

THE ENTERTAINMENTS AT THE MARRIAGE
of Mary Queen of Scots
and the French Dauphin François, 1558:
Paris and Edinburgh

Sarah Carpenter & Graham Runnalls

On 24 April 1558, Mary Queen of Scots married François, the French Dauphin, in Notre Dame cathedral in Paris. Even before her marriage, Mary, through her striking physical appearance and her personality — not to mention her political significance — had attracted the attention and admiration of many at the French court. The romantic notion of the marriage of such a person to the heir to the throne of France led many contemporary writers to eulogise both her and the event itself. At least fifteen poets, mostly French (including Ronsard, Du Bellay and Grévin) but also Scottish and Italian, dedicated poems to her. But even this literary outburst was overshadowed by the festivities and entertainments which surrounded the marriage ceremony. These were believed at the time to have been among the most splendid and elaborate in living memory — and this at a period known for its love of display and pageantry, exemplified in the many well-documented royal and princely entries. One of the reasons for the expense and self-indulgence was probably that this was the first time in 200 years that the Dauphin, the heir to the French throne, had been married on French soil. Another unusual aspect of these particular ceremonies is that some months after the Paris event, a repeat event took place in Edinburgh.

It is these entertainments that constitute the subject of this paper written jointly by Sarah Carpenter and Graham Runnalls. Graham Runnalls will be dealing with the French connection; Sarah Carpenter will look at the Scottish dimension. We had originally seen this paper as a — hopefully — light-hearted *pièce d'occasion* with which to round off the twenty-first *Medieval English Theatre* annual conference and to celebrate its second visit to Edinburgh. However, we discovered in the course of our joint researches that the topic did provide more than just local colour. Indeed, although we do not have space to explore these matters fully, the events we shall be discussing cast light on several more far-reaching issues, for example, the differences between French and Scottish dramatic traditions, the relationship between court and popular culture in the two

countries, and also the different kinds of complementary information that contrasting types of archival material can provide.

Political Background¹

A brief account of the historical setting will help to appreciate not only the importance of the marriage but also some of the ironies and the various types of political and theatrical make-believe that surround it.

Mary Queen of Scots was born on 8 December 1542, daughter of James V of Scotland and Mary of Guise. James belonged to the dynasty of Royal Stuarts, which had provided the previous three kings of Scotland, and which was subsequently to produce James VI of Scotland and I of England. James V's wife, Mary of Guise, was French, a member of the powerful Guise family from Lorraine, whose three brothers dominated the French court for much of the middle of the sixteenth century.

James V's death on 14 December 1542 meant that his daughter Mary became Queen of Scotland when she was only six days old. During the early years of her reign, Scotland was governed by regents, including the formidable Mary of Guise herself. For much of this period, Scotland was threatened by its English neighbours; Henry VIII was particularly keen to marry Mary to his son. Mary's mother, however, sought to strengthen the Auld Alliance with France and the primacy of the Catholic faith. Aware of her young daughter's vulnerability, in 1548 she sent Mary Queen of Scots to be educated and protected at the French court. There the young Mary stayed until the death of her husband, by then François II of France, in 1560, after which she returned to Scotland. Mary's formative years were therefore spent in the French court, whose manners, culture and language she adopted.

Her marriage in 1558, at the age of 16, to the Dauphin François, first son of the French king Henri II, who had succeeded François I in 1547, was no surprise. The two children had been brought up together at the same court; they were roughly the same age, François being one year younger than Mary. Indeed, there appeared to exist some degree of real friendship between them despite the fact that Mary was tall, lively, and active, whereas François was sickly, unhealthy, and taciturn. But the union was primarily a political one, which had been envisaged long before the official betrothal. Mary's mother saw in the marriage a double advantage. It would reinforce the Auld Alliance by linking the crowns of France and Scotland, and it would ensure that a member of the Guise dynasty sat on the throne of France. The marriage was attended not only by all the

members of the French court, but also by nine Scottish Commissioners, who came to Paris explicitly to witness the event, to draft the treaties related to the marriage and to protect Scottish interests. In fact, they were the victims of a deception. Two different marriage contracts were drawn up. The first, about which they knew nothing, decreed among other things that, should Mary die without issue, the Scottish crown would revert to France; it also decreed that any subsequent marriage contract would be invalid. The second contract, which the Scottish Commissioners negotiated and signed, envisaged, in the event of Mary's death without issue, the return of the Scottish crown to the Scottish inheritance. In fact, the early death in 1560 of François II, crowned only in 1559, meant that this planned deception came to nothing. Another misfortune befell the Scottish Commissioners; on their way back to Scotland, several of them suddenly fell ill, and four died in one night. Poison was naturally suspected; perhaps they had found out about the false marriage contract? However, no complaints were made by the surviving Commissioners when they reported back to the Scottish parliament later in the year.²

The Parisian Ceremonies

There are many descriptions of the festivities surrounding the 1558 marriage, but the original documents on which these are based are few in number. In fact, there are three main contemporary accounts. One tells the story from the stand-point of the French court. Another relates the events from the point of view of the Paris town councillors, the *échevins*. The third, a fragmentary text, describes the events through the eyes of a Scot.

a) The first and most important document is the *Discours du Grand et Magnifique Triumphe fait au mariage de François et Marie Stuart*;³ this was an independent semi-official publication, printed by the Parisian publisher Annet Briere in 1558. Two other editions were published in Bordeaux and Rouen later the same year. The Briere text is quite short, consisting of 12 small in-quarto folios.

b) Secondly, the official *Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris* for 24 April 1558,⁴ contain a ten-page account of the ceremonies, emphasising the rôle — largely passive — played by the city representatives. Much is made of the clothes the *échevins* wore, and how they arrived at the wrong entrance to the church and had in the end to go round to the front. But in some respects, the description of the entertainments is more detailed than that of the *Discours*.

c) The third consists merely of several pieces of paper, found in the binding of a 1559 edition of the poems of David Lindsay.⁵ Printed in gothic characters in the Scots language, and dated May-June 1558, it contains a few tantalising fragmentary passages from an anonymous eyewitness account written by a Scot who attended parts of the ceremonies, but had to watch the rest as a member of the public.

These three documents do not contradict each other in any significant way but, because of their varied view-points, they tend to focus on different aspects of the events. Moreover, although most features of the ceremonies are mentioned by at least two sources, the degree and nature of the details differ. A conflation of first two documents allows one to reconstruct the full ceremonies; we will return to the third later. In what follows, we give emphasis to the entertainments, and spend little time on clothes and jewellery, which loom large in the sources. Extracts from original documents, translated into English, are in quotation marks. Occasionally we include words from the original French, in italics, where the extract meaning is not transparent.

Well before the marriage on 24 April 1558, and even before the betrothal ceremony on 19 April at one of the newly-completed buildings of the royal palace of the Louvre, a considerable amount of planning and preparation had taken place. For example, in the *grand salle du palais*, i.e. the royal palace, now called the Palais de Justice, on the Ile de la Cité, several theatres (*theatres*) had been built. Also, 'another stage or platform (*theatre ou eschaufault*) had been constructed on the parvis of Notre-Dame, with a gallery going from the Bishop's Palace to the great door of this church, and from thence to the choir; this platform and gallery was twelve feet high, and made in the fashion of an arch, festooned with vine branches on all sides in antique style'. The Bishop's Palace was next to Notre-Dame, immediately on its south side.

On the day of the wedding ceremony itself, 'in front of the great door or Notre-Dame a royal canopy (*ciel royal*) was erected, with tapestries of fleur de lys on both sides of the door'. The city representatives had to arrive early, before the main royal procession. At 9 a.m. they tried to go in a side door of Notre-Dame, but were told that, if they wanted to get into the choir, they would have to go round to the front and enter by the wooden bridge leading right into the choir, which they did, walking on Turkish carpets all the way. There they awaited the wedding procession, along with many other important citizens.

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

At 11 a.m. the procession arrived; each participant is described in order of appearance, with their dress and jewellery. All entered Notre-Dame by way of this wooden gallery, twelve feet above the ground. Monsieur de Guise arrived first and greeted the Bishop of Paris and his entourage. At one point, Monsieur de Guise asked some of the notables walking along the galleries to move, so that the ordinary people, who were watching in great numbers down below the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame and in other nearby streets, could see what was going on. In fact, this happened several times during the proceedings; clearly it was deemed important that the ordinary public should be able to have a good view of their leaders, their rich clothes and the pageantry.

Then came the King's household and more Cardinals, and finally the main participants, the Dauphin led by the King of Navarre and by the Dukes of Orléans and Angoulême, the King accompanied by Mary Queen of Scots and the Duke of Lorraine, the Queen of France accompanied by Condé, followed by other members of the royal family, sisters and daughters. After the marriage ceremony and mass were completed, the married couple left together under a *ciel*; and the procession went back, along the raised galleries, to the Bishop's Palace for dinner. Once again, the king ensured that the public got a good view of the full procession. Meanwhile, the city representatives had to go back a different way, to make ready for the *soupper du roy* which was to be held later at the royal palace. A truly royal (*a la realle*) dinner was then served in the *Grand Salle* of the Bishop's Palace; this was followed by a *bal royal*. Then, at about 4 or 5 o'clock, the king and his guests returned to the royal palace. There were large crowds awaiting them along the streets directly linking the two palaces, i.e. along the Rue Saint-Christophe and the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame. However, the king decided to take a longer and more visible route. The procession crossed the Seine over the Pont Notre-Dame, walked along the right bank, returned to the Ile de la Cité by the Pont-au-Change, and then went straight into the palace. When the crowds realised their mistake, they rushed towards the royal palace a different way, causing a certain amount of confusion. Also, on several occasions, money was thrown to the watching people with the cry of *largesse*; the result was a chaotic scrum.

The *soupper du roy* was held in the royal palace, at the famous *Table de Marbre*, a kind of raised dais, which was occasionally used for theatrical performances. Music played whilst the guests ate. After the meal, the tables were cleared away for a ball (*dance*). All the royal party joined in;

details are given of who danced with whom. After the dance came the entertainments, which consisted of a large number of *masques*, *mommeries*, *ballades et autres jeux et pasetems*. There appear to have been three main parts to the proceedings.

a) 'Firstly appeared the seven planets, wearing the costumes that the poets have given them, i.e. Mercury, with two wings, as herald and messenger of the gods, dressed in white satin with a golden belt, holding his rod in his hand; Mars wearing armour; Venus dressed as a goddess, and the other planets likewise; and as they walked along, they sang specially-composed songs, most melodiously.'

b) Next there appeared a number of artificial horses made of basket-work. According to the Hôtel de Ville account, first there appeared 25 *chevaux triumpans* dressed in cloth of gold and silver, each ridden by a young prince and led by a lackey. Then came two *hacquenees* (smaller horses) led by a man, and pulling antique-style carts, carrying musicians of various sorts. Then came 12 unicorns, again mounted by young princes, followed by two more *hacquenees* pulling a chariot carrying the Nine Muses, and finally more horses like the first ones.

c) Lastly, after a break for another half-hour of dancing, appeared the climax, which consisted of 'six beautiful artificial ships with masts and silver sails six to ten feet high, covered in cloth of gold, which were made to look as if propelled by breezes, constructed in such a way that they could turn any way you wanted. Sitting in the middle of each ship was a young prince, dressed in cloth of gold, and masked, and beside him there was an empty seat. All of these ships went sailing around the great Hall of the Palace, just as if they were on the sea, being tossed by tide and wind. And they passed in front of the Marble Table, where all the ladies were seated, and as they passed, each prince in a ship took a lady, one taking the Queen, another the bride, another the Queen of Navarre, etc. and they sat them down beside them on the ship. Thus they sailed away with them and took them to their bedrooms. Thus ended the festivities of this great day'.

The above information comes from the first two documents mentioned. Much of the third, Scottish, account has been lost; the remaining fragments mainly describe the events before the entertainments. The anonymous author makes occasional references to the Scots present at the ceremony; these are mostly totally ignored in the other two documents. In particular, he expands with deliberately comic glee on the chaos provoked by the *largesse*, the coins thrown to the public. He relates how a

Franciscan friar, who grabbed most of the money, defended himself by saying that, if Saint Francis himself were there, he would have done the same thing. But otherwise his account (or the parts of it that have been preserved) repeats the content of the other documents, although there are minor discrepancies, and additional details of no great import for us (the numbers of servants, the gifts for the heralds, etc). He does, however, mention the 'skaffald within the kirke', and the last part of the fragment described the twelve 'artificiall horssis'.

This document adds a little to the overall picture, but provides no more details about the entertainments. The author is, of course, anonymous, but his learning shows through in his inclusion of several Latin quotations, often used humorously, to underline a point in his narrative. It seems to me very plausible that he was one of the entourage of one of the surviving Commissioners. After all, not only did he attend some of the festivities (but not all of them) in Paris in April, but he was back in Edinburgh within a couple of months.

However, the main importance of the Scottish account could be that it constituted a means whereby the full details of the ceremony became rapidly known in Edinburgh, where it was apparently published by May or June 1558. In other words, it could be one of the sources for the duplicate events, which followed two months later.

The Edinburgh Festivities

Our reason for looking at these marriage festivities as a joint project is that the Paris wedding of 24 April was re-celebrated in Edinburgh, though without the chief players, on 3 July 1558. Unlike the French event, we have no narrative sources at all for the celebrations.⁶ But the Lord High Treasurers' accounts refer to:

the solemnization of the marriage of our Soverane Ladie to be conterfute in Edinburgh⁷

which seems to suggest some kind of proxy ceremony. Then accounts of the Burgh Council record payments for what is clearly a civic celebration to mark the day:

the expensis maid upone the *Triumph and Play at the Mariage of the Quenis Grace*, with the Convoy the [blank] day of *Julii anno 1558*.⁸

From these two sources we have relatively extensive record entries from which we can piece together something of what happened. The difference in the kinds of surviving evidence from France and Scotland determines some differences in what can be learned about the parallel events. The coherent 'stories' presented by the various French and Scottish chronicles of the Paris ceremonies offer us an impression of the whole occasion, while also determining a particular contemporary perspective on it. The fragmentary Scottish record evidence, while frustrating any such overall sense of what occurred, offers instead a relatively unmediated access to the fabric of the pageantry. This difference in kind between the two bodies of evidence tends to inhibit direct comparison, either of the events themselves or of their purposes, effects, or the responses they generated. But they do, plainly if tantalisingly, suggest a possible deliberate link between the pageantry of the two celebrations.

As we have seen, the first of the theatrical shows celebrating the Paris wedding presented 'the seven planets, wearing the costumes the poets have given them' who walked along singing specially composed songs. The City of Edinburgh accounts refer to 'the vij men quha wes the vij planets', 'paynting of the vij planets with cupid'.⁹ Representations of the Seven Planets were, of course, not unusual: they crop up in literature, visual arts, and royal entries elsewhere, and it is always possible that their appearance at both wedding celebrations was just coincidence. But given the intimate link between the two ceremonies, the diplomatic and political affiliations of the two countries, and the existence in Scotland of documentary evidence of the Parisian shows, it seems a fairly firm possibility that the Edinburgh celebrations were consciously modelled on those of Paris. If this is the case, then we have an interestingly deliberate use of the quasi-theatrical show as an active, if minor part of international relations.

What might be invested in any echoing of the French celebration in Edinburgh? Although it is unlikely that France would have had any particular interest in the Edinburgh festivities, the French did appear to see the marriage as a means of effectively annexing Scotland. So for them a reflection of the greater country's pageantry in the lesser might seem appropriate. But in Edinburgh there may well have been stronger incentives to re-stage the Parisian ceremonies. Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, the Queen Regent, still identified her own, and Scotland's, interests with her daughter and family in France. However, in spite of tensions with England, there was clearly a good deal of resistance in Scotland to these closer ties with France.¹⁰ Mary had now been absent for ten years, the

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

religious and political situation had shifted, and antagonism to the French was beginning to increase. For both these positive and negative reasons, a public and civic spectacle demonstrating not only fidelity to the absent queen but the intimate links between the two countries might well be considered expedient, especially by the Queen Regent.

In general Edinburgh seems to have been accustomed to look to mainland Europe for its models for display and ceremonial.¹¹ On this occasion this tendency may have been confirmed by detailed eyewitness information about the Paris celebrations.¹² The account printed by John Scot suggests that details were probably quite widely known in Edinburgh. So both the political and theatrical climate seems to have been conducive to a pageantry asserting, however, tenuously, the links between the two capitals.

How far can we reconstruct what actually happened in Edinburgh, and how it compared with Paris? Since the records are patchy, it is hard to be sure about the extent of the celebrations. They seem to have involved some kind of wedding ceremonial: the Dean of Guild accounts for St Giles Kirk record a payment:

the thrid day of Julij, to twa werkmens to gand to the Abbay and feche viij [sic: 8 what?] to the ProceSSION of the Sacrament quhen the Quenis Grace wes maryit.¹³

This procession presumably included the cathedral's

Eucharist contending foure litill bellis of gowld, ane blewe bell of gould, twa litill hartts, twa litill croces, all hingand at the said Eucharist.¹⁴

But any such ceremony was, with neither party present, only 'counterfute'. The impression from the records is that in Edinburgh the festive shows were aimed rather at the people and the nation than, as in Paris, at the central participants and the court. The fact that the pageantry appears to have been mainly organised and financed by the Burgh Council, rather than by the court, confirms this differing political slant. Graham Runnalls has pointed out that the accounts of events in Paris show the Duke of Guise and the King concerned to ensure that the public have a good view of events; in Edinburgh it looks as if the public were the main focus of the celebration. While in Paris the theatrical shows of the planets, artificial horses, and ships, were indoor sports for the aristocratic audience, in

Edinburgh the 'Triumphe and Play' appear to have been outdoor performances at the Tron, for the people of the city.

The court did have some involvement. Although there is little to mark the actual wedding in April,¹⁵ the court clearly took some part in the July festivity:

Item, the last day of Junij, to maister Johnne Balfour in the gardrope to by certane welvot, sating and talpheteis agane the solmenization of the mariage of our Souverane Ladie to be conterfute in Edinburgh the thrid day of Julij nixttocum xliiij l¹⁶

The sum is substantial but not lavish: it is clearly for grand clothes, but may not involve any kind of performance activity.¹⁷

Perhaps more significantly, the Treasurer's Accounts also reveal the orchestration of public festivity: messages are sent out at the end of June to some twenty-three different burghs all through Scotland from Inverness to Dumfries 'with certane chargis of the Quenis grace ... to mak fyris and processiou general for the completing and solemnizing of the marriage betuix our Souerane Ladie and the Dolphine of France'.¹⁸ As in Edinburgh, it appears that the main body of the festivities, although initiated and ordered by the Queen, is to be produced by the people for the people.

Which brings us to the burgh's own 'triumph, play and convoy'. The records are fascinating but, as usual, often enigmatic. There was certainly a 'play', which involved speech. William Lauder was paid ten pounds 'for the making of the play and the wrytting thairof'; William Adamson four pounds 'for writing of ane part of the play, and for recompense of his part of the play, quhilk he had in keping, at the presidents command'.¹⁹ From the relative payments Lauder was presumably the chief author, and he was indeed by this date an established playwright, having been paid by the court for a wedding play in 1548, and by the city for a 'litill farsche and play' performed for Mary of Guise in 1554.²⁰ He had also published in 1556 *Ane Compendious and Breue Tractate concerning ye Office and Dewtie of Kyngis, Spirituall Pastoris, and Temporall Iugis*, and poem of advice to rulers on controlling spiritual affairs which is very close to the kind of moderate reforming tendencies of the *Thrie Estaits* (performed in Edinburgh two years earlier), and written in a plain but quite energetic sub-Lindsayan style.²¹ So Lauder was clearly involved in and aware of the potential intersection of drama, spectacle, and politics in the Edinburgh performance culture of the 1550s. His payment from the council on this occasion, as

previously, was for more than simply penning speeches. It was also 'ressavit for his travell and lawbour tane vpon him in setting furth of the play':²² he appears to have been in our terms a producer or 'deviser' as much as a playwright.²³

This play is recorded as an outdoor public event, rather than the musical spectacular interlude of the Parisian court. We are told that the Tron was decorated 'agane the said play'. There are various payments for the construction of scaffolds and for laying two hundred turfs 'till the skaffetts for latting of dyn to be maid by the playaris feit'.²⁴ While indoor entertainments cannot be ruled out, substantial performance was clearly taking place in the streets.

It is from the many references to costumes, characters, and other aspects of the convoy that we can best determine how closely the Edinburgh entertainments paralleled those in Paris. First, there are the Seven Planets. In Paris these were 'wearing the costumes the poets have given them'. In Edinburgh, more prosaically, we discover that their costumes involved 24 ells of small canvas, 24 ells of mock taffeta of various colours, an extra 2¾ ells of green taffeta for one Planet, seven red skins 'tilbe thair short brotykynniss', and four golden skins to be crown for one of them.²⁵ Clearly their clothes are striking, and in some ways differentiated, although we cannot tell how far. Instead of walking in singing, like their Parisian counterparts, these Planets appear to have been carried through the city to the scaffolds in the 'convoy cart':

to Walter Byning for paynting of vij planets of the kart with the rest of the convoy xvj li. xiiij s. iiiij d.²⁶

Of course, this painting may have been a pictorial representation of the cart itself, but Binning had been paid by the council four years earlier for 'paynting of the ... playaris facis' for the *Thrie Estaits*.²⁷

In terms of vehicles, the convoy appears to have involved only this one 'cart'.²⁸ But, obviously enough, it also involved horses (decorated with seven skeins of 'flanders girths'). However they seem to have been the real thing, rather than the magnificent artificial creatures of Paris. 'Ane puir man' was given ten shillings 'for recompane of his yaird trod down by convoyaris horss'.²⁹ Equally there is no reference at all to ships. But there are a number of other players mentioned which may modify our sense of a 'play' of the Seven Planets. There are, for example, the costumes of 'the freiris': fourteen ells of 'blak and quhyt grayis to be the freiris weids'. On the basis of the 48 ells of cloth for the Seven Planets, this looks as if it

might amount to no more than two friars, and there are indeed references to 'the gray freir' and 'to Patrik Vernor ... quha had the blak freris part in the play'.³⁰ It is not clear if or how these friars might have been combined with the planets; friars were also likely to carry rather a different weight in a Scotland less than two years from Reformation, than they might have in France. Other players on whose costumes significant sums were spent are more predictable: a troupe of six dancers, three in red, three in white, each with 62 bells 'till be put upone thair bodyis and leggs'; a fool; and a parade of ensigns.

In terms of performers, then, Edinburgh seems to have picked up only on the Seven Planets. But is also just possible that some of the decoration of the city may have been slightly influenced by descriptions of the Paris wedding. Paris prepared the great *eschaffaud* constructed at the door of Notre Dame, 'twelve feet high and made in the fashion of an arch, festooned with vine branches on all sides in antique style' and covered in Turkish carpets. Edinburgh also constructed substantial scaffolds at 'the But, Tron, Croce, with the ovir Trone'. These, too, were decorated, not in this Northern nation with vine branches but with 'symmer treis' (one decorated with 'twa dosoun of cachepull balls cled with gold fuilze' and 'ane hundreth cheryis') while the Tron was furnished with woodbind, and clay 'for upstikin of jonet flowers'.³¹ As far as records suggest, the normal city decoration for festivity was with tapestries and cloth hangings, or with painted constructions. It is at least conceivable that the plant and flower decorations of these Edinburgh scaffolds owed something to the vine branches of Paris.

Overall there is no cast-iron case for asserting a deliberate parallel between Edinburgh and Paris for this triumph. Both the Planets and the vegetation are common enough elements of civic and courtly pageantry. But equally, since it is clear that the details of the French entertainments were known in Scotland, and the whole event was a 'conterfute' of that in Paris, it seems unlikely that this could be entirely coincidence. Indeed, the very partiality of the degree of overlap between the two cities' festivities is itself revealing of the political relationships, the linked yet radically different political contexts of the two shows. Paris offered a courtly celebration of royal and dynastic position: the populace were invited to see, to observe, the aristocratic reaffirmation of the royal house, while the nobility were entertained with glorious and sophisticated shows. In Scotland, the dramatic shows were produced by the city and its people for the people of the city. The money was put up by the Burgh Council, the

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

performers seem to have been local guildsmen, the shows were not indoors at court but in the public streets where the fountain at the Cross ran with wine for the populace.

How far the Edinburgh shows represented spontaneous popular opinion is unclear. Celebrations throughout the country appear to have been prompted by the Queen Regent. The marriage of their long absent queen far away in France seems to have provoked little response in the city, except anxiety at the temporary loss of the Lord Provost, who was one of the marriage Commissioners: they asked for a replacement for 'lord Seytoun, prouest, now in the pairttis of France'. The preoccupation of the Burgh Council through most of the year was with the feared imminence of an English invasion, with major expenditure in May and June for preparations and call-up 'gif it salhappin our ald inemyis of England to cum fordwart for persuite of this toun'.³² The marriage shows seem at best an interlude in a difficult year.

But for these troubled times a fine show was clearly put on.³³ It was a show which at least in some elements mirrored the splendour of Paris for those at home. But equally it is not surprising if Edinburgh chose to reproduce the cheapest elements of the Parisian display: the costumes of the Seven Planets, rather than the elaborate stage machinery of artificial horses and mechanised ships; fresh vegetation and turf, rather than the arch *à l'antique* and the Turkish carpets. The Edinburgh shows seem to confirm both the intimate links, and yet the political, financial, and cultural distance between the two countries.

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NOTES

1. There are many books on Mary Queen of Scots and her life and times; some of the most useful include the following: Antonia Fraser *Mary Queen of Scots* (Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1969); David Hay Fleming *Mary Queen of Scots* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1897); Jane Stoddart *The Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1908); James Phillips *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth Century Literature* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1964); René de Bouillé *Histoire des Ducs de Guise* 4 vols (Paris, 1849–1850); *Calendar of State Papers: Venetian* edited R. Brown and G.C. Bentink, 13 vols (HMSO, London, 1890) 6:3 1486–7.
2. The intrigues that lay behind these manoeuvrings are complex and fascinating; it is not the place to develop them here. But there is much literature devoted to the subject. We would recommend, for a factual account, Antonia Fraser's *Mary Queen of Scots*; for fictional versions with a firm historical basis, such contrasting works as Dorothy Dunnett *Queens' Play* (Cassell, London, 1964) and *Checkmate* (Cassell, London, 1975); and Madame de Lafayette *La Princesse de Clèves* (Livres de Poche, Paris, 1972).
3. *Discours du Grand et Magnifique Triumphe fait au mariage de François et Marie Stuart* (Annet Briere, Paris, 1558); also published in L. Cimber et F. Danjou *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* 27 vols (Paris, 1834–40) Série 1, tom. 3 (1835) 252–259; and by W. Bentham *Ceremonial at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin François* (Roxburghe Club, London, 1818); English translation by B.C. Webster *The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Francis the Dauphin of France MDLVIII* (Grian-Aig Press, Greenock, 1969).
4. Alexandre Teulet *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle* 5 vols (Paris, 1862) vol. 1 *Correspondances Français 1515–1560* chapter

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

- 34 'Mariage du Dauphin et de Marie Stuart', 302–311. The same text is found in Alexandre Teulet *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle* 3 vols (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1853) 1 292–303.
5. Douglas Hamer 'The Marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Dauphin: a Scottish Printed Fragment' *The Library* (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, March 1932) 420–428.
 6. The Scottish histories and chronicles record the Paris celebration, but not those in Edinburgh. See Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* edited Æ.J.G. Mackay, 3 vols (Scottish Text Society: Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1899, 1911) 2 124–5; 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) 264–5; *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the fourth till the year 1575* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1833) 52.
 7. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (Compta Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum)* 11 vols (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1877–1916) vol. 10 edited J. Balfour Paul (1913), 360.
 8. Anna J. Mill *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1927) 183.
 9. This coincidence of the Seven Planets in the celebrations of both cities is pointed out in G. Connock 'Continental Influence on Religious Pageantry and Plays in Pre-Reformation Scotland' (MLitt dissertation, Glasgow, 1996).
 10. See e.g. Lesley *The History of Scotland* 251; Fleming *Mary Queen of Scots*, 1 208 note 38.
 11. David Lindsay's account of the 1537 royal entry that never was, prepared for Madeleine, French bride of James V, who died before she ever entered the city, vividly asserted the equivalence of Edinburgh pageantry to that which had honoured James at the wedding in Paris: see Lindsay 'The Deploration' in *Works* edited Douglas Hamer 4 vols (Scottish Text Society: Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1931) 1. John Knox, writing sourly of the apparently similar shows in 1561 to welcome Mary back to Scotland, remarked that: 'Great preparations were made for her entry in the town. In farces, in masking and in other prodigalities, fain would fools have counterfeited France'; *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland* edited W.C. Dickinson, 2 vols (Thomas Nelson, London, 1949) 2: 21.
 12. A variety of Scots had been present in Paris. The printed fragment records the delightful detail that the:

Quenis grace

[also comman] did that all Scottismen of

[rank, quhaso]euer they vvar, suld haue en-

[trance withth]is wwaitche vvarde *Brede and...*

and that not only the high-ranking Scots but large numbers of gatecrashers, of many nations, got in through access to this password (Hamer 'The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots').

13. *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts: Volume 2, Dean of Guild's Accounts 1552-1567* edited R. Adams (Edinburgh, 1899) 87.
14. Listed at the selling off of the kirk's jewels two years later: *Dean of Guild Accounts* 91.
15. Except for: 'Item: for iij ½ lb wecht of quhite walx to afix certane seillis to the commissionis send in France' with the Commissioners (*Lord High Treasurer's Accounts* 331).
16. *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts* 10 360.
17. Charges for making a specific dress for a particular woman, Katherine Michelson, Lady Carnock, do appear in the same group of records, making it possible that she took the role of Mary Stuart. But this dress, too, although clearly costly, by court standards does not seem sumptuous (£11/3/4d) *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts* 10 366.
18. *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts* 10 365.
19. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 183.
20. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 332, 182.
21. William Lauder *Ane Compendious and Breue Tractate* edited F. Hall EETS OS 3 (1864). In later life Lauder seems to have become a minister of the Reformed Church, and produced a number of works addressing the moral and social state of his country in the late 1560s and 1570s. Furnivall points out that Lauder in these later works 'appears as a sterner and more earnest Reformer' (though his judgement that 'our estimate of him must rise accordingly' may be more arguable today).
22. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 187.
23. See W.R. Streitberger 'Devising the Revels' *Early Theatre* 1 (1998) 55-74. The payment to William Adamson, though rather enigmatic, also seems to have involved more than just writing.
24. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 186.
25. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 183-4.
26. Walter Binning appears in conjunction with William Lauder at other times. See Sarah Carpenter 'Walter Binning: Theatrical and Decorative Painter' *METH* 10:1 (1988) 17-25.
27. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 182.
28. Andrew Williamson was paid £5/4/9d to make the cart.
29. *Mill Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 187.

THE MARRIAGE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

30. Mill *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 186–7.
31. Mill *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* 184–5. Note the contrast between the ‘Renaissance’ decoration of Paris (‘in antique style’), and the medieval romance trees and jonet flowers in Edinburgh.
32. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, AD 1403 (–1589)* edited J.D. Marwick, 4 vols (Scottish Burgh Records Society: Edinburgh, 1869–1872) 3 (1557–1571) 22.
33. The overall sum spent by the city was about £150.