

THE BEST PAIRT OF OUR PLAY

Essays presented to John J. McGavin

edited by

Sarah Carpenter, Pamela M. King, Meg Twycross, & Greg Walker

Part Two



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John J. McGavin

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D. S. BREWER

Medieval English Theatre is an international refereed journal publishing articles on medieval and early Tudor theatre and pageantry in all its aspects (not confined to England), together with articles and records of modern survivals or equivalents. Most issues are illustrated. Contributions to be considered for future volumes are welcomed: see end of this volume and website for further information:

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CONTENTS

Essays presented to John J. McGavin

PART TWO

Editorial	1 – 2
<i>Eila Williamson</i>	
The Funeral of Walter Scott, First Earl of Buccleuch: A Grand Ceremonial Occasion	3 – 21
<i>Alice Hunt</i>	
The Bright Star of the North: James I and his English Coronation	22 – 37
<i>Sue Niebrzydowski</i>	
‘Ye know eek that in forme of speche is change’: Chaucer, Henryson, and the Welsh <i>Troelus a Chresyd</i>	38 – 56
<i>David N. Klausner</i>	
Playing the Crucifixion in Medieval Wales	57 – 67
<i>Elisabeth Dutton</i>	
‘My Boy shall Knowe Himself from Other Men’: Active Spectating, Annunciation, and the St John’s College <i>Narcissus</i>	68 – 83
<i>Charlotte Steenbrugge</i>	
‘I Speke so Mische to 3ow’: Authority, Didacticism, and Audience Address in Middle English Sermons and Morality Plays	84 – 99
<i>Nadia Thérèse van Pelt</i>	
Early English Spectatorship and the ‘Cognitive Turn’	100 – 114
<i>Mishtooni Bose</i>	
The Theatre of the Mind in Late-Medieval England	115 – 128
<i>Pamela M. King</i>	
Poetics and Beyond: Noisy Bodies and Aural Variations in Medieval English Outdoor Performance	129 – 144
<i>Clare Egan</i>	
Women and the Performance of Libel in Early-Modern Devon	145 – 162
<i>David Mills</i>	
<i>Abraham Sacrifiant</i>	163 – 176

EDITORIAL

Volume 38 enshrines the second part of the Festschrift presented to John McGavin at the METH meeting at Southampton in 2015. A stimulating and varied collection of papers, it again celebrates the breadth and influence of John's interests — and naturally, with a Scottish bent.

The first two papers, by Alice Hunt and Eila Williamson, show how a coronation (of James I and VI) and a funeral (of 'bold Buccleuch') spoke to their audiences through ceremonial and its carefully devised trappings. The scene then shifts to Wales: Sue Niebrzydowski describes a Welsh play of *Troelus a Chresyd* which drew its plot from both Chaucer and Henryson, while David Klausner attempts to disentangle the events behind the reportage of what was possibly an early monastic Crucifixion play. A group of essays addresses audience and spectatorship. Elisabeth Dutton juxtaposes an *Annunciation* by Fra Lippo Lippi with a seemingly incongruous partner, the St John's College 1602 student play of *Narcissus* showcased at the Southampton METH meeting, to consider the nature of spectatorship and self-realisation both inside and outside a work of art. Charlotte Steenbrugge convincingly challenges the too-easy assumption that the modes of audience address in morality plays must be the same as those of sermons. Nadia van Pelt calls on cognitive science to assess how new theories can contribute to our analysis of multiple spectator reactions. Mishtooni Bose explores 'the drama of performed thought' in didactic dialogue-plays, in which an apparent impasse can enable a leap of thought which opens up new ground. Pamela M. King offers a reconstruction of the soundscape, intentional and peripheral, of the York Corpus Christi Play. Clare Egan tackles an unexpected form of performance, the publication of libels, using the rich but underexplored resource of reports of Star Chamber cases from Devon. Finally, we are honoured to be able to present David Mills' last article, intended for the Festschrift and dictated to Joy Mills, on the *Abraham Sacrifiant* of Theodore Bèze.



The 2016 METH meeting was at the University of Kent at Canterbury, hosted by Clare Wright. It was our first meeting as a fully constituted Society, and offered good omens for the future. The previous day had seen a lively, varied, and well attended Postgraduate and Early Career Symposium organised by the Early English Drama and Performance network. It concluded with an absorbing performance by Máirín O'Hagan and Sarah Anson of their new play *Marge and Jules*, on the meeting of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe.

The theme of the meeting was 'Transnational Drama', which produced a fruitful collection of papers on how drama and performance can be said to travel. Translation, its purposes and results, was naturally to the fore: Peter Happé discussed three famous adaptations, *Everyman*, *John John*, and *Jack Juggler*, and James McBain speculated on the different possible audiences for Gascoigne's *Supposes*. Stephanie Allen looked at Nicholas Grimald's plays in the 'universal' language of Latin. Tom Pettitt assessed the reliability of the various accounts of Gladman's Insurrection, in the light of continental analogues. Lindsey Drury showed how diseases (and dance) 'show no borders', with special reference to St Vitus' Dance. Mark Chambers recounted the visits of foreign entertainers and shows to Durham, whose fascinated citizens were in 1569 treated to the sight of a (fortunately stuffed) 'very greate, strange & monstrous serpent' which had, as was credibly informed, devoured more than 1000 persons in Ethiopia. Jamie Beckett suggested a new and plausible eponym for the hate-figure in the York *Funeral of the Virgin*: Fergus the twelfth-century lord of Galloway, whose 'naked' and berserk Galwegians became a York byword for atrocities. Tom Betteridge looked more soberly at Lyndsay's portrayal of Scottish identity in the figure of Pauper in the *Satire*. Nadia van Pelt and Clare Egan exemplified trans-border collaboration on their project to investigate Time and Self in late medieval and early modern European drama.

The day ended with the performance of *John of Beverley*,¹ directed by Elisabeth Dutton, which embodied the day's liminality, being a modern English translation of a Dutch chapbook about an English saint whose tale was compounded from the legends (predominantly French and German) of several hairy anchorites called John: completely ungraspable, unintentionally funny, and strangely moving.

1. See Ben Parsons and Bas Jongenelen *METH* 34 (2012) 30–76. Performers: Máirín O'Hagan, Sarah Anson, Aurelie Blanc, Tim Lodge; SM: Tamara Haddad.

THE FUNERAL OF WALTER SCOTT, FIRST EARL OF BUCCLEUCH: A Grand Ceremonial Occasion

Eila Williamson

On 11 June 1634 a splendid heraldic funeral procession took place in the Scottish Borders, culminating in the laying to rest of Walter Scott, first Earl of Buccleuch, in St Mary's Kirk in Hawick. The Earl had died in London from apoplexy almost seven months earlier on 20 November 1633, having recently returned to Britain from military service in Flanders.¹ John McGavin has described heraldic funerals, such as that of the Earl, as being 'a form of public, socially performative theatre, providing an elaborate spectacle for the onlookers, and self-promotion for the "actors" and their institution (the noble family)'.² This paper seeks to explore the evidence for the Earl of Buccleuch's funeral to provide some insight into what the onlookers would have seen and what message the participants in the procession, or 'actors', intended to communicate through their performance, while at the same time examining the practical arrangements that had to be made and expenses that were incurred in order to create this grand ceremonial occasion.³

Buccleuch's funeral procession was only one of a number of ceremonial funerals in early modern Scotland. The study of such ceremonial has received increasing attention from historians and literary scholars in recent years.⁴ Highly regulated affairs, these occasions are noted as having been 'splendid spectacles' which drew heavily on the financial resources of the families concerned.⁵ They could involve large numbers of participants. For example, at Lord Hugh Fraser's funeral in 1576, the corpse was accompanied to its burial by 2,000 men.⁶ Furthermore, the body could be transported long distances, a practice not restricted to Scotland.⁷ For example, in the case of early modern France, Vanessa Harding notes the transportation of Maître Jean de l'Aultry, *conseiller ordinaire du Roy* and vicomte of Levignan and Bèze, from Paris to Bèze near Dijon in 1645.⁸ Following the union of the crowns in 1603 the bodies of certain Scots noblemen who had died in England, such as the first Earl of Hume in 1619, the second Marquis of Hamilton in 1624, and the Earl of Stirling in 1640, were transported back to Scotland for burial.⁹

The first Earl of Buccleuch's funeral in particular has caught the imagination not just because of the journey from London to Scotland and

the heraldic ceremony but because of the long delay between death and burial: the ship in which the embalmed corpse was being transported from London was blown off course on account of storms and ended up on the coast of Norway.¹⁰ Death had occurred in November but the ship did not arrive in Scotland until March. Arrival was at Burntisland and thereafter a journey across country still had to be arranged.

Buccleuch's funeral procession is recorded, along with four other early-seventeenth-century heraldic funerals, dating from 1620 to 1637, in a manuscript of Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, who was appointed Lord Lyon King of Arms in 1630. The funerals recorded in this manuscript (NLS Adv. MS 33. 2. 11) were published in 1837 in the collection, *Ancient Heraldic and Antiquarian Tracts*.¹¹ What these heraldic accounts highlight is the importance of order within the processions, the use of heraldic devices, and the involvement of heraldic officers along with members of the deceased's family. Not only was the deceased commemorated but the importance of rank within society was stressed to the participants and the onlookers. Furthermore, the continuity of the family lineage was highlighted.

Some impression of the scale and splendour of a heraldic funeral can be gained from the Huntly Funeral Roll, which is on display at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. This funeral roll is regarded as being an instructional guide for arranging funeral processions in seventeenth-century Scotland and is thought to have been used for the funeral of the Earl of Huntly in 1636, only two years after that of Buccleuch.¹² The processional figures are depicted in full funeral apparel with labelling in places to indicate who or what was to be placed in the requisite order. What is striking is the number of items that are carried in the procession, whether it be flags and banners of assorted sizes and shapes, or armorial honours (such as gauntlets and spurs) carried on poles. Also notable are the horses of the deceased which had served varying functions (for example, the horse of war and the parliament horse) placed at strategic positions. Above all, what strikes the viewer is the imagery, especially the heraldic arms specific to individual families. Indeed, heraldry has been described as 'the visual language of kinship' and this would have been especially apparent in the banners depicting the eight branches of the deceased's family; that is, the arms of each of the maternal and paternal grandfathers and grandmothers that were carried in the procession, emphasising the noble lineage of the family.¹³ Moreover, the imagery included what may be deemed 'affective symbolism'; for example, the 'symbolic signs of grief in the form of tear drops' and the

banners ‘decorated with a winged hour-glass or a skull and bones [which] reminded onlookers of their own inevitable end’.¹⁴

Balfour’s account of Buccleuch’s funeral shares similar features with that of the accounts of other noblemen in the same period.¹⁵ His list of participants includes forty-six saulies — the hired mourners whose number often equated with the age of the deceased — at the start of the procession.¹⁶ Other participants include a trumpeter in the Buccleuch livery, an armed rider carrying a banner with the Buccleuch colours, two sets of three trumpeters at different stages of the procession, and the parliament horse with its footmantle of crimson velvet embroidered with silver led by a lackey in livery, while armorial honours and banners along with the names of those who carried them are also listed. At the end came the corpse, described as:

caried under a fair parte [*recte* paile in MS; *pale/pall*, ‘canopy’] of black veluet, deckt with Armes, L’armes [*larmes*, heraldic mourning decorations shaped as a tear] and Cipres [*recte Cipers* in MS; ?*ciphers*] of Sattin, of the defuncte, knopt [*tasselled*] with gold, and one the coffin the defunct’s Helmett and coronett, ouerlayed with cipres [*black silk gauze*], to show that he wes a souldiour.¹⁷

The heraldic account by Balfour has been the version which has been used by the majority of those who have written of the Buccleuch funeral.¹⁸ However, a variant version of the heraldic account can be found in the Buccleuch muniments in the care of the National Records of Scotland.¹⁹ Although for the most part the order of participants is very similar in this version, it differs from that of Balfour. For example, where Balfour lists the armorial honours in the order: spurs, sword, gauntlets, and coat of honour (the last being carried by Mr Laurence Scot), the other version has velvet coat (carried by Mr Laurence Scot), pair of gilt spurs, sword of honour, gauntlets, and corslet gilt with silver. The participation of the carrier of the corslet — Patrick Scott of Tanlawhill — is omitted from Balfour’s account. Balfour’s account has one lackey in the Buccleuch livery leading the parliament horse, the other has two. Three heralds are listed in the Buccleuch account but not in that of Balfour. In total the Buccleuch account details 88 participants as opposed to 79 in the Balfour version.

There are differences in description too. In the Balfour account the colours of the house are described as ‘azur and or’ while the less technically correct ‘blew and yellow’ are given in the other account. The first trumpeter, in livery colours, is described by Balfour as ‘cled in the defunct’s Liurey, ryding one horsse back, sounding’ while the Buccleuch version has ‘ryding

on horsbak sounding all the way'. The three trumpeters, who are 'in murneing on fut' in the Buccleuch version, are described as 'sounding sadlie' by Balfour. Furthermore, in comparison to the description of the corpse in the Balfour version as quoted above, the Buccleuch version has 'Then followed the corpes with a fair pale [*ball*] & mortcloth buskit with the defunctes armes & morthead [*death's head*}'. At the end of the introduction to the Buccleuch account it states that 'the ceremonie with the armes was set doune by some of his freindis yameselffes with advyse of ane painter'. This may suggest that the account found in the Buccleuch archives may be the more accurate one in terms of what actually took place, with the Balfour version being written in more technical language after the event (whether by Balfour or one of the heralds or pursuivants). Alternatively, there is the possibility that errors may have occurred in the process of copying in either case.

Certainly in one respect the Balfour version is misleading. In its introduction it states that the embalmed corpse was shipped for Scotland in 'one Jhone Sympsone shipe of Kirkcaldy'. This has led one modern commentator to relate how the corpse was placed on 'a Kirkcaldy ship, the *John Simpson*, for conveyance to Scotland'.²⁰ The Buccleuch version, although not mentioning the embalming, describes the corpse being brought home 'In Iohnn Sympsoun skipper in kirkcaldie his schip'.²¹ While the ship may have been named after its skipper, that John Simpson was the name of the skipper is confirmed by other documentary evidence in the Buccleuch archive.²²

The Buccleuch muniments are rich in material for those interested in records of early drama. This is especially so not merely because of the amount of material in the collection but rather because of the detail which it contains. Of particular note are the sets of financial accounts which are arranged hierarchically. In some cases there are aggregate chamberlains' accounts, then there are collections of chamberlains' accounts, below which can be cited the individual rough copies. Sometimes the amounts in these can be linked with further receipts or invoices for specific items. The practice is not restricted to the funeral evidence, of course, but can reveal other information of interest for the study of early drama. One example is the payment of £30 9s recorded for books bought for Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch, in Patrick Scott of Tanlawhill's Chamberlain's Account for November 1639.²³ The corresponding receipt for these books lists them individually: among the list is the *Iliad*, Aesop's *Fables*, and Plautus.²⁴

THE FUNERAL OF WALTER SCOTT, FIRST EARL OF BUCCLEUCH

The Buccleuch financial accounts add greatly to an understanding of the way in which a heraldic funeral was organised in the period before the undertaking profession had developed fully, and the expense which was incurred, although items of the funeral expenses are often found interspersed with other items of household expenditure.²⁵ Life went on for the household. For example, in December 1633 payments of 18s and 24s were made for three golf clubs and six golf balls respectively for the bairns while bows and arrows were bought for the seven-year-old heir Francis and his six-year-old brother David in March 1634²⁶ – the two boys and their three sisters now being orphaned as their mother, Countess Mary, had died in 1631.²⁷ Along with information about the practical arrangements for the funeral, though, the wealth of detail also provides greater clarity to its more theatrical aspects.

Numerous examples of the funeral expenses can be given, starting with payments made in London where the corpse was embalmed prior to being shipped, supposedly to Scotland.²⁸ The financial accounts reveal that the embalmer was Sergeant Duncan Primrose, the principal royal surgeon, who was paid £50 sterling on 9 December 1633.²⁹ He was probably the son of Gilbert Primrose, the principal surgeon to James VI and I and his wife, who had died in 1615.³⁰ In that year Duncan Primrose had been paid £6 13s 4d sterling for embalming the corpse of Lady Arabella Stuart.³¹ The Balfour and Buccleuch heraldic accounts mentioned earlier might suggest that the corpse was embalmed and shipped fairly quickly and that the delay was caused by the ship being blown off course, but there was an element of delay in London itself as there were payments to the mistress of the house in King Street in which the corpse lay between 23 November and 11 December when it was transported to the ship. Candles were lit every night during this time. At London a coffin had to be built, a velvet mortcloth hired, wine was bought, and transportation to the ship had to be arranged.³²

After the sojourn in Norway, when the ship eventually arrived in Scotland it was at Burntisland. A boat then had to be hired to transport the corpse to Leith. At Leith candles were purchased for the church in which the body lay for twenty days.³³ Furthermore, there exists a receipt for a wright's expenses including the making of a new coffin and 40s for 'ane boll of bran to stap abowtt ye corp within ye kist'.³⁴ The latter was to ensure that the corpse did not move about within the coffin, a practice that Gittings attributed to the later post-Restoration period based on English evidence for the middling classes.³⁵ Other expenses listed by the wright included nails to

hold the coffin in the coach when it was transported southwards; fifty long staffs for the saulies with cross pieces on them for holding the arms; thirty batons for gentlemen to hold as a means of crowd control; and chests for carrying the painter's work.³⁶

At Leith too there were payments to the poor. £66 14s was paid to the minister of Leith to give to the poor while the 'extraordinary poor' of Leith were paid £5 16s.³⁷ William Fraser in his *The Scotts of Buccleuch* states that alms were 'freely distributed at all the villages and towns through which the cortége [sic] passed' and there are recorded payments to the poor at various locations on the journey southwards from Leith to the family home at Branxholm (about 3 miles south-west of Hawick where the body was eventually interred): 6s were distributed at Dalkeith; 5s between Dalkeith and Fala; 12s at Fala; 9s at Lauder; 6s between Lauder and Melrose; and 29s at Melrose.³⁸ In most of these cases the sums are not huge and are in no way different from alms given to the poor by the family at other less prominent times; 6s being a typical payment of alms to the poor in records from the 1620s to the 1640s.³⁹ These payments contrast markedly with those received by the most important participants in the funeral procession, particularly the trumpeters and heralds.

Alexander McGrattan has written about the trumpet in funeral ceremonies in Scotland and England in the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ He has examined Scottish heraldic evidence to look at the ways in which trumpets may have been played, discussing terminology such as 'open' and 'closse' trumpets which occurs in other heraldic funeral accounts of the period, although not in the Buccleuch heraldic account. He also mentions trumpeters fulfilling roles associated with the motifs of triumph and mourning appropriate to the occasion. The two sets of three trumpeters at the Buccleuch funeral who were dressed in mourning can be contrasted with the sole trumpeter who wore the Buccleuch livery and sounded all the way. A payment of £60 17s was made for the material for his coat of yellow cloth with blue lining, blue and white buttons, and loops, along with a grey hat.⁴¹ A pair of boots was also supplied to this trumpeter who 'raid befor the Jandarmes in Colores'.⁴²

McGrattan comments that where trumpeters are named in early-modern heraldic accounts it was the royal household trumpeters who tended to take part. In the heraldic accounts of the Buccleuch funeral no names are given for the trumpeters, nor in the aggregate accounts, in which a payment of £466 13s 4d is recorded for expenses for the journey to Hawick as follows:

THE FUNERAL OF WALTER SCOTT, FIRST EARL OF BUCCLEUCH

'The 27 [i.e. June 1634] to the 7 trumpeteris for going south as was aggriet with them ilk ane 100 merks'.⁴³ However, among the Buccleuch muniments there is also a receipt dated 27 June 1634, from George Ferguson, in name of the rest of 'His Majesty's trumpeters' for this payment of 700 merks, equivalent to £466 13s 4d.⁴⁴ At the funeral of Sir Andrew Kerr in Jedburgh in 1629 George Ferguson was the trumpeter dressed in red and white livery who sounded on an open trumpet. At this funeral there was a group of four trumpeters in addition.⁴⁵ This would suggest that it was Ferguson who was dressed in the Buccleuch livery at the Earl's funeral and that he fulfilled the 'triumph' role. The Buccleuch accounts also reveal a payment of £8 14s for the trumpeters thrice sounding in Edinburgh and the Canongate and of £20 6s for their charges at Hawick for two nights — for themselves, horses and men.⁴⁶

Similarly the three heralds and three pursuivants were paid for their board and lodging at Hawick for two nights — for themselves, horses and men — as well as their charges for going south.⁴⁷ This amounted to over £400 in total. On 26 June 1634 John Malcolm, Ross Herald; James Currie, Ormond Pursuivant; and William Stewart, Kintyre Pursuivant, acknowledged 'dew satisfioun for our travellis takin at the buriall of vmquhill Walter erle of bacleuche'.⁴⁸ On 5 July 1634 James Espleine, Marchmont Herald, received 100 merks for 'my particular service done at branxholme the xj th of Junij last'.⁴⁹ James Currie, Ormond Pursuivant, had been present at the above-mentioned Sir Andrew Kerr's funeral in 1629 while James Espleine, Marchmont Herald, and John Malcolm, Ross Herald, were later in attendance at the funeral of the Chancellor, George, Earl of Kinnoull, in August 1635, along with two other heralds, four pursuivants, and nine trumpeters.⁵⁰

In terms of enabling the visual display, the key person was the heraldic painter.⁵¹ Although not mentioned by name in the heraldic account, the painter employed for the Buccleuch funeral was John Sawers the younger, who was the only son of the late John Sawers, to whom he succeeded as heraldic painter on the latter's death in 1628. John Sawers the younger later became Carrick Pursuivant in March 1637 and Snowdon Herald in April 1643. As a herald painter his duties were varied, ranging from work on armorials to paintwork at Edinburgh Castle and Parliament House.⁵² He also 'may have had a hand in the painting' of Skelmorlie Aisle at Largs.⁵³ Aside from Buccleuch's funeral, other funerals which John Sawers undertook painting work for in the 1630s and 1640s included those of the Earl of

Kinnoull in 1635 and Lady Anne Cunningham, second Marchioness of Hamilton, in 1647.⁵⁴

For the Buccleuch funeral Sawyer's work included gilding of the coffin; the creation of escutcheons of arms, ciphers (initials), mortheads, and tear-shapes which covered the funeral pall; the gilding and colouring of the sword of honour; painting the eight branches (of the family tree); making and gilding the armorial honours; colouring the saulies' staffs; and arms for the various participants, such as the lackeys, the saulies, and the trumpeters; and painting of the church aisle. Sawers gave in a bill for £344 13s and was paid 400 merks (£266 13s 4d) on 8 July 1634.⁵⁵ He was not to receive an additional payment of £76 10s until 24 December 1634.⁵⁶

In contrast to these payments made to a skilled heraldic craftsman, the 'dule weids' for the saulies were made locally from 164 ells of grey cloth which was dyed black by Philip Darling, litster in Galashiels, who was paid £33 4s. Cloaks were then made by Robert Wallace, tailor in Selkirk, who was paid £35 12s.⁵⁷ Given the scale of the task, it is no surprise that different specialists in the cloth trade were involved and that more than one trade was responsible for particular elements used in the procession. An account for fringes alone totalled £171 10s. This included fringing for the standard, pinsell [*pennant*], coat of honour, the gumpheon [*gonfanon, funeral banner*], banners for six of the trumpeters, the eight branches (banners showing the ancestral family tree) of several colours, and the pall, which required £23 5s for '6 quarteris of twa pyll wellwet to awgment the awld border of ye paill'.⁵⁸

Information about the various materials used and the colours that would have been seen in the procession can also be found within an account to James Nasmyth which came to a total cost of £700 1s 2d. For example, 13 ells of sarcenet taffeta in green, red, blue, and yellow were needed to make the eight branches ('sesnat taffatie for the aucht brenches grein reid blew and yello') at a price of £4 for one ell, while the lackey's coat was made from velvet, green satin, yellow ribbons, and white satin. Blue satin was used for the mortcloth, the coats of honour, and the pall.⁵⁹

It is evident that much attention and expense were directed to the clothing and properties which were to be used in the procession from the family home at Branxholm to St Mary's Church at Hawick on the day of what would be the final section of Buccleuch's funeral narrative.⁶⁰ It was important too that both the starting place and destination for this final act were suitably decorated to provide an adequate setting. Some impression of

THE FUNERAL OF WALTER SCOTT, FIRST EARL OF BUCCLEUCH

this is given in the Buccleuch funeral account in a description near its beginning, as follows:

Ther wes a great lozering armes [*lozenge of arms*, funeral hatchment] paynted on buckerome with gold & silver and set on the wall the dores & entresses at the place and kirk wer all buskit with the defunctes armes And the yle wherin he wes interred the ruife *yairof* wes paynted abone with all the 8 branches as may be sein ⁶¹

Attention and expense were also paid to the person who was to be the final actor on this ritual occasion: the minister. On 9 May 1634 Mr Robert Cunningham, minister in Hawick, was supplied with material for his clothes when conducting the funeral. The bulk of this expense (totalling £106 19s) was for 7 ells of black London cloth at £12 for an ell, but other expenses included 'ane fyne blak hat' and 'ane langtailed buttune for the cloik neck'.⁶² A further £16 6s 4d was spent on more materials and for making his 'clok doublat breikis & stokines'.⁶³

For anyone watching the heraldic procession as it made its way from Branxholm to Hawick, its sheer length alone would have been impressive, and much of the 'entertainment value' would have been had from this procession as its participants walked or rode. The contrast in colour ranging from the sombre black garbs worn by the saulies to the trumpeter riding in livery, along with the heraldic banners, would have added both to the solemnity and vibrancy of the occasion. Nor should sound be forgotten. A passer-by familiar with the sound of trumpets used in royal proclamations would have been alerted by the trumpet calls and would have known that it was likely that some type of ceremony was occurring.⁶⁴ As John McGavin has stated in relation to heraldic funerals:

Ceremonial, processional, ritual, costumed, involving movement, properties and sound, they were public shows themselves ... They theatrically re-instated that person onto the stage of life, substituting for the living body a wide range of compensatory devices and, as they did so, they offered tableaux through which spectators could access narratives of power, loss, union, longevity of descent, and continuity of future succession.⁶⁵

It is important to remember, though, that once the ceremonial show was over and the corpse interred, such narratives of power, loss, union, longevity of descent, and continuity of future succession could be retold in other ways. Although the Buccleuch vault can no longer be seen at St Mary's Church in

Hawick, and there is no visible monumental remembrance in stone, nevertheless Walter, first Earl of Buccleuch, has been commemorated in seventeenth-century literary compositions. Two of these were written by soldiers who had known the Earl in a military capacity. Firstly, there is a composition written by George Lauder, a member of the celebrated Maitland family of poets, being the son of Mary Maitland and therefore grandson of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.⁶⁶ Lauder had been captain in the same regiment of which Buccleuch had been colonel. His tribute to Walter, Earl of Buccleuch was printed in Middelburg with the title:

Aretophel: or, a Funeral Elegy On the Death of The Right Honourable Walter Earle of Buccleuche, Lorde Scot of Whitchester and Eske-dale, Baron of Branxholme, Crighton, Newarke and Haylles, &c. One of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell in the Kingdome of Scotland, And, Colonel of a Scottishe Regiment in the Service of the Highe and Mighty Lordes the States Generall of the United Provinces.

Of his commander Buccleuch's death, Lauder, the soldier, writes:

But now since cruel death thy dayes did bound,
 And with cold cypres hath thy temples croun'd,
 The heartles Souldier droopes, his armes looke blacke,
 To heare that now his leader hee doth lacke.
 The drumme sounds hoarse, nor will our ensignes spread,
 And all their golden wreaths looke pale as lead. 85–90

Lauder thus lays out the power that once was and the loss that now is.

The main poem *Aretophel* is accompanied by Lauder's poem in commemoration of the Earl's deceased spouse, Countess Mary.⁶⁷ This short poem ends with the line 'Since Shee is dead and gone, All Fleshe is Hay', making an allusion to Mary's own noble lineage as daughter of Francis Hay, Earl of Errol. The narrative of union of the Hay and Scott families in the persons of Mary and Walter, beginning with their marriage in 1616, became extended through the lives of their progeny. Although their first born son, Walter, died as an infant in 1625, their second son, Francis, succeeded his father as second Earl of Buccleuch. Both of these poems of Lauder are prefaced with an address 'To the Right Honourable and Hopefull Lorde Francis now Earle of Buccleuche':

If in your mourninge trayne with heauy cheere
 Great (litle) Lorde, this Soldier Muse appeare,
 Shee comes an interest in your losse to claime