

**‘TO THEXALTACYON OF NOBLESSE’:
A Herald’s Account of the Marriage
of Margaret Tudor to James IV.**

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Recent developments in performance studies and in theories of performativity have encouraged us to reflect on performance beyond the established confines of dramatic events. Performance is increasingly understood not as bound by the theatre, but as a fundamental medium both of social relationships and of individual identity.¹ While medieval and sixteenth century notions of public and private were very different from our own, the late Middle Ages shows an analogous and active consciousness of the power of performance in and of daily life. Perhaps especially in the arena of the court, there is a clear recognition and exploitation of performance as an important mode of social and political interaction which seems not separate from, but on a continuum with formal performance events.

One especially vivid source of documentation and commentary on this spectrum of formal and informal performance can be found in the accounts of the spectacular pageantry associated with occasions such as Royal Entries, marriages, and funerals which form an increasingly popular literary genre in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.² Often written by heralds, these narratives memorialise significant events; but they are primarily concerned not so much with the events themselves as with the ways in which they were embodied in public ceremonial and magnificent display. The occasions often include episodes easily definable as performances: pageants, tournaments, music. But within the narratives, such inset performances are not always easily separable from the wider spectacle of the events they celebrate. The overall choreography of the event offered a crucial means of enacting to a public audience the national, political, or social significance of the occasion.³

Political theorists of the time were alive to this active use of performance. Thomas Elyot, reflecting on the coronation ceremony in *The Boke named the Governour*, explains how performance draws spectators into its meaning:

For what purpose was it ordeyned / that christen kynges ... shulde
in an open and stately place before all their subiectes, receyue their

crowne and other Regalities / but that by reason of the honorable
circumstaunces than vsed / shulde be impressed in the hartes of the
beholders perpetuall reuerence: whiche ... is fountayne of
obedience / or els mought the kynges be enoynted and receyue their
charge in a place secrete / with lasse payne to them / and also their
ministers.⁴

The point of the ceremony, Elyot explains, is not purely functional or sacramental, but to 'impress the hearts of the beholders'. It is the responses of the witnesses that are central to the meaning of the ceremonial. The narrative accounts of this kind of spectacle may equally be concerned not just to record what happened, but to attempt to communicate or recreate for readers the experience of performance.

One particularly engaging example of this genre recounts events associated with the marriage of Henry VII's daughter Margaret Tudor to James IV of Scotland in August 1503. The account offers a vivid narrative of the month-long journey of the thirteen-year-old Margaret and her train into Scotland, her first meetings with her betrothed husband, Royal Entry into Edinburgh, and the marriage celebrations at Holyrood. The writer was John Young, the Somerset Herald of England who accompanied the convoy, apparently remaining with Margaret for some two years in Scotland.⁵ Although there has been no edition of the account since the eighteenth century, Young's narrative is well known to theatre historians, providing valuable eye-witness evidence of the pageantry and spectacle associated with Scotland's first recorded Royal Entry.⁶ As with similar narratives, the tendency so far has been to mine it for information about these formal pageants and shows.⁷ But there is much to learn about performance not just from extracting information from the narrative but from exploring its rhetoric, its point of view, its preoccupations and shaping of material. It was composed by a man who was both an eye-witness and a participant in the marriage celebrations: Young was a spectator but also in part a performer of the spectacle. This makes his perspective especially interesting if we want to understand more about the experience of late medieval performance. Issues of performance also inform his purposes as an author, and his shaping of the narrative for particular effects on his intended readers. All this may give us insight into what were understood as the aims and effects of the performance of the marriage.

Many sixteenth-century spectacle-narratives seem designed for wide public circulation, increasingly in print.⁸ Young's account seems closer to a slightly earlier group of reports, less explicitly aimed at a broad public

readership, and perhaps intended primarily for fellow officers of arms, recording protocol and establishing precedents.⁹ But they are distinctly more than bare records of ceremonial facts, suggesting that their rôle was more dynamic than simply heraldic record. Young's manuscript apparently circulated primarily among heralds, being copied several times, seemingly for officers of arms.¹⁰ Yet he shows a real interest both in the effects of the performances he describes and in the affective shaping of his own narration to convey this. Throughout the journey, he records in detail the costumes, the settings, the movements and gestures of the participants. This conveys a lively interest in the transmission of the experience of performance. Comparing what he says with records of material preparation from beyond his narrative suggests that the courts of both England and Scotland equally recognised the importance of performance in drawing spectators into the asserted significance of the marriage.

Young is relatively self-conscious in outlining his intentions in his narrative. He opens by declaring:

To the exaltacyone of noblesse shalbe rehersed in this lityll Treatys the honour of the right noble departyng owt of the Realme of Inglaund the right high and myghty & the right excellent princesse Margaret by the grace of god qwene of scotlaund. Also to thende to confort the hertes of age for to here it, and for to gyffe corage to the yong to do there after in suche cas to come. ffor sens the honour of the said departyng to thende of her voyage schalbe wrytten the names of the nobles after the dignytees astates & degrees that in this conveyng war ordonned.

London: College of Arms MS 1st M 13 fol 76^r
(Hearne *Collectanea* 265)¹¹

His first purpose, then, is 'the exaltation of noblesse'. He presents the work as belonging to the body of literature through which courtly society celebrates, and so promotes and sustains, its ideal conception of itself. Young is clearly using the slippery term *noblesse* to mean both the assumed generous and magnificent virtues of the élite and the costly display through which those virtues might be published. His further gloss on his aims is interesting: he wishes his narrative to 'confort the hertes of age' and to 'give corage to the yong'. These terms suggest that he is alert to the affective and inspirational quality of performance. His narrative is not concerned with the national and political benefits of the marriage alliance,

which he never mentions; it is the magnificently ordered spectacle and performance he is about to describe that he believes will inspire such feelings of comfort and courage. This strongly suggests that the purpose of the narrative is not only to record events, but to convey the affective experience of spectacular performance to those readers who were not present.

The last sentence of the quotation above is informed by intertwined issues of memorial and of presence. One of the ways in which Young will exalt noblesse is to list the names of the nobles who took part in the convoy and celebration, 'after the[ir] dignytees astates & degrees'. The narrative does indeed catalogue the names and titles of those present at every possible stage of the wedding journey. Official record and recognition is important here, as is protocol: noblesse is at least in part to do with ancestry and historical acknowledgement. But there is another dimension: one of the key identifying features of a performance (as opposed to other kinds of literary or visual representation) is *presence*. Performance is time-limited, and performers and spectators must both be present at the moment of enactment and witness. The lists of names, which for modern readers tend to hold up the progress of the narrative, are a confirmation of presence: these people were on the spot, participating in the show. To name them is part of the re-creation and validation of the moment of performance.

Two qualities Young especially emphasises are the magnificence that asserts the momentousness of the alliance; and the images and gestures of unity, both formal and informal, that embody its political implications. Magnificence is embodied in part in the protocol, and the careful lists of the names and ranks of those present. He repeatedly records the formal gestures of reception that attend the journey. At each town, Margaret's convoy is greeted by carefully listed local dignitaries; she is brought a cross from church or cathedral or relics to kiss, bells are rung, musicians play, trumpeters display banners. Henry VII had ensured that his daughter was accompanied to Scotland by appropriate spectacle that would demonstrate royal magnificence wherever she passed. She was provided with a litter of cloth of gold, and Young records that even her baggage wagons were 'couered w^t couerynges whytt & grene the armes of scotland & of inglaund halff parted w^t Red Rosys & portecollies crowned' (fol. 78^v; Hearne 268). Interestingly, he confirms that Henry also sent professional musical and dramatic performers. Henry Glasebury, marshall of his still minstrels, led a company of musicians while John English, leader of 'les

players of the Kyngs enterludes' took a company of players.¹² Both companies made a prominent contribution to the spectacle of Margaret's progress. Young reports the standard ordering of procession on entering and leaving towns:

Before thesaid qwene war by ordre, Johannes & hys Company,
henry glascbery & hys company the trompettes / officers of armes
sergentes of masse y^t ... it was a Joy for to se & here.

fol. 93^r (Hearne 280)

In translating events into verbal report he repeatedly emphasises those key aspects of performance: 'it was a joy for to *see* and *hear*'.

Even more colourfully Young attempts to convey the sensory impression of performance by his marked emphasis on clothing. Sensitive to the crucial importance of costume in the performance of magnificence, he provides detailed assessments of fabrics, cut, jewels, and accoutrements. Outside York Margaret was met by the Earl of Northumberland:

well horst opon a fayre courser w^t a fowt cloth to the grownde of
cramsyn velvet all borded of orfavery, hys armes varey Rych in
many places upon his saddle & harnays, his steroppes gylt. Hym self
arrayd of a gowne of thesaid cramsyne the opinynges of the slyves &
the collar of grett bordeures of stones, hys bouttes of velvet blak, hys
spours gylt in many places & maid gambades plaisantes for to se.

fol. 83^r (Hearne 271-2)

This goes well beyond simply a naive interest in the glamour of luxury and high fashion. Northumberland's 'gambades plaisantes for to se' present a conscious gesture of self-display which seems understood not as vanity but as the deliberate performance of splendour. His magnificent display honours Margaret as much as himself. Sydney Anglo has acutely reminded us that such clothes might be understood not only aesthetically or as assertions of wealth, but as images designed to convey a desired truth. Anglo cites Elyot in *The Boke named the Governour* describing how honour can be perceived only 'by some exterior signe / and that is either by laudable reporte, or excellencie in vesture: or other thinge semblable: But reporte is nat so commune a token / as apparayle'.¹³ Costume can be an embodied sign of Young's 'noblesse', a semantic and legible aspect of performance.

Young's responsiveness to the performance effects of clothes was clearly shared by the courts that produced them. In Scotland, record evidence

allows us to trace these costumes all the way from the cutting room to the stage, revealing the deliberate manipulation of their purpose and effect. James IV's Treasurer's Accounts list lavish expenses on garments for the wedding period, many of whose effects are then documented in Young's account. From the accounts we find, for example, a consciously staged gesture of unity in the decision to make matching wedding gowns for James and his young bride.

Item for ane steik [*bolt*] of quhit damas flourit with gold contenand
xxxiiij elne j *quartar* quhilk was ane gounne to ye king And ane oyir
to ye quene ...¹⁴

Further payments for taffeta linings and crimson velvet to border the Queen's gown bring the total expense to £183 2s 6d. When Young reports the wedding ceremony, he records this linking of the couple, uniting the thirty-year-old king with his girl bride:

the kyng was in a gowne of damask hwytt fygured w^t gold & lynned
w^t sersend [*sarcenet?*] ... The said qwene was arayd in a Ryche
robbe / lyke hymself borded of velvet cramsyn and lyne of y^eself.¹⁵

Young then reveals a further role for the costume at the wedding feast. The King:

before y^t he satt, sent hys gowne of maryage to the offycers of armes
of inglaund & chaunged an nother of velvet blak long & fourred of
marten. The wiche Robbe berred the next day in cowrte
sommersettt herawld acompayned of hys compaynons, the wiche
thaunked the kynge

fols 220^{r-v} (Hearne 296)

The King ceremoniously changes out of the white and gold damask, which becomes publicly displayed largesse to the English heralds, including Young himself. This appears to be a traditional practice: in London in January 1502 Margaret had been formally betrothed, the Earl of Bothwell standing proxy for James. After that ceremony 'the Earle Bothwel sent to the Officers of Armes the Gowne of Cloth of Gold, that hee were when he was fyanced in the Name of his Soveraigne Lord'.¹⁶ In Edinburgh, Margaret's gown was delivered the next day to the Scots Officers of Arms, but later redeemed for largesse of cash and returned to the royal wardrobe. As a dress for a young girl it was presumably less valuable for itself than for its symbolism in the performance of royal generosity. The 'excellence in vesture' of these matching robes therefore becomes an 'exteriour signe' of

honour not only in the wedding itself, but in the performance of honour between sovereigns and heralds of the two nations.

Settings for the performance were similarly lavishly created and carefully recorded. Large sums went towards hangings and traverses which provided a backdrop for the action, including £400 for two gold Cloths of Estate for the King and Queen. Again, Young emphasises their effect as he reports the scene of the wedding feast where the new Queen kept estate:

thesaid chammer [where the queen dined] rychely drest & the
clothe of a statt wher she satt of clothe of golde, vary riche ...
thesaid chammer [where the king dined] was haunged of Rede & of
blew, a cyll [*celure, canopy*] of a state of cloth of gold; bot he was not
vnder for y^e same day

fols 208^{f-v} (Hearne 294-5)

Young shows the protagonists' demonstrative interaction with the performance setting by this scrupulous noting of choreographed gesture. Throughout the wedding he records how James publicly deferred honour and precedence to Margaret in all ceremonious details of the day. He repeatedly refused to kiss the Cross and relics before her, would not kneel in church before she did, would not even have his own largesse called but only hers, consistently enacting, as Young says, 'the most grett humilite & Reuerence as possible myghte be' (fol. 207^v; Hearne 294). His refraining from holding estate at the wedding feast himself by sitting out from beneath his canopy is another example of this significant gesture of performed deference.

It is in such reading of gesture that Young's narrative is perhaps most clearly nudged towards performance. His interest in the organisation of ceremony leads to a natural focus on choreography in formal settings as he traces order, precedence, and ritualised movement through space. Through the wedding ceremony he charts movement almost like the figures of a dance: who accompanies whom, where people are placed, how the King and Queen approach separately, make reverence, he leads her by the right hand to the altar, they kneel together, retire each to separate traverses, and return. But this also colours the narration of far less obviously ritualised moments, which are similarly described in terms almost like stage directions or blocking instructions. As the Queen on her progress neared the castle of Dalkeith, for example, Young explains how she stopped half a mile out and 'apoynted hyre rychely' to enter 'in fayre ordre'. The Earl of Morton then 'came before hyre without the yatt' to

present her with the keys. Beyond him 'Betuyx the two yattes was the lady acompayned of gentylmen and ladyes the wiche kneled downe, and thesaid qwene toke her up and kissed her, and so she was conveyd to hyre chammer'.¹⁷ The reader is guided through the precise sequence of movement, as if a spectator of the action.

Young's narrative is slightly unusual in covering not only formal ceremonial and display, but material which is less obviously public or performed, especially during Margaret's first days in Scotland before the Royal Entry and wedding. It is in these episodes that the translation of events into quasi-performances is most overt. Most striking is the account of the first meetings of James and Margaret which are presented as a few days of 'courtship' before the wedding. Their first encounter opens with a formal description of magnificent approach much like the public civic welcomes:

the kynge came araydof a Jakkette of cramsyn veluet borded with cloth of gold hys lewre [*greyhound*: from French *levrier*] behynde hys bake his beerde somthyng longe acompayned of thes reuerend father in god tharchbyschope of saunt andrew brother of thesaid kynge and chauncellor of scotlaund ... w^t many others lordes knyghtes and gentylmen to the nombre lx horsys.

fols 95^{r-v} (Hearne 283)

But these formal details are followed by a personal encounter in a slightly different key. Though not a public ceremony, Young presents it very much as a choreographed action. The King:

was conveyde to the qwenes chamber, wher she mett hym at her gret chamber dore, right honorable accompained, and at the mettyng he & she maid grett reuerences the one to the tother, his hed barre, and kyssed togeder, and in lyke wys kyssed the ladyes ... And then they went a syd the qwene & he and commouned togeder, by long space. She held good manere, & he barre hed duryng the tyme / & many courtaysyes.

fol 95^v (Hearne 283)

The resonantly presented sequence of gestures again casts the reader as spectator, witnessing a silent performance not only of significant meeting but of a publicly enacted moment of privacy. We are not close enough to hear what passes between King and Queen in their private encounter, but we are enabled to watch. Young shows us the embodied gestures of intimacy presented to public view: the personal conversation, the 'good

manere' of one and the 'bare heded' reverence of the other in the exchange of lovers' 'courteysyes'. The fact that the royal couple do not withdraw altogether for their private conversation suggests that they too recognise the performed nature of the encounter. This is confirmed in an earlier narrative of an English princess travelling abroad to her wedding. When an earlier Margaret, the sister of Edward IV, travelling to her marriage with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, first met with her future mother in law, we are told that they went 'after dynner to communycacion, in a tresauce [*gallery*] betwixt, wher all the people of bothe nacions myght se ther famylyarite'.¹⁸

Young's account of the following days shows how the courts of both countries found performance an appropriate means of both building and expressing the new relationship between the king and queen. Informal musical performance and dance played an important role during James' visits to Margaret at Dalkeith. Margaret herself is especially involved in dance, from her very first meeting with James when, 'After the soupper they wasched ageyne, with the Reuerences / mynstrelles begone to blowe, wher daunced the qwene acompayned of my lady of Surrey' (fol. 95^v; Hearne 283). Dance was an expected accomplishment of a princess, used as a licensed means of public display especially of marriageable young women.¹⁹ Margaret's dancing for James, repeated many times on the following days, is not just a pleasurable entertainment but a presentation of herself for him in performance.

Only once does Young record that James joined Margaret in dancing.²⁰ He more often responded by playing for her. On the second day, after she has danced:

incountynent the kynge begonne before hyre to play of the claricordes and after of the lut wiche pleasyd hyre varey muche and had grett plaisur to here hym.

fol. 96^v (Hearne 284)

Like dance, the performing of music is presented by Young as an acknowledged ritual of courtship. The following day Margaret responded:

& the one kyssed y^e other & after drew them a syd for to comoun, and after she playd apoun the claricordys, and after of the lut, he beyng apoun his kne all wayes barre hed.

fol. 97^v (Hearne 285)

The two enact, to each other but also their households, their roles as serenading lovers. James pursued further what seems a genuine pleasure in

music-making, organising an impromptu chamber concert to follow his own performance:

Apon thesaid claricordyes Sire edward stanneley playde a ballade
and sange therwith wiche the kynge commended right muche, and
incountynent he called a gentylman of hys y^e could synge well &
maid them synge togeder the wiche accorded varey well and
afterward thesaid Sire edwarde stanneley & two of hys servauntes
sange a ballade or two wheroff the kynge could hym good thaunke.

fols 96^v–97^r (Hearne 284)

This picture suggests the familiar and participatory use of the performance of music as informal courtly entertainment, allowing the two courts a shared means of pastime but also of interaction. James apparently exploited this in deliberately arranging for the harmonious duet between an English and a Scots courtier. Although presented and received primarily as an informal gesture of entertainment and courtesy, it allowed for the potential tensions of the political union to be at least symbolically overcome in domestic performance.

There is some evidence that the English found the arrangements of the Scottish court more informal than those they were accustomed to, and that Young's narrative in part attempts to re-present that informality as more deliberate performance. He takes pains to point out at various times that things were 'apoynted after ther [the Scots'] gyse' and this is echoed in the contemporary *Great Chronicle of London* which reported that 'she cam Into Scotland, where she was Joyously and honourably afftyr theyr maner Ressayvid'.²¹ Edward Hall, later in the century, is more explicit, commenting that King James 'feasted the English lordes, and shewed to them Justes and other pastymes, very honourably, after the fassion of his rude cuntry' but concluding that the English nobility gave 'more prayse to the manhooe, then to the good maner & nurture of Scotlande'.²² Scots historians, unsurprisingly, read this rather differently, John Leslie later claiming that 'the Inglismen returne to thair king, tha declair the king of scotis his humanitie, the sueitnes of his Nobilitie, commendeng mekle thair graciousnes, honour and fauour, bot maist thair courteous cleithing [clothing]'.²³ Both sides, however, seem to recognise that there was a difference in style.

This may inform Young's handling of the notoriously spontaneous and demonstrative personal manner of James IV. He repeatedly notes, with apparent faint surprise, James' informality: 'went to his horse, on whom he

did lepe w^tout puttyng the fowt w^tin the sterrope ... incountynent he sporred follow who myght' (fol. 97^r), 'he beinge all wayes mere [*merry*] and his beerde somethynge longe' (fol. 98^r). There are famous legends of James' impulsiveness and ready interaction with people of all classes; similar signs are visible even in the Treasurer's Accounts which record with a certain resignation, 'ij ½ elne wellus [*velvet*] to be ane jacat to the king quhen gaif [*sic*] away his awne jacat', 'Item for ane hat to ye king quhen he gaif away his hat for caus it wes hevy'.²⁴ The accounts also reveal English reactions similar to Young's: the 'somethynge longe' beard was tidied by the Countess of Surrey just after the wedding:

Item, the ix day of August, eftir the marriage, for xv elne claith of gold to the Countess of Surry of Ingland, quhen scho and hir dochter Lady Gray clippit the Kingis berd.²⁵

In his narrative Young finds strategies to translate this informality of manner into a more deliberate performance of graciousness. Sometimes he does so simply by presenting what might seem informal as a deliberate feature of the ceremonious spectacle. As James and Margaret enter the Abbey Church of Holyrood after her Royal Entry, he describes how:

he tuke thesaid qwene in doynge humble Reuerence & led hyr to the grett awter by the body ... hym transported the kynge to the pallais thorough the clostre holdynge all wayes the qwene by the body and hys hed barre ... the kynge let go the qwene tyll she had kissed all thesaid ladyes ... And so he tuke hyre ageyn with low courtaysy and barre hed.

fols 203^v–204^v

Young's emphasis, while suggesting that such physical contact is faintly unusual in public, presents it as a deliberate performance of deferential affection. More rhetorically, as Louise Fradenburg has pointed out, he draws on a literary discourse of courtly love to define the King's behaviour. Most strikingly we find this in metaphorical imagery drawn from the hunt of desire. The day after the couple's first meeting, lords from the English party at Dalkeith ride out to greet the King as he returns to visit his bride. However:

The kynge flyinge as the byrde y^t sykes [*seeks*] hyre pray tuke oyer waye & cam pryvely to thsaid castell, and entred w^tin the chammer w^t small company & founde thesaid qwene playinge at the cardes

fol. 96^r

This visit — the King riding privately, escaping the official welcome party, and entering without ceremony on the Queen at play — seems to record behaviour slightly at odds with the formality with which the progress has been conducted so far.²⁶ But through the hawking image Young invites his readers to understand the gesture not in terms of the normal protocol of courtly spectacle, but rather in terms of the discourse of courtly love. The King is cast in a familiar rôle, not this time that of sovereign ruler, but of ardent lover. The noticeable intrusion of *literary* simile here perhaps even serves to emphasise the generally spectacular and performance bias of the account. Again, there is a vivid parallel in an analogous moment from the 1468 marriage narrative. When Charles the Bold first met his bride, the author reports:

the Duc toke hir in his armes, kisside hir, and than kissid al the ladies and jentillwomen; and whane he hade so done, he loked and regarded the beautie of hir; he rejoysid, and in his reiose in suche case, me thought, as Troylus was ine, for he tarried, and avised hir a tracte of tyme ar he went to hir againe, and thane reverently ywent to hir againe, and toke hir by the ryght hande, and set bothe them down, and askid her a questione secretlye.²⁷

As with Young, the presentation of the meeting of the lovers as a scene staged to the view is momentarily mediated through a literary imagery of courtly romance. In both writers, these moments suggest a wider intended circulation than just officers of arms, and a concern not with performance as such, but with an attempt to convey the affective experience of the observed encounter.

The mixture of magnificent and informal behaviours in the Scottish wedding, and their presentation as performance to Young's readers are both well illustrated in the description of Margaret's Royal Entry into the city of Edinburgh. This begins with the expected choreographed display of splendour. On 7 August the Queen was conducted towards Edinburgh, 'putt in hyr litere varey Rychely enorned' (fol. 99^r; Hearne 286) and dressed in cloth of gold. Her 'pallefrey of honnour' was led behind, caparisoned in a costly 'pilzeane' of five ells of cloth of gold.²⁸ Half way there:

the kynge came toward hyre for to mett hyre monted upon a bay horse Rennyng as he wolde Renne after y^e hayre [*hare*] accompayned of many gentylmen thesaid Horse trapped in a demy trappure of cloth of gold ... The kynge ware a Jakette lyke to the trappure ... at

the commynge toward the qwene he maid hyre varey humble
obeyssaunce in lepyng downe of hys horse, and kyssed hyre in hyre
litere ... a gentylman hussher bare y^e swerd before him, thesaid
swerde couered, with a scabard of *pourple* velvet, and was written
apon with perles / *god my defende*.

fol. 99^v–100^r (Hearne 287)

The elaborate cloth of gold caparisons matching the couple's clothes, and the sword of honour with its heraldic motto, all display the royal authority of the Sovereign, though mixed with displays of personal eagerness and tenderness as he welcomes his bride.²⁹

Young then records a slightly curious episode. A gentleman led another elaborately trapped courser to the King, 'apon the wiche horse the kynge monted w^out puttyng the fout within the sterrope' (fol. 100^r; Hearne 287).³⁰ James then told one of his gentlemen 'to monte behinde hym, to assay iff he wolde berre behynd / or not'. Having experimented, it was decided that the courser was not suitable, possibly for reasons of temperament.³¹ Instead James 'monted apon the pallefrey of thesaid qwene, and thesaide qwene behinde hym and so rode thorow the said towne of edenbourgh' (fol. 100^v).³² This episode reveals interesting attitudes to performance. There is a suggestive note of improvisation in the Scots' need to experiment with James' courser. But it implies that James had already decided that it would be symbolically appropriate for Margaret to ride not in her rich litter, but behind him on the same mount, presumably as a sign of affection and royal unity. Sharing a horse was not a normal sign of courtly magnificence, nor indeed was it usual English practice for a king to play so active a part in the entry of his bride.³³ The gesture seems to reveal James' insistence on enacting the part of courtly lover as well as king right through the official entry.³⁴ Young's detailed account of the stage management of the mounted entry reveals not only the more informal style of Scottish pageantry, but also the sharp recognition by both participants and spectators of the rhetorical power of gestures of performance.

It remains unclear exactly what was the rôle and readership Young envisaged for his narrative. The manuscript itself is not a presentation copy. It appears to be autograph, to be corrected as the writer went along, and towards the end description gets more sketchy as the celebrations gradually wind down. As an official report of ceremonial performance it has an obvious function for the officers of arms and the wide range of people involved in courtly organisation. It is also entirely possible that it

was aimed to circulate more widely at the English court, even as far as the king, to reassure the royal family of England of the reception of the princess. But it plainly also has a more affective intention than this might suggest. The readership envisaged in the introduction might not extend much beyond the professional (it is not clear who are ‘the young’ who are encouraged to imitate the noble spectacle described). But that readership is addressed in ways which are more emotive than simply informational. The rhetorical strategies of the account suggest that not only factual descriptions of what occurred but the effects of witnessing performance are important. Certainly this narrative, and others like it, offers a valuable resource as an eye-witness response to performance; there are very few of these for other genres of late medieval dramatic activity.

Speaking of the wedding day itself, Young tells us that:

Trompettes somuch of the kynge as of the qwene mynstrell of many
sortes Johanes & his company dyd yare devour [*devoir, duty*] for y^r
day, somuche of y^e mornynge as at the dynnare, and after as of y^e
soupper & also of the days followynge.

fol 110^r (Hearne 296)

He conveys a sense of an environment defined and animated by continuous performance. Young himself emerges as a writer who is alive to the organisation, the design, and the intentions of that performance, and of the ways in which audiences might respond to it — or might be wished to respond to it. As his professional role would suggest, he certainly sees performance of all kinds as crucial to establishing the significance of events like this marriage. And his narrative confirms that the courts of both England and Scotland shared this view, investing heavily and making extensive contribution to sustained and affective display.

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NOTES

1. For an overview of modern thinking about performance see Marvin A. Carlson *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (New York & London: Routledge, 2nd edition 2004).

2. Examples would be: 'The Marriage of the Princess Margaret, 1468' edited Thomas Phillipps *Archaeologia* 31 (1846) 326–38; 'The Marriage of Richard Duke of York, 1478' *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry* edited W.H. Black (London: Roxburghe Club, 1840) 25–40; *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* (1501) edited Gordon Kipling *EETS* 296 (1990); *The Spousells of the Princess Mary* (1505) edited J. Gairdner *Camden Miscellany Volume 9* (NS 53) 1895.
3. For reflection on the wider significance of early spectatorship and witnessing, see John J. McGavin *Theatricality and Narrative in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 1–13 and *passim*.
4. Thomas Elyot *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1531) 174^v.
5. The original manuscript is preserved as London: College of Arms MS 1st M 13, fols 76^r–115^v. For Young, see W.H. Godfrey, A.R. Wagner and H.S. London *The College of Arms* (London: London Survey Committee, 1963) 107–8.
6. The narrative has been accessible to scholars in Thomas Hearne's edition of *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* 6 vols (London: William and John Richardson, 1770) 4 265–300. Priscilla Bawcutt has valuable comments on Hearne's work and its relationship to the College of Arms manuscript in *Medieval English Theatre* 28 (2008) 171–4.
7. Much interesting work has been published on Margaret's entry into Edinburgh as described by Young, e.g. Douglas Gray 'The Royal Entry in Sixteenth-Century Scotland' in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* edited Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998) 10–37; Gordon Kipling *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 263–4; Michael Lynch and E. Patricia Dennison 'Crown, Capital and Metropolis: Edinburgh and Canongate: The Rise of a Capital and an Urban Court' *Journal of Urban History* 32:1 (2005) 37–9; Louise Olga Fradenburg *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991) 91–122.
8. *The Spousells of the Princess Mary* (1505) for example, was printed in both English and Latin versions. See note 1.
9. For example the 1468 marriage of the princess Mary to Charles the Bold in Brussels, and the 1478 marriage of the five-year-old Richard Duke of York. See note 1.
10. See the copies in Harvard's Houghton Library MS English 1095 and in Kew: National Archives SP 58/1.
11. All later references are to this MS and this edition: see notes 5 and 6.
12. The list of musicians prepared for the journey North naming Glasebury as Marshall of the Still Minstrels is recorded in Kew: National Archives

- E101/415/7. In English royal records minstrels are grouped into two sorts: 'loud minstrels' play noisier instruments — drums, trumpets, shawms, horns — while still minstrels play softer ones — flutes, stringed instruments. See Richard Rastall "Some English Consort-Groupings of the Late Middle Ages." *Music & Letters* 55:2 (1974): 179–202, at 182–3. For John English see Gordon Kipling 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage' in *Patronage in the Renaissance* edited Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton University Press, 1981) 152–5.
13. Elyot *Governour* 174^v–175^r; cited in Sydney Anglo *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992) 9.
 14. Edinburgh: National Archives of Scotland E21/6 (Treasurer's Accounts 1502–1504) fol. 20^r.
 15. Fol. 107^r. A choice of matching gowns for royal weddings may have been a recognised part of the language of display. We find from the account of the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon in 1501 that 'The garmentes of the Lord Prince and Princes bothe were of whight saten', although that writer then points out the unfamiliar Spanish fashion of the bride's gown: Kipling *Receyt* 43.
 16. Hearne 263. This is taken from a narrative of 'The Fyancells of Margaret' recording the betrothal which is associated with though separate from Young's narrative. For information on the manuscripts see Kipling *Receyt* xxxi–xxxvi.
 17. Fol. 95^r; Hearne 282–3. In fact Young's corrections to the manuscript suggest that his original version was even more alive to the instant of action. He replaces several phrases indicating active movement with slightly more formal terms: Betuyx the two yattes was the lady acompayned of gentylmen and ladyes the wiche ~~east hyr knellynge~~ [del] kneled downe, and thesaid qwene ~~Res hyr ageyne in hyr kyssynge~~ [del] toke her up and kissed her, and so she was conveyd ~~in~~ [del] to hyre chammer . .
 18. 'The Marriage of the Princess Margaret, 1468' 329.
 19. See Sarah Carpenter 'The Sixteenth Century Court Audience: Performers and Spectators' *METH* 19 (1997) 3–14. Margaret had performed an exhibition dance with her young brother the future Henry VIII at the disguisings that celebrated the marriage of Arthur and Katherine of Aragon at the end of 1501: Kipling *Receyt* 57–8.
 20. Hearne 291.
 21. London: Guildhall Library MS 3313 fol. 300^v; *The Great Chronicle of London*, edited A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983) 324.
 22. Edward Hall *The Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York* (London: Grafton, 1548) fol. 56^v of the reign of Henry VII (foliation starts anew with each reign).

23. John Leslie *The Historie of Scotland* translated James Dalrymple (1596), 2 vols *Scottish Text Society Series 1*, 5 (1895) 2 121.
24. Treasurer's Accounts 1501–1502; Edinburgh: National Archives of Scotland E21/5 fol. 18^r, fol. 27^r.
25. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* edited Thomas Dickson and Sir James Balfour Paul, 12 vols (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1877–1970) 2 (1500–1504) 314.
26. However, this kind of staged informality is also pleasurably recorded by Hall as a feature of Henry VIII's relationship with Katherine of Aragon in the early years of their marriage.
27. 'The Marriage of the Princess Margaret, 1468' 329.
28. This had been rapidly made by the King's wardrobe (at a cost of £126 10s 10d) to replace her own that had been lost in a fire at Dalkeith.
29. James' royal embroiderer had been paid £4 for his labour in dressing the sword of honour with purple velvet, gold and pearls, see *Treasurer's Accounts*, Edinburgh: National Archives of Scotland E21/6 fol. 18^v. This was clearly a carefully designed and promulgated image of sovereignty: one of the margins of the Flemish-decorated Book of Hours closely associated with the marriage shows what is clearly intended as a representation of the precise effect Young observes, see *Das Gebetbuch Jakobs IV. von Schottland und Seiner Gemahlin Margaret Tudor* (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1987) fol. 189^v.
30. This athletic leap into the saddle seems to have been a characteristic of James' glamorous chivalric display which the English herald frequently records.
31. If this was the same courser referred to in the Treasurer's Accounts around this time, it would certainly account for his unsuitability: 1501 'to the cheld of the pantree that hed his hors slane be the Kingis quhit cursour'; 1502 'to ane man hed his mere slane with the Kingis cursour' (Edinburgh: National Archives of Scotland E21/5 fol 107^v; fol 140^r).
32. Again, Young's corrections might suggest a more vivid sense of the dynamic of the episode: 'monted apone the pallefrey of thesaid qwene, and thesaide qwene ~~beyond~~ [del] behinde hym / ~~and in the manere layd hyre all ouerquart of~~ [del] and so rode thorow the said towne of edenbourgh'.
33. Pamela Tudor-Craig 'Margaret, Queen of Scotland, in Grantham, 8–9 July 1503' in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* edited Benjamin Thompson (Harlaxton Medieval Studies 5; Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995) 261–79, at 263 and note 9.
34. Douglas Gray 'The Royal Entry' suggests that James' unusually demonstrative participation picks up on the romance *pas d'armes* that was enacted half a mile further on, in which a 'lady par amours' is jousted for by two knight adventurers.