaments that they were 'plesand pastance, and mony lustie sport' and knights entered 'in deidis of armis for thair Ladyis saikis.'¹³⁵ However, women are mostly absent from the records of Scottish tournaments and this begs the question of whether the courtly love tradition was relevant to Scottish knights at this time. Most records of tournaments are financial and carry little information about the proceedings, so it is perhaps unsurprising that we find no reference to women. As courtly literature was popular in Scotland, we can assume that some tournaments, if not all, were held with women in the audience, in the name of a lady, to win a lady's honour or other such gesture.

After James IV and Margaret Tudor's wedding ceremony on 8 August 1503, James celebrated with lavish displays and entertainment for his subjects. These wedding celebrations were grander and more spectacular than any Scotland had previously seen. They included an elaborate banquet, a large royal entry and the commissioning of Dunbar's 'The Thrissill and the Rois'.¹³⁶ On the third day of the wedding celebrations in the Queen's honour, James belted forty-one knights 'for the Luffe of the present Qwene and hyr Ladyes', then after mass and lunch he signalled the commencement of three days of jousting in Holyrood Palace courtyard.¹³⁷ The

¹³⁵ Douglas, *Palice of Honour*, p. 46.

¹³⁶ William Dunbar, 'The Thrissill and the Rois', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, pp. 199-208, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 173.

¹³⁷ Younge, 'Fyancells of Margaret', p. 298, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 102.

Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede, which had been circulated in Scotland from the 1450s, remarked that on the day of a knight being newly made, 'suld thare be grete festyng justing and tourneymentis.'¹³⁸ In preparations for the jousting James IV paid £27 for one hundred and eighty jousting spears, £12 to Robert Cutlar for twelve long swords and twelve short swords, thirty shillings for spear heads and £3 10s for one hundred and forty virales and diamonds for the spears. Twenty-four shillings were also paid to clean and repair older swords and harnesses.¹³⁹ It took two days for seven men, headed by Lioun the tailor, to construct the lists, although the Somerset Herald reported that the 'Place was without Barreres, and only the Tyllt'.¹⁴⁰ The number of weapons and the level of preparations were much greater than James had ordered for other tournaments, indicating that the marriage tournament was significantly grander than previous affairs.

On the first day of jousting, the defenders were James, second Lord Hamilton, who was dressed in red satin, John, Lord Ross of Hawkhead, the grandson of Sir John Ross of Hawkhead who had jousted at Stirling in 1449, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, a cousin of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, William Cockburn of Langton, Patrick Sinclair, who had jousted at Greensward a few days before, and Henry Bruce. The challengers were Cuthbert, third Lord Kilmaurs (who became second earl of Glencairn during the celebrations) and an Englishman, Lord Treyton. The assistants 'to all the comers during the Jousts' were Sir Alexander Seton, the master of Montgomery, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil and an English knight Sir

¹³⁸ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 33.

¹³⁹ *TA*, II, pp. 386, 388-9.

¹⁴⁰ *TA*, II, p. 390, Younge, 'Fyancells of Margaret', p. 298.

John of Treyton. Each of the competitors completed a course with spears and a course with swords ‘with the Poynte broken’, indicating that the weapons were blunt. The king watched the tournament from his window, along with the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham and other prelates, and the queen watched from her window accompanied by her ladies. Presiding over the tournament, and seated on the scaffold were the Lord of Surrey and Sir Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyre, earl of Bothwell, possibly as an honour for their crucial roles in concluding the treaties for the marriage.¹⁴¹ Lord Morley, William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable, the Officers of Arms and trumpeters stood in the field as the events took place.¹⁴² The second day of the tournament saw the games commence again after mass and lunch. Six men are recorded as jousting and they broke many spears at their pleasure. Two men also fought on foot, armed with half spears and swords. Again James watched from his window, but this time with the earl of Surrey and other prelates and lords. The Queen watched from her windows, again with her attendants, and also with Scottish ladies. On the third day, the tournament was held at the same time, but only involved four men who had jousted on the previous days.¹⁴³

After three tournaments in 1503, James did not hold a tournament at Shrovetide in 1504, but held one at midsummer instead.¹⁴⁴ No information about this tournament has survived, except an indication that the king participated in the

¹⁴¹ Pinkerton, *History*, II, p. 39, *Foedera*, XII, p. 776, City Archives, Edinburgh, Protocol Book of John Foular, Volume III, June 1519-April 1528, where the earl of Bothwell stood proxy for the king at his betrothal on 25 January 1502, *SP*, II, p. 152.

¹⁴² Younge, ‘Fyancells of Maragaret’, p. 298.

¹⁴³ There is no record of whom these men were. Younge, ‘Fyancells of Margaret’, p. 299.

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix C, Table Two for a list of tournaments in chronological order.

jousting.¹⁴⁵ The following year in May 1505, only three months after he had staged a large Shrovetide tournament, James held a jousting display on the boats moored at Leith.¹⁴⁶ Uniting James's nautical preoccupations and the promotion of his chivalric image, the jousting was part of a wider celebration to mark a crucial point in the building of the pride of his fleet, the *Margaret*. A special dock had been built in Leith in spring 1504 before work on the vessel had begun and at each stage in the *Margaret*'s construction a celebration was held. On 25 May 1505 James IV went to Leith and dined on board his partly-constructed ship: tapestries of woodland scenes were hung for the occasion and a silver platter for the dining table was carried from Edinburgh.¹⁴⁷ After the banquet James and his guests were entertained with a 'mock' tournament, although whether mounted jousting took place is questionable. No such tournament had been held before and prizes were not awarded. Instead James paid each of the participants forty-two shillings, indicating that they were paid as entertainers rather than being treated as serious competitors.¹⁴⁸

After the small tournament at Shrovetide 1506, James IV attempted to make his tournaments more lavish and extravagant as a way of promoting himself as a chivalric ruler and knightly king. The tournaments of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady held in June 1507 and May 1508, have attracted most scholarly attention, as they were the most flamboyant and expensive tournaments held by a Stewart king. Their elaborate allegorical themes drew attention to James IV's declaration and

¹⁴⁵ *TA*, II, pp. 476-7.

¹⁴⁶ *TA*, III, p. 141.

¹⁴⁷ *TA*, III p. 143. See also Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 233.

¹⁴⁸ *TA*, III, p. 141.

revival of chivalry and assertion of his own chivalric capabilities.¹⁴⁹ James went so far as to joust in keeping with the allegorical theme, dressed up and characterised as the Wild Knight, something which has generally surprised scholars.¹⁵⁰ Extensive preparations were made in 1507 for the arming of the king in line with the colours of the wild knight. The wearing of these costumes turned the tournament into a vibrant spectacle, where the knights fighting for the king, or as brothers-in-arms, could easily be distinguished.¹⁵¹ In a society which revered and honoured chivalric warrior heroes, this was the one way in which James could gain the respect of his nobles. By becoming the Wild Knight, James paid tribute to the chivalric code which promoted a king as the ultimate knight. Many Scottish nobles must have jousted at the 1507 tournament, but only a few are mentioned in the accounts. Master William Ogilvie and Alexander Elphinstoun were squires to the black lady, John Dunlop and Alexander MacCulloch, dressed in gold, were attendants to the wild knight, and Thomas Boswell, Patrick Sinclair and James Stewart were squires for the lists.¹⁵²

Such a marked departure from his other tourneying activities might indicate that James wished to commemorate a significant moment in his reign. The 1507

¹⁴⁹ Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, esp. Ch. 12, 'The Wild Knight' and Ch. 13, 'The Black Lady'. On allegory in the tournament see Ruth Huff Cline, 'The Influence of the Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 20 (1945), pp. 204-11.

¹⁵⁰ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 242-44, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 231-4. The image of the Wild Knight was a very powerful one as he represented the anonymous, liminal man of uncontrolled prowess and physical power, but his acceptance in knightly society was uncontested. Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Harvard, 1952), pp. 8, 18-19.

¹⁵¹ It was common for kings to issue the participants in a tournament with the same coloured clothing in line with the tournament's colour theme. *TA*, III, pp. 252-61, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 233-4, Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁵² *TA*, III, pp. 258-9. Alexander MacCulloch was well known as a member of the royal household and Pitscottie names him as one who wore the king's livery. Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 273, Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 300. The prizes awarded at the tournament were made out of the gold of a chain which had belonged to James. *TA*, III, p. 255.

tournament may well have been staged as a celebration for the birth of James's first legitimate son, born on 21 February 1507. Margaret was very ill when she gave birth to the infant James, and the king undertook a penitent pilgrimage to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn, one hundred and twenty miles from Edinburgh. On his return, Margaret had been restored to health and James took this as a sign of confirmation of his pure faith and his strength and power as the king.¹⁵³ The tournament of 1507 may have been used as an elaborate display of James IV's power, bolstered now that he had a direct heir. James I had acted similarly at the baptism of his first-born sons in 1430. When we consider, however, all the various tournaments which James IV had held in the few years prior to 1507, it would appear instead that he was experimenting with different methods of promoting himself as a chivalric king. His attempts to inaugurate a regular Shrovetide celebration had failed and his midsummer tournament of 1504 went almost unrecorded. The 1507 tournament was an attempt, on an unprecedented scale, to secure a wider reputation. James repeated the tournament in the following year, a clear attempt to re-assert his personal success of 1507.

The 1508 tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady was held on an even grander scale than the celebration of the previous year. It was held in honour of Bernard Stewart, who also presided over the games. Stewart was a commander of the Scots guard in France and he had successfully served Louis XI, Charles VIII and

¹⁵³ The infant died a year later, in February 1508, *TA*, III, p. 287, Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 196-7, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 227. For more on James's visits to Whithorn see John Higgit, 'From Bede to Rabelais – or How St Ninian got his Chain', in Paul Binski and William Noel (eds), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 189-90.

Louis XII.¹⁵⁴ Bernard Stewart's visit to Scotland was eagerly anticipated and it prompted Dunbar's poem, 'The Ballade of Barnard Stewart' where the poet described him as 'the prince of knightheyd and flour of chevalry'.¹⁵⁵ Pitscottie wrote that James commanded all the lords and barons of Scotland to make themselves ready for the tournament and to arm themselves in their best array with their best armour and weapons, and that many knights came from England, France and Denmark to participate. He described the tournament as taking place at Holyrood House and lasting forty days.¹⁵⁶ Few records of those who jousting in either 1507 or 1508 have survived, but in 1508 John Forman, Adam Cockburn and, for the second time, Alexander MacCulloch, were attendants to the wild knight.¹⁵⁷ Pitscottie reported that James, second Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, was presented with the prize for best archer either on horseback or on foot. Cuthbert, third Lord Kilmaurs, earl of Glencairn, was given the prize for best wielder of the spear. Andrew, second

¹⁵⁴ Pitscottie claims that James made Bernard Stewart a judge of the tournament, partly so that Stewart would have the honour of presiding, but also so that the king, disguised in his Wild Knight costume, could participate. As James had participated as the Black Knight in the previous year it is unlikely that this is why he asked Bernard Stewart to preside over the tournament. Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 243. For more on Bernard Stewart's life see Gray, 'A Scottish "Flower of Chivalry"', pp. 22-34, Contamine, 'The War Literature of the Later Middle Ages', MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', pp. 163-4, and Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, I, pp. 72, 76, 78-9, 80, 82-3. Geoffrey de Charny, author of the *Livre de chivalerie*, claimed that those who had served with distinction in wars in their own lands were to be honoured, but more to be honoured were those who had seen service in distant and strange countries. See Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ William Dunbar, 'The Ballade of Bernard Stewart' in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, pp. 222-7, line 18, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 174. Dunbar wrote 'The Ballade of Barnard Stewart' on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1508, and it was published on 9 May 1508 by Chepman and Myllar. See William Beattie (ed), *The Chepman and Myllar Prints: Nine Tracts from the First Scottish Press, Edinburgh 1508 Followed By the Two Other Tracts in the Same Volume in the National Library of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1950). Printed when the taste for chivalric spectacular was strong in James's court, the nine prints, including John Lydgate's 'Complaint of the Black Knight' and 'Golagrus and Gawain', are especially relevant to the courtly and chivalric tradition in the early sixteenth century. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 177-8, 181-2.

¹⁵⁶ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 242, Lesley, *History*, p. 78, *TA*, IV, p. 119. Lesley confirms this by agreeing that the tournament took place in May and June, followed by a three-day banquet, commencing at nine in the morning and finishing twelve hours later.

¹⁵⁷ *TA*, IV, p. 63.

Lord Gray, won the prize for best with the battleaxe, and Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil was awarded the prize for best with the two handed sword, the weapon which had seen him beat John Caupance in 1501.¹⁵⁸ James IV as the Wild Knight won the tournament overall, as he had done in 1507, a careful articulation of James's ability to control his nobles and country in a way which the wider chivalric community could understand.¹⁵⁹

Thanks to the richness of the records for James IV's reign there is a clear indication that some knights were participating in tournaments regularly. During the 1490s, Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth and Sir Patrick, earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes, all participated in tournaments. Kerr and Hume both participated in the 1496 tournament at Perkin Warbeck's marriage and all three took part in the January 1497 tournaying at Hume. These tournaments coincided with Kerr being made Master of the King's Artillery and he obviously had a strong link to the crown through his military service. The earl of Bothwell also served in military campaigns: in the wars with England in the 1480s, on the rebel side at Sauchieburn in 1488 and at the sieges of Duchal and Dumbarton in 1489. Bothwell's military career continued into the 1490s, particularly in the borders throughout 1497. In 1504 he took part in the raid of Eskdale and was at Flodden in 1513.¹⁶⁰ Bothwell is not recorded as taking part in any other royal tournaments, but in 1503 he observed both the joust for Princess

¹⁵⁸ Pitscottie, *Historie*, I, p. 243. Both the earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton and the earl of Glencairn had participated in the tournament at James IV's wedding.

¹⁵⁹ Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, pp. 177-8.

¹⁶⁰ For more on Robert Kerr of Cessford, Patrick Hume of Polwarth and the earl of Bothwell's military careers and participation in tournaments see Appendix B, Table One and Two and above pp. 58-60, 134.

Margaret at Greensward and the tournament at the marriage celebrations and was integral in the dubbing ceremony.¹⁶¹ Whilst he clearly had a strong martial and possibly chivalric reputation, this honour at the wedding tournaments was due, primarily, to his assistance in the marriage negotiations. Nevertheless, links between a high military reputation and participation in tournaments clearly existed.

By the early sixteenth century, James IV had created a 'royal team' of knights that regularly participated in tournaments. Its members can be identified as Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, James, second Lord Hamilton, Cuthbert, third Lord Kilmaurs, earl of Glencairn, and Patrick Sinclair, squire. Irregular appearances were made by John, Lord Ross of Hawkhead, the grandson of John Ross of Hawkhead of the 1449 tournament, David Hume of Wedderburn, a cousin of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and Andrew, second Lord Gray.¹⁶² Most of these men had served the crown on military campaigns, particularly the earl of Glencairn, Lord Gray, Lord Hamilton, Lord Ross and David Hume of Wedderburn.¹⁶³ Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil does not appear in any record as having been involved in warfare, but he jousting in 1501, 1503, and 1508 and observed the other knights from this group joust at James IV's wedding. He was obviously interested in knightly pastimes, which James IV encouraged, but he does not appear to have been required to translate these skills onto the battlefield. The case of Patrick Sinclair is also interesting. He was a squire and fought against Patrick Hamilton at the jousting at Greensward in 1503.

¹⁶¹ Bothwell gave the new knights their spurs as the king dubbed them. Younge, 'Fyancells of Margaret', p. 298.

¹⁶² See Appendix C, Table Two. John, Lord Ross, was sufficiently well known at court to appear named in court poetry and to have his death noted by Dunbar. See William Dunbar, 'The Dregy of Dunbar', and 'The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie', in Priscilla Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, pp. 110, 263.

¹⁶³ See Appendix C, Table One.

He then fought at Holyrood Palace at James IV's wedding, although Hamilton did not. He was not included amongst the men whom James IV knighted at these celebrations, and still not dubbed, Sinclair acted as a squire to the Wild Knight in the 1507 tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady. Thus we find a group of men, some of very high social status, forming a team of knights who took part in jousts and tournaments. They also played prominent roles in the warfare waged by the crown, with the possible exceptions of Patrick Hamilton and Sinclair. Whether this indicates that James IV was not only reviving the chivalric ideology, but also patronising a group of men skilled in the physical expression of chivalry, is difficult to discern.

The ostentatious display of James IV's tournaments sought to impress upon his magnates his martial vigour.¹⁶⁴ The flurry of tournaments in the 1500s was not just a reaction to the warfare and skirmishing of the late 1490s, where James's success in real warfare allowed him to pose as a martial leader in the stylised warfare of the tournament. His Shrove Tuesday tournaments and his elaborate chivalric displays were an attempt to be noticed as a leader of chivalry on a European level, to have the crown and country recognised and respected through these displays of power. Louise Olga Fradenburg has suggested that 'the arts of the tournament were largely preoccupied with the question of internal fragmentation and with the legitimacy of violence as a response to domestic unrest', but tournaments were also simply an appropriate pastime for the members of the nobility. These tournaments seem to have combined so many different elements of display, social interaction, and

¹⁶⁴ Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 295.

chivalric literary references, that they probably served a number of functions, many of which seem to have been unconsciously rather than overtly pursued. James IV's tournaments enunciated his personal desire to be considered as a powerful chivalric role model for his own kingdom and to be recognised as a powerful and successful monarch on the Continent.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 67.

The Portrayal of Knights in Fifteenth-Century Scottish Literature

As we might expect, chivalric ideology heavily influenced fifteenth-century literary representations of knights and literature helped to shape chivalric ideals. In some cases this was explicit, demonstrated particularly in the translations of romance literature. In other cases chivalry provided a more subtle framework for the description of events in which knights were involved. This is particularly apparent in chronicle sources. In general, the image of a truly chivalric knight that was widely promoted by European literature involved four main elements. Knights were bold and vigorous on the battlefield or in the lists; were ultimately loyal to their king; were inspired by their love for a lady to perform feats of arms; and upheld and defended the Christian faith.¹ Scottish writers portrayed knights largely along these lines and they subjected knights to tests of worth based upon them. The qualities which writers presented as ideal for knights, however, can only be partially revealing. We only learn from them what was considered to be knightly. Richard Kaeuper warns that simply to draw up a list of knightly qualities which were esteemed is inadequate. To do so does not consider the ideas presented by late-medieval commentators as part of the wider movement for chivalric reform.² Ideas were expressed in late medieval literature which were critical of the practice of chivalry and ideals were revised to make chivalry more relevant. This was evident in Scottish literature, particularly that produced in the fifteenth century, and

¹ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 112, 116-17, Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 33-5, 93-8, 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

the changes in the way knights were portrayed indicates a development in the ideals of chivalric knighthood.

At first, consideration must be given to the issue of whether or not knights read or listened to the literature describing the world around them. Roger Mason has argued that in Scotland the noble household made up the audience for literature dealing with secular topics.³ Evidence from the works themselves prove that it was a knightly and noble audience to which they were principally presented. John Barbour, for example, addressed his audience directly as 'lordings'.⁴ After the death in 1497 of Robert, Lord Lyle, his son and heir sought to recover property which had belonged to Lyle. This included both a 'buke of storeis' and a 'buke of law'.⁵ In 1390 James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith, agreed to leave his son and heir all his books, 'both of statutes of the kingdom and of romance', indicating clearly that knights held works of chivalry within their personal libraries.⁶ The lord of Dalkeith also requested that the books which he had borrowed from his friends be returned to their owners, indicating that books were circulated amongst peers and kin.⁷ Kaeuper has argued that the ongoing debate surrounding audience focuses mainly on whether knights listened to (as opposed to read)

³ Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', p. 58, Roger Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law: The Reception of Humanism in Early Renaissance Scotland', in L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S.L. Mapstone (eds), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Peeters, 2000), pp. 1-25. For more on book production and ownership in Scotland see R.J. Lyall, 'Books and Book Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁴ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book I, line 445. In the second book of the *Bruce*, Barbour again addressed his audience saying 'Each of you is brave and worthy, full of great chivalry, and knows very well what honour is. Behave then, in such a way that your honour is always maintained.' II, lines 337-41.

⁵ *ADC*, II, pp. 296-8, Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law', p. 9.

⁶ *Mort. Reg.*, II, no. 193, p. 171, Roger Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law', p. 9.

⁷ *Mort. Reg.*, II, no. 193, p. 172, David Sellar, 'Courtesy, Battle and the Brieve of Right', p. 10.

the romances.⁸ This they clearly did. Knights listened to stories read aloud and were told of the great deeds of famous knights. According to John Barbour, whilst camped on the shores of Loch Lomond, Robert Bruce read his men the romance of Fierabras, part of the matter of Charlemagne compiled in the late twelfth century.⁹ The anonymous *Pluscarden* chronicler wrote that after dinner a king should stand up and deliver a talk on a subject such as ‘the relative merits of glorious deeds; and then let him hear the opinions of others’.¹⁰ That ideals could be debated in this way, suggests that knights took an active interest in the definition of chivalric behaviour and its relevance to their own lives.

Romance literature was widely available in Scotland. By the late thirteenth century, Continental tales of chivalrous knights were being translated into vernacular Scots. The earliest surviving example is an anonymous version of the Tristan tale.¹¹ Whether or not this was still in circulation in the fifteenth century is difficult to know, but it is likely that knights were familiar with the story and Tristan was used as a Christian name in some Scottish noble families into the sixteenth century.¹² By the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, romances were being regularly copied.¹³ There is also an indication that poems and stories were circulated which have not survived. Amongst

⁸ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 30-1. Michael Clanchy proved a decade ago that lay literacy was much higher than originally calculated and most knights could read. Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 231-4, 246-51. See also Ruth Crosby, ‘Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages’, *Speculum* 11 (1936), pp. 88-110.

⁹ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book III, line 437.

¹⁰ *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 63.

¹¹ George P. McNeill (ed), *Sir Tristrem*, STS (Edinburgh & London, 1886). For more on the authorship of the poem see pp. xxxii-xlv.

¹² See for example Tristan Gorthy of that ilk, *RMS*, II, 3141.

¹³ Robert L. Kindrick, ‘Politics and Poetry in the Court of James III’, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 19 (1984), p. 44.

them were ‘The Tale of Syr Valtir the Bald Leslye’, ‘Ferrand erl of Flandris’, ‘The Tail of Syr Euan Arthours knycht’, and ‘The Tail of the Brig of Mantribil’, which was part of the matter of Charlemagne.¹⁴ In 1438, a work on Alexander the Great was translated, but the identity of the translator has been long-contested.¹⁵ In the mid-1460s, Gilbert Hay, under Thomas, second Lord Eskine’s patronage, penned another version of the Alexander story.¹⁶ A translation of *Lancelot of the Laik* was also made, probably in the later 1470s or early 1480s.¹⁷ Towards the end of the fifteenth century, chivalric poems

¹⁴ R.J. Lyall, ‘The Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland’, in J. Derrick McClure and Michael R.J. Spiller (eds), *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1989), p. 41.

¹⁵ Ritchie (ed), *Buik of Alexander*. Ritchie attributed this version to John Barbour, but MacDiarmid comprehensively disproved this in his commentary on Barbour’s *Bruce*, Ritchie (ed), *Buik of Alexander*, esp. pp. lxxiii-xcviii, clvii-cclxvii, Matthew P. MacDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson (eds), *Barbour’s Bruce: A fredome is a noble thing!*, STS (Edinburgh, 1985), I, pp. 27-32. See also Mapstone, ‘Was there a Court Literature?’, p. 416, John MacQueen (ed), *Ballattis of Luve 1400-1570* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. xxii, xxiv, and John MacQueen, ‘The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland’, in Jennifer M. Brown (ed), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 193. MacDiarmid suggests that this may have been a juvenile work of Gilbert Hay, but Bitterling proves that Hay is not the author. See Klaus Bitterling, ‘A Note on the Scottish *Buik of Alexander*’, *Scottish Literary Journal* 23, 2 (1996), pp. 89-90.

¹⁶ Gilbert Hay, *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, John Cartwright (ed), STS (Edinburgh, 1986). This is preserved in two MSS., BL Add. MS 40732 and NAS GD112/71/90. For a discussion of the Alexander books and the Scottish attitude to a Greek heritage see Carol Edington, ‘Paragons and Patriots’, esp. pp. 70-3, and Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 183.

¹⁷ Gray (ed), *Lancelot of the Laik*. Two other edited versions have been published: Joseph Stevenson (ed), *The Scottish Metrical Romance of Lancelot du Lac. Now First Printed from a Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century Belonging to the University of Cambridge with Miscellaneous Poems from the Same Volume* (Maitland Club, 1839), and W.W. Skeat (ed), *Lancelot of the Laik: A Scottish Metrical Romance, (About 1490-1500 AD), Re-edited from a Manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, with an Introduction, Notes and Glossarial Index* (London, 1865). It is not known who produced this translation, although Gray suggests that it was not a cleric, p. xx. For more on the dating and authorship of *Lancelot* see Walter W. Skeat, ‘The Author of “Lancelot of the Laik”’, *SHR* 8 (1911), pp. 1-4, M. Muriel Gray, ‘Communications and Replies: Vidas Achinlek, Chevalier’, *SHR* 8 (1911), pp. 321-6, Bertram Vogel, ‘Secular Politics and the Date of *Lancelot of the Laik*’, *Studies in Philology* 40 (1943), pp. 1-13. For more on the text see W. Schep, ‘The Thematic Unity of *Lancelot of the Laik*’, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 5 (1968) 167-75, Robin William Macpherson Fulton, ‘Social Criticism in Scottish Literature 1480-1560’ (Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 178-82, MacQueen, ‘The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland’, p. 193, Sally Mapstone, ‘The Scots, the French, and the English: An Arthurian Episode’, in Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone and Kenneth Simpson (eds), *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature and Language, University of Strathclyde, 1993* (East Linton, 2001), R.J. Lyall, ‘Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland’, *Scottish Literary Journal* 3 (1976), esp. pp. 13-16.

were still proving popular. These included ‘The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane’ and ‘The Tale of Syr Eglamaire of Artoys’. Both these poems were amongst the first printed in Scotland.¹⁸ Individually these works do not reveal a great deal about attitudes towards knighthood in Scotland. They are what Charles Moorman has called ‘pedestrian romances’, where the morality of chivalry and its contradictory code of ethics are not raised or questioned within the texts.¹⁹ However, they still reinforced chivalric ideals and it is for this reason that they are crucial to any understanding of the new aspirations for knightly behaviour that may have appeared in the fifteenth century.

A salient feature of Scottish chivalric texts is the prominence of the cult of the Nine Worthies, popular in Scotland from at least the late fourteenth century. The Nine Worthies were upheld in knightly culture as the paragons of chivalric virtue. Traditionally they were Joshua, Judas, David, Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey de Bouillon.²⁰ John Barbour was aware of the cult and included examples of the Worthies’ acts of prowess in his 1370s work on Robert Bruce.²¹ Around 1440, the author of the *Buik of Alexander* developed this further and

¹⁸ See George Stevenson (ed), *Pieces from the Mackculloch and the Gray MSS together with the Chepman and Myllar Prints*, STS (Edinburgh, 1918). On ‘Golagros and Gawane’ see Fulton, ‘Social Criticism in Scottish Literature’, p. 176, Elizabeth Walsh, ‘Golagros and Gawane: A Word for Peace’, in J. Derrick McClure and Michael R.J. Spiller (eds), *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1989), p. 99.

¹⁹ Charles Moorman, *A Knyght There Was: The Evolution of the Knight in Literature* (Lexington, 1967), pp. 7-8.

²⁰ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 121-4.

²¹ On Judas, see Barbour, *Bruce*, Book XIV, lines 313, on Hector, Book I, 395-404, on Alexander, Book I, lines 529-36, III, 83, X, 710-40, on Caesar, Book I, lines 537-48, III, 277, and on Arthur, Book I, lines 549-60. See also Sergi Mainer, ‘A Comparison of Barbour’s *Bruce* and John the Minstrel’s *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* as National Paradigms of Heroic-Chivalric Biographies’ (M.Sc., University of Edinburgh, 2001), pp. 35-6, 74.

wrote ‘The Ballet of the Nine Nobles’, introducing a tenth ‘worthy’ to his audience – Robert Bruce.²² The elevation of Bruce to ‘worthy’ status meant, in effect, that the cult became even more relevant to the Scottish audience. Indeed, throughout all types of fifteenth-century literature, references to them are frequent.²³

Most images of knights in the earlier part of the fifteenth century come from chronicle sources, in particular Andrew Wyntoun’s *Original Chronicle*, dating to the 1420s, and Walter Bower’s *Scotichronicon*, compiled in the 1440s. Both chroniclers had knightly patrons: Wyntoun’s patron was Sir John Wemyss of Kincaldrum, and Bower’s was Sir David Stewart of Rosyth.²⁴ It has been suggested that in view of Bower’s clear sympathies with James I, the king had some direct influence on the content of the chronicle, but this was not the case.²⁵ Although David Stewart was knighted by James I at his coronation and he enjoyed a degree of royal favour, his relationship with the king was not especially strong and royal patronage was not filtered to Bower through this route.²⁶ Although Wyntoun and Bower’s patrons belonged to a

²² ‘The Ballet of the Nine Worthies’, in Ritchie (ed), *The Buik of Alexander*, I, pp. cxxxiv-cl. Ritchie attributes this poem to John Barbour, but Craigie convincingly claims it must have been written by the author of the *Buik of Alexander* in the later 1430s or early 1440s. W.A. Craigie, ‘The “Ballet of the Nine Nobles”’, *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* 21 (1898-99), p. 365. McDiarmid agrees that it was not written by Barbour, but suggests that it may have been penned by Blind Harry. McDiarmid (ed), *Barbour’s Bruce*, I, p. 33.

²³ For some examples see *Chron. Bower*, I, 8, 34, II, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 45, III, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 42, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, IV, 6, 8, 16, 25, V, 22, 31, VII, 34, 35, 55, *passim*, Blind Harry, *Wallace*, p. 295, William Dunbar, ‘The Ballade of Barnard Stewart’, pp. 222-7.

²⁴ *Chron. Wyntoun.*, I, pp. xli-xlii, II, pp. 6-7, *Chron. Bower*, VII, 1, XVI, 39, Alan Borthwick, ‘Bower’s Patron, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth’, in *Chron. Bower*, Vol 9, pp. 354-62, MacQueen, ‘The literature of fifteenth-century Scotland’, p. 196, Mapstone, ‘Was there a Court Literature?’, p. 413. For more on Wyntoun see R. James Goldstein, ‘“For he wald vsurpe na fame”: Andrew of Wyntoun’s Use of the Modesty *Topos* and Literary Culture in Early Fifteenth-Century Scotland’, *Scottish Literary Journal* 14 (1987), pp. 5-18, Grace G. Wilson, ‘Andrew of Wyntoun: More than Just “That Dreich Clerk”’, *Scotia: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies* 10 (1986), pp. 189-201.

²⁵ Mapstone, ‘Was there a Court Literature?’, p. 417.

²⁶ See above pp. 22, 30. See also Borthwick, ‘Bower’s Patron’, pp. 357-8.

society which revered tales of prowess on the battlefield, this appears to have had little impact on the attitudes expressed in the chronicles. Wyntoun, as prior of St Serf's monastery in Loch Leven, and even more notably Bower, as abbot of Inchcolm abbey, were both influenced by their clerical training and interests. Yet both chroniclers demonstrate, in distinct ways, how knights could be portrayed in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Wyntoun had a keen interest in chivalric lifestyles as was apparent in his recounting of the deeds of Scottish knights.²⁷ Most writers in the later medieval period concentrated on the behaviour and exploits of knights during warfare and Wyntoun was no exception. As his intended audience was the nobility, his focus on aspects of knightly life is understandable. Indeed, Wyntoun made it explicit that he was writing for a knightly audience and that he intended for them to hear his work. This extended to interrupting his narration to include stories which he felt were of interest to his audience, like an account of the tournament of Brittany where

That for the nobilitie of the deid
Is worthy baith to wryit and reid.
All cum it nocht to this mateir,
Methink it speidfull to wryt heir,
That men of armys may reiosing
Haue, quhen it cummis till hering.²⁸

The chronicler wrote in vernacular rhyming couplets, to an extent constraining his ability to record accurately and affecting the vocabulary with which he depicted knights

²⁷ Wilson, 'Andrew of Wyntoun', p. 11.

²⁸ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 209-11. For another example of this type of interruption see VI, p. 348. See also Stephen Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the "Anonymous Chronicle"', *SHR* 76 (1997), p. 27.

and discussed their attributes. As a consequence of this, many of the supplementary descriptions of knights must be viewed as a by-product of the need to rhyme. Nevertheless, the attributes detailed by the chronicler were not chosen for purely poetic reasons. Wyntoun chose particular qualities because they were appropriate for knights, and the knights of whom he approved displayed these desirable attributes. We are thus afforded an insight into what was considered, by this chronicler at least, as 'chivalrous'. The chronicler's praise of worthy knights could provide a model to which other knights might aspire. Indeed, the importance of chronicles to knightly reputations must not be underestimated. Being named in a chronicle was considered highly desirable, as illustrated in a poem by Thomas Barry, canon of Glasgow and first provost of Bothwell. Prior to the battle of Otterburn in 1388, Archibald 'the Grim', third earl of Douglas, said to his men:

So, having considered all these reasons for fighting,
 fight boldly on behalf of your fellow-countrymen.
 You will be the victors, have no doubt of that.
 And the evening will turn out a successful one for you,
 and martial glory will crown you,
 Your names will be written in the chronicles.²⁹

Barry did not, however, expand on what he considered to be 'martial glory' and his descriptions of knights on the battlefield were essentially in simplistic terms. Knights were brave, loyal, bold, noble and courageous.³⁰ Wyntoun's descriptions do not differ significantly from these.

²⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 52. For more on this poem and its relationship to the 'Anonymous Chronicle' in Wyntoun, see Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland', p. 25.

³⁰ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 52.

The pages of Wyntoun's chronicle are strewn with references to knightly acts, especially during warfare. From these, Wyntoun highlighted the qualities he valued and which were prized in knights. Worthiness occupied the most prominent place.³¹ Other admired qualities included stoutness, vigour, manliness, boldness, hardiness, wisdom, honesty, generosity, honour, loyalty and virtuousness.³² Sir Andrew Murray, warden of Scotland, was considered worthy of extensive description and we find in him a combination of ideal qualities – making him, in Wyntoun's opinion, a 'worthy' knight:

He was a man of gret bownte,
 Off sobyr lif and of chastite,
 Wysee and wertuousse of consaille,
 And of his gudie liberalle.
 He was of gret dewocione
 In prayer and in oryzone;
 He was of mekyl almus deide,
 Stout and hardy of manheide.³³

Murray's great devotion to prayer demonstrated that this knight paid attention to the Christian element of knighthood, making him, for the Prior of St Serf's, an example of an ideal, well-rounded knight and thus more worthy. The qualities which Wyntoun valued can be divided into qualities of personal character and those which were displayed on the battlefield. Nevertheless, many of these qualities are never made manifest in the actions undertaken by the knights Wyntoun described. They are simply stated to belong to a particular knight with no example given of how he demonstrated these qualities in practice. However, this does not suggest that they were void of meaning.

³¹ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 19, 51, 79, 225, 372, 373.

³² *Ibid.*, V, pp. 331, 429, VI, 69, 85, 123, 199, 225, 251, 265, 371, 372, 373, 403, 411, 412.

³³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 99.

The most important possession a knight could have was a good reputation. Wyntoun makes this abundantly clear in his chronicle. Sir Alexander Ramsay was deemed to be worthy and of good renown, suggesting that a military reputation was covetable.³⁴ His reputation is well recorded, and later chroniclers maintained the tradition of referring to his high esteem.³⁵ Of Sir Andrew Murray, Wyntoun claimed that he was such a ‘gud’ knight that there was ‘nane bettyr [...] in his day’.³⁶ William Douglas of Nithsdale through ‘wit and worschep’ did ‘mony douchty’ deeds, and had such a good reputation that the earl of Derby challenged him to a jousting match.³⁷ Squires were referred to using the same terminology: John Haliburton was called ‘a nobil sqwyar of gret ranowne’ and Ingram Wyntoun was recorded to be ‘a manly sqwyar of ranowne’.³⁸ Obviously not all knights could have been ‘the best knight’ and the chroniclers clearly took considerable liberties in their descriptions. John Barbour avoided this problem by numbering his favourites in order, for instance, saying that Sir Giles d’Argentan, ‘was the third best knight who lived in his time known to men; he achieved many a fine feat of arms’.³⁹ By mentioning their reputations, the chroniclers implicitly approved of the actions and deeds of these particular men, and thus they became exemplars for other knights.

Simply claiming a knight was of great renown, without expanding upon his achievements, was a tool used by Wyntoun and other writers. This solved the problem

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 51.

³⁵ For example see *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 221. For more on Ramsay see above pp. 103-4.

³⁶ *Chron. Wyntoun*, V, p. 429.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 103.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 209, 251.

³⁹ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book XIII, lines 320-7. We can assume that, in Barbour’s opinion, the first best knight was Robert Bruce, and the second best, Sir James Douglas.

of how to present a seemingly informed view when a knight, or details of how his individual deeds led to him being considered worthy, were not personally known to the author. For example, Wyntoun records nothing of the deeds of Sir Thomas Roslin, nor how he came to be held in high regard. Instead, he simply wrote:

That throw al Inglande callit wes
Ane of the best knyghtis of hande,
That men mycht fynde in ony lande.⁴⁰

In other cases, suggesting a knight had a good reputation added legitimacy to the acts which he was reported to have performed. Sir William Keith was one such knight. Allegedly a knight ‘of gret ranowne’, he took an active part in besieging Stirling castle.⁴¹ According to Wyntoun, before the main attack could be made, the knight got the urge to climb the walls fully armed. In the course of his attack he was hit with a stone which was thrown down from the castle and, in his consequent fall, he stabbed himself with his spear. He died of this wound, and

of his dede was gret pete;
For he was bathe wicht and hardy,
And full of al gud chewalry.⁴²

This action, which ultimately led to his death, embraced chivalry insofar as it demonstrated the pursuit of individual glory on the battlefield with the aim of securing success. Keith’s actions, however, contravened the laws of war, which stipulated that

⁴⁰ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 61.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 125.

⁴² *Ibid.*, VI, p. 135. His son, Robert Keith, was later described as a mighty man of lineage, a direct reference to William, VI, p. 375.

knights should not pursue spontaneous acts of prowess without the leave of their commander or considering the overall goals of the campaign.⁴³

Walter Bower's descriptions of knights do not differ significantly from Wyntoun's in vocabulary, although he writes in Latin prose and not in vernacular Scots. However, the manner in which he records their deeds is in contrast to Wyntoun's praise of chivalric ideals. In part this was due to Bower's intended audience, which was predominantly clerical. Bower's main distinction from other chroniclers lay in his lesser emphasis on chivalric matters. His opinions on politics and his clerical preoccupations are far more apparent. Bower spends considerably fewer words in describing the qualities of the knights he discusses and the variations between his depictions of different knights are negligible. Bower's lack of extensive description is especially significant when he can be shown to have been working from the same source as Wyntoun.⁴⁴ For example, in describing the May 1390 tournament in London between Sir David Lindsay, earl of Crawford and Lord Wells, Bower recorded only that it took place in the presence of Richard II. He also noted that Lindsay was 'a worthy knight' but spent less than ten lines on the section.⁴⁵ Wyntoun, on the other hand, recorded the jousting in detail, tilt by tilt, taking upwards of one hundred lines of description.⁴⁶ Despite having fewer constraints upon expression, Bower, quite significantly, did not elaborate freely. To an extent, this supports the idea that Bower was not especially concerned with the characterisation of Scottish knights. He consciously omitted detail

⁴³ Stevenson (ed), *Book of the Law of Arms*, pp. 82-4.

⁴⁴ For more on this see Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland', esp. pp. 25-8.

⁴⁵ *Chron. Bower*, XV, 4.

⁴⁶ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 359-62.

he thought was unnecessary and which might ‘arouse boredom’ in his audience.⁴⁷ Wyntoun, on the other hand, often made digressions in his narrative to include tales that he thought might have engaged his audience.⁴⁸ Bower did, however, spend a reasonable portion of his chronicle detailing knights’ activities, possibly an indication of the type of sources he was working from.

Bower recorded knights who were deemed ‘worthy’ in a similar manner to Wyntoun. These included knights such as Sir David Lindsay, who was ‘extremely distinguished in every military skill’.⁴⁹ In Bower’s opinion, desirable qualities included respectability, nobleness, good sense, liveliness, spirit and wisdom.⁵⁰ Reputation was again considered crucial and something knights were encouraged to pursue. Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, for example, ‘desired an extension of the fame of his name’.⁵¹ Of Sir John Gordon, who was renowned for his ‘vigorous prowess’, Bower wrote that ‘to entrust even just a selection of [his] remarkable deeds individually would arouse boredom – if not in military men, certainly in other refined readers among churchmen’.⁵² Bower’s comments here further highlight that he, and his intended audience, might not have found the deeds of worthy knights particularly interesting and that he did not wish to waste words describing them.

⁴⁷ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 38.

⁴⁸ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 209-11, Boardman, ‘Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland’, p. 27.

⁴⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XV, 4. Bower does not expand on this, so we are not told what these military skills were.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 6, 13, 14, XVI, 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XV, 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XIV, 37, 38. The Pluscarden chronicler avoided describing acts of military prowess by simply writing of William Douglas, ‘it would be impossible to recount and tedious to tell all the valiant and warlike deeds he achieved against the men of England’. *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 209.

Walter Bower did, however, expand upon what he perceived to be ideal knighthood. This was exemplified by Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale, who had earned his renown by 1385 although at this date he was still ‘young in years’.⁵³ Bower described William as ‘a dark-skinned man, not very heavy but spare, gigantic in appearance, erect and tall, energetic and approachable, charming and amiable, generous and cheerful, reliable and clever.’⁵⁴ William Douglas’s stature gave the impression of physical dominance and his energetic nature would have been suitably directed towards the battlefield where he surpassed all ‘others in prowess, and [...] was indefatigable in harrying the English by land and sea’.⁵⁵ Douglas’s function as a warrior was considered by Bower to be his most important accomplishment. Bower described William’s prowess on the battlefield as exemplary.

He was said to be so strong that whomsoever he had struck with a blow of his mace or sword or a thrust of his lance fell dead to the ground, or if protected by some kind of armour, fell on his back scarcely half alive.⁵⁶

Given the level of description of William Douglas, an unusual digression for Bower, the chronicler was clearly using a source that had an interest in chivalric exploits. The source was one which he shared with Wyntoun, but Wyntoun’s presentation of Douglas was not as elaborate as Bower’s, suggesting that Bower may have been influenced by

⁵³ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 48.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV, 48.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV, 48.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV, 48.

sources other than the one he shared with the *Original Chronicle*.⁵⁷ Douglas's reputation certainly seems to have been justified. He received pensions and cash grants for his service in the wars of the 1370s and 1380s and 'on account of his skill' in war he was given the earl of Carrick's 'beautiful' sister Egidia as his bride.⁵⁸ He was an active military leader during his father's attack on Lochmaben in 1384 and in 1388 Douglas attacked Carlingford, on the coast of Ireland, as part of a Scottish offensive.⁵⁹ He was also given the responsibility of overseeing the 1390 truce in the Borders.⁶⁰

Throughout the chronicle, Bower avoided extended descriptions of knights and we are rarely privy to what he deemed to be good evidence of chivalric knighthood. Bower did, however, hold some strong opinions about knights who acted against the chivalric code. He spoke out against Sir James Lindsay who committed a 'wrongful act' by changing 'from a knight to a tyrant' when he murdered Roger Kirkpatrick in his own home.⁶¹ Other chroniclers, roughly contemporary with Bower, spent even less time discussing knightly qualities. The Pluscarden chronicler, who abridged Bower's work, remarked on knights in general that 'it is a good thing in warfare to act not always with valour and might, but sometimes with shrewdness and ingenuity'.⁶² The Pluscarden

⁵⁷ Compare *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 316-32, and *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 48, 49. Wyntoun described Douglas as 'a man of great bounte,/Honorabil, wise, and richt worthi'. He also called him 'sturdy' and 'stowt'. *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, pp. 225, 323. Fordun, Bower's main source, does not describe Douglas at all. Bower did use sources which it does not appear Wyntoun had access to. At XV, 5 and 6, Bower told a story of how a Scottish knight outwitted English knights in an after dinner conversation, and described a joust between this Scottish knight and Sir Peter Courtney in February 1390. These episodes do not appear in Wyntoun's chronicle.

⁵⁸ *RMS*, I, 752, 753, 770, *Mort. Reg.* II, pp. 158-9, *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 49, *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 248, Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 70.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 173. The Pluscarden chronicler, abridging Bower's work, simply recorded that Douglas 'was a very celebrated and gallant warrior'. *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 248.

⁶⁰ *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 112, *CDS*, IV, 416, Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 87.

⁶¹ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 20.

⁶² *Chron. Pluscarden*, II, p. 237.

chronicler did not expand upon much of Bower's commentary and he generally avoided describing any qualities of knighthood. In the early 1460s, the fragmentary *Auchinleck Chronicle* asserted that knights should be gentle and virtuous, but dealt little with other desirable qualities.⁶³

By the 1450s, chivalric manuals were being produced in Scotland. These were designed to set down very specific ideals and outline how a truly chivalric lifestyle could be achieved. Moreover, they presented objectives for the improvement of knightly conduct. In 1456 William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, commissioned Sir Gilbert Hay to translate Continental chivalric manuals at Roslin Castle. These were *The Buke of the Law of Armys*, *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* and a further treatise, *The Buke of the Gouvernaunce of Princis*, which appeared in Hay's manuscript in this order.⁶⁴ The juxtaposition of the *Law of Armys* and the *Ordre of Knychthede* was not Hay's innovation and the two works appeared side-by-side for the first time in a late fourteenth-century manuscript, which may have been the source Hay used.⁶⁵ Hay did not translate these works literally and he added a significant amount of his own thoughts

⁶³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 52.

⁶⁴ Stevenson (ed), *Gilbert of Haye's Prose Manuscript (A.D. 1456) Volume I.*, Glenn (ed), *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay Volume III*, NLS Acc 9253. This was sometime before William Caxton translated these texts into English in 1483. NLS MS TD 209. For more on Continental martial manuals see Sydney Anglo, 'How to Kill a Man at Your Ease: Fencing Books and the Duelling Ethic', in Sydney Anglo, *Chivalry and the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990).

⁶⁵ St John's College, Cambridge, MS 102, Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 56.

and opinions to the text.⁶⁶ These manuals had strikingly different messages. The *Law of Armys* suggested ideas for making knights more efficient on the battlefield and the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* promoted knighthood, especially in times of peace, firmly within its social and civic setting.

Considering that these manuals were introduced to Scotland as part of an increased interest in the practices of chivalry, some value may also be obtained from looking at the role of Hay's patron. Richard Kaeuper has argued that literature was 'no simple mirror reflecting society, it is itself an active force', and it seems that the earl of Orkney's intentions in commissioning the translations were to bring revised and relevant ideas to knightly society.⁶⁷ In 1456, William Sinclair was Chancellor of Scotland. He had spent much of 1455 and 1456 engaged in James II's military campaigns against the Black Douglases and in his war with England.⁶⁸ James II's motivations and desire to wage warfare cannot be dissociated from the production of these chivalric manuals and Sinclair's relationship with the king further supports this.⁶⁹ At the peak of his personal

⁶⁶ As yet no comprehensive study of the differences between the versions has been undertaken, which would be a useful tool in ascertaining precisely what Hay added to the works. Sally Mapstone spent part of her doctoral thesis exploring some of the differences between the translation of the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* and the original, see Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', esp. pp. 88-99. Stevenson argues that at times Hay simplified and confused French syntax, Stevenson (ed), *Gilbert of Haye's Prose Manuscript*, II, pp. viii-x, but Jonathan Glenn has pointed out that this is a difficult conclusion to draw unless we know which manuscript he translated from. He claims that Stevenson is misguided in his comments and editorial conclusions, as his own understanding of French text was poor. See Jonathan A. Glenn, 'Gilbert Hay and the Problem of Sources: The Case of the "Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede"', in Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone and Kenneth Simpson (eds), *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Language and Literature, University of Strathclyde, 1993* (East Linton, 2001), pp. 106, 108.

⁶⁷ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Crawford, 'William Sinclair', p. 232, Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 66, *HBC*, p. 182, *Chron. Auchinleck*, p. 53.

⁶⁹ For more on James's military campaigns see *Chron. Auchinleck*, pp. 53-4, McGladdery, *James II*, pp. 86-9, 96-101.

power and royal favour, Sinclair was clearly influenced by James's attitudes. The interest in the texts may also have been brought about by the period of civil and international war in which some of the cohesive values of noble society had been severely tested and possibly needed to be reasserted. Indeed, Sinclair may have been attempting to encourage renewed social order, perhaps in his capacity as Chancellor, after a period of great political instability.

Hay's translations were widely read in Scotland. Sally Mapstone suggests that they reached a more extensive audience in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than just those with access to Sinclair's library at Roslin. Between 1485 and 1490 additional copies were made for Sir Oliver Sinclair, son of William, earl of Caithness, a 'familiar knight' of James III.⁷⁰ Further copies may also have been made. Mapstone claims that Hay's later reputation, and appearance by name in the works of William Dunbar and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, is ample evidence to prove that Hay's translations were well known and distributed throughout Scotland.⁷¹

The Buke of the Law of Armys, Honoré Bonet's 1382 French work, was a practical guide to warfare, concerned primarily with the laws of war and the position of the soldier in society.⁷² Unlike many treatises which glorified knighthood, the work disapproved of some of the ideals of chivalric virtue. Sir Gilbert Hay's translation of the work also carried this tone. This is not surprising, given Hay's own knightly career.

⁷⁰ RMS, II, 1665, NLS MS TD 209, Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 47.

⁷¹ William Dunbar, 'The Lament for the Makaris', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 109, David Lindsay, 'The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo', in Douglas Hamer (ed), *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555* (Edinburgh & London, 1931), I, p. 56, Stevenson (ed), *Gilbert of Haye's Prose Manuscript*, p. xxiii, Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 47.

⁷² N.A.R. Wright, 'The "Tree of Battles" of Honoré Bouvet and the Laws of War', in C.T. Allmand (ed), *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976), p. 14.

Hay had led a particularly military-based career, spending a considerable amount of time in France as a member of Charles VII's household. His experience of war may have been extensive. Although Walter Bower recorded that Hay had been knighted by Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse in 1429, Hay himself annotated a later copy of the *Scotichronicon* and made it clear that he was knighted by the French king.⁷³ Other knights who had served at the French court returned to Scotland with ideas promoting the latest chivalric fashions and ideas, and the influence of their experiences in France must be taken into account.⁷⁴

The major points of which the *Law of Armys* disapproved were designed to promote ideas enhancing the knight's effectiveness on the battlefield, whilst rationalising chivalric qualities. The *Law of Armys* thus spoke out against the search for individual glory in combat. Praise for an act which was motivated by personal ambition was regarded as inappropriate. The *Law of Armys* warned:

For suppose a knyght wald be sa hardy and sa presumptuous that he wald assailye ane hundreth knychtis him allane, that wald nocht be repute till him to the vertew of nobless, bot erar to fuliche hardiness and presumptuousnes.⁷⁵

It was upheld that true boldness in a knight was derived from a proper understanding of the reason and justice of his cause (although these points are not expanded upon in the text), not from the base motives of vainglory, anger or fear of dishonour.⁷⁶ These ideas

⁷³ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 16, Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers', pp. 32-3, Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, I, pp. 43, 158, Stevenson (ed), *Gilbert of Haye's Prose Manuscript*, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

⁷⁴ De Comminges (ed), *Traité dur L'Art de la Guerre de Bérault Stuart*, see also MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', pp. 153-5, for a recent discussion of the French influence on Scottish literature.

⁷⁵ Stevenson (ed), *Buke of the Law of Armys*, p. 84.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-4, 168, Wright, 'The "Tree of Battles"', p. 18.

tied into wider notions of just warfare. Knightly violence was deemed acceptable by commentators when it was a war directed by the crown's interests. Commentators, on the basis of the greater purpose of the conflict, thus decided what was considered to be a praiseworthy act of violence.

The *Law of Armys* highlighted the tensions between the practice of warfare and chivalric knighthood. It stated that knights should not engage in spontaneous acts of individual prowess to show their 'great courage'. Individual acts of prowess were central to proving oneself as a knight, but the *Law of Armys* suggested that soldiers should instead stay with the host unless they had permission from their military commander.⁷⁷ This clearly ran counter to the ideals promoted in romance literature and epic poetry, where knights often leapt into combat without permission from their superiors. Whether or not these prescriptions were upheld by knights is debatable. However, commentators frequently addressed this problem. John Barbour, for instance, wrote of Bruce's anger when Colin Campbell was guilty of spontaneous prowess in Ireland. Bruce responded by hitting Campbell with a truncheon and saying, 'the breaking of orders can lead to defeat'.⁷⁸ By acting in a 'chivalric' way through seeking opportunities to display individual prowess on the battlefield, knights could earn renown and be 'written in the chronicles'.⁷⁹ Where the contradictions in the chivalric code lay was that in some instances when they might pursue this course of action, they contravened the effective conduct of their commander's war.

⁷⁷ Stevenson (ed), *Book of the Law of Armys*, pp. 114-16, Wright, 'The "Tree of Battles"', p. 18.

⁷⁸ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book XVI, lines 135-6.

⁷⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XIV, 52.

Above all, the single most important quality a knight could display was loyalty. This was a theme which emerged in romance literature, the epic poetry of James III's reign, and Hay's manuals. The *Law of Armys* demanded that knights should be loyal to their lords.

Sen it is sa that he has maid him athe, and gevin him his faith, than suld he stand with him to the utterest, and tak lyf and dede, and presoune and othir fortune, as it may cum till hand to sauf his honour and his lawtee, and for defens of justice and rychtwis querele.⁸⁰

The *Law* also makes it clear that a knight's loyalty to the crown should override all obligations to any other lord.⁸¹ This message had a special resonance for the Scottish political community in 1456. When James II, supported by Hay's patron Sinclair, attacked the Black Douglases, loyalty to the crown above all other loyalties was a key issue. Sinclair himself turned his back on the Douglas earls with whom he had so many links through kinship and marriage.⁸² Emphasising this quality in the *Law of Armys* suggests that Hay's manual was providing not only a guide to the correct knightly behaviour during war, but also ideas for the reintegration of the traumatised knightly society.

The second treatise in Hay's manuscript is the *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, a translation of Ramon Llull's late thirteenth-century work. This was not a literal translation and Hay made substantial additions to the text.⁸³ The *Ordre of Knychthede*

⁸⁰ Stevenson (ed), *Buke of the Law of Armys*, p. 87.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 122-6, Wright, 'The "Tree of Battles"', p. 18.

⁸² See Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 98, Genealogical Table 4.

⁸³ The Catalan original was 13,500 words, the French version, 17,000 words and Hay's version is 34,000 words. Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 57, Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 275-80, Elspeth Kennedy, 'The Knight as Reader of Arthurian Romance', in Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley (eds), *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend, Essays in Honour of Valerie M. Lagorio* (New York, 1994), esp. pp. 83-7.

was predominantly concerned with the knight's relationship to the king and it opened with the story of a young squire who wanted to be made a knight. On his way to the dubbing ceremony, the squire met an ancient hermit knight who gave him a book of the codes and conducts of knighthood. He asked the young squire to distribute the book to those who wished to know more about the order which they would be joining. The old knight was introduced as an expert on chivalry and knighthood as

be the nobless and the force of his noble and hie curage throu grete wisdom
and hie gouernaunce- had auenturit his persone to pursue and manetene
justis tournaymentis and weris- and throu his gude fortune and prowess had
opteynit grete honour and glore and victorious loving.⁸⁴

The *Ordre of Knychthede* expressed concern that 'cheritee leautee justice and veritee was failit jn the world' and set out to rectify this by outlining what was expected of a knight.⁸⁵ Knights were told that they should feel the privilege of their status and honour their postion by behaving in a noble way. The book warned that 'na suld nane be maid knychtis yat had contrarious condicions to that worthy and noble ordre.'⁸⁶

Unlike the *Law of Armys*, the *Ordre of Knychthede* concentrated mainly on the privileged status of knights and their chivalric duties. Its stated purpose was to correct wayward knights through educating them and ensuring that new knights remained true to the order: 'thou yat art a knycht and will correk otheris defaultis correk thine awin faultis fyrst'.⁸⁷ The main advice for knights was that they were defined not only by their military function, but also by their place in society as paragons of chivalric virtue and

⁸⁴ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

qualities. The Christian component of knighthood was overtly emphasised and the *Ordre* makes it clear that ‘first and formast knycthede was ordanyt to manetene and defend halykirk and the faith.’⁸⁸ The idea that the knight was bound to the Christian faith was also present in other fifteenth-century literature. In the 1440s, Walter Bower remarked that the sword was given to a knight ‘when he was invested for the defence of the Church and its members’.⁸⁹ The most obvious and extreme way for a knight to act as a ‘soldier of Christ’ was through involvement in crusading. Macquarrie’s recent study, however, regards the fifteenth century as a period of declining interest in crusading as a form of knightly activity.⁹⁰ There is undoubtedly some force in this argument. Despite this, some Scottish noblemen did continue to go on crusade and pilgrimage as individuals or in small groups. In 1429, Sir John Stewart of Darnley went on pilgrimage and Sir Herbert Herries of Terregles went in 1439.⁹¹ Sir Alexander Forrester of Corstorphine embarked upon a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1464.⁹² Christian duty could also be discharged without going on crusade or pilgrimage. Knights patronised churches to demonstrate their commitment to the faith, such as Sir William Crichton, who founded the Collegiate Church of Crichton in 1449. This followed similar foundations by Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith of the Collegiate Church of St Nicholas in 1406, Sir Walter Haliburton’s founding of the Collegiate Church of Dirleton in 1444, and Sir William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, of St Matthew’s altar in

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸⁹ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 13.

⁹⁰ Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, esp. pp. 92-116.

⁹¹ *Chron. Extracta*, p. 235, *Rot. Scot.*, II, p. 313, McRoberts, ‘Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land’, p. 90.

⁹² *CDS*, IV, 1346.

Roslin in 1446.⁹³ The chivalric ideal as expounded in the manuals expected knights to display their Christian virtue in the way in which they lived their everyday lives, not just in extreme acts of devotion and sacrifice.

Hay's *Ordre of Knychthede* also covered the qualities a knight should possess. It specified that a knight must hold all of the desired physical traits, and all of the necessary personal qualities, in order to be a true knight and not an enemy of knighthood.⁹⁴ Knights should be well ridden, and should hunt and hawk, 'and sa mayntenand the office of the ordre of knychthede worthily'.⁹⁵ Force was considered to be 'a grete vertu jn all noble actis'.⁹⁶ Of qualities of the soul, wisdom, renown and discretion 'ar the ledaris and gouernouris of cheualrye' and prudence was considered especially important.⁹⁷ Hay also esteemed charity, verity, loyalty, humility, faith and subtlety.⁹⁸

Quhen a knyght has all strenthis and habiliteis yat appertenis to the corps – and had nocht thame yat appertenis to the saule he is nocht verray knyght – bot is contrarious to the ordre and jnymy of knychthede.⁹⁹

Within this text, the notion that the knight should not only be fit and able on the battlefield, but also a well-rounded man, seems to steer the definition of knighthood

⁹³ *Midl. Chrs.*, pp. 305-12. For more on the rise of Collegiate Churches in the fifteenth century see D.E. Easson, 'The Collegiate Churches of Scotland Part II – Their Significance', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 7 (1938), pp. 30-47, and Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland with an Appendix on the Houses of the Isle of Man* (London & New York, 1976), pp. 213-30, where a full list of Collegiate Churches is supplemented with the details of their foundations.

⁹⁴ Glenn (ed), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 17.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 41.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

towards the humanistic ideals which were increasingly influential in fifteenth century Scotland.¹⁰⁰

The qualities of knightly nobleness which were esteemed by writers such as Hay were tested to the full in James III's reign. Traditionally it has been argued that James III's political ineptitude was reflected in the moral and court poetry of the period.¹⁰¹ However, what is more relevant to this study is the debate in this literature regarding the attributes which were admired and desired in the nobility. Questions were raised as to whether the quality of nobleness could be achieved without being of noble birth. This had a direct impact on knightly culture, as many of the qualities used to define nobility were inextricably bound up with the codes of chivalry. The traditional standards of chivalric prowess remained as knightly ideals, but the automatic association between them and the hereditary ethics of knightly society were challenged.¹⁰² Under this pressure, the nobility patronised literature which emphasised the associations between chivalry and nobility.¹⁰³ Amongst these texts were chivalric stories such as *Lancelot of the Laik*.

¹⁰⁰ For more on the humanist movement in Scotland see John Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR* 4 (1953), pp. 5-24, Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law', pp. 1-25, A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (eds), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, NY and Köln, 1994), John MacQueen (ed), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990).

¹⁰¹ Kindrick, 'Politics and Poetry', p. 40, Marshall W. Stearns, *Robert Henryson* (New York, 1949), esp. pp. 14-25, 106-29, Robert L. Kindrick, *Robert Henryson* (Boston, 1979), esp. pp. 19-22, Robert L. Kindrick, 'Lion or Cat? Henryson's Characterisation of James III', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 14 (1979), pp. 123-36, Steven R. McKenna, 'Legends of James III and the Problem of Henryson's Topicality', *Scottish Literary Journal* 17 (1990), pp. 5-20.

¹⁰² Robert L. Kindrick, 'Kings and Rustics: Henryson's Definition of Nobility in *The Moral Fabillis*', in Roderick J. Iyall and Felicity Riddy (eds), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)*, University of Stirling, 2-7 July 1981 (Stirling & Glasgow, 1981), p. 272.

¹⁰³ Moorman, *A Knyght There Was*, p. 97.

Some debate surrounds the dating of the anonymous translation of *Lancelot of the Laik*. The original editors argued that it dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁴ More recently, Kindrick supported this view and argued that the *Lancelot* dated to the mid-1490s.¹⁰⁵ Other scholars have convincingly argued that it dated to James III's reign and Sally Mapstone and John MacQueen have suggested that it may even have been earlier than this.¹⁰⁶ The political content of the poem, especially when Arthur is given advice on good government, would seem to place the poem in the 1470s or 1480s.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Bertram Vogel argues that, as the content of the poem is so specific and apparently directed entirely at James III, it cannot have been written before 1482.¹⁰⁸ *Lancelot* is an adaptation of the French *Prose Lancelot*, detailing the relationships between Arthur and Lancelot, and Lancelot and Guinevere. In the Scottish version, the love component, particularly the initial stages of Lancelot's love for Guinevere, is notably absent.¹⁰⁹ One of the most prominent themes is the criticism of Arthur's kingship. The Scottish poet amplified the advice on good governance from the French original. In *Lancelot of the Laik*, Arthur is explicitly criticised for not choosing his ministers carefully. Rich and poor subjects, he was told, were to be treated with equal consideration. The king must visit the various estates and towns of his realm and must

¹⁰⁴ Gray (ed), *Lancelot of the Laik*, pp. xxxv-xxvi, Skeat, 'The Author of "Lancelot of the Laik"', p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Kindrick, 'Politics and Poetry', p. 52.

¹⁰⁶ Mapstone, 'Was there a Court Literature?', pp. 412, 420, MacQueen, 'The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland', p. 193.

¹⁰⁷ MacQueen, *Ballatis of Luve*, p. xxv.

¹⁰⁸ Vogel, 'Secular Politics', pp. 8-10.

¹⁰⁹ This idea was recently explored in a paper given on 28 November 2002 at the University of Edinburgh by Sergi Mainer entitled, 'Re-constructing Lancelot: A Comparison Between the Old French *Prose Lancelot* and the Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik*'. This will be discussed in his forthcoming Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis provisionally entitled 'The Scottish Romance Tradition within the European Context'.

interest himself in his people's welfare. He was told not to be proud or arrogant and that he must lavish gifts upon his tenants, vassals and the worthy poor.¹¹⁰ These were all criticisms that were also directed specifically at James III, suggesting that there was a connection between the criticisms of the king and the translation of the poem. The poet may have chosen a traditionally chivalric romance as his vehicle for these ideas because it might also have highlighted James III's refusal to engage with chivalric ideology. Additionally, exposing these ideas in this text rehearsed the debate in a form which the nobility might engage with.

With the possibilities for increased social and financial mobility during James III's reign, the nobility was forced to find ways to preserve its social standing.¹¹¹ This concern may have been exacerbated by the behaviour of James III, who was extensively criticised for favouring 'low-born' men. This criticism had a wide variety of outlets, with satirical literature providing a powerful means of expression. The theme running through some of this literature was that those of noble and knightly status could not pursue activities appropriate to their social rank and function because they had to rectify the king's oversights and supervise the aspects of governance which he neglected. In the *Thre Prestis of Peblis*, the king asks the barons why they are not abroad proving their

¹¹⁰ Vogel, 'Secular Politics', p. 3. Similar criticisms were made in other 'chivalric' literature at the time: in 'Golagros and Gawane', Arthur is criticised, amongst other things, for his pride and arrogance. Walsh, 'Golagros and Gawane', p. 93.

¹¹¹ Often members of the mercantile class could gain entry into lower-level nobility through being dubbed. See above pp. 91-4, Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, p. 21, Robert Fulton, 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 11 (1973-4), p. 24. See J.H. Hexter, 'The Myth of the Middle Class in Tudor England', in J.H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History* (London, 1961), who disagrees that there was a rise of the middle classes in the late medieval period.

might and performing noble deeds (the implication being that as men of knightly status they should be doing so). They responded that

Your Justice ar sa ful of sucquedry,
 Sa covetous and ful of avarice
 That they your Lords impaires of thair pryce.¹¹²

The complaint was bitter and reflected a genuine social grievance caused by James III's ineffectual leadership. The nobles went on to argue that no matter how loyal a man might be to his king, he would be driven to extremes by capricious administration.

As much as the nobility may have been trying to reinforce the traditional conflation of noble status with virtues of chivalric knighthood, some commentators presented the argument that nobleness did not necessarily come from hereditary inheritance. This was not a debate exclusive to the fifteenth century nor to Scotland. During the thirteenth century moves were made to establish that noble descent was a requirement of eligibility for knighthood, yet, at the same time, ideas were still being put forward that any man 'has a right to the title of knighthood who has proved himself in arms and thereby won the praise of men'.¹¹³ The resurrection of these ideas towards the end of the fifteenth century indicates that these concerns were still relevant, but in a new social context. 'The Porteous of Noblenes', printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, but probably dating earlier than this, contributed significantly to this debate. The

¹¹² T.D. Robb (ed), *The Thre Prestis of Peblis, how thair tald thar talis: Edited From the Asloan and Charteris Texts* (Edinburgh & London, 1920), pp. 18, 19, Kindrick, 'Politics and Poetry', pp. 48-9, Fulton, 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis', pp. 23-46.

¹¹³ E. Stengel (ed), *Li Romans de Durmart le Galois* (Stuttgart, 1873), quoted in Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 80, and see above pp. 12-14.

'Porteous' listed twelve virtues of nobleness: faith, truth, honour, reason, worthiness, love, courtesy, diligence, cleanliness, largesse, soberness and perseverance.¹¹⁴ The author clearly felt that 'noble' virtues belonged naturally to those of noble birth. His message to the nobility was that they must realise the importance of these virtues and display them in their conduct, as these qualities were being readily attained by members of other social groups.¹¹⁵ These ideas were still being questioned in the mid-sixteenth century, when Dame Scotia said in the *Complaynt of Scotland*:

ane person may succed to heretage and to movabill guidis of his
predecessours, bot no man can succed to gentreis nor to vertue; for vertu
and gentreis most proceed fra the spreit of hym self, and nocht fra his
predecessours.¹¹⁶

Dame Scotia does, however, insist on the righteousness of the social order in which other classes are subjected to the authority of the nobility and distinction between classes was still viewed as essential. Robert Henryson, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the quality of nobleness (the personal characteristic) was achievable by anyone from any social class. He expressed through many of his poems the idea that there was no inherent relationship between nobleness and high social position.¹¹⁷

Other types of literature, with a markedly different agenda, were also produced in James III's reign. Blind Harry wrote the *Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailyeand Campioun, Schir William Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie* between 1474 and

¹¹⁴ 'The Porteous of Noblenes', in W.A. Craigie (ed), *The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse written by John Asloan in the Reign of James the Fifth*, Vol. I (Edinburgh & London, 1923).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹¹⁶ James A.H. Murray (ed), *The Complaynt of Scotland with Ane Exortatione to the Thre Estaitis to be Vigilante in the Deffens of Their Public Veil, 1549* (London, 1872), p. 150, Fulton, 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis', p. 27.

¹¹⁷ Kindrick, 'Kings and Rustics', p. 281.

1479, although by whom it was commissioned is not known.¹¹⁸ Although Wallace is a knight, this was not a chivalric tale of glorious knighthood, but a story of warfare and violence between the Scots and the English. Harry's poem is also clearly a political commentary on his own time and it has been seen as a denunciation of James III's policy of peace with England.¹¹⁹ The narrative is emotive rather than instructive and Harry's work is so intensely nationalistic that he is not concerned with the ideals and morals of the stories he relates, but instead with the feelings that the episodes evoke.¹²⁰

This, in effect, renders the poem devoid of extensive commentary on chivalry or knightly behaviour. Knights were not judged by Blind Harry by their adherence to the codes of chivalric practice, nor by their violations of it. Instead, Harry portrayed good knights as those who were loyal to Wallace, because they were fighting for the right cause, thus implying that all of Wallace's enemies were not knights who should be considered worthy. Harry's use of adjectives to describe knights is constrained by his vernacular rhyming couplets. Given that the poet cannot have been describing the 'real' characters (as Wallace was executed in 1305), the qualities he listed must be viewed as those which were considered appropriate for knights to hold in the 1470s and 1480s.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Harry himself proclaims that no one paid him to write the poem. Blind Harry, *Wallace*, pp. 376-7, MacQueen, 'The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland', p. 195, Matthew P. McDiarmid, 'The Date of the *Wallace*', *SHR* 34 (1955), p. 31. For more on Blind Harry's *Wallace* see Goldstein, 'Blind Harry's Myth of Blood', pp. 70-82, Grace G. Wilson, 'Barbour's "Bruce" and Harry's "Wallace": Complementments, Compensations and Conventions', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 25 (1990), pp. 189-201.

¹¹⁹ Kelham, 'Bases of Magnatial Power', p. 240, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 269-70.

¹²⁰ Kindrick, 'Politics and Poetry', p. 44, Lois A. Ebin, 'John Barbour's *Bruce*: Poetry, History and Propaganda', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 9 (1972), pp. 235-6.

¹²¹ Harry clearly used earlier sources- see Blind Harry, *Wallace*, p. 168, where he writes of Sir Alexander Ramsay 'quhen it wes wer, till armes he him kest;/Wndir the croun he wes ane off the best:/In tyme of pees till courtlynes he yeid;/Bot to gentrice he tuk nayne othir heid..Quhat gentill man had nocht with Ramsay beyne;/Off courtlynes thai cownt him nocht a preyne./Fredome and treuth he had as men would ass;/Sen he begane na bettyr squier was.' This is clearly drawn from Wyntoun and Bower, who both wrote similarly of Ramsay. *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 147, *Chron. Bower*, XIII, 47.

Wallace's qualities were that he was worthy, wise and 'wicht', he was kind, well taught, debonair and good looking.¹²² Other knights were described as worthy, vigorous, hardy, wise, true and gentle.¹²³ Although many of his adjectives are alliterative, repetitive and formulaic, Harry's use of these phrases to describe his knights indicates that they had meaning. These qualities were traditionally esteemed in the chivalric code and their appearance in the text represents the reinforcement of ideas of appropriate knighthood.

Wallace is often contrasted with 'false' knights, that is in this case, knights and squires who did not support the hero's cause. More often than not, these episodes are designed to show Wallace's good, although rather elemental, characteristics and his dedication to his goals. Early in the text when Wallace was fishing, he was approached by some Englishmen, who attempted to steal the fish he had caught. Wallace appealed to their knightly charity and claimed that the fish were for an 'agyt knycht'.¹²⁴ The Englishmen ignored his pleas and Wallace promptly drew out his sword and killed three of them. Wallace's actions were justified in two ways. First, the men were not acting in a chivalric way, and Wallace's violence was thus a legitimate response. Secondly, they were English, and as such, Wallace's 'natural' enemies, and thus their death was acceptable. However, Wallace's violence was not always 'knightly'. In one episode he met the squire Selbie, the son of the sheriff of Dundee, who habitually loitered around Dundee with 'thre men or four thar went with him to play'.¹²⁵ Selbie challenged Wallace because he was wearing green clothing, which Selbie considered to be too 'gay'

¹²² Blind Harry, *Wallace*, pp. 7, 11, 102, 114, 116.

¹²³ See for example *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 159, 165, 263.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

for a Scot to wear.¹²⁶ Wallace immediately responded to these insults by stabbing and killing Selbie and his friends.¹²⁷ In this instance, Wallace's violence was not knightly because his impulsiveness and aggressiveness, which would have been appropriate in a battlefield context, contravened chivalric codes of conduct. Off the battlefield, chivalric knights were expected to display 'civil' behaviour, and as Wallace's actions here appear to be motivated by personal insult, his violence was not controlled by the chivalric ideal. However, Wallace's actions were presented to Harry's audience as honourable because they were motivated by his higher purpose and Harry himself may have viewed this type of violence as ideal. Unlike similar acts of irrational and extreme violence carried out by the young James Douglas in Barbour's *Bruce*, the Dundee episode was not part of Wallace's character development.¹²⁸ During the poem we do not find Wallace becoming a more refined knight and therefore Blind Harry's characterisation of him is not as a model of chivalric and courtly knighthood.

The story of Robert Bruce, another hero from the Wars of Independence, was also revived towards the end of James III's reign. Alongside the struggle for freedom from English oppression, loyalty was one of the key themes of John Barbour's epic poem the

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹²⁸ In an early episode of the *Bruce*, James Douglas killed the bishop of St Andrews' stableman because he insulted him. Barbour, *Bruce*, Book II, line 134-9. By the end of the poem, Douglas had learnt to control and channel his violence to chivalric and worthy pursuits.

Bruce.¹²⁹ It is no coincidence that the only two surviving manuscripts of Barbour's poem date to 1487 and 1489, a time when loyalty to the crown was an issue at the heart of Scottish politics.¹³⁰ The *Bruce* was written around 1375 and the poem comprises a collection of episodic adventures.¹³¹ These are brought together with the chivalric code and the pursuit of independence as a series of examples intended to instruct and inspire Barbour's audience.¹³² The *Bruce* is largely an account of the lives and activities of Robert Bruce and one of his nobles, Sir James Douglas. Barbour intends that his audience view Robert Bruce as the ideal warrior king and James Douglas as the ideal knight, and consequently the ideal loyal vassal.¹³³

Barbour was not especially creative in describing the model attributes of his knightly characters: his extensive use of adjectives associated with them is often repetitive, alliterative and formulaic, a product of his use of vernacular rhyming couplets. Barbour constructed the linear and simplistic identities of his characters

¹²⁹ Barbour placed more emphasis on loyalty in the poem than any other single quality. Barbour, *Bruce*, Book I, lines 365-74, Ebin, 'John Barbour's *Bruce*', p. 224, McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', p. 173, Bernice W. Kliman, 'The Idea of Chivalry in John Barbour's *Bruce*', *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973), pp. 489-90. For more on Barbour's *Bruce* see Anne M. McKim, '“Gret Price Off Chewalry”: Barbour's Debt to Fordun', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 24 (1989), pp. 7-29, Wilson, 'Barbour's "Bruce" and Hary's "Wallace"', pp. 189-201, Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh & London, 1958), esp. pp. 13, 26, Liam O. Purdon and Julian N. Wasserman, 'Chivalry and Feudal Obligation in Barbour's *Bruce*', in Liam O. Purdon and Cindy L. Vitto (eds), *The Rusted Hauberk: Feudal Ideals of Order and their Decline* (Gainsville, 1994), p. 77, Bernice W. Kliman, 'John Barbour and the Rhetorical Tradition', *Annuaire Mediaevale* 18 (1977), pp. 106-35.

¹³⁰ NLS Adv. MS 19.2.2, St John's College, Cambridge, MS G23.

¹³¹ A.M. Kinghorn has argued that the *Bruce* is a romance, as Barbour calls it such, and it is a characteristically classical epic not historical. Lois A. Ebin says that it is a carefully planned narrative, neither chronicle written as a romance nor an epic. A.M. Kinghorn, 'Scottish Historiography in the 14th Century: A New Introduction to Barbour's *Bruce*', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 6 (1969), pp. 134-5, Ebin, 'John Barbour's *Bruce*', pp. 219-20. However, the *Bruce* is not a romance, as it contains no love component, but instead an epic poem.

¹³² Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', pp. 57-8.

¹³³ Våthjunker, 'A Study in the Career of Sir James Douglas', p. 242, McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', p. 169, Ebin, 'John Barbour's *Bruce*', p. 222.

through the use of particular descriptions to emphasise to the audience which traits they embodied. However, Barbour seldom uses individual terms excessively and he uses a variety of particularising adjectives.¹³⁴ His characters are uncomplicated by other features such as wives or romantic interests, civic duties or political aspirations. Instead, they are designed specifically and definitively to be warriors, partial to large-scale warfare as much as one-on-one skirmishes, and they are always on the threshold of violent outbursts. In this way, the characters are only described in terms of the violent culture to which they belonged, the same culture from which Barbour's audience were drawn.

In general, Barbour gave his knights three types of qualities: physical, personal (of the soul), and those which were used on the battlefield (the traditional knightly attributes). Knights were esteemed if they were of fine bearing and had a good demeanour.¹³⁵ The personal qualities they required were varied, but worthiness was the most commonly desired attribute for a knight to hold.¹³⁶ Other attributes which were esteemed were wisdom and generosity.¹³⁷ Knights were also courteous, debonair, affectionate and loving, prudent, chivalrous, curious, noble, cunning, caring, cheerful, amicable, gentle, honest, stern and of good judgement.¹³⁸ Qualities which were prized in knights on the battlefield included valour, boldness, courage, bravery and strength,

¹³⁴ Kliman, 'John Barbour and the Rhetorical Tradition', pp. 31-3.

¹³⁵ For examples of this see Barbour, *Bruce*, Book I, line 361, XI, line 250.

¹³⁶ For examples see *Ibid.*, Book I, line 30, II, lines 202, 247, 266, 337, IV, lines 91, 144, 534, VI, lines 480, 484, VIII, lines 251, 267, 286, IX, lines 49, 479, 578, X, line 278, XI, lines 133, 184, 219, XII, lines 29, 285, 292, 342, 424, 495, 585, XIII, lines 122, 136, 168, XIV, lines 24, 186, 312, XV, line 498, XVI, lines 107, 163, 197, 376, 536, XVII, lines 137, 237, XIX, line 474, XX, lines 208, 374, 576.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

powerfulness, sturdiness, manliness, distinction and prowess.¹³⁹ A good knightly reputation was also considered to be important and Barbour often mentions that knights were of high renown, of great esteem and of good repute.¹⁴⁰ Barbour wrote when Bruce was pitted against three of his enemies that

whosoever wins the prize in chivalry, be he friend or foe, men should speak faithfully of it. And assuredly, in all my life, I never heard tell, in song or verse, of a man who achieved great chivalry so vigorously'.¹⁴¹

James Douglas reportedly believed that if he achieved 'great things, hard struggles and combats' his reputation would be doubled.¹⁴²

Even now I have heard it often said that he was so greatly feared then that when women wanted to scold their children, they would consign them with a very angry face to the Black Douglas, for in their reckoning, he was more dreadful than was any devil in hell. Because of his great valour and courage he was so feared by his foes that they were terrified by the mention of his name.¹⁴³

Barbour wrote that 'those men should be highly esteemed who in their own day were bold and wise, who led their lives in great travail, and often in the hard press of battle won a great reputation for chivalry, who were free from cowardice'.¹⁴⁴ Sir Ingram Umfraville 'was famed for such great prowess, that he passed the rest in reputation; for that reason he always had carried about a red bonnet upon a spear, as a sign that he was set at the apex of chivalry'.¹⁴⁵ Umfraville was not a supporter of Bruce, and Barbour's treatment of him must reflect a level of genuine admiration for Umfraville's knightly

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Book III, lines 174-180.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, Book I, lines 305-7.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, Book XV, lines 558-65.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Book I, lines 21-6.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Book IX, lines 507-13.

skills. A.A.M. Duncan also suggests that Barbour may have had access to a pro-English source which spoke of Umfraville in this way.¹⁴⁶

A good reputation, nevertheless, was not simply held by a knight for great military achievements, but for the display of a range of qualities. For Barbour the best knights distinguished themselves by their martial prowess, noble birth and the qualities of leadership they displayed.¹⁴⁷ Anne McKim has pointed out that Barbour's ideal knights are loyal and responsible towards each other and martial prowess was their most valued collective quality. This differs markedly from the knight of courtly romance who sought personal glory in the name of his lady through individual feats of arms. According to McKim, Barbour's ideal of knighthood was based more upon the rules governing the real practice of war than upon chivalric violence.¹⁴⁸ This may, in part, be due to Barbour's desire to record what he perceived to be historical accuracy, rather than to provide a set of exemplars. However, Archie Duncan, the most recent editor of the *Bruce*, argues that it

is a poem about chivalry, about valour and fidelity, about personal qualities which secure the repute of a man without validation by his fighting for a corporate political destiny. As with other fourteenth century historical writings, the real enemy is not the other country or people, but cowardice and treachery.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁴⁷ Matthew Strickland, 'Arms and the Men: War, Loyalty and Lordship in Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 203. Sally North, 'The Ideal Knight as Presented in Some French Narrative Poems, c.1090-c.1240: An Outline Sketch', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 122-8.

¹⁴⁸ McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', pp. 170-1. This view is supported by Bernice Kliman. See Kliman, 'The Idea of Chivalry', p. 484.

¹⁴⁹ A.A.M. Duncan, 'Introduction', to John Barbour's *Bruce* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 13.

Barbour himself modified the practice of chivalry to fit with his stories. His greatest difficulty stemmed from having to present ideal knighthood with the realities of his subject matter.¹⁵⁰ So Barbour ‘limited’ the chivalric ideal to comply with his overall purpose. Bernice Kliman has pointed out that by doing so, Barbour’s modified chivalry is

truly significant, because while the courtly ideal bears the seed of its own decay in its all too elevated idealism, the ideal that Barbour describes is close enough a possibility to be capable of setting a standard for real behaviour. The heroes of Barbour’s *Bruce*, the embodiment of practical chivalry, are models that the Scots could follow. By his skill he is able to transform chivalry, the ideal so loved by medieval men at least in theory, without blurring its essential outlines.¹⁵¹

Kliman argues that because Barbour modified, but did not discard, chivalry, he reconciled the contradictions between the reality of warfare and the idealism of the chivalric code.¹⁵²

How, then, did Barbour present his modified version of chivalric knighthood? Sir James Douglas’s importance in the poem as the ideal knight has been explored by many scholars and much emphasis has been placed upon his role within the text. Douglas was developed as the ideal knight by the attention Barbour gave to the education and qualities of a good knight, the ideal knightly conduct and his criticism of vices opposed to this ideal.¹⁵³ Douglas was passionate, glad and jolly, and in his youth ‘was up to such dissolute behaviour as nature expects of youth and [was] sometimes in

¹⁵⁰ Kliman, ‘The Idea of Chivalry’, pp. 478-9.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 508, Mainer, ‘A Comparison of Barbour’s *Bruce*’, p. 34.

¹⁵³ McKim, ‘James Douglas and Barbour’s Ideal of Knighthood’, p. 167.

low company', a stage which Barbour considers important to his education.¹⁵⁴ Douglas was similarly called worthy, generous, hardy, valorous, bold, good and strong. He was said to be of merit, courteous and debonair, cheerful, stout, honest, sweet, noble, and above all loyal.¹⁵⁵ Most of Douglas's actions in the poem take place on the battlefield and demonstrate his courage, his strength and his physical endurance.¹⁵⁶ For example, when he besieged Roxburgh and Jedburgh castles, Douglas made 'many attacks and showed feats of chivalry', and even Barbour says that his deeds were so many that he could not recount them all for there was so much to tell.¹⁵⁷

There is, however, some question as to why James Douglas was so prominent in this narrative, especially as he never held as close a position to the king as Barbour suggested. A.A.M. Duncan attributes this to Barbour working from a voluminous source which described Douglas in such honourable and noble terms that Barbour could not possibly exclude him from the story.¹⁵⁸ Michael Brown, in his work on the Douglas family, says little about Barbour's routine treatment of James Douglas, pointing out that although Douglas had acquired and maintained a great deal of power in the south of Scotland, Bruce favoured others as close counsellors.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, Douglas was not always a loyal vassal to Robert I – for example, on 15 May 1307 he considered

¹⁵⁴ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book I, lines 332, 333-5, McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', p. 167, Mainer, 'A Comparison of Barbour's *Bruce*', p. 37.

¹⁵⁵ Barbour, *Bruce*, *passim*.

¹⁵⁶ For more on other literary heroes' battlefield actions see North, 'The Ideal Knight', pp. 121-2.

¹⁵⁷ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book X, lines 345-6.

¹⁵⁸ Duncan, 'Introduction', p. 14, Edington, 'Paragons and Patriots', p. 19. In her doctoral thesis, Patricia McRaven argues that the *Bruce* is not historically accurate but is 'conscious artistry'. 'It appears to represent deliberate manipulation of characters, events, and movement in time and space'. Patricia A. McRaven, 'John Barbour's Narrative Technique in *The Bruce*' (Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1979), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 26.

submission to Edward I.¹⁶⁰ However, Brown does point out that between 1307 and 1315 Douglas became one of the most significant supporters of Robert I, and he was usually the first knight to witness documents for Bruce.¹⁶¹ Whilst the poem may not have been an accurate reflection of Bruce and Douglas's relationship, Barbour's elevation of Douglas is significant.

Barbour clearly puts James Douglas forward as the ideal knight, but scholars are still arguing whether this characterisation is in accordance with fourteenth-century, or indeed fifteenth-century, notions of chivalry and knighthood.¹⁶² Sonja Vāthjunker concluded in her thesis that Douglas was not the ideal knight because he did not behave in a chivalric way. This was because he often, particularly in earlier episodes, did not serve the king's interests, but instead pursued his own cause. The Douglas Larder, for instance, is the most striking and appalling example of Douglas's capacity for vindictive violence, motivated entirely by his own agenda of regaining his rights to the lands of Douglas. Whilst Vāthjunker argued that during the planning stages Douglas co-operated harmoniously with his vassals, and during the battle he demonstrated outstanding bravery:

an episode such as the Douglas Larder [...] raises the question how 'knightly virtues' and the 'ideal of knighthood' are to be defined. The obvious recourse to the courtly code with its emphasis on serving a lady and on chivalrous combat is evidently of little use. Douglas serves not a lady but his king, and his methods cannot be called chivalrous by the longest stretch of the imagination.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ *CDS*, II, 1979, Vāthjunker, 'A Study in the Career of Sir James Douglas', pp. 37-40.

¹⁶¹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p. 17, Vāthjunker, 'A Study in the Career of Sir James Douglas', p. 156.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8.

Väthjunker argues that even when Douglas responded to knightly challenges he did so with un-chivalric military tactics. He did not fight for knightly honour, he fought to win.

Väthjunker says:

for these reasons, it is impossible to call Douglas an ‘ideal knight’ without redefining the concept of chivalry beyond recognition; the ‘ideal subject’, however, seems more appropriate in view of Douglas’s services and his loyalty.¹⁶⁴

However, Väthjunker does not identify the ideas for the recasting of chivalry contained within the text. Barbour did present a chivalric hero in Douglas, but aspects of the codes of conduct were clearly ignored, as Barbour considered that they did not apply in encounters such as the Douglas Larder, where personal motivations outweighed others.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, Barbour was presenting what, in his mind, was an ‘historically’ accurate portrayal of Douglas, where contradictions in ethical codes were likely to occur. Indeed Douglas, like Harry’s Wallace, demonstrated two types of violent behaviour. On the battlefield, especially against the English, his violence could be accepted as keeping broadly in line with appropriate knightly behaviour, but off the battlefield, his ‘uncontrollable’ violence, especially when used in defence of personal honour or property, was not criticised by Barbour, and therefore must have been viewed as legitimate by him and his audience.

It has been argued by some scholars that the most traditionally chivalric knight in the poem was Sir Edward Bruce, King Robert’s brother.¹⁶⁶ Lois Ebin has pointed out

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁶⁵ Kliman, ‘The Idea of Chivalry’, p. 484.

¹⁶⁶ Väthjunker, ‘A Study in the Career of Sir James Douglas’, p. 178. See also Kliman, ‘The Idea of Chivalry’, pp. 479, 507.

that Edward Bruce's character is designed to highlight the qualities in his brother and although Edward possessed the courage and strength of a knight, he does not have the corresponding prudence and wisdom essential to a king.¹⁶⁷ Edward Bruce is referred to by Barbour as hardy, valorous, generous, good, worthy, wise, strong, noble, chivalrous and bold.¹⁶⁸ However, Barbour strongly criticised Edward, particularly when he discussed his death. Ignoring better advice, Edward refused to wait for reinforcements when faced with a stronger enemy. Barbour presents this as an abandonment of a key part of chivalric knighthood, that is, that he should not pursue individual glory if it might be detrimental to the overall goal of winning.¹⁶⁹ Whilst Barbour claimed that Edward 'had a great desire to do deeds of chivalry always', the poet still presented him as more concerned with attaining individual glory, especially evident on the Irish campaign.¹⁷⁰ Kliman has viewed Barbour's characterisation of Edward less harshly and claims that Barbour simply presents him as 'human', arguing that Edward's major downfall was that he lacked wisdom, and therefore at times acted foolishly.¹⁷¹

The evident concern with the values of chivalry in literary works produced and reworked in James III's reign, continued in the reign of James IV. James IV certainly seems to have patronised the production of literature reflecting ideal knightliness and adherence to conventional chivalric codes. One interesting forum for the discussion of these themes was court poetry, the emergence of which was, in itself, a reflection of the

¹⁶⁷ Ebin, 'John Barbour's *Bruce*', p. 223, Mainer, 'A Comparison of Barbour's *Bruce*', p. 45.

¹⁶⁸ Barbour, *Bruce*, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ Barbour, *Bruce*, XVIII, lines 28-210, Vāthjunker, 'A Study in the Career of Sir James Douglas', p. 179. This is a point which the *Buke of the Law of Armys* also made. Stevenson (ed), *Buke of the Law of Armys*, pp. 82-4.

¹⁷⁰ Barbour, *Bruce*, IX, lines 588-9, Purdon and Wasserman, 'Chivalry and Feudal Obligation', p. 81.

¹⁷¹ Kliman, 'The Idea of Chivalry', p. 493.

increased importance of the royal court as a centre for cultural and social discourse. The knights at James IV's court would have almost certainly heard the poems of William Dunbar, and Dunbar's attitude towards knighthood reflected what he saw around him. Dunbar's portrayal of knighthood in 'Fasternis Evin in Hell' has already been explored. It is clear from that poem that Dunbar thought that chivalric activities should be left to knights and that knights should be men who were noble and worthy. This outlook may have been a direct response to the criticisms which had flourished in the literature of James III's reign. Dunbar also indicated that knighthood was a responsibility which should only be undertaken by those fitted to that station.¹⁷² Part of his justification for such opinions lay within his poems directed at the king. He explicitly laid down that 'men of armes and vailyeand knychtis' had a prominent place at court as the king's 'profitable' servants.¹⁷³ In other commentaries, he remarked that life in Edinburgh was superior to that in Stirling because at the court in Edinburgh one could be in the company of lords and knights.¹⁷⁴ Dunbar also lamented the consequences of warfare, in fairly conventional terms, observing that death was the only real victor in battles as

¹⁷² See above pp. 174-9. For Dunbar's background see Jean-Jacques Blanchot, 'William Dunbar in the Scottish Guard in France? An Examination of the Historical Facts', in Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy (eds), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Literature and Language (Medieval and Renaissance), University of Stirling, 2-7 July 1981* (Stirling & Glasgow, 1981).

¹⁷³ 'To the King', Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 283, lines 7, 10, 20.

¹⁷⁴ William Dunbar, 'The Dregy of Dunbar', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, line 15. For more on this poem see Judith Ting, 'A Reappraisal of William Dunbar's *Dregy*', *Scottish Literary Journal* 14 (1987), pp. 19-36, Elizabeth Archibald, 'William Dunbar and the Medieval Tradition of Parody', in Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy (eds), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance), University of Stirling, 2-7 July 1981* (Stirling & Glasgow, 1981), Joanne S. Norman, 'Thematic Implications of Parody in William Dunbar's "Dregy"', in Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy (eds), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance), University of Stirling, 2-7 July 1981* (Stirling & Glasgow, 1981).

knights were often killed.¹⁷⁵ However, these views were not usually upheld within knightly culture as death on the battlefield was regarded as preferable to any other.

Dunbar's opinions are most clearly seen in his poems on knightly men. 'Schir Thomas Norny', a mock-eulogy of a member of James IV's household, was written some time between 1503 and June 1506. The poem itself described Norny in traditional knightly terms. Dunbar used the same alliterative and repetitive descriptions of knights as other writers, saying of Norny:

Now lythis of ane gentill knycht,
Schir Thomas Norny, wys and wycht,
And full of gret chevelry,
Quhais father was ane giand keyne;
His mother was ane farie queyne,
Gottin be sossery.¹⁷⁶

Dunbar paid tribute to chivalric verse, but his ironic tone is apparent. Dunbar says that Norny was an excellent knight, in fact, 'ane fairar knycht nor he was ane' and that he did many valiant deeds throughout Ross and Moray.¹⁷⁷ At feasts and weddings throughout the country, Norny won the prizes and the garlands, indicating that he participated in tournaments and was a champion joustier.¹⁷⁸ Norny was a braver man than Robin Hood or Roger of Clekniskleuch (of whom no records survive), and he was a better archer than Guy of Gisbourne and Adam Bell.¹⁷⁹ However, it is extremely unlikely that Norny was

¹⁷⁵ William Dunbar, 'The Lament for the Makaris', in Priscilla Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 107.

¹⁷⁶ 'Schir Thomas Norny', in Priscilla Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar: Selected Poems*, no. 31, stanza 1, p. 162.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, line 7, p. 162. Dunbar's use of irony might also be seen in this reference to Ross and Moray, as Norny's chasing of the Catterans and Highland ghosts among those 'dully glennis' might not be considered to be knightly.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 19-21, 31-3, p. 163.

¹⁷⁹ 'Schir Thomas Norny', lines 25-7, 38-40, p. 163. Although Adam Bell is called Allan in the poem, see Bawcutt's notes, p. 385. Adam Bell appears in the exchequer accounts in 1506. *ER*, XII, pp. 432, 695, 696, though not styled as a knight. See also *RMS*, II, 1600, 2800.

involved in any of the mentioned deeds, which gives Dunbar's mocking tone a greater emphasis.

Problems in identifying Norny are apparent, as he appeared in official records styled as both knight and as a fool. Although Priscilla Bawcutt argues that it was not impossible that he was a knight and a fool, her view is extremely implausible. The treasurer's accounts record that Norny was generally called a 'fool' and was associated with the entertainers, but in four entries, on 9 August 1505, 12 October 1505, 18 March 1507 and 5 August 1512, he is referred to as Sir Thomas Norny.¹⁸⁰ James Kinsley has suggested an explanation for this discrepancy, positing that Norny's title was probably a short-lived joke initiated by Dunbar's poem. However, Kinsley only considers the entries of 'Sir' in the accounts of 1505 and 1507. He failed to include the 1512 example in his hypothesis, whereby it becomes apparent that the joke was not 'short-lived' at all.¹⁸¹ Bawcutt has argued that some real-life incident may have provoked Dunbar's poem. Alternatively, Bawcutt further suggested, if two men shared the same name, the joke might lie in deliberately confusing one with the other. This again seems rather unlikely. The most attractive possibility she offered was that Norny the fool acted the part of a knight in some entertainment or was knighted in a mock-ceremony at a court event.¹⁸² Elizabeth Eddy also argued convincingly that Norny was a fool and the poem stemmed from James IV's taste for elaborate practical jokes. One such joke was the

¹⁸⁰ *TA*, III, pp. 155, 166, 375, IV, pp. 184, 358.

¹⁸¹ James Kinsley (ed), *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Oxford, 1979), p. 300, Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar*, p. 60.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 60, Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 161.

provision of incongruously dignified attire for fools. For instance, a doctor's gown and hood was created as a costume for John Bute the fool.¹⁸³

Throughout the poem Dunbar played on the fool/knight theme. He reported that a man called Quentin had called Norny a foul chamber-pot and had said that he was a lecherous bull, but Dunbar argued that Quentin's claims were unfounded because Norny was a wise and worthy knight.¹⁸⁴ Dunbar also reported that Quentin would have made Norny a court jester but Dunbar says

I pray to God better his honour saiff
Na to be lychtleit swa.¹⁸⁵

Dunbar compared Norny with the court jester, Curry, and wrote that Norny had never dirtied his saddle in his life, whereas Curry had befouled two.¹⁸⁶ This motif is similar to that which Dunbar used in the souter and the tailor's tournament poem where the tailor 'left his sadill all beschittin' after jousting.¹⁸⁷ Dunbar did favour scatological terms, playing on the primal joke of the undignified nature of the human body, and images like this are common in his comic poetry.¹⁸⁸ He clearly used this example to show that those who were not brave, noble and worthy knights became afraid when acting as a knight: if Curry had twice shown his lack of suitability for such pursuits, then Norny must have been a true knight as he had never done such a thing. The comparison between Norny and Curry may also have been a reference to their treatment at court. Although Curry

¹⁸³ *TA*, III, pp. 301, 308, Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar*, p. 59, Elizabeth Eddy, 'Sir Thopas and Sir Thomas Norny: Romance Parody in Chaucer and Dunbar', *Review of English Studies* NS 22 (1971), pp. 401-9.

¹⁸⁴ 'Schir Thomas Norny', stanza 7, pp. 163-4.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 44-5, p. 164.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 46-8.

¹⁸⁷ 'Fasternis Evin in Hell', line 191, p. 188.

¹⁸⁸ Eddy, 'Sir Thopas and Sir Thomas Norny', p. 408.

was the senior court jester, Norny was treated with considerable favour by James IV and he was obviously more popular with him. Curry and Norny seem to have been clothed to the same standard, for example both receiving red and yellow coats. Norny's cost more, however, at twenty-seven shillings, while Curry's cost just over twenty shillings.¹⁸⁹ Dunbar further emphasised the fool/knight joke in this poem, writing that at every Easter and Christmas

I cry him [Norny] lord of evere full
That in this regeone dwellis.¹⁹⁰

This was a clear reference to the Feast of Fools which was traditionally held at Christmas.¹⁹¹ Dunbar finished his poem by saying that this renowned knight 'wanttis no thing bot bellis', inverting the situation and allowing Norny to revert to his true position of fool.¹⁹²

In 1508, the arrival of Sir Bernard Stewart allowed Dunbar to discuss chivalric ideals in more straightforward and conventional terms. In 'The Ballade of Barnard Stewart', the famous knight was praised for his 'chevalry' and compared to the heroes of classical antiquity, Achilles, Hector, Arthur, Agamemnon, Hannibal and Caesar.¹⁹³ Dunbar's association of Stewart with these figures is an interesting variation on the cult of the Nine Worthies. Joshua, Judas and David, the biblical captains of the Israelites, were left out by Dunbar, along with Alexander, Charlemagne and Godfrey de Bouillon.

¹⁸⁹ *TA*, II, p. 321, III, 143, 186.

¹⁹⁰ 'Schir Thomas Norny', lines 50-1.

¹⁹¹ Anna Jean Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland: Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D. of the University of St Andrews, July 1924* (Edinburgh & London, 1927), p. 17.

¹⁹² 'Schir Thomas Norny', line 54.

¹⁹³ 'The Ballade of Barnard Stewart', stanza 8, p. 223, see also MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', p. 163.

Achilles was, however, a new addition. Hector, Achilles, David and Alexander appeared along with Absolon, Hercules and Samson in another of Dunbar's poems, '*Quod tu in cinerem reverteris*', so Dunbar was familiar with both the Worthies and the heroes of classical mythology.¹⁹⁴ Dunbar's modification of the traditional Worthies may have been a result of the increasing emphasis on and familiarity with classical history during the Renaissance but in that case Alexander's exclusion may be problematic.¹⁹⁵

Through his treatment of Stewart, Dunbar indicated what he held as precious commodities in a knight. Bellicosity, ability in the field, renown, nobleness, adventurousness, doughtiness, lineage, valiant actions and energy were all qualities which Dunbar emphasised and he claimed that Stewart was

most cristin knight and kene,
Most wise, most valyand, moste laureat hie victour.¹⁹⁶

As Dunbar welcomed Stewart home he wrote:

Welcum, in stour most strong, incomparable knight,
The fame of armys and floure of vassalage,
Welcum, in were moste worthi, wyse and wight.¹⁹⁷

Welcum, thow knight moste fortunable in field,
Welcum, in armis moste aunterus and able
Undir the soun that beris helme or scheid.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ '*Quod tu in cinerem reverteris*', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, p. 144.

¹⁹⁵ See MacDonald, Lynch and Cowan (eds), *The Renaissance in Scotland*, for essays covering a broad range of literature influenced by the Humanist movement, and Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law', pp. 1-25. There is a noticeable absence of references to the Worthies in sixteenth-century histories. See for example, Buchanan who mentions only Arthur, *History*, I, p. 243-8.

¹⁹⁶ 'The Ballade of Barnard Stewart', pp. 223, 226, lines 3-4, 89-93.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 223, lines 9-11.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224, lines 41-3.

Dunbar called Stewart, ‘the prince of knightheyd and flour of chevalry’, a common term for writers to use for knights who had displayed martial prowess and won themselves great renown.¹⁹⁹ He also paid tribute to Stewart’s military achievements:

Prynce of fredom and flour of gentilnes,
Sweyrd of knightheid and choise of chevalry,
This tyme I lefe, for grete prolixitnes,
To tell quhat feildis thow wan in Pikkardy,
In France, in Bretan, in Naplis and Lumbardy.²⁰⁰

To an extent Dunbar was giving an accurate portrayal of Stewart who had won some renown as captain of the Scots guards in France and who had excelled himself in the Italian wars. Dunbar also commemorated Stewart’s death. He claimed that Stewart was:

In deid of armes most anterous and abill,
Most mychti, wyse, worthie and comfortable.²⁰¹

Dunbar requested that:

Complaine sould everie noble valiant knyght
The death of him that douchtie was in deid,
That many ane fo in feild hes put to flight,
In weris wicht be wisdome and manheid.²⁰²

Dunbar finally suggested that Stewart was the epitome of the ideal knight:

The prince of knyghtheid, nobill and chevilrous,
The witt of weiris, of armes and honour,
The crop of curage, the strenth of armes in stoir,
The fame of France, the fame of Lumbardy,
The schois of chiftanes, most awfull in airmour,
The charbuckell cheif of every chevelrie?²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 223, line 18.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 225, lines 81-5.

²⁰¹ ‘Elegy on Barnard Stewart’, lines 4-5.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, lines 9-12.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, lines 19-24.

Dunbar's opinions here reinforced views of chivalric knighthood, where the emphasis on good knighthood lay predominantly in his abilities in war. Bernard Stewart's promotion as a 'military' knight may have been part of James IV's focus on more conventional chivalric duties, especially as Dunbar's poems were written around the time of the 1508 tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady. However, with the influence of Humanism, a greater emphasis was placed on non-martial qualities in knights.

Knights, in European literary traditions, were bold and vigorous on the battlefield, loyal to the king, inspired by their love for a lady, and defended the Christian faith. These ideas were also apparent in the literature produced in fifteenth-century Scotland, but to varying extents. The degree to which they were present differs between authors and the genre in which they were writing. From what we have seen of the literature produced outside the romance genre, knights were usually portrayed in their warrior role. The adjectives describing their qualities were largely associated with this function. In some texts, however, there was an increasing emphasis on qualities of the soul and the ability of the individual to function in peacetime society. It was no longer adequate for a knight to be good with a sword alone – he also had to perform other tasks and duties that required more than brute force. This was apparent in literary descriptions of knights such as Patrick Ogilvy of Aucherhouse, whom Bower described as 'a man of acute mind, distinguished speech, manly spirit, small in stature, but notable and trustworthy in every kind of upright behaviour'.²⁰⁴ This change, moreover, was also seen in 'real' descriptions of knights. The squire John Paston wrote in a letter of 1472

²⁰⁴ *Chron. Bower*, XVI, 26.

that the earl of Arran was, amongst other things, courteous, gentle, wise, well spoken and the most perfect knight. He was only attributed with one military characteristic, which was that he was a good archer.²⁰⁵ The implication in this description is that during the fifteenth century the emphasis on purely martial qualities had markedly changed. To an extent, Dunbar's poetry reflected a re-emphasis on and celebration of the martial skills of a particular knight, but the Humanist ideals were well-entrenched in knightly society by this time and they are never far removed from his writings.

Loyalty was a major theme of most of the works, and Christian consciousness is evident. Courtly love, at first glance, seems pointedly absent.²⁰⁶ Although Dunbar wrote that 'lufe makis knychtis hardy at assey', in most of the texts reviewed, knights did not fight for the love of a lady, but for their king.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, there is evidence from the literature of the fifteenth-century to indicate that courtly love as an inspiration for martial prowess was a recognised theme in Scottish chivalry. James I, himself, presented his love for Joan Beaufort in largely courtly terms. He described how he suffered for his love before he had proved himself and won her.²⁰⁸ According to Wyntoun, at the siege of Dunbar, William Montague fought for the love of a lady and was reported to have said:

This is ane of my ladyis pynnis;
His amouris to my hert [th]us rynniss.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Gairdner (ed), *Paston Letters*, V, p. 144.

²⁰⁶ Mainer, 'A Comparison of Barbour's *Bruce*', pp. 39-40, 74.

²⁰⁷ William Dunbar, 'A Lusty Lyfe in Luves Service Bene', in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, line 83.

²⁰⁸ Walter W. Skeat (ed), *The Kingis Quair Together with A Ballad of Good Council by King James I of Scotland* (Edinburgh & London, 1884), pp. xiii, 46, 47.

²⁰⁹ *Chron. Wyntoun*, VI, p. 82.

A similar theme was illustrated by John Comyn and Simon Fraser at the battle of Roslin in 1302. They spoke directly to their men, saying:

And als for our lemmannys luf
Off pres yhit apayit we pruff.²¹⁰

John Barbour wrote that ‘love is such a great strength that it makes light of all suffering, and often gives strength and such power to easy-going men that they can endure great tribulations and not give up, come what may’.²¹¹ He also described the siege of Douglas castle where Sir John Webiton was killed.

When he was dead [...] they found in his purse a letter sent to him by a lady whom he loved and would serve. The letter was in the following terms, saying that when he had guarded for a year in war, as a good bachelor, the hazardous castle of Douglas, which was so dangerous to keep, and had managed it well, in every way, then he could ask a lady for her love and her service.²¹²

So the idea was present in some texts, but it was not used to move the story forward and it was not the goal of a knight’s actions. The theme was indeed explicitly identified and rejected in the *Wallace*. Although Wallace fell deeply in love, he viewed the feeling as potentially distracting to his mission. Eventually he surrendered to his feelings, but his wife was subsequently killed. This served to fuel Wallace’s hatred for the English and his goals became re-focused.²¹³ Thus whilst writers, and their audience, were clearly familiar with the ideals of courtly love, Scottish writers outside the romance genre did not consider that it fitted with their presentation of knighthood. Knights were first and

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V, p. 339.

²¹¹ Barbour, *Bruce*, Book II, lines 523-30.

²¹² *Ibid.*, Book VIII, 488-98.

²¹³ Blind Harry, *Wallace*, pp. 92-3, 96, 116-17, Elizabeth Walsh, ‘Hary’s Wallace: The Evolution of a Hero’, *Scottish Literary Journal* 11 (1984), pp. 13-14.

foremost warriors, and the preoccupation of love was something of a potential distraction.

The main genres of literature reviewed here all reflect differing views on what 'ideal' knighthood constituted and how chivalry might be expressed in practice. There are, however, some trends which are apparent throughout the texts. Over the course of the century, the emphasis on military qualities as being the most prominent requirement of good knighthood was augmented by a desire to see knights embody certain peaceable and civic qualities as well. However, the two main 'bloodthirsty' and martial works, the *Bruce* and the *Wallace* were written nearly a century apart, and their emphasis on qualities in warriors must be viewed as distinct from any developments in chivalric ideals. Instead, the vernacular verses were written primarily as entertainment for men of violence in their own terms. Nevertheless, the other literature dealing with chivalric ideology forced a modification of the ideals of knighthood, taking into account social changes and the relative decline of their primacy on the battlefield. Literature proved itself to be the forum where new ideas about knighthood could be asserted. The texts generally show that chivalric ideals were still relevant in the fifteenth century and that they could be manipulated to suit changing social and political needs. In many ways, the texts were also modified, particularly during translations and adaptations, to suit the new social and political objectives. The Scottish texts were not entirely typical of their various genres as they were adapted very carefully to make criticisms of the practice of chivalry and, at times, of the crown being unwilling to support chivalric society. James IV's increasing engagement with chivalry, brought the expression of these ideas into the royal court and influenced the type of images being presented. By the end of the

century, it was firmly established that the ideal knight needed to incorporate a wide range of qualities, and that skills on the battlefield alone were no longer adequate. The redrawing of the image of the knight as an ideal warrior, an administrator and a courtier, indicates that general social changes did have an impact on knightly society. More importantly, this literature reveals the qualities which should be held by the type of knight who was thought to be appropriate and useful in the service of the crown. These were not changes just imposed by the king, of course, but part of a wider reassessment of the way in which society functioned.

A Scottish Order of Chivalry?

The preceding chapters have outlined various aspects of the crown's involvement with and exploitation of chivalry. A common expression of kingship throughout Europe in the fifteenth century was the founding of orders of chivalry. It is important to establish whether the Scottish crown also attempted to appropriate the ideologies of chivalry in this way. Scholars have generally accepted that a chivalric order of knighthood was instituted in and functioned from the reign of James III.¹ This order, in its first stages was named by scholars as the Order of the Unicorn, then the Order of St Andrew, allegedly the order upon which the Order of the Thistle was modelled. However, no detailed examination of the evidence supporting the order's fifteenth-century existence has yet been undertaken. This chapter will re-examine the evidence used by historians to support the conclusion that James III founded a chivalric order and ask whether an alternative interpretation can be advanced.

James VII and II instituted the Order of the Thistle on 29 May 1687, claiming to be reviving it from ancient roots. This is, in fact, the earliest explicit reference to such an order and the first indication that a medieval Scottish order may have

¹ See for example Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 9, MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', pp. 34, 46.

existed.² The patent, which was prepared in pursuance of this warrant, never passed the Great Seal, and the statutes which were annexed to it have only the authority of the King's signet.³ By these statutes, which were manifestly derived from those of the English Order of the Garter, the Order of the Thistle was to consist of twelve knights and the sovereign, and the chapel where the order was to meet was to be the Royal Chapel of Holyrood House.⁴ Just over a week later, on 6 June 1687, James VII and II nominated eight Scottish knights to join the order and he immediately invested four at Windsor, home of the Order of the Garter, and four at Edinburgh.⁵ These knights were Sir James Drummond, fourth earl of Perth and Lord Chancellor of Scotland; Sir John Drummond, first earl of Melfort, Secretary of State for Scotland; Sir George Gordon, first duke of Gordon, governor of Edinburgh Castle;

² 'Warrant by King James the Seventh of Scotland for a Patent Reviving the Most Ancient and Noble Order of the Thistle', in *Statutes of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle Revived by His Majesty King James II of England and VII of Scotland and Again Revived by Her Majesty Queen Anne* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 1-4, Charles J. Burnett and Helen Bennett, *The Green Mantle: A Celebration of the Revival in 1687 of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 3, Keith M. Brown, 'The Vanishing Emperor: British Kingship and Its Decline 1603-1707', in Roger A. Mason (ed), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 71, Hugh Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh: James VII and the Patronage of Learning in Scotland, 1679-1688', in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 133, 136. For more on chivalric orders of the late middle ages see, Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, Shaw (ed), *Knights of England*, and Vale, *War and Chivalry*, especially his chapter on 'Orders of Chivalry in the Fifteenth Century'. Between 1679 and 1688 a remarkable number of institutions and offices were founded: the Royal College of Physicians in 1681; three professors of Medicine were appointed at the University of Edinburgh in 1685; the Advocate's Library was opened in 1689 after planning since 1682; and the office of Royal Physician, Geographer-royal and Historiographer-royal were all founded between 1680 and 1682; and amongst these the Order of the Thistle in 1687. Instituting this knightly order was part of a wider movement attempting to re-affirm and distinguish the old nobility from the ever-increasing wealth of the middling classes. For a general discussion of this see Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, pp. 261-2, Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh', p. 136.

³ *Statutes of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle*, p. 8, Shaw, *Knights of England*, I, pp. vii-viii. Shaw argues that even though the warrant purports the revival of the Order, it 'should be regarded as having in reality instituted the Order as such.'

⁴ *Statutes of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle*, pp. 5-8, Burnett and Bennett, *The Green Mantle*, pp. 13-14.

⁵ Shaw, *Knights of England*, I, pp. vii-viii.

Sir John Murray, first marquess of Atholl, keeper of the Privy Seal; Sir James Hamilton, later fourth duke of Hamilton; Sir Kenneth MacKenzie, fourth earl of Seaforth; Sir George Douglas, first earl of Dumbarton; and Sir Alexander Stewart, fifth earl of Moray, Secretary of State for Scotland.⁶

As James VII and II's assertions that he was reviving the order have clearly led scholars to believe that it was instituted in the fifteenth century, the question arises as to whether or not there is any evidence to support this. Was James VII and II simply seeking to give a spurious antiquity to his newly founded order or were there genuine medieval roots for the Order of the Thistle? In 1620, nearly seventy years prior to the founding of the Order of the Thistle, the French historian Andrew Favine reported that the Order of St. Andrew had existed for some time, although he did not attempt to date its institution.⁷ Most of Favine's work discusses the Continental and English orders of chivalry in considerable detail, with extended descriptions of their constitutions, collars, pendants and badges, but his comments about the Order of St Andrew are brief, mentioning only a description of a collar belonging to the order which was made up of thistle and of rue. Rue, an evergreen shrub, had no particular Scottish associations in the fifteenth century, which suggests

⁶ Burnett and Bennet, *The Green Mantle*, p. 7, see also p. 9 for a portrait held in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery of Sir John Drummond, first earl of Melfort KT, wearing the green mantle, thistle collar and badge of St Andrew. William Shaw confirms that these men were invested in June 1687, and says that it was Kenneth MacKenzie, John Drummond, George Douglas and Alexander Stewart who were invested at Windsor, and James Drummond, George Gordon, John Murray and James Hamilton who were invested at Edinburgh shortly afterwards. None of the men invested at Windsor were knights of the Garter, but James VII and II had invested Robert Spencer, third earl of Sunderland into the Garter two weeks earlier at Windsor, on 23 May 1687, just six days before he instituted the Order of the Thistle. Shaw, *Knights of England*, I, pp. 38, 75.

⁷ Andrew Favine, *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood or a Compendious Chronicle and Historie of the Whole Christian World* (London, 1620), pp. 95-6.

that Favine was not discussing a collar designed at that time. However, in 1687 the collar design adopted for the Order of the Thistle had thistle heads placed in the normal vertical position linked with rue, suggesting Favine was accurately reporting a sixteenth or seventeenth-century precedent for the collar of the Thistle.⁸ Nevertheless, Favine makes no mention of a pendant hanging from this collar or a badge of St Andrew. It would be expected that a pendant or badge would be present if the collar was one of an order of chivalry, as seen in the Order of the Garter which consisted of a collar fashioned of garters, in the middle of which were alternating red and white roses, and hanging from the collar a pendant of St George.⁹ Yet Favine's treatment of the Order of St Andrew suggests that he regarded it as equivalent to the other orders he discussed, indicating that a chivalric order of Scotland probably did exist prior to 1620.

William Shaw attempted to date the foundation of this order more precisely, arguing that there was no collar of knighthood until the reign of James V, implying that a Scottish chivalric order was founded in the period 1513-42.¹⁰ However, Shaw's work is poorly referenced and includes the obviously erroneous statement that there was no form of royal livery until James V's reign. Nevertheless, there are other sources that correspond with Shaw's argument. In his sixteenth-century history of Scotland, John Lesley mentions the Order of St Andrew and claims that it was blazoned by James V in 1534. On the other hand, John Pinkerton, an eighteenth-

⁸ Burnett and Bennett, *The Green Mantle*, p. 7.

⁹ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 160.

¹⁰ Shaw, *Knights of England*, I, p. viii.

century historian, says that James IV instituted the badge, if not the order of St Andrew. Pinkerton comments that ‘the only doubt of a rational enquirer is whether this monarch, or his successor James V, must be regarded as the founder of this new order of knighthood’.¹¹ However, John Lesley may have been referring specifically to James V’s representation of four coats of arms over the c.1535 outer gateway to Linlithgow Palace which have been seen as almost conclusive evidence that the Order of St Andrew existed at the time of building. From left to right are the English royal coat of arms showing the badge of the Order of the Garter, followed by the coat of arms of James V, surrounded by a thistle collar from which hangs a pendant of St Andrew. Next comes the Burgundian arms, showing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece and finally the French arms showing the collar of the Order of St Michael.¹² Whilst the other three coats of arms are clearly representative of chivalric orders, it does not necessarily prove that by association the Order of St Andrew existed.¹³ However, with Lesley’s remark, the Linlithgow Palace arms and Favine’s report on the chivalric order, a further exploration of a potential foundation date in the sixteenth century is worthwhile.

¹¹ Lesley, *De Orgine*, pp. 439-40, Pinkerton, *History*, II, p. 36. A.C. Fox-Davies places the founding date at 1540. A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1985), p. 204. Fox-Davies also argues that 1540 was when the thistle became recognised as a national emblem of the kingdom. However, it was being used as a royal emblem as early as James IV’s reign, and one thistle motif has been found in James III’s reign. *TA*, I, p. 85, Malden, ‘Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars’, p. 9, and Dunbar, ‘The Thrissill and The Rois’, in Bawcutt (ed), *William Dunbar*, no. 41, pp. 199-208.

¹² See Appendix A, Figure One. John G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods* (East Linton, 1999), p. 20 and plate C.2.

¹³ Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542* (Edinburgh, 1994), plates I, II, III and IV. James V was often shown wearing a collar of thistles with a pendant of St Andrew and the collar was incorporated into the royal coat of arms.

Whilst there is certainly enough evidence to suggest that the Order of the Thistle may have had its roots early in the sixteenth century, there is no evidence that any knight received the badge of the order from the sovereign until James VII's reign. Nor was any knight styled Knight of the Order of St Andrew or the Order of the Thistle until the seventeenth century. The nineteenth-century Seton family biographer did claim that George, fifth Lord Seton, was a knight of the Order of the Thistle.¹⁴ He does not base this conclusion on documentary evidence, but instead on Seton's armorial representation. In the Great Hall of the House of Seton, the fifth Lord Seton's arms were surrounded with a collar of thistles from which hung the pendant of St Andrew.¹⁵ This alone does not prove that an order existed, nor that Seton was a member of it. Indeed, Lord Seton was extremely close to Mary, Queen of Scots, and this armorial representation of the collar, already well established as a royal livery collar, may simply have indicated his position in the royal household.

Overall, none of the extant evidence proves the idea of a fifteenth-century chivalric order. Although James V's reign has normally been suggested as the period in which a Scottish order may have been founded, it has recently been argued that it was James III who first created a Scottish order of knighthood. The main arguments which scholars have used to attempt to prove that James III founded a chivalric order revolve around the activities of the Brugeois ambassador Anselm Adornes and his close relationship with James III. Anselm was born to a prestigious Flemish mercantile family around 1424, but very little is known of his early life. In 1441,

¹⁴ Shaw, *Knights of England*, I, p. viii, George Seton, *A History of the Family of Seton* (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 163.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 163. Seton does not date the arms in the Great Hall, but we can assume that they were contemporary, as at the time Seton wrote his history the arms could still be seen finely carved on the boxing of the chimney of the hall.

aged about seventeen, he participated in the tournament of the White Bear in Bruges, and he was thereafter attached to the court of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.¹⁶ Anselm was sent as an envoy from Bruges to the Scottish court in 1468 in order to plead the case for keeping the Scottish staple at Bruges. However, he was not the only member of the mission and it is unclear why he was singled out for special treatment by James III.¹⁷ Anselm and James did share common interests, such as their ambitions to travel and this may have been enough for the envoy to win the king's personal favour.¹⁸ Adornes returned to Scotland the following year to pursue further negotiations, which were finally successful with the return of the Scottish staple from Middelburg in 1470.¹⁹

¹⁶ Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 6. David McRoberts argues that Anselm was 'renowned for his knightly prowess, distinguishing himself in the brilliant chivalry which was a feature of the Burgundian court, carrying off the trophy in the famous *L'Ours Blanc* tourney and breaking a lance with such celebrated knights as Jacques de Lalain, or Corneille, the Bastard of Burgundy.', McRoberts, 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land', p. 96. Adornes' family must have been considered of suitable status if Adornes competed in a tournament unknighthed. This of course could also indicate that by 1441 knightly and noble status was not a prerequisite for competing in a tournament.

¹⁷ Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges', p. 15.

¹⁸ By this time James III had certainly read and enjoyed the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which he had had copied in the king's chapel in 1467, *ER*, VII, p. 500. After Anselm's return, James was himself increasingly preoccupied with the desire to travel and campaign on the continent, which was actively discouraged by the parliament of July 1473. Parliament advised James that he should give up his idea of travelling to other countries, but if he absolutely insisted on going, then he should use the time to devote himself to making peace between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. However, they warned that he should delay his departure until adequate provisions could be made for his absence and that he should in the meantime travel throughout Scotland to establish justice and policies to promote his governance so that his fame as a great king might be known throughout other countries. *APS*, II, pp. 103-4, Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', p. 246, Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 201-4. Three safe-conducts were issued to allow him to make the journey to the shrine of St John of Amiens, and in 1474 Louis XI wrote to James to give him permission to pass through France on the way to Rome. MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', p. 45, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 114-15, 142-3.

¹⁹ John Davidson and Alexander Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere: A Study in the Economic History of Scotland* (London, 1919), pp. 133-4.

On 15 January 1469, at the age of about forty-five, Anselm was knighted by James III and he was created a member of James's council.²⁰ Some historians have concluded that Anselm was not simply knighted, but actually became a member of a Scottish order of knighthood at this time. This conclusion is based on comments Anselm himself made in 1471. At the behest of James III, Adornes undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1470, which lasted just over a year.²¹ The journey not only appears to have been at the Scottish king's bidding but he also gave Anselm formal privilege to represent the Scottish court in these lands; indeed James later spoke of Anselm having represented the kingdom at the holy see and courts of Christian princes, as well as among the Saracens and Turks.²² On his return from his travels in 1471 Anselm dictated to his son, John Adornes, an account of the places he

²⁰ Bruges, Stadsarchief, Fonds de Limburg Stirum, 15 January 1469, transcribed in Alan Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 3. This was passed by the Privy Seal, the seal still intact on the document. See also Armstrong (ed), 'A Letter of James III', p. 21-2, Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges', p. 15, Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 7. James III was only sixteen at this time and did not reach his majority until November 1469. On 5 June 1470, whilst on his travels, Anselm was granted a safe-conduct by the king of Tunis and he was styled Anselm Adornes of Flanders, knight of the king of Scots. Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330, 43, transcribed in Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 4. This is a Latin translation of an Arabic document which, according to Anselm's son, John, was preserved by his father as a souvenir of his visit to Tunis and which John included in the *Itinéraire*. See also Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges', p. 17, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 97. The knighting of Anselm suggests more about shifting attitudes towards knighthood over the fifteenth century than has been previously acknowledged, particularly that his lack of noble background seems to have been disregarded, usually a prerequisite for knighthood, in favour of his political importance. See above pp. 91-3 for a discussion on the Forresters of Corstorphine, and especially Thomas Todd, who were knighted despite mercantile backgrounds.

²¹ Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', p. 229, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 97. Alasdair MacDonald suggests that James III's role in encouraging Adornes to take the journey was minimal and that Anselm sought the king's favour and approval to go, but for his own pious motivations. MacDonald claims that while in Scotland Anselm had fathered an illegitimate child, and his awareness of this carnal sin, combined with his conscience as a newly made knight, was enough to incite his pilgrimage. MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', p. 44. However, MacDonald cites no evidence for this and there is absolutely no indication in any source to suggest that he fathered a child at this time. Anselm's motivations for undertaking the journey seem simply to have been the usual desire to go on pilgrimage, further assisted by James's encouragement.

²² Bruges, Stadsarchief, Cartulaire Rodenboek, f. 270r-v, transcribed in Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 6.

had visited and the courts at which he had been welcomed, which John turned into a diary. In this account, Anselm speaks at length of how he had felt ill-equipped to undertake such a journey before being invested as a knight.²³ The *Itinéraire*, addressed directly to James III, reports that

by your benign favour he had received the knightly insignia from your most illustrious majesty, and his resolution grew that he, decorated as a knight of the chivalric order, would set forth on this renowned and noble pilgrimage.²⁴

As membership of an order of chivalry was usually displayed by the receipt and wearing of a collar and pendant which symbolised the order, the knightly insignia to which Adornes refers has been assumed by scholars to be the collar of James III's chivalric order. However, there is no official record that he received such a collar from James III at this time. Instead, John Adornes was referring to his father's dubbing, a quite common expression of receipt of the general order of knighthood, and it in no way implies that Anselm was a member of the Order of the Unicorn.

However, at some point Anselm did receive a collar from James III, which he used to promote himself in Bruges, as a knight of the king of Scots. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Jerusalem Kirk in Bruges, which was built for Anselm

²³Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 97. See above pp. 56-8 for a discussion of the links between knighthood and pilgrimage.

²⁴Taken from Heers and de Groer (eds), *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno*, p. 30. Cujus in dies illa videndi loca sacra aviditas, ubi ab illustrissima majestate tue militaria insignia benigna tua gratia suscepisset magis ac animus magis crevit ut in se collatum equestrem ordinem hoc inclito nobilique peregrino itinere. Translated by Alasdair MacDonald 'Chapel of Restalrig', pp. 46-7, n. 68. The only surviving manuscript of Adornes' *Itinéraire* is in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330. David McRoberts has suggested that Anselm's diary was commissioned by Charles the Bold, but there are so few references to the Burgundian duke throughout the account that it seems highly unlikely that this was the case. In fact, not only was it dedicated to James III, but it was commissioned, approved by and directed principally towards him. McRoberts, 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land', p. 97, Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', p. 244, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 99.

Adornes' father Peter and consecrated in 1435.²⁵ In the church lie the tombs and effigies of Anselm and his wife, Margaret van der Banck, which feature a collar supposed to be the likeness of the one presented to him by James III. The collar displays figure-of-eight links interspersed with the letter I and flanked by the numeral 3, from which hangs a pendant of a unicorn.²⁶ This collar is repeated on a sixteenth-century stained glass window on the inner east wall of the church, on a carved stone corbel frieze inserted into the brickwork on the external west wall at the base of the church tower, and on the roof beam supports in the church and the adjoining hall, the Adorneshof. Much discussion has surrounded this unicorn collar and scholars have assumed that it indicates that a Scottish chivalric order existed. However, this is by no means certain; the collar is most likely to have been a livery collar of James III's, especially given its direct reference to the ruling king. No chivalric order had a collar that used links or pendants directly identifiable with one monarch, thereby suggesting that the unicorn collar which Anselm Adornes received was not a collar indicative of the existence of an order of chivalry. Collars of this type, especially those which had particular associations with the enthroned monarch,

²⁵ Anselm also added to the structure of the Jerusalem Kirk in his lifetime. Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 6.

²⁶ Appendix A, Figures Two and Three. Although on the tomb copy the pendant is damaged making it indistinguishable, throughout the church and in the adjoining hall, the roof beam supports are covered with the repeated image of the collar and it is evident that suspended from the canopy is a unicorn pendant. Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', pp. 6-7, and John Malden, 'The Unicorn Collar and its English Contemporaries: The Saint Andrew Lecture, 1990', *The Double Tressure: Journal of the Heraldic Society of Scotland*, 13 (1991), pp. 8-9, Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 102. On the right side of Anselm's effigy a point of a sword protrudes, emphasising the circumstances of his death in the aftermath of Lauder Bridge, Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 102. Whilst John Malden has suggested that this adjoining hall was used as administrative halls for Anselm's role as Conservator, it is instead the Adornes' home, and where James III's sister Mary, and her husband, the forfeited earl of Arran, sought refuge after the fall of the Boyds. See Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 8, W.H. Finlayson, 'The Boyds in Bruges', *SHR* 28 (1949), pp. 195-6, and Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 102.

were usually received for royal service and often given by medieval kings as badges of honour.²⁷ Certainly Anselm was engaged in royal service and was well rewarded by James III for his work for the Scottish crown. On his return from the Holy Land in 1471, Anselm discovered the recently exiled Thomas and Mary Boyd harboured in his home, the Adorneshof in Bruges.²⁸ The Boyd situation was one of concern to Charles the Bold and he petitioned James III to pardon the Boyds, but James refused and demanded that Charles cease all support for them.²⁹ Instead, Charles appealed to Anselm to reconcile Mary with her brother James III, at which point Anselm acted in the dual role of ambassador for both James and Charles.³⁰ This illustrated both his considerable qualities and the esteem in which he was held

²⁷ Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 7. Anselm's wife, Margaret van der Banck, received a similar collar from Edward IV, which is also represented throughout the Jerusalem Kirk around her personal arms. It is made up of alternate suns and roses with a lion of March pendant. Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 7. It is unclear why Margaret received this collar but Edward distributed a similar collar to various English nobles and to other Brugeois inhabitants, including Joos de Bul and his wife Katherine. John Malden argues that Margaret van der Banck may have received her collar through acting as a mediator between Margaret of York and the earl of Warwick and she may have helped persuade Warwick back to the Yorkist cause. If Margaret could receive a collar for a diplomatic duty, then it is just as possible that Anselm received his collar for similar services. Malden, 'The Unicorn Collar and its Contemporaries', p. 10. It is also generally held that ladies could not be members of chivalric orders of knighthood, but over the late fourteenth century and fifteenth century some ladies were issued with the insignia of the Order of the Garter. They were allowed to participate in the Order's ceremonies but they were never considered to be normal members of the Order. How and why they were selected is not known. Only one other Order, that of the Aragonese Stole and Jar, ever had a comparable group of women associated with it. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 142. Georg von Ehingen's wife received a similar order to Margaret van der Banck, that of the Band and Collar of Escama when she visited Castile with her husband in 1457. See Malcolm Letts (ed), *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen* (London, 1929), p. 68. Other ladies, like Catherine Stanley, sister of the first earl of Derby and the wife of Sir John Savage, and Lady Margaret Choke, also had collars represented on their effigies. Malden, 'The Unicorn Collar and its Contemporaries', p. 13.

²⁸ Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 101, Armstrong, 'A Letter of James III', p. 22, Finlayson, 'The Boyds in Bruges', pp. 195-6.

²⁹ Armstrong (ed), 'A Letter of James III', p. 20.

³⁰ *RMS*, II, 1060, Anselm and the Boyds set out for Scotland from Calais on 4 October 1471, although Thomas Boyd stayed in England during the negotiations. A letter from James III to Charles, of 14 February 1472, stated that Anselm deserved to be rewarded by Charles for his diplomatic skill. James himself rewarded Anselm for services to the Scottish king. Armstrong (ed), 'A Letter of James III', pp. 19-32. This letter has been dated by Armstrong as 14 February 1471, however, Alan Macquarrie dates it to 14 February 1472, which seems more probable. Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', pp. 242-3, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 99.

at the Burgundian and Scottish courts. Anselm's negotiations with James III over Mary Boyd were successful and, on 25 July 1471, the duke of Burgundy issued a six-month safe-conduct to Anselm allowing him to convey Mary to Scotland with a retinue of one hundred on the journey there, and of twenty on the return trip.³¹ Adornes was rewarded by the Scottish crown for his services on 18 April 1472 with the lands of Kirkton of Tealing in Forfar, while a charter dated 10 June 1472 made Anselm Adornes a Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Merchants in the Lands of the Duke of Burgundy. In this charter he was described as a royal familiar, knighted by James III, and raised to honour.³² The appointment as conservator required Anselm to settle differences between Scottish and Flemish merchants and to uphold the standing of Scotland in Flanders. However, by 1475 Anselm had returned to Bruges where he was appointed burgomeister and it is probable that by this time his Scottish lands had simply become a useful source of revenue to him and a reminder of his intimacy with the king. Whether his relations with James III had soured by this time is not clear, as in the spring of 1476 Anselm resigned his conservatorship, and James III conferred the office on one of his familiar squires, Andrew Woodman.³³ At some point the conservatorship must have been regranted

³¹ Armstrong (ed), 'A Letter of James III', pp. 26-7, Van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges*, VI, p. 28. Rather than remain in Bruges, Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, travelled to London in June 1472, where he sought lodgings. He was later joined by his father Robert, who claimed an English pension. *SP*, V, pp. 144-5, 148, Gairdner (ed), *Paston Letters*, V, p. 144.

³² *RMS*, II, 1060, Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 8, Bruges, Stadsarchief, Cartulaire Rodenboek, f. 270r-v, in Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 6., see also p. 245, Van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges*, VI, p. 43, note 1, see also Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', p. 101, Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, p. 100, *RMS*, II, 1234, Bruges, Stadsarchief, Fonds de Limburg Stirum, 4 September 1472 (although it should be 1473), transcribed in Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement', Appendix I, no. 5. The mistaken date can be verified as this letter was sent from James to Anselm by John Brown, who was sent to Bruges to be instructed in playing the lute. An entry in the *Treasurer's Accounts* indicates that this was in 1473, *TA*, I, p. 43.

³³ *RMS*, II, 1234, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 190.

to Anselm, possibly after regaining James III's favour, as on 29 January 1483 it was noted to have been Adornes' post, relinquished for the second time upon his death in January 1483. This time it was conferred on James III's familiar servant Thomas Swift.³⁴

The links of the collar given to Adornes are clearly representative of James III, but the unicorn pendant also had a strong association with the Scottish crown. In the fifteenth century, the unicorn was often associated with chivalric behaviour and therefore was an appropriate symbol of strong military leadership and knightliness. Not only did the unicorn, or horses dressed as unicorns, feature as part of the theme of Jacques de Lalain's *pas d'armes* in Chalon, but also in Germany a tourneying society was named the Brotherhood of the Unicorn.³⁵ Unicorns also figured prominently at James IV's tournament of 1507, by which point the animal was well established as a royal emblem of the Scottish crown.³⁶ A fifteenth-century heraldic manual and bestiary, translated into Scots from the French original, describes the unicorn as

a strengthy best the quhilk is lik a hors of body, bot scho has feit of ane eliphant and taill of a hart and hir voice is merrelusly fleyand; and abon in myddis of his heide a mervelus horn schynand and thrawand evin to the end, the quhilk is sa stark and sa scarp that i[t] persis all that it ourtakis; and na man may bid it for na engyn may be in the world; and may nocht be tane liffand bot gif the huntairs send a gracieuse virgin quhar the wnicorn reparis, for it is hir natur to bid and repos in the virginis skirt and takis all the fersnes fra hir; and on this maner huntaris slais thaim. And signifies he that first bur thaim in armes wes stark in mony maneris, and his voce fleis, and is fleyand til his enemys, and that

³⁴ *RMS*, II, 1548, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 190-1.

³⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 186-7.

³⁶ *TA*, III, p. 257.

he had wit in his entent and in his hed attour all vtheris to cum till his entent; and all his rest wes in dedis of viginitie.³⁷

The first time the unicorn was connected with Scottish royal business was in 1426 when James I appointed a Unicorn Pursuivant and the crown used a unicorn signet for official matters between 1457 and 1462.³⁸ The unicorn, along with the thistle, made further appearances as a royal symbol during James III's reign. Around 1484 James struck gold coins called 'unicorns', which on one face depicted a unicorn supporting a shield of the royal arms.³⁹ From this point onwards, the royal arms were depicted sometimes supported by unicorns, sometimes by lions, and sometimes by a unicorn standing behind a lion on each side of the shield.⁴⁰ The unicorn in these royal arms was, more often than not, shown wearing a crown-shaped collar with a long chain and Stanford London suggests that this was to show that this notoriously proud and haughty beast had been tamed and bent to serve the Scottish crown.⁴¹

³⁷ L.A.J.R. Houwen (ed), *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 27. This version is a copy by Adam Loutfut from September 1494 held in the British Library, Harley MS 6149. Other versions are held at Oxford, Queen's College MS 161, NLS Adv. MS 31.5.2, Adv. MS 31.3.20. Two fragments of the treatise are in NLS Adv. MS 31.7.22 and London, College of Arms, M.19. For more on this manuscript, see also W. Croft Dickinson, 'His Body Shall be Brought to the Lists', *SHR*, 42 (1963), pp. 84-6. The unicorn's horn was reputed to be able to neutralise any poison, hence the animal's association with purity, and mythologically why the unicorn could only be tamed by virgins. See Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 10.

³⁸ The first Unicorn Pursuivant was John Fraser, *RMS*, II, 57, H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts* (East Knoyle, 1956), p. 47, J.H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1914), p. 47, *ER*, VI, pp. 356, 489, 496, 581, 587, 614, 625, 638, VII, pp. 30, 128, Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 10.

³⁹ London, *Royal Beasts*, p. 47. In the treasury of James III, in the Queen's Chest, a 'couering of variand purpir tartar browdin with thrissillis and a vnicorne' was found, *TA*, I, p. 85, Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 9, and Malden, 'The Unicorn Collar and its Contemporaries', p. 7. See also National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns: Art and Patronage in Scotland, A Handbook Published in Conjunction with an Exhibition Held at the National Museum of Scotland August 12-September 26, 1982* (Edinburgh, 1982).

⁴⁰ London, *Royal Beasts*, p. 47.

⁴¹ One example is at King's College Chapel at Aberdeen University which has a plaque of the arms of James IV on the south wall. A clear photograph of this is in Leslie Hodgson, 'Aberdeen: The Society's Spring Excursion 1991', *Double Tressure* 13 (1991), p. 29. See Appendix A, Figure Five. See also the Mercat Cross in Stirling pictured in McGladdery, *James II*, plate x, and the coat of arms of James IV in the Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor, Leslie Macfarlane, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *IR* 11 (1960), f. 14v, plate I.

Such a strong message was not uncommon and the ‘millefleur’ tapestries, made around 1480 for François de la Rochefoucauld, depict a unicorn wearing a broad leather collar and penned within a ring-fence, similar to the Scottish version displaying the taming and the control of the unicorn.⁴² Thus, the Scottish unicorn bound to the crown through the symbol of the collar and chain, may well have become the symbol of the crown itself through the message it conveyed, and therefore such livery collars made a most fitting presentation, which in turn bound the recipient, like the unicorn, to the crown.

It is not known when Anselm received the unicorn collar from James III. It has been suggested by Alasdair MacDonald, amongst others, that he was presented it when he was knighted by the king, although it has also been argued that he was given the collar in 1474.⁴³ An early 1474 entry in the treasurer’s accounts mentions a collar belonging to Alexander Guthrie which James III had taken from him to give to ‘a strangere that come to his Hienes’, for which James compensated Guthrie with £7, presumably the equivalent cash sum to have the collar replaced.⁴⁴ Alexander Guthrie was the younger brother of Sir David Guthrie of that Ilk, a prominent member of the royal household. Given his family’s place at court, Guthrie may reasonably have held a livery collar which James ‘borrowed’ from him to give to the visitor as a gift

⁴² London, *Royal Beasts*, p. 49.

⁴³ MacDonald, ‘Chapel of Restalrig’, pp. 39-40, 46.

⁴⁴ *TA*, I, p. 65.

in 1474.⁴⁵ Although Anselm was given such a collar, he is never specifically mentioned in any of the accounts as having been in receipt of one and it is possible that the 1474 entry refers to him. However, Anselm would have been sufficiently well known at court, given his relationship with James III, to expect that he would have been referred to by name. Moreover, the treasurer at the time was John Laing who had taken up the role around 1470.⁴⁶ Laing was a witness to a 1472 charter granting Adornes his lands in Forfar which suggests that the Treasurer was familiar enough with Adornes to refer to him directly.⁴⁷ It is also conceivable that Adornes was not in royal favour when this collar was granted. At this time James III was not satisfied with Scottish relations with Bruges and a letter from James to the Magistrates of Middelburg complained of the treatment received there and proposed to transfer the Scottish Staple to Middelburg. His complaints culminated in Anselm's resignation from the post of Conservator two years later.⁴⁸ The most conclusive evidence that it was not Adornes who received the collar at this time is

⁴⁵ For more on Sir David Guthrie see Alan R. Borthwick and Hector L. MacQueen, '“Rare Creatures for their Age”': Alexander and David Guthrie, Graduate Lairds and Royal Servants', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 229-32, Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law', p. 10. Sir David began his career as Treasurer in 1461, and he was Comptroller from July 1466 to March 1468, and again from April 1470 to February 1471. Between 1468 and 1473 Sir David held the office of Clerk Register. *APS*, II, pp. 88, 102, 106, 188, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 53-4. On 12 February 1471, David, James III's 'familiar squire', was granted possession of the barony of Guthrie in Forfarshire. *RMS*, II, 1011, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 99. In early 1473 David was knighted by James, and at twenty-one years of age he was appointed Captain of the Royal Guard some time around 4 July 1473. *RMS*, II, 1132, 1137, 1140-2, 1144-52, 1155, 1160, 1169-75, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 53-4, 99-100. On 23 July 1473, he was named as an ambassador for James III in a dispute over Saintonge, although it would seem that he remained at court, witnessing charters on 16 August, 17 September, 30 September and throughout October and November. *RMS*, II, 1137, 1140-52, *APS*, II, pp. 103-4, Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 95, 97.

⁴⁶ *TA*, I, p. xxxi.

⁴⁷ *RMS*, II, 1060.

⁴⁸ *RMS*, II, 1234, Davidson and Gray, *Scottish Staple at Veere*, p. 136.

that in early 1474 he had been appointed by Charles the Bold as an ambassador to the court of Uzun Hasan, king of Persia.⁴⁹

Instead, John Malden proposes that the collar was awarded to Anselm much earlier than 1474, at the time when he accepted the office of the Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Merchants in the Lands of the Duke of Burgundy in 1472. Malden suggests that the unicorn collar was the collar associated with Anselm's new office of Conservator which was represented on the roof beams throughout his court of justice, the Adorneshof. Malden argues that there was a clear parallel for this display in the behaviour of other Brugeois merchants; Louis de Gruthus, for example, was made a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1461 and displayed his arms and the collar of that order on the roof beams of the Hotel de Gruthuse in Bruges.⁵⁰ However, the collar of the Golden Fleece was demonstrably that of a chivalric collar and not a collar of office. Despite Malden's insistence on the similarity between Anselm and Louis' collars, he is also convinced that the unicorn collar did not reflect membership of an order like the Golden Fleece, but simply Anselm's role as Conservator. Yet the links of the unicorn collar clearly demonstrated a direct relevance to the reigning Scottish king, and the unicorn pendant was undoubtedly an established symbol of the Scottish crown. There must, therefore, be a real possibility that this was a simple livery collar, unrelated to either a Scottish order of chivalry or the office of Conservator of the Scottish Staple.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges', p. 20. Adornes only made it as far as Prussia before he was recalled.

⁵⁰ Malden, 'Anselm Adorne and the Two Collars', p. 8, Malden, 'The Unicorn Collar and its Contemporaries', p. 9.

⁵¹ Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 10. Although Malden does not think the unicorn collar was a chivalric collar, he still believes a chivalric order existed in Scotland.

Collars certainly did not always indicate or symbolise membership of a chivalric order. In 1458 the Swabian knight Georg von Ehingen visited the court of James II as part of his travels to Jerusalem, Damascus, Babylon, Rhodes, Cyprus, Sicily, Africa, France, Navarre, Castille, Granada, Portugal and England.⁵² Georg was born in Hohenentrigen in 1428 and was in the service of Duke Sigismund of Austria, who in 1447 married Eleanor, James I's daughter and James II's sister. By 1453 he was attached to Albert of Austria, Duke of Carinthia, the brother of Emperor Frederick III. He was knighted on 28 October 1453, aged twenty-five, at the coronation at Prague of Ladislaus Postumus, king of Bohemia.⁵³ Georg collected many 'orders' on his travels in 1458. From the king of Spain he received two orders,

namely the Spanish Order, which is a broad collar overlapping like large fish-scales, also the Order of Castile, a scarlet cloak with a gold band, two thumbs breadth, over the left shoulder, running in front on the right side down to the bottom of the cloak, and then at the back of the cloak running up again to the left shoulder. The third Order is that of Granada, a granite apple set on a club, with a stalk and some leaves upon it.⁵⁴

The Spanish Order which Georg described is the Order of Escama founded by John II of Castile in 1420, and Georg was granted the order on 5 September 1457.⁵⁵ However, it would seem the order of Escama was not a chivalric order in the organised sense, with a constitution and mutual vows and aims, but rather a general indication of the granter's approbation and generosity symbolised by the giving of a livery collar. The grant of the order to Georg reads

⁵² Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Historia 4to. No. 141, translated in Letts (ed), *Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, p. 11, and P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. x, who incorrectly dates Georg's visit to 1455.

⁵³ Letts (ed), *Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39. Olivier de la Marche describes the Order of the Golden Fleece as something 'which you wear about your neck', but the Order of the Golden Fleece was also a chivalric order. Georgina Grace Stuart and Dorothy Margaret Stuart (eds), *The Memoirs of Messire Olivier de la Marche*, II, p. 106.

⁵⁵ Letts (ed), *Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, p. 39n.

We, King of Castile and Leon, wishing to honour and ennoble the person and estate of you Jorge d'Ehingen, gentleman of the household of the magnificent and illustrious Duke Albert, brother of the Emperor of Germany, by this present grant licence and privilege to you and to your wife that you may be entitled to wear and shall wear upon your clothing and trappings, our device and the Band and Collar of the Escama as it is worn and is wont to be worn by the knights and nobles etc.⁵⁶

This certainly indicated that the Escama was a badge of honour, able to be worn by all those whom the king of Castile gave it to, such as Georg's wife and the knights and nobles of Spain. These orders were not always symbolised by collars, as the orders of Castile and Granada demonstrate, nor did all the orders symbolise chivalric orders of knighthood. Georg then travelled through France to England, where 'the King gave us his Order'. This may have been a Garter collar, but he was never admitted to the Order of the Garter, thereby indicating that this was an order of honour and probably a royal livery collar.⁵⁷ After leaving the English court, Georg proceeded to Scotland. Whilst von Ehigen wrote at relative length about his time at the Scottish court, James II did not give Georg an order. He did, however, receive various gifts including tents, cloth and jewels from the king and queen. It would seem that these 'orders' were simply gifts and did not indicate that they were instituted bodies or even necessarily symbolised by collars. Instead, all of the orders which Georg was presented with were gifts of livery collars and badges or symbols of honour. The orders he received do not indicate that he entered into any orders of chivalry.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40, Shaw, *Knights of England*, esp. p. 13, where Georg would have been listed had he been nominated or invested in the Order of the Garter.

Therefore, collars did not necessarily indicate membership of a chivalric order or that a chivalric order was practising. Where, then, is the evidence that James III instituted an order?⁵⁸ Alasdair MacDonald claims that the Scottish order was founded in 1470, around the time Anselm Adornes allegedly received his collar. In support of this view, MacDonald has highlighted the possibility that the chapel of Restalrig was where the order met. The argument here is rather circular, yet MacDonald's views do warrant further examination. The chapel of Restalrig is unusual in form and it is the only building in Scotland of its type which is of a hexagonal shape (and here MacDonald emphasises the possible influence of Adornes, whom he believes to have been one of the first members of the Order of the

⁵⁸ Chivalric collars of knighthood are found in fifteenth-century Scotland but not of a Scottish order. In the inventory of the treasury of James III, undertaken at the beginning of James IV's reign, two collars of chivalric orders were found. One was the collar and badge of the Order of St Michael, and the other was the collar of the Order of the Elephant. *TA*, I, pp. lxxii, 81, 86. The Order of the Elephant was a Danish order, and the collar could have been granted to James on his marriage to Margaret of Denmark in 1469, although there is no record of this.

Sir David Sinclair of Swinburgh was also a member of the Order of the Elephant. When he wrote his will at Dingwall Castle on 10 July 1506, he wrote to give his collar to the St George altar in Roskilde in Denmark, described as a 'goldin chenye, the quhilk is callit ane Collar, the quhilk chenye the Kyng of Denmark gave me.' 'The Testament of Sir David Synclar of Swynbrocht Knycht at Tyngwell, 10 July 1506', *Bannatyne Miscellany III*, p. 109. It is most likely that the collar that John of Denmark gave to Sir David Sinclair was the collar of the Order of the Elephant, whose chapter meetings were held in Roskilde Cathedral. See Stewart Oakley, *The Story of Denmark* (London, 1972), p. 88. The King of Denmark, John, was James IV's uncle and the two monarchs were in close contact with each other: Sir David was in the service of both kings. *James IV Letters*, p. xxxix, see throughout for the close correspondence between John and James, Barbara E. Crawford, 'Scotland's Foreign Relations: Scandinavia', in Jennifer M. Brown, *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 96. The Danish king had actively sought the service of David Sinclair and assisted in the development of his career. On 13 January 1491 he granted him the crown's rents and rights over all the church servants in Orkney. In 1496-7 he was governor of Bergen Castle, a very powerful Norwegian position and in 1504 James IV made an identical grant to the Danish king's 1491 grant to Sir David and also granted him the keepership of Dingwall Castle. *RSS*, I, 1031, Crawford, 'Scotland's Foreign Relations: Scandinavia', pp. 93, 97, 99. David was also probably knighted by John of Denmark. *Orkney-Shetland Recs.*, pp. 56-8. Although there is no direct evidence for Sir David's knighting, he is first styled knight in Norwegian documents, and he was involved in Norwegian official circles before he was closely connected to James IV: he returned to Scotland sometime in 1501 or 1502, and pursued a career in the services of James IV.

Unicorn).⁵⁹ Work began on the chapel sometime before 1477 and it was granted collegiate status ten years later in 1487.⁶⁰ MacDonald links the Scottish Order of the Unicorn with the chapel of Restalrig primarily because he suspects that Anselm Adornes had some influence on its design and suggests that he was directly responsible for its hexagonal shape. Although in the 1960s Iain MacIvor concluded that there were no source-parallels for the hexagonal chapel, MacDonald considers claims that the design was reminiscent of two chapels in Rhodes that Adornes would have visited on his travels, before rejecting these assertions by pointing out that both hexagonal chapels were built several years after Anselm's visit to Rhodes.⁶¹ Instead, MacDonald puts forward the suggestion that the hexagonal design was based on a canopy of the same shape over the edicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which Anselm, like his father Peter Adornes, had visited. Peter even included a hexagonal construction in his design of the summit of the tower of the Jerusalem Kirk at Bruges.⁶² MacDonald's claims that Anselm had a marked influence on the design of Restalrig Chapel, are thus based largely on Anselm's father's construction of a similar shaped tower in Bruges and Anselm's own desire to pay tribute to the Holy Sepulchre.

⁵⁹ See MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', Figures 1, 2, 3. Figure 1 is taken from Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation 1371-1560* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 145, and Figures 2 and 3 are taken from Iain MacIvor, 'The King's Chapel at Restalrig and St Triduana's Aisle: A Hexagonal Two-Storeyed Chapel of the Fifteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 96 (1962-3), opposite p. 260 and opposite p. 258.

⁶⁰ *RMS*, II, 1329, *ER* IX, p. 540, *CPL*, XIV, pp. 211-3, 13 November 1487, Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture*, p. 146, MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', p. 33, Macdougall, *James III*, p. 231.

⁶¹ MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', pp. 42-3, MacIvor, 'The King's Chapel at Restalrig', pp. 261, 263. MacIvor states 'the King's Chapel is not copied from anything. Its design consciously or unconsciously unites in one building a large number of elements found widely separated in time and place elsewhere. It may have been inspired not by a building but by a ritual object.'

⁶² MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', p. 47.

After considering and discarding the possibility that the chapel was used as a clerical chapter house, MacDonald proposes that the upper level of the chapel was used for the meetings of the chivalric Order of the Unicorn. He argues that Restalrig was used like the Mont St Michel for the Order of St Michael, the Roskilde Cathedral for the Order of the Elephant, the Cathedral of St Donatian in Bruges for the Order of the Golden Fleece and St George's Chapel at Windsor for the Order of the Garter.⁶³ MacDonald believes that these European parallels are enough to support the argument that Restalrig was used in this way, although there is no surviving evidence to support this conclusion in either documentary sources or remaining details in the upper level of Restalrig chapel itself. As with the Order of the Garter, which met at Windsor Castle annually on St George's Day, some indication of annual gatherings on St Andrew's Day would be expected, but here, the admittedly partial records of the exchequer and (after 1478) the treasurer's accounts, are also silent.⁶⁴ Moreover, many chivalric orders, such as the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece, kept official records of the meetings of their chapter and books where the members' deeds were annually recorded.⁶⁵ There is no evidence of these surviving in Scotland. Instead the only real conclusion which can be drawn is that MacDonald's arguments are largely self-referential – his belief in the existence of a Scottish chivalric order dating to James III's reign means that he is searching for further evidence to support this. Given that the proof of the order

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 34, Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 142-5, 432, 399-401, 384-87.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116. We would expect to find meetings of the order held on its patron saint's feast day. In the case of St Andrew, this is 30 November.

⁶⁵ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. xxiii. The records of the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece are the only ones to have been preserved and both are incomplete.

existing at this time is tenuous, it is extremely improbable that the chapel of Restalrig was used in this way.

Overall, the activities of Anselm Adornes do not prove that a Scottish order existed. Nevertheless, other material evidence exists which scholars have used to support the notion that the Order of St Andrew was functioning in the fifteenth century. John Malden, in particular, argues that the c.1502-3 Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor is evidence enough of the existence of the order.⁶⁶ Included in this book of hours is a plate at folio 24v depicting James IV kneeling at prayer before an altar decorated by the royal coat of arms, which is supported by two unicorns, and surrounded by a collar made up of links of thistles and boasting a pendant of St Andrew.⁶⁷ The most common argument has been that the depiction of the king kneeling before the altar was meant to indicate James IV's remorse over his involvement in James III's death. Additionally, the collar around the coat of arms is widely held to represent the first depiction of the collar of the Order of St Andrew, after St Andrew replaced the unicorn as the order's symbol.⁶⁸ The book was not designed for James's personal use and although Margaret and James's personal arms

⁶⁶ Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', p. 9.

⁶⁷ Appendix A, Figure Four. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Lat. 1897, f. 24v. It is reproduced in MacFarlane, 'Book of Hours', plate ii, in MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', p. 52, in Macdougall, *James IV*, opposite p. 180, and in colour on the endpapers of John Hughes and William Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court* (Canberra, London & Miami, 1982) and in Burnett and Bennett, *The Green Mantle*, p. 5. The royal coat of arms is also surrounded by this collar and located at Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Lat. 1897, f. 14v, reproduced in MacFarlane, 'The Book of Hours', plate i, and in Burnett and Bennett, *The Green Mantle*, p. 2. In 1507 James IV was also depicted wearing a collar of plain links with a pendant of St Andrew, appearing to be just a royal collar, see Charles R. Beard, 'Early Stewart Portraits: A Discovery', *The Connoisseur: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors* 71 (1925), p. 5.

⁶⁸ This would be highly unusual if this was a chivalric order as there are few other examples of orders in Europe changing their name or their emblem once they had been founded. One exception was the Order of the Garter. Variations on the title could be used in conjunction with the name of the badge or St George (its patron), but by the end of the fourteenth century, its name was uniformly and consistently used. There are no known fifteenth-century instances of this. Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 123.

and portraits are equally distributed throughout the book, it was designed for and gifted to his wife as a wedding present.⁶⁹ As the book's patron, however, James IV must have outlined and approved the royal symbols to be displayed. The coat of arms James is kneeling before seems quite simply to be the royal arms, and thus the collar may have been just a livery collar, and it is in no way conclusive evidence that a Scottish order of knighthood existed.

However, the receipt of a collar seems to have been a general way of signifying a special relationship with a king or monarch. In fact, there is evidence that there were other collars of this sort in Scotland. Who they were given to was also important. Scottish kings presented collars, of both gold and of silver, and of varying weights. The first record of a collar presented was by James II around 1444. Between July 1444 and July 1445, Patrick Charteris, the provost of Perth, and sheriff of the burgh of Perth, was given £3, 6s, 8d for a gold chain which James II had taken from him. James II had presumably given Charteris's collar to a visitor to the court as a diplomatic gift, although there is no indication of who the recipient was.⁷⁰ The sum of compensation suggests that this was more than just a chain, as the exchequer calls it, but it was in fact a collar. Ten years later, in 1456, James II gave £20 to Adam Hepburn, son of Patrick, lord of Hailes, to compensate for a silver collar

⁶⁹ MacFarlane, 'Book of Hours', pp. 3, 6-7. Given the expense gone into the making of the book of hours, it can only have been given to her by her husband or her father, Henry VII. Although which man commissioned it is unclear, James's close involvement in its design and content is apparent through its detail and its accuracy in its Scottish themes.

⁷⁰ *ER*, V, p. 186.

which he had taken from him and given to Gill'Easbuig of the Isles.⁷¹ Gill'Easbuig was a half-brother of John, earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles and in 1456 James II was actively attempting to secure co-operation with him to secure stability in the Isles.⁷² By giving Gill'Easbuig a collar, James II bound him into his service. The collar was probably a mark of reconciliation and a reward for negotiations over problems with the Lord of the Isles.

Whilst James II predominantly gave collars to Scots, Scottish nobles were not the only men to have collars presented to them by the Scottish crown. In 1460, just after his accession to the throne, James III gave James Shaw £4 as compensation for his collar which he had taken and given to the Teutonic Knight of Austria who was visiting the Scottish court at the time.⁷³ In 1464, the only recorded example of a collar being commissioned in advance of its presentation, James III gave a silver collar to Dederico Grutare and 49s was given to William Goldsmith to make it.⁷⁴ At Christmas 1473 James III gave Robert of Crawford, the nephew of Archibald Crawford, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, £11, 4s, 4d for 'the colare, stuf and werkmanship' in compensation for his 'leueray colare of the Kingis' which was taken from him and given by the king to a Danish man-of-arms visiting Scotland.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *ER*, VI, p. 124. Adam Hepburn's father, Patrick, Lord Hailes was created a lord of parliament on 12 June 1452, along with Lord Cathcart, Lord Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Lord Home, who had all been connected with the Black Douglases, but had chosen allegiance to James II. For this allegiance James rewarded them for their loyal service, and coincidentally built up a network of interrelated baronial families. *Chron. Auchinleck*, pp. 48-9, McGladdery, *James II*, p. 79. Adam Hepburn was involved in court life, and later in the 1460s he was involved with the Boyds. He became sheriff of Berwick on 7 April 1467, and it would be natural that in 1456 Adam was in possession of a livery collar. *HMC, Home*, p. 258, no. 586, *SP*, II, p. 148.

⁷² Shortly after Gill'Easbuig received the collar from James II he was granted the keepership of Eddirdule in 1459. *ER*, VI, p. 518.

⁷³ *ER*, VII, p. 33.

⁷⁴ *ER*, VII, p. 292. No further identification of Dederico Grutare has been possible.

⁷⁵ *TA*, I, pp. 68, 69.

The specification that this collar was a royal livery collar clearly demonstrates that James III, like the other Scottish kings, was not necessarily bestowing collars of a chivalric order on foreign visitors or members of his court, but was granting his personal collar of honour. Without trawling through Danish archives in search of possible candidates, the name of the Danish ‘man of were’ who received the royal livery collar from James will remain unknown. All we know of the Danish man was that he was a squire when he received the collar, as on 22 May 1474 James II gave Snowdon’s wife £22 ‘for certane expensis maid in her hous vpon the squire, the were man of the king of Denmarkis’, indicating that James did not knight him at the time he gave him this livery collar, thereby further supporting the notion that the collar did not signify entry into a chivalric order.⁷⁶ James IV also took collars from members of his court to present to others; for example, between June 1494 and August 1495, the king took a gold collar from Duncan Forrester of Skipinch and gave it to William Dawson.⁷⁷

Excluding the representations in the Jerusalem Kirk in Bruges, the first evidence of an accurately described unicorn pendant is from 24 August 1503 when James IV ordered John Curror to make him a unicorn of gold with a pearl hanging from it, for which he paid £3, 17s, 18d for the making of it, and 3s for the pearl. This unicorn was almost certainly a pendant for a collar.⁷⁸ The following month James

⁷⁶ *TA*, I, p. 69. Thomas Riis does not give any further help with who this Dane may have been. Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations, c. 1450-1707* (Odense, 1988). I have contacted Professor Riis who could provide no further identification of the Dane.

⁷⁷ *ER*, X, p. 491. No further identification of William Dawson has been possible.

⁷⁸ *TA*, II, p. 217. The 24 August 1503 also saw 13s, 4d going to Matthew Auchinleck for small chains and links for two collars of swans and roses, which seem to have been for Margaret Tudor. *TA*, II, pp. 390, 413.

gave a fully made unicorn collar to a foreign visitor to the Scottish court and it would appear that this was a livery collar and not a collar of a chivalric order.⁷⁹ Later in the same month, on 30 September 1503 John Caupance, a French knight, was given money from James IV to go to France. He was also given a ‘gret cheneye of the Kingis, weyand 33 unce or tharby’ and given this weight it was clearly a collar. £13, 19s, 8d was given to make a unicorn ‘to hing at the said cheneye, weyand 2 unce’ and 3s for a pearl for the unicorn pendant and 24s to get it made.⁸⁰ Caupance was most likely engaged on ambassadorial business for James IV, but rather than the collar being a gift for Caupance to convey, it was instead probably intended for Caupance himself, and may even have been used to authenticate that he was on official business for James, much like Anselm Adornes’ unicorn collar. By 1 January 1504, James IV had stopped using the unicorn emblem and had started using St Andrew as his livery badge. His new year gift to Mistress Margaret, an English attendant to Margaret Tudor, was a gold chain worth £20, weighing three ounces, with a St Andrew pendant attached.⁸¹ In most instances where collars were presented by the king, they were taken by him from courtiers and given, in almost all cases, to foreign visitors as diplomatic gifts. Additionally, the social status of the men the king took these collars from also suggests that they were not members of a prestigious and socially exclusive chivalric order of knighthood.

Given that none of the evidence used by historians to support the idea that a chivalric order of knighthood existed in the fifteenth century actually proves that the

⁷⁹ *TA*, II, p. 390.

⁸⁰ *TA*, II, p. 398. Kintyre Pursuivant went with Caupance to France and was given £21 for the trip and £7 to buy John Douglas’s horse.

⁸¹ *TA*, II, p. 412.

order did exist, what other types of evidence would we expect to find? The Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece and the English Order of the Garter probably best demonstrate the way in which orders functioned and therefore what would be expected as evidence of a fully-formed order.⁸² D'Arcy Boulton gives the most thorough and detailed account of the chivalric orders across Europe and defines both the Golden Fleece and the Garter as monarchical orders.⁸³ Boulton's definition is that its goal was

the promotion and reward of loyal service to the princely president...the members, though often bound to one another by a variety of mutual obligations, were usually bound primarily by cliental oaths of loyalty and service to the president of the order, who in his turn normally undertook various patronal duties towards them.⁸⁴

The monarchical orders are the ones which the Scottish crown would have been in most contact with, although Boulton claims that the Order of the Thistle (in its seventeenth-century version) was a cliental pseudo-order, where members were 'bound by an oath of clientship to the prince who bestowed the "order" in the form of a badge' making the order 'in effect [a] glorified retinue'.⁸⁵ An order usually had statutes, as the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece did, but we do not find Scottish statutes until the seventeenth century, and even then they are based on the Garter's statutes. The Order of the Garter also had a common seal which it

⁸² It is now well-established that the Burgundian influence on Scotland in the fifteenth century had more of a cultural impact than French culture did. See MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', esp. pp. 154-7, Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges', pp. 93-107, and Scott, 'Dress in Scotland', esp. pp. 75-8.

⁸³ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. xvii-xviii.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xx. Boulton groups the Order of the Porcupine of the Duke of Orléans, the Order of the Scale of the Kings of Castile as cliental pseudo-orders, and argues that the Order of the Band of the Kings of Castile, the Order of the Sword of the Kings of Cyprus, and the Order of the Ermine of the Dukes of Brittany had all begun as monarchical orders but had developed into cliental pseudo-orders.

used on official business and at its meetings, but again there is no evidence that such a seal ever existed in Scotland.⁸⁶ Elected companions of the Order of the Garter were sent a garter on their election, and all foreign companions-elect received a mantle and a copy of the Order's statutes sealed with the order's common seal, at the king's personal expense.⁸⁷ Much the same happened with companions-elect of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and they too received their own copies of the statute book when they were informed of their election. Towards the end of the fifteenth century these statutes were translated into Latin, Dutch and German for companions whose native tongue was not French.⁸⁸ Again, there is no record of this occurring in Scotland.

Sadly one piece of evidence has been lost which could have provided at least some answers about the Order of the Unicorn or the Order of St Andrew. An entry in the Treasurer's Accounts tells us of scarlet material ordered on 9 June 1502 to line a case in which a collar was to be sent to England.⁸⁹ The collar is described as 'the collar of ...' and due to a tear through the original manuscript, the name of the collar cannot be ascertained. The name would have been the last word of the line, and there is a space of approximately one and a half centimetres into which it could have fitted.⁹⁰

Although it has been long accepted that a Scottish chivalric order of knighthood was founded and functioned in the fifteenth century, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that this was the case. The evidence cited in support

⁸⁶ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 120.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁸⁹ *TA*, II, p. 150.

⁹⁰ NAS E21/5, f. 135r.

of such an idea actually lends little weight to the argument and much of it has been misinterpreted. The collars presented by the Stewart kings of the fifteenth century are not, as has been suggested, collars of the Order of the Unicorn, or the Order of St Andrew, but seem to have been livery collars of the royal household. As far as the evidence indicates, there was never a chivalric Order of the Unicorn. Indeed, if James VII and II founded the Order of the Thistle upon a previous model, all indications point to this order being instituted, as the Order of St Andrew, in the sixteenth century, certainly after 1504 and probably in the reign of James V. Therefore, contrary to what some scholars have held as self evident, there is no evidence that a Scottish chivalric order of knighthood existed in the fifteenth century.

Conclusion: Knighthood, the Crown and the Revival of Chivalry

During the fifteenth century the Scottish chivalric ethos developed and was revised to fit the varying social and political climates. At the outset of this study, Maurice Keen's definition of chivalry could be adequately applied to Scotland. Keen's emphasis directed historians to consider the martial function of knights, the elitism of chivalric ideals promoted through emphasis on nobility and the importance of model Christianity. Alastair J. MacDonald suggested that in the fourteenth century in Scotland, the major emphasis of the chivalric code was on 'glory and renown through military feats and the enjoyment of martial endeavour for its own sake'.¹ However, during the fifteenth century, Scottish chivalry developed other traits. Questions arise as to where the emphasis lay and whether we are any closer to establishing the relationship between the crown, knighthood and chivalry.

The martial function of knights was always emphasised in chivalric culture, but Scottish chivalry was not just a military ideal. Throughout the century, knights were expected to provide military service through the agreements they had with their lords. This was maintained even though the crown had begun to pay skilled workmen to attend its campaigns and perform tasks that knights and men-at-arms could not. The greatest problem in assessing the martial aspect of knighthood stems from the changes that came with the development of new technologies for warfare and the decrease in formal pitched battles. The decline in Anglo-Scottish hostilities meant that a large body of military men had little to do except in the context of local

¹ MacDonald, *Border Bloodshed*, p. 178.

feuds and highland campaigning. Even though contemporary commentators indicated that there was an ongoing debate surrounding the knights' place in these developments, knights were still very much present on the battlefield. Apart from positions of command, however, it has not been possible to determine what their roles may have specifically been. There is, nevertheless, evidence that knights did adapt to retain their place on the battlefield and by the end of the fifteenth century new positions, such as Master of the King's Artillery, were held by Scottish knights. A wider study of knights' involvement in local conflicts in the future may, of course, reveal more about the careers and roles of men in positions of authority in crown campaigns.

As warfare developed, the role of the knight on the battlefield changed and knights looked to other ways in which they could demonstrate and prove their military skills and prowess. Participating in jousting and tournaments became the focus for these demonstrations. The advantages of this were attractive, as a knight not only had an audience, but the dangers of warfare were not present. Jousting had strict rules and the emphasis was on winning prizes and esteem for the display of skill. In the 1440s sharp weapons were still being used at jousts in Scotland, and serious injuries could be sustained. As the emphasis shifted from winning the joust to proving martial worth through display, blunted weapons began to be used and by the 1490s their use was standard practice. As this reduced the need to concentrate on avoiding serious injury, knights were consequently able to focus on increasingly elaborate displays and pageantry. Therefore, the knight's performance at tournaments became increasingly ritualised.

The changes knights faced in their military capacity also enhanced the necessity to look to diplomatic and administrative careers. This significant development, which has hitherto been under-emphasised by historians, was incorporated into the Scottish chivalric ethos. In chapter one it was demonstrated that men who were knighted by a king often held offices and positions of responsibility in his administration. By the 1450s, the idea that knights were public figures with public duties to perform was so entrenched in knightly society that Sir Gilbert Hay heavily emphasised this component in his chivalric manuals.² In the second half of the fifteenth century, Humanist educationalists persuaded the nobility that they needed new skills to strengthen their involvement in public life and service, thereby encouraging knights to combine their skills in warfare with the more learned skills previously seen as the preserve of the clergy.³ Nobles were encouraged to embrace the new learning of the universities to help them become refined gentlemen and to be of use in governmental offices where martial skills alone were not adequate.⁴ Knights like Sir John Ross of Montgrenan were quick to heed the humanist advice.⁵ Even Sir Bernard Stewart was affected by the trend to increase and demonstrate 'educated' skills, penning a treatise on war in the early sixteenth century.⁶ During the fifteenth century civic responsibility emerged as another

² Glenn (ed), *Book of the Ordre of Knychthede*, p. 18, Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', p. 58.

³ Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

⁵ Ross made a notable career as a lawyer and administrator in royal service. He acted as king's advocate for the last decade of James III's reign. Brown, 'The Scottish "Establishment"', p. 99, Mason, *Kingship and Commonweal*, p. 115. The post of king's advocate was, in general, held by a layman, although during the years immediately following Sir John Ross' tenure of the office, its holders noticeably became both more professional and more obviously exponents of humanistic skills. John Finlay has recently argued that the office of King's Advocate did not exist until 1493, but he recognizes Sir John Ross' role in the law. John Finlay, *Men of Law in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), ch. 7. 'The Office of the King's Advocate', esp. pp. 170, 208.

⁶ De Comminges (ed), *Traité dur L'Art de la Guerre*.

component added to the ever-changing concept of the chivalric ideal. However, civic responsibility never outweighed the importance of martial duty. Instead, this development of skills from and beyond the battlefield simply served to make knights a more useful body of men for the crown.

The later fifteenth century also saw a conscious addressing of whether or not hereditary nobility should be part of the chivalric ideal and if the elitism of knighthood could be justified. Under the influence of Humanist philosophy, the non-noble classes forced the questioning of whether the traditional virtues of chivalry were an expression of true nobility. If a non-nobleman could display the virtues and qualities esteemed in the chivalric code, it was asked, ought he to be excluded from eligibility for knighthood on the basis of his social status. Alasdair A. MacDonald has argued that these questions came largely from the Burgundian influence, and claims that chivalry came to be regarded as an inspiration and expression of true nobility: 'central to this notion is that the essence of true nobility was seen as stemming from virtue rather than any accident of birth, rank or fortune'.⁷ MacDonald's views, however, are limited by his agenda of proving that the Burgundian influence in Scotland in the later fifteenth century was more prominent than the French influence. His position, that the chivalric ideal could be legitimately achieved by non-nobles, is only part of the picture. What really needs to be established is how important noble descent was to Scottish knighthood.

At the time these questions were being raised, James III was certainly dubbing non-nobles. James III was heavily criticised by his nobility for favouring 'low-born' men, and their concerns that knighthood was losing its exclusivity were

⁷ MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', p. 158.

particularly relevant. The nobility attempted to assert its elitism, but entry to the lower nobility could be assured via knighthood (as knighthood and nobility were still inherently linked). As chapter one demonstrated, dubbing of the upper nobility occurred at official crown events. Lesser nobles, in general, appear to have been knighted on the battlefield and for military service. In this context, dubbings were often made for displays of skill and non-nobles could enter knighthood via this route. Burgesses certainly took part in the crown's military campaigns, and some even designated themselves as squires.⁸ Knighthoods were also granted to non-nobles for service to the crown in administrative and diplomatic duties. The crown thereby endorsed the view that the display of chivalric virtue was an adequate expression of nobility which conferred eligibility for knighthood. This was particularly apparent in James III and James IV's reigns.

The Christian component of chivalry was also still relevant in the fifteenth century. Christian consciousness was never far removed from the practice of chivalry and knights did endeavour to defend the faith, or at least visit the Holy Land on pilgrimage.⁹ Knights also patronised the Church to demonstrate their commitment to the faith.¹⁰ The knight's ultimate service to God was also emphasised in chivalric and vernacular literature produced throughout the century. However, further work needs to be undertaken on the knight's relationship with the Church in order to understand fully the Scottish chivalric ideal in the fifteenth century.

⁸ *RMS*, II, 737, 1477, Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, p. 21, Scott, 'Dress in Scotland', pp. 65, 111-13.

⁹ For example see *CDS*, IV, 1346.

¹⁰ See for example *Midl. Chrs.*, pp. 305-12.

The courtly love component was notably absent from the fifteenth century Scottish chivalric model. In his recent exploration of chivalry, Richard Kaeuper argued that courtly love was an essential element. It was implicitly linked to the emphasis on martial prowess, as knights sought to secure the love of their lady.¹¹ This was not part of Scottish chivalry to the same extent. There were a number of translations made of Continental chivalric tales which contained love themes, but these were often diluted from their original and were no longer central to the text. Some Scottish literary sources do suggest that knights could be inspired by their love for a lady, but these ideas appear to be far removed from practice. Fifteenth-century Scottish chivalry thus comprised four main components. As the principal ingredients necessary in defining Scottish chivalry, these components were linked, and knights were expected to embody all of them. First and foremost was military skill and prowess, followed by public duty and service in crown administration, noble status, and Christian consciousness.

With this definition of fifteenth-century Scottish chivalry, we can now attempt to define the relationship between the crown and chivalry and the crown and knighthood. In order to do so, each monarch needs to be assessed in terms of how he used knights, what the knight's role was under royal patronage and how he utilised chivalric ideals. Many scholars have asserted that from the mid-fifteenth century there was a revival of traditional chivalric sentiments throughout Europe.¹² These ideas were based upon the mythical court of King Arthur and took their inspiration

¹¹ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 302.

¹² See for example Ferguson, *Indian Summer of English Chivalry*, esp. Ch. 1, 'A Chivalric "Revival"?', pp. 3-32, where he argues that this was a reaction of the nobility to social developments which threatened their exclusivity.

from the Arthurian romances of the twelfth century. Whether or not this also occurred in Scotland should be addressed.

James I returned to Scotland in 1424 having witnessed the English approach to kingship. In many aspects of governance, he attempted to employ modified English models in order to bring the kingdom under his control. Alasdair A. MacDonald described James's return as a turning point in crown power, and he has argued that 1424 saw the redefining of chivalry.¹³ However, James had not been exposed to an active promotion of the chivalric ideal at the English court, and he does not appear to have attempted to 'revive' chivalric culture at this time. In contradistinction to this, James redefined knighthood. With this came the assertion that loyalty to the crown was ultimately more important than obligations to lords, enabling James to consolidate his nobility on the strength of a common bond with the crown and thus with each other. James I used knighthood as a way of unifying his political community by ensuring that they were bound to him through an honorific relationship, thus enabling him to further his own political goals. He especially used the men he knighted at his coronation in this way, giving them important administrative, diplomatic and judicial duties. He also formed close friendships and alliances with them, Sir William Crichton of that Ilk being just one example. Although he recognised the usefulness of knights, James I appears to have had very little interest in promoting chivalric ideals. The ultimate expression of chivalry off the battlefield was the tournament and yet there is only evidence that James held one such event during his reign.

¹³ MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst', p. 153.

With significant changes in the waging of warfare around 1436, and the murder of James I in 1437 by Albany-Stewart partisans, James II was forced to reassess knighthood and his father's approach to it. He did promote and emphasise knights' engagement in administrative duties, with men such as the Livingstons becoming his close counsellors. However, James II encouraged a more traditional policy for his knights, patronising a range of expressions of chivalric knighthood. He held a large-scale tournament, in conjunction with the Douglasses, with visiting knights of high chivalric renown and he engaged in full-scale wars from the time of his majority. From this time forward the records show knights chiefly in positions of authority during war, whilst little mention is made of their physical participation in hand-to-hand combat or bravery in the thick of a pitched battle. Alasdair A. MacDonald has recently argued that at this time hubs of chivalric culture could exist away from the royal court and that the Sinclair castle of Roslin was the most prominent example of such a centre after the collapse of the Douglas earls.¹⁴ Sir Gilbert Hay's translations produced at Roslin demonstrate that the endorsing of chivalric culture in the 1450s was not exclusive to the crown.

Although there had been some attempt by James II and his nobles to sponsor and support the chivalric ideals of knighthood, James III did not concern himself with them. He did not bestow knighthoods at celebratory events, a precedent established earlier in the fifteenth century, and as such the opportunity for knights to gain social prestige in this way was limited. He only seems to have knighted men for very specific purposes – for example, when he needed immediate military power at his coronation in 1460 (although as he was still in his minority, this would have been

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

directed by his advisors), or when he needed to secure loyalty, such as at parliament in 1488. At a time when the social exclusivity of knighthood was under threat, the Scottish nobility pursued crown patronage. When James did not provide this, he was heavily criticised. There is no surviving record of tournaments being held in James III's reign, and given his attitude to chivalric pastimes it is probable that none were held. Despite this, James III was not unaware of traditional chivalric attitudes. Both he and his brother, Alexander Stewart, duke of Albany, a 'fadir in chevalry', were members of chivalric orders of knighthood, although, as was demonstrated in chapter six, James III did not found an order in Scotland.¹⁵

Felicity Riddy has considered the assertion that there was a general trend in the second half of the fifteenth century towards a revival of chivalry and she argued that this was also evident in Scotland. Riddy claimed that the Scottish revival was not a nostalgic renewal of outdated beliefs in order to declare class-conscious ideals, but that it was a response to the humanistic ethos which promoted men as learned warriors.¹⁶ Riddy's arguments belong to James III's reign, when there was not a 'revival' as such, but a re-emphasis on the values which the nobility esteemed. There was, however, a revival of chivalry in the late fifteenth century and it was firmly crown-sponsored. Possibly as a response to the complaints laid against his father, or perhaps due to a genuine interest in chivalric pastimes, James IV undertook a programme of chivalric patronage, in more extravagant forms than had previously been seen. This was due to a desire to do justice to the ideals which the knightly

¹⁵ Lesley, *History*, p. 51.

¹⁶ Felicity Riddy, 'The Revival of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland', in Jeans-Jacques Blanchot and Claude Grad (eds), *Actes du 2e Colloque de Lanque et de Litterature Écossaises (Moyen Age et Renaissance)* (Strasbourg, 1978), esp. pp. 54, 61.

classes valued, a redressing of his father's failings.¹⁷ James IV bestowed knighthood for especially knightly reasons, such as a reward for excellence on the battlefield or for participating in tournaments. He also dubbed men for service to the crown in less martial spheres. He sponsored court poetry emphasising chivalric virtues in knights and he may, although it is in no way conclusive, have begun an order of chivalry in the early sixteenth century.

As developments in warfare left knights without a space to prove their 'knightly' worth, and knighthood had taken on increasingly political qualities, the tournament was the remaining space where knights could demonstrate chivalrous attributes. Indeed this was where James IV primarily focused his attentions. James began on a small-scale, with simple jousts in the early 1490s, but by 1496 his appetite had been whetted for the power of opulent display when he staged a lavish tournament for the marriage of Perkin Warbeck to Lady Catherine Gordon. Upon his marriage to Margaret Tudor in 1503, James launched a programme of tournaments to demonstrate his chivalric personal policy. The first of these, held on Margaret's bridal journey to Edinburgh, was an overtly courtly display, reintroducing to his knights the courtly love element of tournaments. This is the only real indication of the love theme leaving the literary ideal and entering chivalric practice. However, much of this must be attributed to James IV's desire to revive Arthurian concepts of chivalry. Whether or not further expressions of courtly love were made by knights around James IV's court is not known. The King and Queen's wedding celebrations also incorporated three days of jousting in Holyrood Palace courtyard, a prime opportunity to parade James's tribute to revived forms of chivalric expression.

¹⁷ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 216-7.

James IV's favouring of the tournament as the ultimate chivalric playground is apparent and he even had a team of royal knights who participated in his tournaments. He held a series of annual tournaments, the first of which was held on Shrove Tuesday in 1503. This marked the commencement of celebrations, which were held again in 1505 and 1506. These tournaments, however, seem not to have had the desired effect and in 1507 James completely changed his approach to staging chivalric games. Instead of having Shrovetide celebrations, in early summer 1507, James IV orchestrated his most extravagant tournament to date. This was the tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, in which James himself appeared in the allegorical role of the wild knight. He also paid specific tribute to the Arthurian legend 'with counterfutting of the round tabill of King Arthour of Jngland'.¹⁸ Johan Huizinga has pointed out that these expressions were significant as they indicated a tendency to recreate in reality an ideal image of the past.¹⁹ James repeated the tournament in 1508, with increased expense and pageantry. This tournament may not have provided ultimate success in achieving his desired goals, and it is more likely that it fell short of James's expectations. Whatever the case, he held no further tournaments.

There is no doubt that there was a revival of traditional chivalry in James IV's reign. In part this was to compensate for the changes in 'knightly' warfare and to encourage knights to participate fully in war, as it was their 'chivalric duty'. In part it was also a direct response to the nobility, who were attempting to assert their

¹⁸ Lesley, *History*, p. 154, Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 232.

¹⁹ Johan Huizinga, 'The Political and Military Significance of Chivalric Ideas in the Late Middle Ages', James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (trans), *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance* (London, 1960).

elitism in the face of increasing social mobility. Primarily, however, it was part of a campaign headed by James IV to promote himself on the international stage as a chivalric king and patron. This effort at revival could not resuscitate an exclusively Arthurian model, as the ethos of chivalry had developed in line with social and political pressures throughout the fifteenth century. Scottish knighthood changed over the century from a career and a way of life which esteemed heroics on the battlefield, to one which demanded equally martial skills and administrative, political and diplomatic abilities. These changes were exploited and at times apparently directed and encouraged by the Scottish crown, which used knighthood and the promotion of chivalry, in varying degrees, for political gain.

Appendix A

Figures

Figure One

Linlithgow Palace

Taken from John G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods* (East Linton, 1999), plate C.2.

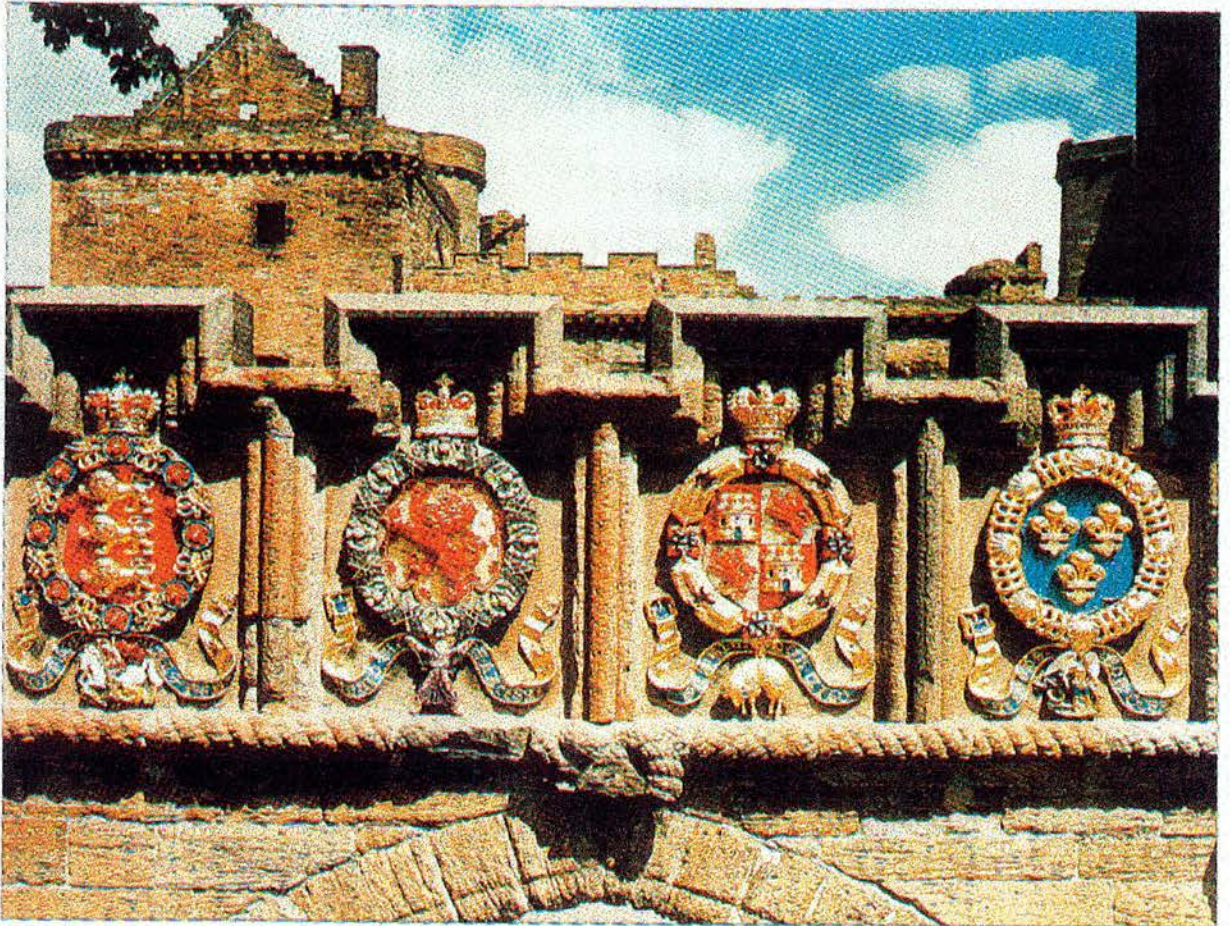


Figure Two

Tomb of Anselm Adornes showing Unicorn Collar

Taken from Jozef Penninck, *De Jeruzalemkerk te Brugge* (Brugge, 1986), p. 21.



Photograph taken at the Jerusalemkirk in Bruges by Mrs Jennifer Stevenson, September 2002.



Figure Three**The Unicorn Collar**

Taken from John Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars', *The Double Tressure: Journal of the Heraldic Society of Scotland* 10 (1988), p. 24.



Figure Four

The Collar of St Andrew

Taken from Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton, 1997), opposite p. 180.

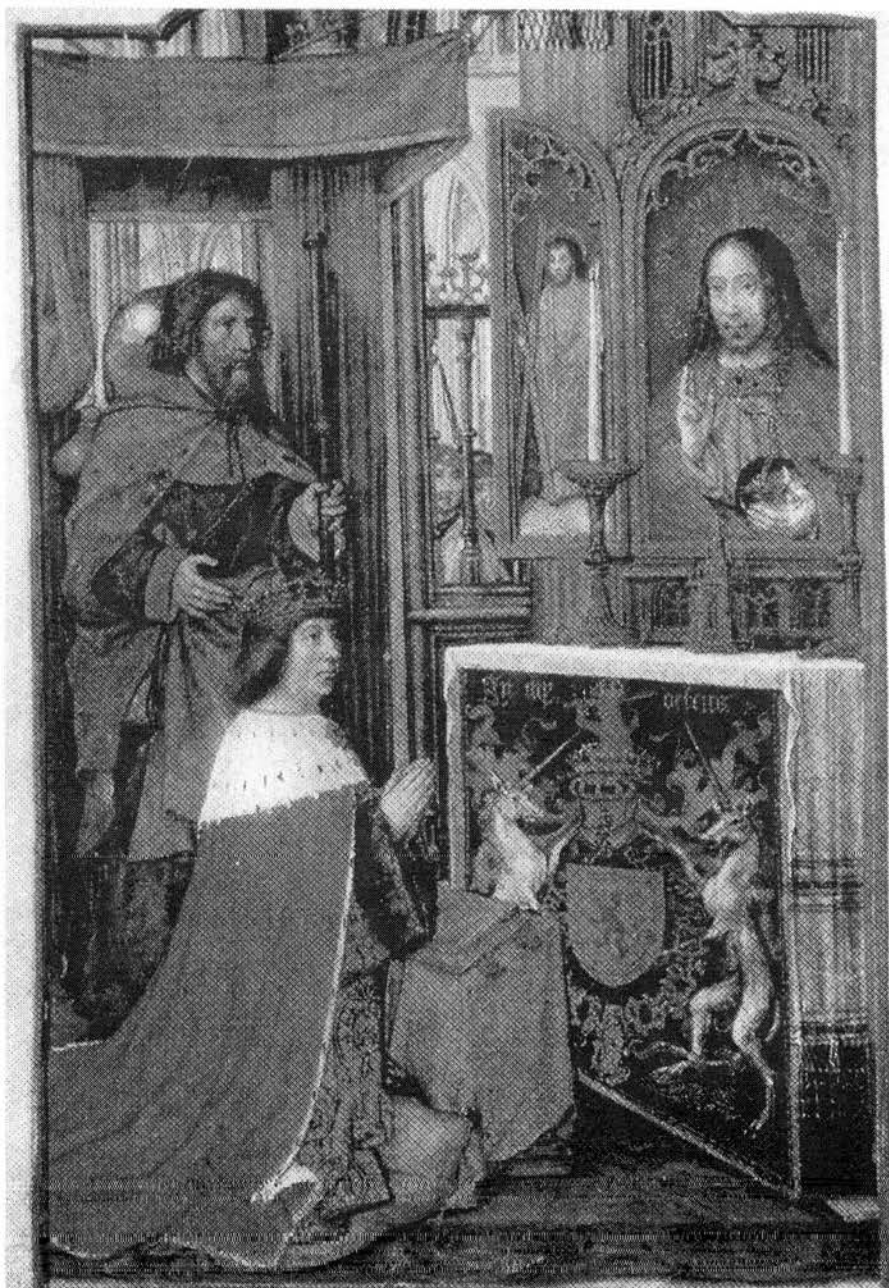


Figure Five

Unicorns in Chains
The Arms of James IV, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen

Taken from Leslie Hodgson, 'Aberdeen: The Society's Spring Excursion 1991',
Double Tressure 13 (1991), p. 29.



Appendix B

Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Knights appearing in the tables in alphabetical order and their corresponding key-numbers.

Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

A list of the knights who appear in royal records only and who may have been or were knighted by the king and the dates on or around which they were knighted.

Table Three: Squires

A list of squires who are designated as such (either *armiger* or *scutifer*) in royal records and the last date upon which they appear styled so.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Robert Abercromby of that Ilk	187.
Anselm Adornes of Cortoquhy	185.
Robert Airth, burges of Haddington	432.
William Airth de la Plane	71.
Henry Akinhead	411.
Thomas Alexanderson	508.
John Allerdas	48.
David Anande	50.
John Archer of Furdlaw	414.
James Auchinleck of that Ilk	121.
William Auchinleck	412.
William Bailey of Lamington	219.
Andrew Balfour of Bochopill	465.
Michael Balfour of Burleigh, son of Michael Balfour of Burleigh	238.
Alexander Bannerman	394.
Andrew Barclay	507.
Hugh Barclay of Kilbirnie	69.
Alexander Barclay	56.
David Barclay	435.
Alan Beton	388.
Robert Binning	390.
Baldred Blackadder	277.
Patrick Blackadder	278.
John Blackford	423.
John Blair	451.
Ninian Bonar of Kelty	257.
James Borthwick, son of Sir William Borthwick	78.
Thomas Borthwick of Collielaw	318.
William Borthwick	31.
Alexander Boswell of Balmowto	331.
Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll	130.
Robert Boyd, lord Boyd	176.
Thomas Brochton	227.
Alexander Brown	391.
Thomas Brown	470.
Alexander Bruce of Birgham	220.
Alexander Bruce of Birgham	267.
Alexander Bruce of Erlishall	328.
David Bruce of Clackmannan	137.
David Bruce of Clackmannan	313.
David Bruce of Kennet	513.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Robert Bruce of Airth	309.
Patrick Calder	395.
Adam Caldwell, lord Caldwell	322.
William, Thane of Cawdor	158.
William, Thane of Cawdor	490.
William Chalmers	491.
Colin Campbell of Glenorchy	124.
David Campbell	425.
Duncan Campbell of Lochaw	111.
Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy	325.
George Campbell, lord of Loudoun	114.
George Campbell, son and heir or George Campbell, lord of Loudoun	166.
George Campbell, son of George Campbell of Loudoun	479.
Hugh Campbell of Loudoun	287.
John Campbell of Loudoun	147.
John Campbell of Wester Loudoun	198.
John Campbell	353.
William Cargill, lord of Lasington	406.
John Carlyle of Torthorwald	164.
William Carlyle, grandson of John, first Lord of Carlyle	223.
Archibald Carruthers of Mousefald	471.
Alan Cathcart	37.
John Cathcart of Carlton	218.
William Cauldenhead	497.
John Chalmers of Gaitgirth	199.
Robert Charteris of Amisfield	478.
William Charteris of Caugnor	221.
Nicholas Cochrane	456.
John Cockburn of Dalginche	107.
William Cockburn of Scraling	260.
William Cockburn of Langton	332.
John Colquhoun of that Ilk	151.
John Colquhoun of Luss	344.
Robert Colville of Ochiltree	139.
William Colville of Ochiltree	264.
James Comyn	460.
Alexander Crammond of that Ilk	330.
Thomas Cranston of that Ilk	165.
William Cranston of Corsby	108.
William Crawford	33.
Son of Sir William Crichton	77.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Adam Crichton of Ruthven	253.
David Crichton of Cranstonriddale	467.
George Crichton of Blackness	104.
George Crichton of Carnis	143.
George Crichton	372.
James Crichton of Carnis	160.
James Crichton of Ragarton	234.
James Crichton of Frendraught	243.
John Crichton of Ragarton	352.
Patrick Crichton of Cranstonriddel	495.
Robert Crichton of Sanquhar	87.
William Crichton of that Ilk	28.
William Cumming of Inverallochy, Marchmont Herald	336.
Adam Cunningham of Caprontoun	290.
Alexander Cunningham of Polmaise	213.
Humphrey Cunningham of Auchtermuchty	2.
Humphrey Cunningham of Glengarnock	236.
Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs	9.
Robert Cunningham of Polmaise.	224.
William Cunningham	342.
John Dalrymple, burgess of Edinburgh	439.
Robert Dalzell of that Ilk	424.
William Danielston	446.
John Danzanstoun	383.
John Dishington of Ardross	334.
Archibald Douglas, fifth earl of Douglas	13.
Archibald Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale	34.
Henry Douglas of Loch Leven	131.
James Douglas, son of Archibald Douglas	4.
James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith	8.
James Douglas of Balvenie	68.
James Douglas, ninth earl of Douglas	133.
James Douglas, brother of Sir Henry Douglas of Loch Leven	135.
James Douglas	229.
John Douglas	210.
Robert Douglas of Loch Leven	329.
William Douglas, earl of Angus	14.
William Douglas, sixth earl of Douglas	73.
William Douglas, son of Sir James Douglas of Balvenie	74.
William Douglas of Morton	148.
William Douglas of Drumlanrig	275.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

William Douglas	347.
Malcolm Drummond of Stobhall	403.
William Drummond	141.
Alexander Dunbar of Westfield	110.
David Dunbar of Cockburn	86.
George Dunbar, earl of March	15.
James Dunbar of Cumnock	200.
John Dunbar of Mochrum	354.
Patrick Dunbar, lord of Cumnock	11.
Archibald Dundas of that Ilk	161.
James Dundas of that Ilk	409.
Son of James Edmonstone of that Ilk	76.
Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreith	280.
James Edmonstone of that Ilk	45.
William Edmonstone of Culloden	10.
William Edmonstone of Duntreith, sheriff of Perth	326.
Hugh Eglinton, lord of Eglinton	343.
Alexander Elphinstone of that Ilk	337.
John Elphinstone of Airth	307.
John Elphinstone	366.
Robert Erskine of Ellem	271.
Walter Erskine	489.
William Erskine of Kinnoul	23.
Thomas Fenton	377.
Alexander Fleming	434.
David Fleming, son of Malcolm Fleming	204.
Alexander Forbes of that Ilk	30.
Alexander Forbes of Kinaldy	149.
Alexander Forbes of Petslego	172.
Alexander Forbes	493.
William Forbes	65.
William Forbes of Reras	323.
Adam Forman	209.
Adam Forman of Hatton	373.
John Forman of Rutherford	317.
Alexander Forrester of Corstorphine	155.
Duncan Forrester of Garden (also of Skipinch)	262.
Malcolm Forrester of Torwood	474.
Walter Forrester of Torwood	279.
Thomas Fotheringham of Powry	522.
Alexander Fraser of Philorth	180.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

William Fraser of Philorth	298.
James Frenrauch, lord Frenrauch	132.
Simon Glendenning of that Ilk	144.
Thomas Goodwin	376.
Alexander Gordon of Midmar	232.
John Gordon of Lunger	515.
Patrick Gordon of Haldauch	509.
Robert Gordon of Uthaw	506.
William Gordon	504.
William Gorthweke	89.
Alexander Graham	417.
Patrick Graham, lord Graham	117.
Andrew Gray of Fowlis	52.
Andrew Gray	169.
Patrick Gray	378.
Alexander Guthrie of that Ilk	297.
David Guthrie of that Ilk	168.
William Hawkhead of Bellsie	469.
Walter Haliburton of Dirleton	64.
William Haliburton	399.
James Haldane of Gleneagles	255.
John Haldane of Gleneagles	256.
John Haldane of Ruskie	461.
George Haliburton	392.
John Haliburton	398.
Archibald Hamilton of Innerwick	244.
David Hamilton, son of Michael Hamilton of Lochhouse	464.
James Hamilton of Fingaltoun	95.
James Hamilton of Cadzow	119.
James Hamilton of Finnert	356.
John Hamilton of Fingaltoun	79.
John Hamilton of Magdalens	138.
John Hamilton of Cadzow	145.
Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil	286.
Patrick Hamilton	358.
Robert Hamilton of Fingaltoun	162.
Walter Hamilton	381.
Patrick Hamilton	455.
Robert Hamilton of Preston	181.
William Handom	407.
Richard Hangandside	385.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

John Haroldson	389.
Roger Hartilton	228.
David Hay of Yester	103.
Gilbert Hay	62.
Gilbert Hay of Ardendracht	319.
John Hay of Belltown	305.
Thomas Hay of Yester	17.
William Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland	24.
William Hay	81.
William Hay of Nachtane	156.
Adam Hepburn of Hailes	16.
Alexander Hepburn, burgess of Haddington	430.
Archibald Hepburn, burgess of Haddington	431.
George Hepburn	421.
Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton	99.
Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyare	205.
Patrick Hepburn	289.
Patrick Hepburn	396.
Thomas Hepburn, burgess of Haddington	433.
William Hepburn	420.
David Herries of Avandale (of Terregles)	163.
Herbert Herries of Terregles	26.
John Herries, lord of Terregles	154.
Robert Herries of Tonnergrath	46.
Gilbert Hogg	371.
Patrick Hogg	370.
Robert Hommyll	448.
John Houston of that Ilk	179.
Peter Houston of that Ilk	266.
Alexander Hume of that Ilk	101.
David Hume of Wedderburn	122.
David Hume of Wedderburn	270.
George Hume of Wedderburn	483.
George Hume of Aytoun	517.
John Hume of Quhitrig	480.
John Hume, son of George Hume of Aytoun	482.
Patrick Hume of Polwarth	276.
Patrick Hume of Fastcastle	519.
Thomas Hume of Langschaw	263.
John Huntly of Aytoun	335.
John Inglis of Culquhalze	505.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Alexander Irvine of Drum	3.
Alexander Irvine of Drum	295.
James II	72.
Alexander Jardin	306.
Adam Johnston of Elphinstone	282.
Gilbert Johnston of Elphinstone, sheriff of Edinburgh	216.
Alexander Keith, lord of Granton	55.
Alexander Keith of Hithe	308.
Andrew Keith	386.
Gilbert Keith of Inverugie	194.
Robert Keith of that Ilk	115.
William Keith, lord of that Ilk, marshal of Scotland	125.
William Keith of Inverugie	186.
David Kennedy, son of John, second Lord Kennedy	222.
Fergus Kennedy	380.
Gavin Kennedy of Blairquhan	324.
Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure	35.
John Kennedy of Comiston	285.
John Kennedy of Blairquhan	333.
Robert Kerr of Cessford	235.
Walter Kerr	415.
Walter Kerr of Cessford	510.
Nicholas King	63.
Richard Kinman	486.
John Kinninmond of Craighall	190.
Andrew Kinninmonth of that Ilk (and of Craighall)	327.
Thomas Kirkpatrick of Kilosbarn	43.
John Knollis of Polmalot	453.
Patrick Knollis	118.
William Knollis, preceptor of Torphichen, treasurer	175.
Alexander Lauder of Hatton	157.
Alexander Lauder of Hatton	291.
Alexander Lauder, provost of Edinburgh	315.
Alexander Lauder of Blith	348.
George Lauder of Quhitslaid	252.
Robert Lauder of Bass	32.
Robert Lauder of Edington	39.
Robert Lauder of Bass	303.
Robert Lauder of Edington	481.
William Lauder of Hatton	429.
Walter Leckie	58.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Alexander Leckprewick of that Ilk	426.
Alexander Lesley	452.
George Lesley of Quhitecors	458.
Norman Lesley of Fithkill, lord of Rothes	80.
William Lesley of Balcharn	116.
William Levenaux of Caly	217.
David Liddale	444.
Gilbert Liddale	445.
James Liddale of Halkerston	183.
John Liddale of Lochtillo	443.
John Liddale, son of Sir James Liddale of Halkerston	503.
Robert Liddale of Balmuir	440.
Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford	49.
Alexander Lindsay, lord of Baltrody	202.
Alexander Lindsay of Auchtermonsey	320.
David Lindsay of Meikle	92.
David Lindsay, lord of Glenesk	201.
David Lindsay of Bewford	206.
David Lindsay of Edzell	302.
James Lindsay of Colvantoun	123.
John Lindsay de Byres	98.
John Lindsay of Petcruvy	340.
William Lindsay	310.
William Lindsay of Rossy	382.
William Livingston	402.
Alexander Livingston of Callander	100.
James Livingston of Lethbart	142.
James Livingston of Callander	419.
John Livingston	127.
Robert Livingston of Drumry	90.
Robert Livingston of Drumry	312.
William Livingston	516.
James Lockhart	449.
Stephen Lockhart of Cleghorn	239.
James Logan, sheriff depute of Edinburgh	258.
John Logan, son of Simon Logan of Restalrig	75.
Robert Logan of Restalrig	67.
Robert Logan, lord of Restalrig	251.
Thomas Lovell	61.
Dominic Lovell	226.
Henry Lovell of Ballumby	346.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

Thomas Lovell	501.
Andrew Lundy of Balgony	301.
John Lundy of that Ilk	191.
Robert Lundy of Balgony, treasurer	272.
Alexander MacCulloch of Merton	296.
Archibald MacDowell, lord of Merchiston	83.
John MacGilleoun of Lochboye	261.
William MacLellan of Bombie	355.
Patrick Maitland	159.
Robert Maitland of Auchincastle	511.
Thomas Maul of Panmuir	195.
Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock	1.
Herbert Maxwell of Collinhath	47.
John Maxwell of Pollock	36.
John Maxwell of Calderwood	82.
Patrick Maxwell	466.
William Meldrum of Fyvie	520.
John Melville of Raith	316.
William Menteith of Kerse	233.
Alexander Menzies	240.
David Menzies of Weem	54.
Robert Menzies of that Ilk	338.
Laurence Mercer of Meikleour	193.
George Moncrief of Tibirmallock	485.
John Moncrief	351.
John Moncrief	442.
William Monypenny	88.
Alexander Montgomery, lord of Montgomery (of Ardrossan)	70.
James Montgomery	447.
John Montgomery of Corscrag	283.
William Montgomery of Giffin	167.
David Mowbray of Dummany	173.
David Mowbray of Bernbowgall	174.
John Mowbray of Bernbowgall	321.
Adam Muir	38.
Alexander Muir	405.
David Muntower	387.
Adam Murray of Drumcrief	259.
Alexander Murray	363.
Andrew Murray of Kippo	339.
Charles Murray of Cockpool	437.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

David Murray of Gask	21.
John Murray of Touchadam	250.
John Murray of Cockpool	300.
John Murray of Ayr	357.
John Murray of Fallohill	521.
Patrick Murray of Auchterardour	418.
Thomas Murray	7.
William Murray of Tullibardine	189.
William Murray of Touchadam	438.
Robert Muscamp	51.
Alexander Nairn of Sandford	120.
Alexander Napier of Merchiston	153.
Alexander Napier of Merchiston	314.
John Napier of Merchiston	514.
Alexander Newtoun	375.
John Newtoun	360.
John Newtoun	361.
Walram Normanville	242.
Malcolm Ochiltree	408.
Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin	96.
James Ogilvy of Erroll	182.
James Ogilvy of Deskfurd	192.
James Ogilvy of Finletter	196.
James Ogilvy of Campsie	203.
John Ogilvy of Lintrathen	109.
John Ogilvy of Finglask	268.
Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, sheriff of Angus	19.
Patrick Ogivly, knight of Granton	41.
Thomas Ogilvy	341.
Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen	29.
Walter Ogilvy, lord of Balcharn	44.
Walter Ogilvy of Deskfurd	94.
Walter Ogilvy of Boyne	294.
Walter Ogilvy of Auchleven	475.
Walter Ogilvy	512.
William Ogilvy of Strathearn	345.
Alexander Ogilvy	401.
John Oliphant of Aberdalgy	129.
John Oliphant of Kelly	293.
Thomas Oliphant of Drone	462.
James Ormiston	362.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

George Parklee of that Ilk	484.
John Pennycuik of that Ilk	177.
Alexander Pollock	400.
Simon Preston of that Ilk	299.
Alexander Pringle	365.
George Pringle	364.
John Pyot	518.
Alexander Raith	463.
Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie	27.
Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie	249.
Alexander Ramsay of Cockpen	281.
Alexander Ramsay of Petrovy	416.
John Ramsay	212.
Nicholas Ramsay of Wilson	502.
Silvester Rettra	248.
Hugh Ross, son of Hugh Ross of Kilrawak	477.
John Ross of Hawkhead	134.
John Ross of Malevyn	269.
John Ross of Montgrenan	472.
William Rossy	60.
James Rutherford of that Ilk	126.
John Rutherford	215.
John Rutherford	369.
David Ruthven	441.
William Ruthven of that Ilk	214.
Thomas Sanchquhar	428.
James Sandilands	85.
James Sandilands of Calder	230.
John Schoriswood	436.
Walter Scott of Kirkurd	97.
William Scott of Balweary	274.
Gilbert Scrymgeour	359.
James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee	284.
John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee	25.
John Semple of Elliotstown	374.
Robert Semple of Elliotstown	146.
Alexander Seton of Gordon	40.
Alexander Seton, master of Gordon	91.
Alexander Seton of Touchfresar	265.
Alexander Seton	410.
George Seton, lord Seton	102.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

John Seton of that Ilk	5.
William Seton	459.
Quentin Sewell	498.
Henry Shaw	304.
James Shaw of Sauchie	237.
John Shaw	413.
Alexander Sibbald	492.
John Sibbald of Balgony	66.
David Sinclair	273.
George Sinclair of Blainis	397.
John Sinclair	6.
John Sinclair of Hirmandstoun	136.
John Sinclair of Dridane	246.
Oliver Sinclair of Roslin	197.
Thomas Sinclair	422.
William Sinclair	84.
John Somerville of Cambusnethane	247.
William Somerville, lord Somerville	105.
Alexander Stewart, son of the duke of Albany	12.
Alexander Stewart	42.
Alexander Stewart of Galstoune	450.
Alexander Stewart, son of Walter Stewart of Morphe	473.
Andrew Stewart	140.
Andrew Stewart	487.
Christian Stewart	350.
David Stewart of Rosyth	18.
James Stewart of Auchterhouse	171.
John Red Stewart of Dundonald	20.
John Stewart of Cardney	21.
John Stewart of Darnley	53.
John Stewart of Minto	311.
John Stewart	393.
Murdac Stewart	128.
Patrick Stewart of Latheris	496.
Thomas Stewart of Minto	488.
Walter Stewart of Strathavon	93.
Walter Stewart of Arthurlee	211.
William Stewart of Castlemilk	106.
William Stewart of Dalswinton	150.
William Stewart	379.
John Stirling of Craighernard	292.

Appendix B, Table One: Knights and Corresponding Key-Numbers

William Stirling of Keir	188.
John Strange	427.
William Strathauchine of Ludeninch	468.
John Swinton of that Ilk	184.
John Thomson of Merchiston	368.
Alexander Thornton	476.
Thomas Todd	231.
John Towers of Inverleith	207.
John Turnbull	59.
Thomas Turnbull of Greenwood	225.
William Turnbull	367.
Laurence Vernon	57.
Adam Wallace of Craigie	454.
John Wallace of Craigie	113.
William Wallace of Craigie	152.
Henry Wardlaw of Torry	349.
David Wedderburn	500.
David Wemyss of that Ilk	288.
John Wemyss of that Ilk	178.
John Wemyss of Strathardle	254.
Thomas Wemyss of Reras	170.
Alexander Wetherspoon	384.
John William	499.
William Wiseman	241.
Andrew Wood of Largo	245.
Walter Wood of Bonetoun	494.
Ronald Wyntoun of Andate	457.

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
1.	Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock	Before 28 October 1420	<i>RMS</i> , II, 48.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous.	
2.	Humphrey Cunningham of Auchtermuchty	Before 29 March 1422	<i>RMS</i> , II, 102.		
3.	Alexander Irvine of Drum	June 1422 - 20 February 1424	<i>A.B. III</i> , III, p. 31.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous.	
4.	James Douglas, son of Archibald Douglas	Before feast of St Nicholas 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 12.		
5.	John Seton of that Ilk	Before feast of St Nicholas 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 12.		
6.	John Sinclair	Before feast of St Nicholas 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 12.		
7.	Thomas Murray	Before feast of St Nicholas 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 12.		
8.	James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith	Before 18 July 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 13.		
9.	Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs	7 October 1423 – 4 February 1424	NAS GD16/3/8., <i>RMS</i> , II, 16, 17.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous.	
10.	William Edmonstone of Culloden	2 December 1423 – 6 November 1429	<i>RMS</i> , II, 13, 135.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
11.	Patrick Dunbar, lord of Cumnock	Before 5 February 1424	<i>RMS</i> , II, 9.		
12.	Alexander Stewart, son of the duke of Albany	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
13.	Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
14.	William Douglas, earl of Angus	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
15.	George Dunbar, earl of March	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
16.	Adam Hepburn of Hailes	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
17.	Thomas Hay of Yester	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
18.	David Stewart of Rosyth	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
19.	Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, sheriff of Angus	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
20.	John Red Stewart of Dundonald	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
21.	David Murray of Gask	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
22.	John Stewart of Cardney	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
23.	William Erskine of Kinnoul	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
24.	William Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
25.	John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
26.	Herbert Herries of Terregles	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
27.	Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
28.	William Crichton of that Ilk	21 May 1424	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 10.	James I's coronation	James I
29.	Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen	8 June 1424 – 10 July 1424	CDS, IV, 962., RMS, II, 4.	Probably at James I's coronation.	James I (?)
30.	Alexander Forbes of that Ilk	Before 8 July 1424	<i>A.B. Ill.</i> , II, p. 381.		
31.	William Borthwick	Before 12 October 1424	RMS, II, 11.	It has been proposed that he was knighted at James I's coronation.	James I (?)
32.	Robert Lauder of Bass	Before 12 October 1424	RMS, II, 11.		
33.	William Crawford	Before 17 January 1425	RMS, II, 14.		
34.	Archibald Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale	Before 12 May 1425	RMS, II, 195.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
35.	Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure	Before 11 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 27., NAS GD135/376		
36.	John Maxwell of Pollock	Before 11 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 27., NAS GD135/376		
37.	Alan Cathcart	Before 11 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 27., NAS GD135/376		
38.	Adam Muir	Before 11 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 27., NAS GD135/376		
39.	Robert Lauder of Edington	Before 14 December 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 29.		
40.	Alexander Seton of Gordon	Before 2 January 1420	<i>A.B. Ill.</i> , IV, p. 181.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous.	
41.	Patrick Ogilvy, knight of Granton	Before 14 April 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 41.		
42.	Alexander Stewart	Before 28 May 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 53., GD124/1/132		
43.	Thomas Kirkpatrick of Kilosbarn	Before 25 September 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 62.		
44.	Walter Ogilvy, lord of Balcham	Before 25 September 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 62.		
45.	James Edmonstone of that ilk	27 September 1426 - 26 February 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 62., 226.		
46.	Robert Herries of Tonnergrath	Before 24 October 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 86.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
47.	Herbert Maxwell of Collinhath	Before 24 October 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 86.		
48.	John Allerdas	Before 15 December 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 68.		
49.	Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford	After 27 July 1427	<i>RMS</i> , II, 127.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous. There is a belief that he was never knighted.	
50.	David Anande	Before 20 September 1427	<i>RMS</i> , II, 100.		
51.	Robert Muscamp	Before 3 November 1427	<i>RMS</i> , II, 105.		
52.	Andrew Gray of Fowlis	9 November 1427 – 1436	<i>Foedera</i> , X, pp. 334-6, 382., <i>CDS</i> , IV, 1011., <i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 12.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous.	
53.	John Stewart of Darnley	Before 17 July 1428	<i>RMS</i> , II, 108.		
54.	David Menzies of Weem	17 July 1428 - 4 September 1430	<i>RMS</i> , II, 108n, 170, 171.		
55.	Alexander Keith, lord of Granton	Before 2 August 1428	<i>RMS</i> , II, 109.		
56.	Alexander Barclay	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Returning from the French coronation at Rheims.	Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (no. 19)

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
57.	Laurence Vernon	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Erroneously thought to have been knighted by Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse	Charles VII of France
58.	Walter Leckie	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Returning from the French coronation at Rheims.	Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (no. 19)
59.	John Turnbull	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Returning from the French coronation at Rheims.	Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (no. 19)
60.	William Rossy	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Returning from the French coronation at Rheims.	Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (no. 19)
61.	Thomas Lovell	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Returning from the French coronation at Rheims.	Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (no. 19)
62.	Gilbert Hay	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Erroneously thought to have been knighted by Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse	Charles VII of France

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
63.	Nicholas King	Just after 17 July 1429	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 26.	Returning from the French coronation at Rheims.	Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse (no. 19)
64.	Walter Haliburton of Dirleton	27 July 1429 – 3 May 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 127, 201.	Commonly thought to have been knighted at James I's coronation, but this is erroneous. He was probably knighted at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
65.	William Forbes	Before 27 July 1429	<i>RMS</i> , II, 127.		
66.	John Sibbald of Balgony	Before 30 August 1429	<i>RMS</i> , II, 130.		
67.	Robert Logan of Restalrig	Before 24 September 1429	<i>RMS</i> , II, 132.		
68.	James Douglas of Balvenie	4 February 1430 – 1440s	<i>RMS</i> , II, 186., <i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.		
69.	Hugh Barclay of Kilbirnie	Before 25 May 1430	<i>RMS</i> , II, 153.		
70.	Alexander Montgomery, lord of Montgomery (of Ardrossan)	Before 10 August 1430	<i>RMS</i> , II, 163.		
71.	William Airth de la Plane	Before 9 September 1430	<i>RMS</i> , II, 172.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
72.	James II	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	His baptism	James I, his father.
73.	William Douglas, sixth earl of Douglas	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	James II's baptism	James I
74.	William Douglas, son of Sir James Douglas of Balvenie	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	James II's baptism	James I
75.	John Logan, son of Simon Logan of Restalrig	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	James II's baptism	James I
76.	Son of James Edmonstone of that Ilk	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	James II's baptism	James I
77.	Son of Sir William Crichton	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	James II's baptism	James I
78.	James Borthwick, son of Sir William Borthwick	Just after 16 October 1430	<i>Chron. Bower</i> , XVI, 16.	James II's baptism	James I
79.	John Hamilton of Fingaltoun	Before 27 January 1431	<i>RMS</i> , II, 181.		
80.	Norman Lesley of Fithkill, lord of Rothes	30 January 1431 – 20 November 1438	<i>RMS</i> , II, 182, 239.		
81.	William Hay	Before 30 January 1431	<i>RMS</i> , II, 182.		
82.	John Maxwell of Calderwood	4 February 1431 - 13 May 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 186, 350.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
83.	Archibald MacDowell, lord of Merchiston	Before 17 March 1431	<i>RMS</i> , II, 188.		
84.	William Sinclair	After 19 April 1431 (when knighted?)	<i>RMS</i> , II, 189.		
85.	James Sandilands	Before 1 May 1431	<i>RMS</i> , II, 195.		
86.	David Dunbar of Cockburn	Before 13 March 1433	<i>RMS</i> , II, 227.		
87.	Robert Crichton of Sanquhar	13 March 1433 – 27 February 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 227, 223.		
88.	William Monypenny	Before 15 June 1434	<i>RMS</i> , II, 228.		
89.	William Gorthweke	Before 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no 20.		
90.	Robert Livingston of Drumry	Before 31 July 1437	<i>Registrum de Dunfermline</i> , no. 406.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
91.	Alexander Seton, master of Gordon	12 November 1437 – 12 December 1438	NAS GD3/2/1/5., <i>RMS</i> , II, 206.		
92.	David Lindsay of Meikle	Before 24 August 1438	<i>RMS</i> , II, 768.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
93.	Walter Stewart of Strathavon	30 September 1438 – 26 June 1439	NAS GD124/1/141., GD124/1/145.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
94.	Walter Ogilvy of Deskfurd	Before 20 November 1438	<i>RMS</i> , II, 239.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
95.	James Hamilton of Fingaltoun	Before 12 December 1438	<i>RMS</i> , II, 206.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
96.	Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin	Before 22 February 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 218.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
97.	Walter Scott of Kirkurd	Before 3 May 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 201.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
98.	John Lindsay de Byres	Before 20 November 1438	<i>RMS</i> , II, 239.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
99.	Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton	Before 18 July 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 203.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
100.	Alexander Livingston of Callander	Before 13 August 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 203.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
101.	Alexander Hume of that Ilk	Before 4 September 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 204.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
102.	George Seton, lord Seton	Before 18 September 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 206.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
103.	David Hay of Yester	Before 16 November 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 210.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
104.	George Crichton of Blackness	Before 22 December 1439	<i>RMS</i> , II, 246.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
105.	William Somerville, lord Somerville	22 December 1439 – 3 January 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 246, 297.		
106.	William Stewart of Castlemilk	Before 1 February 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 213.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
107.	John Cockburn of Dalginche	Before 8 February 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 215.		
108.	William Cranston of Corsby	Before 8 February 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 215.	Possibly at James II's coronation.	James II (?)
109.	John Ogilvy of Lintrathen	Before 10 August 1440	NAS GD124/1/147., <i>A.B. III.</i> , IV, p. 193.		
110.	Alexander Dunbar of Westfield	31 August 1440 - 15 October 1466	<i>RMS</i> , II, 370, 885.		
111.	Duncan Campbell of Lochaw	20 September 1440 – 28 January 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 246, 285.		
113.	John Wallace of Craigie	Before 8 January 1441	<i>RMS</i> , II, 258.		
114.	George Campbell, lord of Loudoun	Before 10 September 1441	<i>RMS</i> , II, 302.		
115.	Robert Keith of that ilk	Before 20 May 1442	<i>RMS</i> , II, 276.		
116.	William Lesley of Balcham	Before 1 August 1442	<i>RMS</i> , II, 278.		
117.	Patrick Graham, lord Graham	Before 8 February 1443	<i>RMS</i> , II, 270.		
118.	Patrick Knollis	After 13 June 1443 – 15 September 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 497., NAS GD1/34/3		
119.	James Hamilton of Cadzow	Before 28 January 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 285.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
120.	Alexander Nairn of Sandford	28 January 1444-1453	<i>RMS</i> , II, 595., <i>Chron. Extracta</i> , p. 243.		
121.	James Auchinleck of that Ilk	Before 29 June 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 557.		
122.	David Hume of Wedderburn	Before 29 June 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 557.		
123.	James Lindsay of Colvantoun	Before 29 June 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 557.		
124.	Colin Campbell of Glenorchy	Before 25 March 1437	NAS GD112/3/2	Possibly at James II's coronation.	
125.	William Keith, lord of that Ilk, marshal of Scotland	Before 28 October 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 276.		
126.	James Rutherford of that Ilk	29 October 1444 - 12 December 1465	<i>A.B. Ill.</i> , IV, p. 49., <i>RMS</i> , II, 899.		
127.	John Livingston	3 November 1444 - 29 October 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 281., <i>A.B. Ill.</i> , IV, p. 49.		
128.	Murdac Stewart	Before 25 January 1445	NAS GD124/1/425		
129.	John Oliphant of Aberdalgy	Before 17 December 1447	<i>RMS</i> , II, 289.		
130.	Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll	11 November 1448 – 11 November 1449	<i>ER</i> , V, 329, 356.	Possibly at James II's wedding celebrations.	James II
131.	Henry Douglas of Loch Leven	Before 10 December 1448	NAS GD124/1/427.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
132.	James Frendrauch, lord Frendrauch	Before 18 February 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 319.		
133.	James Douglas, ninth earl of Douglas	25 February 1449	George Chastellian, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', pp. 33-4.	Tournament at Stirling.	James II
134.	John Ross of Hawkhead	25 February 1449	George Chastellian, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', pp. 33-4.	Tournament at Stirling.	James II
135.	James Douglas, brother of Sir Henry Douglas of Loch Leven	25 February 1449	George Chastellian, 'Historie du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain', pp. 33-4.	Tournament at Stirling.	James II
136.	John Sinclair of Hirmandstoun	20 June 1449 – 24 October 1481	<i>RMS</i> , II, 332., <i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 92.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
137.	David Bruce of Clackmannan	Before 8 July 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 352.	Possibly at James II's marriage.	James II (?)
138.	John Hamilton of Magdalens	After 28 July 1449 – 3 June 1454	<i>RMS</i> , II, 398., NAS GD32/20/2		
139.	Robert Colville of Ochiltree	9 January 1450 - 16 February 1451	<i>RMS</i> , II, 302, 417.		
140.	Andrew Stewart	Before 17 February 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 318.		
141.	William Drummond	Before 28 February 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2508.		
142.	James Livingston of Lethbart	7 March 1450- 4 August 1488	NAS GD430/53., <i>Prot. Bk Young</i> , no. 107.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
143.	George Crichton of Carnis	Before 1 April 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 334.		
144.	Simon Glendenning of that Ilk	Before 28 February 1451	<i>RMS</i> , II, 420.		
145.	John Hamilton of Cadzow	Before 20 September 1451	<i>RMS</i> , II, 499.		
146.	Robert Semple of Elliotstown	Before 31 October 1451	<i>RMS</i> , II, 505.		
147.	John Campbell of Loudoun	Before 3 January 1452	<i>RMS</i> , II, 516.		
148.	William Douglas of Morton	Before 12 January 1453	<i>RMS</i> , II, 595.		
149.	Alexander Forbes of Kinaldy	29 May 1457 - 7 October 1476 (date incorrect in <i>RMS</i>)	NAS GD176/6., <i>RMS</i> , II, 1260.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
150.	William Stewart of Dalswinton	Before 13 January 1459	<i>RMS</i> , II, 663.		
151.	John Colquhoun of that Ilk	27 February 1459 – 17 July 1464	<i>RMS</i> , II, 679, 797.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
152.	William Wallace of Craige	12 April 1459 – 24 February 1473	<i>RMS</i> , II, 692, 1108.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
153.	Alexander Napier of Merchiston	16 May 1459 - 15 June 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 700., NAS GD430/14	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
154.	John Herries, lord of Terregles	20 July 1459 - 21 August 1463	<i>RMS</i> , II, 734, 765, 815.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
155.	Alexander Forrester of Corstorphine	1460 – 26 February 1463.	ER, VII, p. 34., <i>RMS</i> , II, 786.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
156.	William Hay of Nachthane	Before 23 May 1461	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1656.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
157.	Alexander Lauder of Hatton	Before 23 January 1462	NAS GD430/13	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
158.	William, Thane of Cawdor	Before 12 April 1463	<i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles</i> , no. 79., NAS GD305/1/79/8.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
159.	Patrick Maitland	Before September 1463	<i>RMS</i> , II, 758.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
160.	James Crichton of Carnis	Before 5 December 1463	<i>RMS</i> , II, 771.	Possibly at James III's coronation.	James III (?)
161.	Archibald Dundas of that Ilk	Before 1 February 1464	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1346.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
162.	Robert Hamilton of Fingaltoun	Before 15 October 1464	<i>RMS</i> , II, 812.		
163.	David Herries of Avandale (of Terregles)	Before 19 October 1464	<i>RMS</i> , II, 816.		
164.	John Carlyle of Torthorwald	Before 19 October 1464	<i>RMS</i> , II, 816.		
165.	Thomas Cranston of that Ilk	Before 24 May 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 834.		
166.	George Campbell, son and heir or George Campbell, lord of Loudoun	Before 22 July 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 842.		
167.	William Montgomery of Giffin	Before 23 September 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 854.		
168.	David Guthrie of that Ilk	12 February 1471 - 4 February 1473	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1011, 1104.		James III (?)
169.	Andrew Gray	13 April 1466 – 3 August 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 870., NAS GD160/2/12		
170.	Thomas Wemyss of Reras	Before 22 July 1466	<i>RMS</i> , II, 881, 882.		
171.	James Stewart of Auchterhouse	Before 1 March 1467	<i>RMS</i> , II, 909.		
172.	Alexander Forbes of Petslego	Before 9 August 1467	NAS GD52/1083, GD176/9.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
173.	David Mowbray of Dummany	21 October 1467 - 18 December 1477	NAS GD16/24/32., RMS, II, 1338.		
174.	David Mowbray of Bernbowgall	21 October 1467 - 23 February 1488	RMS, II, 1708., NAS GD16/24/32.		
175.	William Knollis, preceptor of Torphichen, treasurer	Before 16 December 1467	NAS GDI/39/I/2		
176.	Robert Boyd, lord Boyd	Before 19 December 1467	RMS, II, 937.		
177.	John Pennykuik of that ilk	Before 19 December 1467	RMS, II, 937.		
178.	John Wemyss of that ilk	Before 25 July 1468	RMS, II, 958.		
179.	John Houston of that ilk	Before 12 November 1468	RMS, II, 969, 970.		
180.	Alexander Fraser of Philorth	Before 24 February 1470	<i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles</i> , no. 97.		
181.	Robert Hamilton of Preston	Before 2 October 1470	RMS, II, 3575.		
182.	James Ogilvy of Erroll	Before May 1471	RMS, II, 1023.		
183.	James Liddale of Halkerston	18 June 1471 – July 1471	ER, VIII, 100., RMS, II, 1031.		Alexander, duke of Albany
184.	John Swinton of that ilk	Before 17 June 1471	RMS, II, 1053.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
185.	Anselm Adornes of Cortoquhy	Before 18 April 1472	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1060.		
186.	William Keith of Inverugie	19 March 1473 – 31 March 1476	NAS GDI60/1/14., <i>RMS</i> , II, 1236.		
187.	Robert Abercromby of that Ilk	Before 28 April 1473	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1122.		
188.	William Stirling of Keir	4 November 1473 - 18 May 1495	NAS GD430/78., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2253.		
189.	William Murray of Tullibardine	Before 26 March 1474	NAS GDI60/1/5		
190.	John Kinninmond of Craighall	Before 26 March 1474	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1163.		
191.	John Lundy of that Ilk	Before 13 May 1474	NAS GD4/33		
192.	James Ogilvy of Deskfurd	27 June 1447 - 18 October 1474	NAS GDI6/1/3., <i>RMS</i> , II, 1184n.		
193.	Laurence Mercer of Meikleour	Before 16 January 1476	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1224.		
194.	Gilbert Keith of Inverugie	Before 31 March 1476	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1236.		
195.	Thomas Maul of Panmuir	Before 4 September 1476	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1254.		
196.	James Ogilvy of Finletter	Before 7 October 1476 (date incorrect in <i>RMS</i>)	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1260.		
197.	Oliver Sinclair of Roslin	Before 10 December 1476	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1270, 1271.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
198.	John Campbell of Wester Loudoun	Before 28 March 1477	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1286.		
199.	John Chalmers of Gaitgirth	Before 13 July 1477	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1786.		
200.	James Dunbar of Cumnock	9 May 1478 – 29 October 1490	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1372., 1983.		
201.	David Lindsay, lord of Glenesk	Before 21 August 1478	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1561.		
202.	Alexander Lindsay, lord of Baltrody	Before 21 August 1478	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1561.		
203.	James Ogilvy of Campsie	Before 10 February 1480	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1462.		
204.	David Fleming, son of Malcolm Fleming	Before 21 November 1480	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1453.		
205.	Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyare	Before 1 February 1481	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1459.		
206.	David Lindsay of Bewford	Before 13 March 1481	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1469.		
207.	John Towers of Inverleith	24 October 1481 - 4 August 1488	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 92., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 91.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
208.	John Stewart, lord of Balvenie	Before 18 March 1482	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1503.		
209.	Adam Forman	8 November 1482 - 1 July 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1524, 2426.		
210.	John Douglas	Before 21 February 1483	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1573.		
211.	Walter Stewart of Arthurfee	Before 14 March 1483	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1562.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
212.	John Ramsay	6 September 1483 - 18 April 1497	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1565, 2348.		
213.	Alexander Cunningham of Polmaise	19 February 1484 - 14 February 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1576, 1704.		
214.	William Ruthven of that Ilk	Before 15 January 1485	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1924.		
215.	John Rutherford	24 July 1482	Shaw, <i>Knights of England</i> , II, p. 18.		Alexander, duke of Albany
216.	Gilbert Johnstone of Elphinstone, sheriff of Edinburgh	7 July 1485 – 7 September 1485	<i>ER</i> , IX, p. 306., <i>RMS</i> , II, 1618., <i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 14.	Possibly in connection with his service during the Battle of Bosworth	James III
217.	William Levenaux of Caly	Before 24 October 1485	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1627.		
218.	John Cathcart of Carlton	Before 14 November 1485	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1639.		
219.	William Bailey of Lamington	Before 13 December 1485	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1750.		
220.	Alexander Bruce of Bregeham	9 February 1486 – 18 October 1497	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1638., NAS GD20/1/54.		
221.	William Charteris of Cagnor	Before 15 June 1487	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1675.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
222.	David Kennedy, son of John, second Lord Kennedy	29 January 1488	<i>APS</i> , II, p. 181.	Parliament	James III
223.	William Carlyle, grandson of John, first Lord of Carlyle	29 January 1488	<i>APS</i> , II, p. 181.	Parliament	James III
224.	Robert Cunningham of Polmaise.	29 January 1488	<i>APS</i> , II, p. 181.	Parliament	James III
225.	Thomas Turnbull of Greenwood	Before 18 May 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1723, 1724.		
226.	Dominic Lovell	Before 19 June 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1738.		
227.	Thomas Brochton	Before 19 June 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1738.		
228.	Roger Hartilton	Before 19 June 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1738.		
229.	James Douglas	Before 10 September 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1776.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
230.	James Sandilands of Calder	Before 23 December 1488	<i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 145.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
231.	Thomas Todd	1489 – 1490	<i>ER</i> , X, pp. 21, 40, 58, 102., <i>CDS</i> , IV, 1571.		
232.	Alexander Gordon of Midmar	Before 23 January 1489	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1812.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
233.	William Menteith of Kerse	Before 25 September 1489	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1897.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
234.	James Crichton of Ragarton	Before 28 September 1489	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1898.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
235.	Robert Kerr of Cessford	Before 1490	ER, X, p. 652., <i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 2012.	Possibly at James IV's coronation.	James IV (?)
236.	Humphrey Cunningham of Glengarnock	24 May 1490 - 2 March 1501	NAS GD430/90, GD430/91., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2569.		
237.	James Shaw of Sauchie	24 May 1490 - 4 December 1506	NAS GD430/89., GD430/91., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3011.		
238.	Michael Balfour of Burleigh, son of Michael Balfour of Burleigh	5 July 1490 - 16 February 1506	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1960, 2940.		
239.	Stephen Lockhart of Cleghorn	After 23 August 1490 - 7 March 1492	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1896, 2093., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 170.		
240.	Alexander Menzies	Before 1491	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2904.		
241.	William Wiseman	Before 1491	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2904.		
242.	Walram Normanville	Before 1491	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2904.		
243.	James Crichton of Frendraught	21 January 1491 - 4 August 1498	NAS GD124/1/1063., <i>RSS</i> , I, 243.		
244.	Archibald Hamilton of Innerwick	Before 5 May 1491	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2029.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
245.	Andrew Wood of Largo	18 May 1491 – 18 February 1495.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2040, 2231.		
246.	John Sinclair of Dridane	31 July 1491 - 20 June 1501	<i>TA</i> , II, p. 112, I, p. 172.		
247.	John Somerville of Cambusnethane	1492 – 8 September 1497	<i>RSS</i> , I, 130., <i>ER</i> , X, p. 766.	Possibly for service at raid of Norham.	James IV (?)
248.	Silvester Rettra	Before 8 February 1492	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2081.		
249.	Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie	3 March 1492 - 28 July 1500	<i>NAS GDI</i> 72/60/., <i>RSS</i> , I, 551.		
250.	John Murray of Touchadam	Before 2 May 1492	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2105.		
251.	Robert Logan, lord of Restalrig	29 November 1492 - 9 March 1511	<i>NAS GDI</i> 72/122., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3550.		
252.	George Lauder of Quhitslaid	2 March 1493 – 4 July 1500	<i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 580., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3019.		
253.	Adam Crichton of Ruthven	28 March 1493 - 21 March 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2148, <i>RSS</i> , I, 178.		
254.	John Wemyss of Strathardle	Before 11 May 1493	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2151.		
255.	James Haldane of Gleneagles	11 July 1493 – 13 July 1493	<i>NAS GDI</i> 98/59., <i>GD</i> 198/61.		
256.	John Haldane of Gleneagles	11 July 1493 - 17 September 1506	<i>NAS GDI</i> 98/59., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2993.		
257.	Ninian Bonar of Kelty	1 October 1493 - 9 September 1505	<i>NAS GDI</i> 98/26., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2880.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
258.	James Logan, sheriff depute of Edinburgh	1494 – 15 December 1495	<i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 1779, <i>ER</i> , X, p. 770.		
259.	Adam Murray of Drumcrief	Before 30 January 1494	NAS GD78/4		
260.	William Cockburn of Scraling	13 March 1494 – 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2199., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 211.		
261.	John MacGilleoun of Lochboye	Before 22 March 1494	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2200, 2201.		
262.	Duncan Forrester of Garden (also of Skipinch)	Before 19 June 1494	<i>A.B. Ill.</i> , III, p. 213.		
263.	Thomas Hume of Langschaw	5 November 1494 – 25 May 1498	NAS GD6/12., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2408.		
264.	William Colville of Ochiltree	1495 – 9 December 1497	<i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 986., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 207.		
265.	Alexander Seton of Touchfresar	9 February 1495 – 15 December 1501	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2680., <i>A.B. Ill.</i> , II, p. 83.	Possibly for service in the border raids of 1497.	James IV (?)
266.	Peter Houston of that Ilk	6 May 1495 – 21 January 1501	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2252., <i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 1580.	Possibly for service in the border raids of 1497.	James IV (?)
267.	Alexander Bruce of Birgham	Before 1 July 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2258.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
268.	John Ogilvy of Finglask	17 October 1495 – 28 October 1499.	NAS GD124/1/167., GD32/8/3.		
269.	John Ross of Malevyn	27 October 1495 – 31 May 1499	NAS GD39/39/5/6., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2499.		
270.	David Hume of Wedderburn	10 June 1496 - 8 November 1497	<i>RSS</i> , I, 82, 161.	Border wars?	
271.	Robert Erskine of Ellem	Before 1497	<i>ER</i> , XI, p. 4.	Possibly for service in the border raids of 1497.	James IV (?)
272.	Robert Lundy of Balgony, treasurer.	28 October 1497 – 16 May 1498	NAS GD160/2/10., <i>A.B.</i> <i>III.</i> , III, p. 69.	Possibly for service in the border raids of 1497.	James IV (?)
273.	David Sinclair	Before 3 May 1497	<i>TA</i> , I, p. 332.		
274.	William Scott of Balweary	15 May 1497 – 1497	NAS GD20/1/266., <i>ER</i> , XI, p. 36.	Possibly for service in the border raids of 1497.	James IV (?)
275.	William Douglas of Drumlanrig	29 June 1497 - 23 February 1509	<i>RSS</i> , I, 97., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3312.		
276.	Patrick Hume of Polwarth	19 June 1497 – 5 August 1497	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2365, 2370., <i>Prot. Bk.</i> <i>Young</i> , no. 980.	Raid of Norham	James IV (?)
277.	Baldred Blackadder	25 August 1497 – February 1500	<i>TA</i> , I, p. 354., <i>RSS</i> , I, 473.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
278.	Patrick Blackadder	31 October 1497 – 31 March 1498	<i>TA</i> , I, p. 354., <i>RSS</i> , I, 182.	Possibly for service in the border raids of 1497.	James IV (?)
279.	Walter Forrester of Torwood	Before 26 November 1497	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2384.		
280.	Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreith	8 April 1498 - 5 March 1501	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2251, 2626., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 386.		
281.	Alexander Ramsay of Cockpen	25 April 1498 - 8 March 1504	<i>RSS</i> , I, 195., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2771.	Possibly at James IV's marriage.	James IV (?)
282.	Adam Johnston of Elphinstone	Before 28 May 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2441.		
283.	John Montgomery of Corscrag	1 June 1498 – 5 March 1501	<i>NAS GD3/2/1/12</i> , <i>GD3/2/1/16.</i> , <i>RMS</i> , II, 2626.		
284.	James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee	Before 20 June 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2446.		
285.	John Kennedy of Comiston	Before 26 June 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2433.		
286.	Patrick Hamilton of Kincaivil	Before 22 September 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2456.		
287.	Hugh Campbell of Loudoun	8 October 1498 - 26 March 1505	<i>RSS</i> , I, 265., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2843.		
288.	David Wemyss of that ilk	8 October 1498 – 31 August 1503	<i>RSS</i> , I, 267, 976.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
289.	Patrick Hepburn	1500 – 4 August 1513	<i>Prot. Bk Young</i> , no. 1980., <i>RMS</i> , II, 1887., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 18.		
290.	Adam Cunningham of Caprontoun	1500 - 15 September 1505	<i>TA</i> , II, p. 18., <i>RSS</i> , I, 1127.		
291.	Alexander Lauder of Hatton	5 February 1500 – 21 October 1506	NAS GD135/1059, GD6/13.		
292.	John Stirling of Craighernard	22 April 1500 24 May 1506	<i>RSS</i> , I, 513, 1263.		
293.	John Oliphant of Kelly	15 October 1500 - 20 July 1511	NAS GD98/50., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3590.		
294.	Walter Ogilvy of Boyne	20 October 1500 - 21 November 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2914., <i>RSS</i> , I, 578.		
295.	Alexander Irvine of Drum	1501 - April 1505	NAS GD 33/52/6., <i>A.B. Ill.</i> , III, p. 335., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 272.		
296.	Alexander MacCulloch of Merton	Before 14 February 1501	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2567.		
297.	Alexander Guthrie of that Ilk	Before 18 March 1501	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2576.		
298.	William Fraser of Phillorth	24 March 1501 – 11 October 1505	<i>RSS</i> , I, 667, 1133.		
299.	Simon Preston of that Ilk	6 May 1501 – 30 August 1505	<i>RSS</i> , I, 687, 1124.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
300.	John Murray of Cockpool	13 May 1501 - 15 February 1508	<i>RSS</i> , I, 692., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3194.		
301.	Andrew Lundy of Balgony	27 May 1501 – 6 November 1505	NAS GD26/3/55., <i>RSS</i> , I, 1150.		
302.	David Lindsay of Edzell	Before 27 June 1501	<i>RSS</i> , I, 706.		
303.	Robert Lauder of Bass	19 October 1501 – 18 November 1503.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2608., <i>Prot. Bk. Young</i> , no. 1357.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
304.	Henry Shaw	19 December 1501 - 29 April 1508	<i>TA</i> , II, p. 52., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3220.		
305.	John Hay of Belltown	1502 - 15 February 1504	<i>TA</i> , II, p. 182., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2781.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
306.	Alexander Jardin	8 May 1502 - 12 April 1505	<i>RSS</i> , I, 817., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2844.		
307.	John Elphinstone of Airth	12 August 1502 - 4 January 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2662., <i>A.B. III.</i> , III, p. 372.		
308.	Alexander Keith of Hithie	19 October 1502 - 25 July 1506	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2716. 2990.		
309.	Robert Bruce of Airth	8 February 1503 – 8 November 1503	<i>RSS</i> , I, 993., <i>Prot. Bk. Foular</i> , no. 193.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
310.	William Lindsay	22 February 1503 – 9 November 1504	<i>Prot. Bk. Foular</i> , no. 206., <i>CDS</i> , IV, Appendix no. 38.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
311.	John Stewart of Minto	23 February 1503 - 6 June 1508	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2700, 3240.		
312.	Robert Livingston of Drumry	Before 26 March 1503	<i>RSS</i> , I, 919.		
313.	David Bruce of Clackmannan	27 March 1503 - 3 February 1507	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3046., <i>RSS</i> , I, 922.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
314.	Alexander Napier of Merchiston	Before 31 March 1503	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2713.		
315.	Alexander Lauder, provost of Edinburgh	July 1503 – 1504 (get dates)	<i>TA</i> , II, pp. 385-9.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	
316.	John Melville of Raith	Before 11 August 1503	Fraser, <i>Melvilles</i> , I, p. 38., <i>SP</i> , VI, p. 86.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
317.	John Forman of Rutherford (also of Dawan?)	Before 18 August 1503	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2745.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
318.	Thomas Borthwick of Collielaw	Before 29 November 1503	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2759.	Possibly at James IV's wedding celebrations.	James IV (?)
319.	Gilbert Hay of Ardendracht	1504 - 4 December 1505	<i>TA</i> , II, p. 175., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2900.		
320.	Alexander Lindsay of Auchtermoney	Before 15 March 1504	<i>A.B. Ill.</i> , II, p. 404.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
321.	John Mowbray of Bernbowgall	1505 – 3 April 1508	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3214, <i>ER</i> , XII, p. 717.		
322.	Adam Caldwell, lord Caldwell	Before 11 January 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2816.		
323.	William Forbes of Reras	Before 27 February 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2824.		
324.	Gavin Kennedy of Blairquhan	Before 1 March 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2829.		
325.	Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy	16 July 1505 - 24 May 1506	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1263., <i>TA</i> , III, p. 151.		
326.	William Edmonstone of Duntreith, sheriff of Perth	5 August 1505 - 8 January 1511	<i>NAS GD198/69.</i> , <i>RMS</i> , II, 3527.		
327.	Andrew Kinninmonth of that Ilk (and of Craighall)	Before 3 October 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2885.		
328.	Alexander Bruce of Erlishall	Before 13 November 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2889.		
329.	Robert Douglas of Loch Leven	14 December 1505 - 5 March 1513	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1178, 2480.		
330.	Alexander Crammond of that Ilk	Before 3 February 1506	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1213.		
331.	Alexander Boswell of Balmowto	Before 13 February 1506	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2936.		
332.	William Cockburn of Langton	6 June 1506 - 31 December 1507	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1273., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3169.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
333.	John Kennedy of Blairquhan	15 August 1506 - 29 January 1507	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1321., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3040.		
334.	John Dishington of Ardross	Before 7 December 1506	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3015.		
335.	John Huntly of Aytoun	Before 26 January 1507	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3038.		
336.	William Cumming of Inverellochy, Marchmont Herald	Before 12 April 1507	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3088.		
337.	Alexander Elphinstone of that Ilk	23 August 1507 - 12 August 1513	NAS GD124/1/172., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3875.		
338.	Robert Menzies of that Ilk	6 April 1508 – 6 June 1508	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1650, 1688.	1508 Tournament	
339.	Andrew Murray of Kippo	Before 24 May 1508	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3232.	1508 Tournament	
340.	John Lindsay of Peteruvy	Before 30 May 1508	<i>RSS</i> , I, 1684.	1508 Tournament	
341.	Thomas Ogilvy	Before 2 June 1509	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3820.		
342.	William Cunningham	Before 10 July 1509	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3365.		
343.	Hugh Eglinton, lord of Eglinton	Before 1 February 1510	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3421.		
344.	John Colquhoun of Luss	Before 1 February 1510	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3421.		
345.	William Ogilvy of Strathearn	Before 22 October 1510	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3512.		

Appendix B, Table Two: Knights and the Date They Were Knighted

No	Name	Date Knighted	Source	Occasion on which knighthood bestowed	Knighthood bestowed by
346.	Henry Lovell of Ballumby	Before 22 February 1511	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3664.		
347.	William Douglas	Before 22 February 1511	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3664.		
348.	Alexander Lauder of Blith	Before 7 April 1511	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3562., NAS GD172/11/1., GD172/12/1.		
349.	Henry Wardlaw of Torry	Before 4 September 1511	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3642.		
350.	Christian Stewart	Before 24 September 1511	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3652.		
351.	John Moncrief	Before 20 November 1511	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3662.		
352.	John Crichton of Ragarton	1512 - 3 June 1513	<i>TA</i> , IV, p. 387., <i>RMS</i> , II, 3850.		
353.	John Campbell	Before 22 February 1512	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3703.		
354.	John Dunbar of Mochrum	Before 28 March 1512	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3721.		
355.	William MacLellan of Bombie	19 August 1512 - 31 October 1512	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3779, 3776.		
356.	James Hamilton of Finnert	Before 20 January 1513	<i>RMS</i> , II, 3804.		

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
357.	John Murray of Ayr	After feast of St Nicholas 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 12.
358.	Patrick Hamilton	After 31 May 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 65.
359.	Gilbert Scrymgeour	After 31 May 1423	<i>RMS</i> , II, 65.
360.	John Newtoun	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
361.	John Newtoun	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
362.	James Ormiston	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
363.	Alexander Murray	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
364.	George Pringle	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
365.	Alexander Pringle	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
366.	John Elphinstone	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
367.	William Turnbull	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
368.	John Thomson of Merchiston	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
369.	John Rutherford	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
370.	Patrick Hogg	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
371.	Gilbert Hogg	After 16 November 1425	<i>RMS</i> , II, 106.
372.	George Crichton	After 1 September 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 60.
373.	Adam Forman of Hatton	After 15 March 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 84.
374.	John Semple of Elliotstown	After 7 March 1426	<i>RMS</i> , II, 40.
375.	Alexander Newtoun	After 8 January 1427	<i>RMS</i> , II, 74, 75.
376.	Thomas Goodwin	After 14 October 1427	<i>RMS</i> , II, 104.
377.	Thomas Fenton	After 2 August 1423, still not knighted 2 August 1428	<i>A.B. III.</i> , IV, p. 118., <i>RMS</i> , II, 111.
378.	Patrick Gray	After 2 August 1423, still not 2 August 1428	<i>A.B. III.</i> , IV, p. 118., <i>RMS</i> , II, 111.
379.	William Stewart	After 17 July 1428	<i>RMS</i> , II, 108.
380.	Fergus Kennedy	After 6 November 1429	<i>RMS</i> , II, 135.
381.	Walter Hamilton	After 27 January 1431	<i>RMS</i> , II, 181.
382.	William Lindsay of Rossy	After 27 January 1431	<i>RMS</i> , II, 181.
383.	John Danzanstoun	After 29 September 1432	<i>RMS</i> , II, 486.
384.	Alexander Wetherspoon	After 29 September 1432	<i>RMS</i> , II, 486.
385.	Richard Hangandside	After 29 September 1432	<i>RMS</i> , II, 486.
386.	Andrew Keith	After 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> no. 20.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
387.	David Muntower	After 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 20.
388.	Alan Beton	After 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 20.
389.	John Haroldson	After 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 20.
390.	Robert Binning	After 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 20.
391.	Alexander Brown	After 9 August 1434	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 20.
392.	George Haliburton	After 31 August 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 370.
393.	John Stewart	After 31 August 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 370.
394.	Alexander Bannerman	After 31 August 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 370.
395.	Patrick Calder	After 31 August 1440	<i>RMS</i> , II, 370.
396.	Patrick Hepburn	After 13 June 1443	<i>RMS</i> , II, 497.
397.	George Sinclair of Blainis	After 13 June 1443	<i>RMS</i> , II, 497.
398.	John Haliburton	After 13 June 1443	<i>RMS</i> , II, 497.
399.	William Haliburton	After 13 June 1443	<i>RMS</i> , II, 497.
400.	Alexander Pollock	After 13 June 1443	<i>RMS</i> , II, 497.
401.	Alexander Ogilvy	After 7 September 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 273.
402.	William Livingston	After 28 October 1444	<i>RMS</i> , II, 275.
403.	Malcolm Drummond of Stobhall	After 24 January 1445	NAS GD160/1/11
405.	Alexander Muir	After 6 August 1447	<i>RMS</i> , II, 383.
406.	William Cargill, lord of Lasington	After 27 June 1447	NAS GD16/1/3.
407.	William Handom	After 5 November 1448	<i>RMS</i> , II, 291.
408.	Malcolm Ochiltree	After 5 November 1448	<i>RMS</i> , II, 291.
409.	James Dundas of that Ilk	29 November 1423, still not knighted 14 February 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 42., NAS GD172/145.
410.	Alexander Seton	After 20 June 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 332.
411.	Henry Akinhead	After 28 July 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 398.
412.	William Auchinleck	After 17 October 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 401.
413.	John Shaw	After 17 October 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 401.
414.	John Archer of Furdlaw	After 30 December 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 399, 759.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
415.	Walter Kerr	After 30 December 1449	<i>RMS</i> , II, 399, 759.
416.	Alexander Ramsay of Petrovy	After 3 July 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 405.
417.	Alexander Graham	After 15 March 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 496.
418.	Patrick Murray of Auchterardour	After 15 March 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 496.
419.	James Livingston of Callendar	After 7 March 1450	NAS GD430/53
420.	William Hepburn	After 7 August 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 387.
421.	George Hepburn	After 7 August 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 387.
422.	Thomas Sinclair	After 10 December 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 558.
423.	John Blackford	After 31 December 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 408.
424.	Robert Dalzell of that Ilk	After 31 December 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 408.
425.	David Campbell	After 31 December 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 408.
426.	Alexander Leckprewick of that Ilk	After 31 December 1450	<i>RMS</i> , II, 408.
427.	John Strange	After 10 July 1451	<i>RMS</i> , II, 609.
428.	Thomas Sanchquhar	After 10 July 1451	<i>RMS</i> , II, 609.
429.	William Lauder of Hatton	After 17 October 1449, still not knighted 18 April 1452	<i>RMS</i> , II, 401, 544.
430.	Alexander Hepburn, burgess of Haddington	After 3 September 1453	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1477.
431.	Archibald Hepburn, burgess of Haddington	After 3 September 1453	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1477.
432.	Robert Airth, burgess of Haddington	After 3 September 1453	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1477.
433.	Thomas Hepburn, burgess of Haddington	After 3 September 1453	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1477.
434.	Alexander Fleming	After 18 June 1456	<i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493</i> , no. 63., NAS GD176/5.
435.	David Barclay	After 17 December 1457	NAS GD82/16
436.	John Schoriswood	After 2 December 1458	<i>RMS</i> , II, 655.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
437.	Charles Murray of Cockpool	After 22 April 1452, still not knighted by 1 March 1459	<i>RMS</i> , II, 546, 744.
438.	William Murray of Touchadam	After 3 June 1459	<i>RMS</i> , II, 704.
439.	John Dalrymple, burgess of Edinburgh	After 12 August 1459	<i>RMS</i> , II, 737.
440.	Robert Liddale of Balmuir	After 26 January 1463	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1031.
441.	David Ruthven	After 26 January 1463	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1031.
442.	John Moncrief	After 28 December 1464	<i>RMS</i> , II, 822.
443.	John Liddale of Lochtillo	After 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 850.
444.	David Liddale	After 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 850.
445.	Gilbert Liddale	After 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 850.
446.	William Danielston	After 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 850.
447.	James Montgomery	After 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 850.
448.	Robert Hommyll	After 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 850.
449.	James Lockhart	After 19 July 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 842.
450.	Alexander Stewart of Galstoune	After 19 July 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 841, 842.
451.	John Blair	After 19 July 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 841, 842.
452.	Alexander Lesley	After 27 September 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 849.
453.	John Knollis of Polmalot	After 11 July 1465	<i>RMS</i> , II, 839.
454.	Adam Wallace of Craigie	After 29 July 1468	<i>RMS</i> , II, 961.
455.	Patrick Hamilton	After 23 August 1468	<i>RMS</i> , II, 985.
456.	Nicholas Cochrane	After 13 July 1470	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1675.
457.	Ronald Wyntoun of Andate	After 16 July 1472	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1065.
458.	George Lesley of Quhitecors	After 16 July 1472	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1065.
459.	William Seton	After 16 July 1472	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1065.
460.	James Comyn	After 16 July 1472	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1065.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
461.	John Haldane of Ruskie	After 28 March 1473	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1116.
462.	Thomas Oliphant of Drone	After 27 October 1468, still not knighted 12 October 1473	NAS GD135/1127., <i>RMS</i> , II, 1147.
463.	Alexander Raith	After 26 March 1476	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2215.
464.	David Hamilton, son of Michael Hamilton of Lochhouse	After 5 March 1477	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1284.
465.	Andrew Balfour of Bochopill	After 9 June 1452, still not knighted 10 January 1477	<i>RMS</i> , II, 567, 1274.
466.	Patrick Maxwell	After 20 December 1477	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1560.
467.	David Crichton of Cranstonriddale	After 25 July 1465, still not knighted 28 January 1478	<i>RMS</i> , II, 831, 956, 957, 1356.
468.	William Strathachine of Ludeninch	After 9 January 1479	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1537.
469.	William Hawkhead of Bellsie	After 30 March 1473, still not knighted 15 January 1480	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1119, 1435.
470.	Thomas Brown	After 24 October 1481	<i>Orkney Recs.</i> , no. 92.
471.	Archibald Carruthers of Mousefald	After 3 June 1484	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1587.
472.	John Ross of Montgrenan	After 29 October 1477, still not knighted 1 March 1486	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1325., NAS GD32/26/18
473.	Alexander Stewart, son of Walter Stewart of Morphe	After 4 January 1486	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1632.
474.	Malcolm Forrester of Torwood	After 15 June 1487	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1675.
475.	Walter Ogilvy of Auchleven	After 13 July 1487	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1678.
476.	Alexander Thornton	After 20 October 1487	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2223.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
477.	Hugh Ross, son of Hugh Ross of Kilrawak	After 16 July 1472, still not knighted 1 June 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1065., NAS GD176/13
478.	Robert Charteris of Amisfield	After 5 March 1488	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1714, 2592.
479.	George Campbell, son of George Campbell of Loudoun	After 4 July 1489	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1870.
480.	John Hume of Quhitrig	After 26 November 1489	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1907.
481.	Robert Lauder of Edington	After 12 September 1489	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1894.
482.	John Hume, son of George Hume of Aytoun	After 10 January 1484, still not knighted 23 February 1490	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1571, 1937.
483.	George Hume of Wedderburn	After 20 May 1490	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1952.
484.	George Parklee of that Ilk	After 21 March 1485, still not knighted 27 June 1490	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1614., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 169.
485.	George Moncrief of Tibirmallock	After 8 April 1473, still not knighted 7 July 1490	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1121, 1963.
486.	Richard Kinman	After 22 October 1490	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2210.
487.	Andrew Stewart	After 10 February 1491	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2007.
488.	Thomas Stewart of Minto	After 2 November 1476, still not knighted 7 January 1492	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1264, 1265, 2080.
489.	Walter Erskine	After 7 January 1493	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2130.
490.	William, Thane of Cawdor	After 2 November 1494	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2224.
491.	William Chalmers	After 3 February 1494	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2208.
492.	Alexander Sibbald	After 3 February 1494	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2208., <i>A.B. III.</i> , III, p. 541.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
493.	Alexander Forbes	After 3 February 1494	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2208.
494.	Walter Wood of Bonetoun	After 8 October 1487, still not knighted 4 January 1494	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2028, 2190.
495.	Patrick Crichton of Cranstonriddel	25 July 1468 – still not knighted before 27 December 1494.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 956, 1975, 2228.
496.	Patrick Stewart of Latheris	After 7 March 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2241.
497.	William Cauldenhead	After 7 March 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2241.
498.	Quentin Sewell	After 7 March 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2241.
499.	John William	After 7 March 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2241.
500.	David Wedderburn	After 7 January 1485, still not knighted 26 October 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1615, 2305.
501.	Thomas Lovell	After 7 January 1493, still not knighted 26 October 1495	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2130, 2305.
502.	Nicholas Ramsay of Wilson	After 17 June 1486, still not 19 November 1496	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1657., <i>TA</i> , I, p. 306.
503.	John Liddale, son of Sir James Liddale of Halkerston	After 10 May 1490, still not knighted 14 April 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1950, 2401.
504.	William Gordon	After 16 May 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2406.
505.	John Inglis of Culquhalze	After 21 November 1480, still not knighted 26 October 1498	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1454., <i>NAS GD20/1/27</i>
506.	Robert Gordon of Uthaw	After 4 June 1499	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2504., <i>A.B. Ill.</i> , III, p. 554.
507.	Andrew Barclay	After 4 June 1499	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2504., <i>A.B. Ill.</i> , III, p. 554.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
508.	Thomas Alexanderson	After 4 June 1499	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2504., <i>A.B. III.</i> , III, p. 554.
509.	Patrick Gordon of Haldauch	After 1500	<i>TA</i> , II, p. 12.
510.	Walter Kerr of Cessford	After 20 February 1500	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2524.
511.	Robert Maitland of Auchincastle	After 27 November 1500, still not knighted 1502	<i>RSS</i> , I, 599., <i>TA</i> , II, p. 192.
512.	Walter Ogilvy	After 10 February 1491, still not knighted 18 February 1502	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2007., <i>RSS</i> , I, 774.
513.	David Bruce of Kennet	After 13 July 1470, still not knighted 3 January 1502	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1675., NAS GD124/1/107 5.
514.	John Napier of Merchiston	After 15 August 1487, still not knighted 9 April 1502	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1680., NAS GD430/20
515.	John Gordon of Lungar	After 7 March 1495 , still not knighted 16 December 1505	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2241., <i>RSS</i> , I, 1180.
516.	William Livingston	After 22 October 1490, still not knighted 1507	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2210., <i>TA</i> , II, p. 218.
517.	George Hume of Aytoun	After 27 July 1488, still not knighted 1 July 1507	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1757., <i>RSS</i> , I, 1501.
518.	John Pyot	After 20 October 1487, still not knighted 15 April 1507	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2223, 3113.
519.	Patrick Hume of Fastcastle	After 25 July 1488, still not knighted 4 September 1508	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1754., <i>RSS</i> , I, 1722.
520.	William Meldrum of Fyvie	After 4 June 1499, still not knighted 5 March 1509	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2504, 3320.
521.	John Murray of Fallochill	After 5 November 1497, still not knighted 5 May 1509	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2379., <i>RSS</i> , I, 1872.

Appendix B, Table Three: Squires

No	Name	Dates	Sources
522.	Thomas Fotheringham of Powry	After 20 October 1488, still not knighted 31 January 1516	<i>RMS</i> , II, 1795., <i>RSS</i> , I, 2694.

Appendix C

Table One

A list of the major campaigns, battles and sieges in Scotland during the fifteenth century and the knights who were involved in them.

Campaign/Battle/ Siege	Scots who participated as military service for the crown	Sources
Campaign against the Lord of the Isles in 1428	James I; Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar; Sir James Douglas of Balvenie; Sir Alexander Keith, brother of the Marischal; Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine; Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen; Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse; John, earl of Buchan; Sir William Douglas, earl of Angus; Alexander Ogilvy; Sir David Stewart; John Brown of Midmar. Possibly Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl and William Hay of Erroll, the Constable.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 109-115., <i>Highland Papers</i> , I, 35.
Campaign against the Lord of the Isles in 1429	James I; Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar; Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas; William Douglas, earl of Angus; Alexander Lindsay, earl of Crawford; Sir Walter Haliburton of Dirleton; Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon; Sir William Crichton of that Ilk; Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes; Sir William Borthwick; Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen; Sir William Forbes; Alexander, lord of Forbes; Walter Davidson; Malcolm Macintosh.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 127., <i>ER</i> , IV, p. 510.
Battle of Piperdean, 10 September 1435	James I; William Douglas, earl of Angus; Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes; Alexander Elphinston, lord of Elphinston; Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie.	<i>Proceedings of the Privy Council of England</i> , IV, pp. 310-11.
Siege of Roxburgh 1436	James I; Robert Stewart of Atholl, squire; John Knight of Arbroath; Sir Alexander Seton, lord of Gordon; all men aged between sixteen and sixty.	Shirley, 'The Deth of the Kyng of Scotis', p. 32., <i>ER</i> , IV, p. 666.
Siege of Methven November 1444	James II; John Lindsay of Brechin; Sir Alexander Seton, lord of Gordon; Sir Alexander, lord of Montgomery; Sir John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee; Sir James Livingston of Callander, captain of Stirling Castle; his brother, Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander (also of Philides); James Dundas.	<i>ER</i> , V, pp. 181, 219., <i>RMS</i> , II, 283.
Siege of Dundas Tower January 1450	James II; William, eighth earl of Douglas; Sir William Crichton of that Ilk; Sir George Crichton.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 317., <i>Rot. Scot.</i> , II, p. 343., <i>CDS</i> , IV, 1229.

Campaign/Battle/ Siege	Scots who participated as military service for the crown	Sources
Siege of Hatton March 1452	James II; Sir Alexander Hume of that Ilk; Sir Walter Scott; Sir Alexander Boyd of Dumcoll; John Stewart, Lord Darnley; Sir Andrew Stewart; Sir William Cranston; Sir Simon Glendenning; Andrew, first Lord Gray.	<i>ER</i> , V, p. 607., <i>Chron. Auchinleck</i> , p. 47.
Battle of Brechin 18 May 1452	Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, earl of Huntly for James II against Alexander, earl of Crawford; John Lindsay of Brechin; James Dundas of Dundas; William of Seton.	<i>Chron. Auchinleck</i> , p. 38.
Siege of Inveravon and Abercorn March 1455	James II; Sir James Livingston of Callander, Great Chamberlain and Master of the Household; William Sinclair, earl of Orkney; Walter Lamby; Allan Pantour; David Smith.	<i>ER</i> , V, p. 525., VI, p. 4., <i>Chron. Auchinleck</i> , p. 54.
Siege of Threave 1455	James II; Richard Bannatyne; Sir Alexander Boyd of Drumcoll. Within the Douglas stronghold were Sir John Fraser; John Quhiting and John Dunbar.	<i>ER</i> , VI, pp. 199, 202, 203, 204, 208-9.
Border skirmishing against England 1456	James II; William Sinclair, earl of Orkney; George Douglas, earl of Angus.	
Siege of Roxburgh 1460	James II; Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, earl of Huntly; George Douglas, earl of Angus; all the nobles of the realm.	Buchanan, <i>History</i> , II, p. 104., Pitscottie, <i>Historie</i> , I, p. 143.
Wark 1460	James III; 100 new knights made at James III's coronation including John Colquhoun of that Ilk; William Wallace of Craigie; Alexander Napier of Merchiston; John Herries, lord of Terregles; Alexander Forrester of Corstorphine; William Hay of Nachtane; Alexander Lauder of Hatton; William Calder, Patrick Maitland; James Crichton of Carnis.	Lesley, <i>History</i> , p. 33.
Siege of Dunbar Castle May 1480	Andrew, first Lord Avandale for James III; Sir John Colquhoun, lord of Luss; Sir James Shaw of Sauchie; William Wallace of Craigie.	<i>ER</i> , VIII, p. 567, IX, pp. 25, 153., Lesley, <i>History</i> , p. 43.

Campaign/Battle/ Siege	Scots who participated as military service for the crown	Sources
War against England 1480, 1481, leading to Lauder in 1482	James III; all the knights of Scotland; Sir Andrew Wood of Largo; James Borthwick, son of William, second Lord Borthwick; James Stewart, earl of Buchan; James Edmonston of Edmonston; William Bailey of Lamington; Thomas Kilpatrick, laird of Closeburn; Robert Charteris, laird of Amisfield; John Cranston of that Ilk; John Stewart, Lord Darnley; Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus; George, earl of Huntly; John, earl of Lennox; Andrew, second Lord Gray; Robert, Lord Lyle; Sir Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyre; David, earl of Crawford.	
Siege of Dunbar Castle May 1484	John Dundas of that Ilk	
Battle of Bosworth 22 August 1485	Gilbert Johnston of Elphinston; Sir Alexander Bruce of Ershell; Bernard Stewart.	
Battle of Sauchieburn 1488	Royal side: James III; David, fifth earl of Crawford; John Stewart, earl of Atholl; Alexander Cunningham of Kilmaurs, earl of Glencairn; Robert Colquhoun of Argyll; Alexander, Lord Forbes; John, first Lord Carlisle; William, third Lord Graham; David, second Lord Lindsay of the Byres; Thomas Stewart, Lord Innermeath; John Ross of Montgrenan; Cuthbert Murray of Cockpool; Sir Adam Murray of Drumcrieff; John Murray of Touchadam; James Innes of Innes; Sir Alexander Dunbar; Robert Charteris of Amisfield; Stephen Lockhart of Cleghorn; Roger Grier of Lag; William Douglas of Cavers; David Scott of Branxholm; Sir Thomas Semple of Elliotston; Thomas, second Lord Erskine; Malise Graham, earl of Menteith; William, Lord Ruthven, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo; Sir William Murray of Tullibardine; Alexander, Master of	APS, II, pp. 201, 204, 210., Pitscottie, <i>Historie</i> , I, p. 206., Buchanan, <i>History</i> , II, p. 159., RMS, II, 1720, 1730, 1723, 1727., Pitcairn, <i>Ancient Criminal Trials</i> , I, I, p. 2.

Campaign/Battle/ Siege	Scots who participated as military service for the crown	Sources
Battle of Sauchieburn 1488	<p>Crawford; George, earl of Huntly; William Hay, earl of Erroll; James Stewart, earl of Buchan; William Keith, earl Marischal; John, Lord Glamis; Thomas Turnbull of Greenwood; James Dunbar of Cumnock</p> <p>Rebel side: Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll; Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus; Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyre, Lord Hailes; Robert, Lord Lyle; George, Lord Drummond; Andrew, Lord Gray; Laurence, Lord Oliphant; the Humes including Alexander, Master of Hume, John Hume of Earlston, John Hume, George Hume of Aytoun and Patrick Hume of Fastcastle; John Shaw of Sauchie; Patrick Gray; William Stirling of Keir; Walter Kerr of Cessford; Archibald Edmonston of Duntreath</p>	
Siege of Duchal and Dumbarton 1489	<p>James IV; Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll; William Keith, earl Marischal; Alexander, fourth Lord Forbes; Thomas Stewart; Patrick Blackadder; Sir John Semple, sheriff of Renfrew; John Sandilands, laird of Hillhouse; Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyre, Lord Hailes, earl of Bothwell; Alexander Gordon, Master of Huntly; Patrick Hume of Fastcastle; Alexander Erskine; William Lord Hay, earl of Erroll; John, Lord Glamis; John, Lord Drummond; Alexander Hume of that ilk; Andrew, second Lord Gray; Laurence, Lord Oliphant; William, Lord St Johnston; John Ross of Hawkhead; John Hume of Quhitrig; Herbert Corry; Sir John Towers of Inverleith; William Knollis; John Colquhoun of Luss.</p>	<p><i>APS</i>, II, p. 214., <i>TA</i>, I, pp. 116-7, 119, 125., <i>RMS</i>, II, 1904, 1907, 1908, 1909.</p>

Campaign/Battle/ Siege	Scots who participated as military service for the crown	Sources
Invasion of England in support of Perkin Warbeck 1496 (including the raid of Ellem)	James IV; Patrick Hume of Polwarth; Sir James Petegrew; Perkin Warbeck; John Sandilands of Hillhouse; Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador; Perkin's men included Andrew Forman and Roderic de Lalain.	<i>TA</i> , I, p. 299., Pollard (ed), <i>Henry VII</i> , no. 101.
Raid of Hume February 1497	James IV; Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford; Patrick Hume of Polwarth; Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll; Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus; Patrick, earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes; Alexander, Lord Hume; John, Lord Drummond; Gilchrist Lawmond; Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2363, 2364., <i>TA</i> , I, pp. 329, 348.
Raid of Norham July 1497	James IV; Sir John Ramsay; Andrew Forman; Patrick Hume of Polwarth; Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll; Patrick, earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes; Alexander, Lord Hume; John, Lord Drummond; Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador; Sir David Arnott; Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford; Sir John Ramsay; Sir David Hume of Wedderburn.	<i>TA</i> , I, pp. 313-4, 346, 350., <i>RMS</i> , II, 2370.
Siege of Aytoun August 1497	James IV; Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford; Alexander Seton; Archibald, earl of Angus; James, second Lord Hamilton; Cuthbert, third Lord Kilmaurs; Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador.	<i>TA</i> , I, pp. clviii, 352.
Siege of Hatton September 1497	James IV; Captain Clavis and Roderic de Lalain (members of Perkin Warbeck's train); Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford; Robin Douglas.	<i>TA</i> , I, pp. 298, 346, 365.

Campaign/Battle/ Siege	Scots who participated as military service for the crown	Sources
Raid of Eskdale August 1504	James IV; William MacLellan of Bombie; Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll; Patrick, earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes; Matthew, Lord Darnley, earl of Levenaux; Alexander, Lord Hume; Andrew, Lord Gray; John Murray; 'the squire of Cleish'; Walter Turnbull; Thomas Boswell; Sir Adam Hepburn; Sir Thomas Allan; Sir John Musgrove.	<i>RMS</i> , II, 2799, 2800., <i>TA</i> , II, pp. 451-2, 455.
Battle of Flodden 1513	James IV; Alexander, earl of Huntly; Alexander, third Lord Hume; Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll; Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox; William Sinclair, earl of Caithness; William Hay, fourth earl of Erroll; John Lindsay, earl of Crawford; William Graham, Lord Graham, earl of Montrose; William Leslie, earl of Rothes; David Kennedy, Lord Kennedy, earl of Cassillis; Patrick, earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes; Andrew, second Lord Herries; John, fourth Lord Maxwell; John Ramsay, Lord Bothwell; Thomas Fraser, second Lord Lovett; John, Lord Forbes; Alexander, Lord Elphinstone; Andrew Stewart, second Lord Avandale; John of Grant; George Douglas, master of Angus; John, second Lord Ross of Hawkhead; John, first Lord Semple; William, fourth Lord Borthwick; Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie; Sir Alexander Seton; Sir John Hume; Sir David Hume of Wedderburn; Cuthbert Hume of Fastcastle; Sir William Scott; Sir John Forman; Sir John of Colquhoun; Alexander Irvine of Drum; Patrick Gordon of Johnesleys; Robert Borthwick; Patrick Paniter.	'The Trewe Encounter', pp. 149-50., <i>A.B. Ill.</i> , IV, pp. 455-6., <i>Pitscottie, Historie</i> , I, p. 270.

Appendix C

Table Two

A list of the tournaments held by James I, James II, James III and James IV and the knights who were present at them.

Date of Tournament	Place Held	Participants	Present
October 1433	Perth		James I and all the prelates and magnates of the realm; Sir Gilbert Hay of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, the Marischal.
February 1449 (Shrove Tuesday)	Stirling	James Douglas, brother of the eighth earl of Douglas; John Ross of Hawkhead; James Douglas of Ralstoun, brother of Henry Douglas of Loch Leven. On the Burgundian team: Jacques de Lalain; Simon de Lalain; Hervey de Meriadet.	James II; William Douglas, eighth earl of Douglas, Gilbert Corry, son of James Corry; Sir James, Lord Fren draught; Alexander Nairn of Sandford, Lyon King of Arms; Robert Liddale, the king's steward; James Kerr; Adam Wawane; Sir William Hay, first earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, the Marischal.
July 1449	Edinburgh	James II; Sir William Cranston; John Liddale, squire.	Sir William Hay, first earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, the Marischal.
May 1491 ?		James IV.	
1496	Edinburgh	James IV; Perkin Warbeck; Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford (also of Ferniehirst), later Master of the King's Artillery; Patrick Hume of Polwarth; Patrick Haliburton; William Sinclair.	Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.

Date of Tournament	Place Held	Participants	Present
January 1497	Hume	James IV; Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford (also of Ferniehirst), Master of the King's Artillery; Patrick Hume of Polwarth; Archibald, earl of Argyll; Archibald, earl of Angus; Sir Patrick, earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes; Alexander, Lord Hume; John, Lord Drummond; Gilchrist Lawmond; Don Pedro de Ayala	
1499-1501 ?	Edinburgh	John Caupance and Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil.	Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
November 1502		James IV; Christopher Taylor.	Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
February 1503 (Shrove Tuesday)		James IV.	Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
August 1503	Greensward, Edinburgh	Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil and Patrick Sinclair, squire.	James IV, Margaret Tudor; Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal; Sir Patrick, earl of Bothwell; James, second Lord Hamilton.

Date of Tournament	Place Held	Participants	Present
August 1503	Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh	James, second Lord Hamilton; John, Lord Ross of Hawkhead; Sir David Hume of Wedderburn; William Cockburn of Langton; Patrick Sinclair, squire; Cuthbert, third Lord Kilmaurs, earl of Glencairn; Lord Treyton.	James IV; Margaret Tudor; Sir Alexander Seton, master of Montgomery; Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil; Sir John of Treyton; Archbishop of St Andrews; Archbishop of York; Bishop of Durham; Queen's attendants; Lord of Surrey; Sir Patrick, earl of Bothwell; Lord Morley, William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; the earl of Surrey; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
Midsummer 1504		James IV.	Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
February 1505 (Shrove Tuesday)			James IV; Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
May 1505	Leith	Men paid to joust for entertainment.	James IV
February 1506 (Shrove Tuesday)			James IV; Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.
July 1506		Anthony D'Arcy de la Bastie and James, second Lord Hamilton.	James IV; Sir William Hay, third earl of Errol, the Constable; Sir William Keith, third earl Marischal.

Date of Tournament	Place Held	Participants	Present
June 1507		James IV.	Master Ogilvy and Alexander Elphinston, squires to the Black Lady; John Dunlop and Alexander MacCulloch, squires to the Wild Knight; Thomas Boswell, Patrick Sinclair and James Stewart, squires for the lists; Sir William Hay, fourth earl of Errol, the Constable; William, third earl Marischal.
July 1508		James IV; James, second Lord Hamilton; Cuthbert, third Lord Kilmaurs, earl of Glencairn; Andrew, second Lord Gray; Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil. Possibly Robert Menzies of that Ilk; Andrew Murray of Kippo; and John Lindsay of Petercruvy.	Bernard Stewart; John Forman, Adam Cockburn and Alexander MacCulloch, squires to the Wild Knight; Sir William Hay, fourth earl of Errol, the Constable; William, third earl Marischal.

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GD16	Airlie Muniments
GD20	Crawford Priory Collection
GD26	Leven and Melville Muniments
GD28	Yester Writs
GD32	Viscounts and Barons of Elibank
GD33	Haddo Muniments
GD39	Glencairn Muniments
GD45	Dalhousie Muniments
GD47	Ross Estate Muniments
GD52	Lord Forbes Collection
GD78	Hunter of Barjarg Muniments
GD98	Douglas Collection
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