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## ‘Our Hielandmen’: Scots in Court Entertainments at home and abroad 1507–1616

LESLEY MICKEL 

The political intrigue and glittering surfaces of Renaissance court entertainment have ensured its place in historicist and materialist scholarship over recent years, showing how apparently frivolous aspects of courtly entertainment such as costume, dance, chivalric sports and gift exchange are powerful expressions of political ideologies, national identities and cultural supremacy.<sup>1</sup> Within this exciting field of study, certain biases have emerged in favour of Tudor entertainments, Stuart court masques at Westminster, and Valois courtly triumphs. The prominence of the Tudors and Stuarts in the popular imagination and the wealth of textual and visual material relating to these expressions of royal will explains the level of academic attention paid to masques and entertainments of this type; consequently, attention to Late Medieval and Early Modern Scottish court culture before James VI’s accession to the English throne has been confined to the discipline of Scottish Studies, and largely overlooked in terms of analysis of Renaissance courtly culture at large. One obvious reason for this is the paucity of textual and visual evidence relating to Scottish courtly entertainments and interludes; much of what we do know about these has to be pieced together from exchequer accounts and chronicles written many years after the events described took place. Nevertheless, we do know from these sources and from extant manuscripts of courtly literature that the courts of the Stuart monarchs in Scotland were flourishing with poetry and interludes of all types, and that it would be an error to assume that limited evidence indicates a curtailed court culture in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> One undeniably

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969); *Spectacular Performances. Essay on Theatre, Imagery, Books and Selves in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); James Knowles, *Politics and Political Culture in the Court Masque* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Lesley Mickel, ‘Theatricalisation at The Field of Cloth of Gold (1520)’, *Theatricalisierung* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), 69–85; Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> *Staging and Representing the Scottish Renaissance Court*, a project involving the reconstruction of court theatre, culminating in 2014, jointly run by Edinburgh, Glasgow and Brunel Universities, with input from theatre practitioners: [stagingthescottishcourt.brunel.ac.uk](http://stagingthescottishcourt.brunel.ac.uk) (accessed October 2016).

plausible explanation for the lack of convenient textual evidence attesting to the thriving culture of the Scottish court is that it was destroyed during the burning of Edinburgh, which initiated the war euphemistically known as ‘The Rough Wooing’, when Henry VIII infamously ordered his troops to, ‘Put all to fire and sword, burn Edinburgh, so razed and defaced when you have sacked and gotten what ye can of it, as there may remain forever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lightened upon [them] for their falsehood and disloyalty’. Once Edinburgh had been burnt and sacked, the scorched earth policy was to be applied to Leith, Fife and St Andrews. This deliberate targeting of St Andrews, famous for its University and Cathedral, indicates an assault not only on Scotland’s built fabric, but also on Scotland’s culture and learning. It is more than likely that material that could have enlightened us further regarding Scottish court culture was devoured by Tudor flames.<sup>3</sup>

This article attempts an holistic overview of entertainments sponsored and performed at Scottish as well as at continental European courts over a span of more than a century, to arrive at an understanding of how Highland cultural identity became integral to an emergent Scottish and subsequently British identity, transitioning from the reviled barbarian at the gates to a romantic and theatricalised figure. While Markus Klinge carefully notes, ‘To some extent it is difficult to speak of national identity in the Renaissance as the modern nation state had not yet been born’, I am interested in the ways in which the figure of the ‘Wild Highlander’ is co-opted and transformed in the visual and narrative discourses of domestic and European court theatres and implicated in the formation of nation states.<sup>4</sup> In a Scottish performance context wildness and strangeness are characteristics not merely located geographically, north of the Highland line or on the African continent, but also figured racially and in terms of gender. Tropes relating to gender, wildness, blackness, and race overlap in courtly performance to figure the Crown’s political and domestic strategies to engage with the ‘other’ whether at home or abroad, meaning that court performance in the Late Medieval and Early Modern period is richly resonant, so that James IV’s 1507/08 tournament *The Wild Knight and the Black Lady* directly engages with the political contexts of the recent suppression of the Lordship of the Isles and the King’s marriage to Margaret Tudor – gender politics overlap and are implicated in national politics. This semantic plenitude means that tracing the positioning and representation of ‘wild’ Highlanders in courtly performance must take account of the fact that royal discourse in these events does not always exclusively pertain to the construction and control of

<sup>3</sup> Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: Pride, Passion and a Kingdom Lost* (London: Tauris Park, 2001), 58. Dr Amy Blakeway from the University of Kent raised this point about the burning of manuscripts etc. in her recent paper, ‘Conflict and Nationhood during the Wars of The Rough Wooings (1543–50)’, delivered to *The Society for Renaissance Studies Conference*, Glasgow University 2016.

<sup>4</sup> M. Klinge, ‘Triumphall Shews: German and English National Identity in Weckherlin’s 1616 Stuttgart Triumph’, *The Seventeenth Century* (2007), 22.2, 201–24, 201.

this topos, and will likely have further applications.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, my focus here is on the construction and appropriation of Highland identity in the course of Scottish state formation, requiring acknowledgement of the significant differences between Scottish and European portrayals of Highland culture, further problematised by differences in the chronological and political contexts and contents of the entertainments discussed; however, despite the risks inherent in producing a grand narrative glossing over nuance and difference, there are discursive continuities and threads traceable through the adoption of an overarching view of these disparate entertainments in terms of how Scots viewed themselves together with the cultural integration of Highland and Lowland, and were viewed by others during a century of nation formation and expansion.<sup>6</sup>

One of the Scottish entertainments that is evidenced by entries into exchequer accounts and by retrospective history is James IV's tournament of *The Wild Knight and the Black Lady*, performed in 1507 and 1508.<sup>7</sup> Much recent discussion of the tournament has been limited to passing reference as part of a broader analysis of early modern racial discourse, although Louise Olga Fradenburg stands out as a scholar who pays close attention to it, as she draws on a wide range of sources to posit the tournament as a crucible for ideas about wildness, royal power and national expansion.<sup>8</sup> This article will show that these tropes and concerns are inextricably tied in to representations of Highland history and culture, which I argue was exploited by the Stuart Crown to reinforce its position at home, consolidate its control over recent territorial acquisitions in the Western Isles, and ultimately, to legitimate its claims south of the border. This reading of James IV's tournament requires attention to the established connections between blackness and wildness in narratives of the Highlands and Highlanders, explanation of how and why they were appropriated by the Stuart Crown; as well as how these ideas were transmitted in the context of European courtly festivals. My analysis of *The Tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady* will be followed by discussion of the rhetorical and visual construction of Highland national culture and identity, and how these ideas were theatricalised in courtly festivals staged at Bayonne (1565) and Stuttgart (1616). Discussion of Mary Stuart's festival at Stirling Castle for the christening of Prince James (1566), will show the continuity of Stuart imperial ambition and its deliberate

<sup>5</sup> Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Claire McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage* (Manchester University Press, 2002), 79–96.

<sup>6</sup> Jane Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands', *British Consciousness and Identity. The Making of Britain 1533–1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 259–300.

<sup>7</sup> *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for Scotland*, eds. T. Dickson et al., III, (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1877), 258–9. Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood Society, 1899), Vol. I, 243–4.

<sup>8</sup> Bernadette Andrea, 'The Queen's Masques: Africanist Ambivalence and Feminine Author(ity) in *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 29 (1999), 246–81; Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–20; Fradenburg, 225–264.

self-association with Highland culture, as it was refracted through a continental lens. Thus, recuperation of sixteenth-century Scottish court entertainments necessitates a primary foregrounding of the role of Highland identity politics in the formation of a pan Scottish national culture and identity.

JAMES IV – THE TOURNAMENT OF THE BLACK/WILD KNIGHT AND THE BLACK LADY  
(1507 AND 1508)

Accounts relating to the tournament staged by James IV of Scotland in 1507 and 1508 show the interchangeable nature of the terms ‘black’ and ‘wild’. In his *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, Pitscottie refers to James IV’s tournament as ‘The Black Knight and Black Lady’ and explains these chivalric identities as the antithesis of the obviously Yorkist and English white rose knight and lady who presented themselves at the tournament.<sup>9</sup> Fradenburg’s analysis of the tournament makes use of seventeenth-century French accounts of chivalric sports, *Le Vray Theatre d’Honneur* (1648) which identifies Antoine d’Arces, Seigneur de la Bastie as the white knight, ‘surnommé le Chevalier Blanc’, and *Le Science Heroique* (1644) which refers back to the 1508 tournament, evidencing knights in white. Although Bastie certainly took part in the 1508 version of the entertainment, he was probably in France during 1507, when it was first staged. Quite how the role of the white knight(s) was performed in 1507 is unclear, but it is more than likely that white knights were employed as a striking visual and thematic counterpoint to the royal Black Knight himself. Pitscottie may have muddled up the two versions of the tournament in his retrospective account, and the French histories cited were written at an even longer chronological remove from the events they memorialise; yet it is surely significant that Pitscottie viewed the tournament as an event performing national and royal identities, even if this was a retrospective reading of the tournament, synthesising the two stagings as one. If Pitscottie is correct in referring to the ‘white rose’ knight, suggesting a Yorkist narrative behind the role, this may be read as a politically provocative identification of Englishness with an older, and arguably more legitimate, monarchical line compared with the recently established Tudor monarchy which usurped the Yorkist Richard III.<sup>10</sup> The tournament, then, posits English royal and national identity as split, in comparison with a newly unified Scotland incorporating the previously semi-autonomous

<sup>9</sup> *The Historie and Cronicles* was probably written c. 1600, and first published in 1782; *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, 3 vols., ed. A. J. G. MacKay (Edinburgh: The Blackwood Society, 1899), Vol. I, 243–4.

<sup>10</sup> This reading of the ‘White Rose’ knight is given credence by the fact that the 1616 Stuttgart triumph featured an entry where three German courtiers impersonated the English aristocratic ladies of Derby, Winchester and Pembroke and were followed by “knights of the red and white united rose” symbolising here the happy union and resolution of civil unrest in England following the Wars of the Roses’, M. Klinge, 217. While Edinburgh in 1507/8 is far from Stuttgart in 1616, the resemblance in iconography does indicate a continuing practice and reading of the white and red/white rose emblem in court pageantry. The conjunction of the red and white rose, with the impersonation of female English aristocrats and the presence of Elizabeth Stuart as guest of honour all provide an English/British context for reading this iconography.

Lordship of the Isles; a discourse that may have appealed to Pitscottie who composed his history circa 1600, and viewed these events through a retrospective lens coloured by the political upheavals of the 1560s, and doubtless conscious of James VI's ambitions to unite England and Scotland under his monarchy. Pitscottie's allusion to recent English dynastic rivalry implicitly underscores the advantages of national integration though the accession of a Scottish Stuart King to the English throne.

The practice of pairing themed knights and ladies was a prevailing convention in sixteenth-century chivalric festivals, and a motif in the Bayonne entertainment (1565) featuring Charles IX of France, staged almost sixty years later.<sup>11</sup> Here knights and ladies of the same nation appeared in pairs with matching costumes. Groupings of this kind are, of course, stereotypical and generalising in terms of race and nationality, but they are visually arresting and ensured the popularity of festivals representing diverse nations – a common format for court entertainments in Europe. In contrast to Pitscottie, the Lord High Treasurer's accounts relating to James IV's tournament refer repeatedly to a 'wild knight', indicating the overlapping nature of the terms 'wild' and 'black'.<sup>12</sup> Pitscottie elaborates on James's adoption of the 'black' disguise, showing that blackness was not only associated with exotic or demonic others (as was often the case in the discourse of the period), but with great physical strength and power:

The king iustit him selff dissaguysed onknawin and he was callit the blak knicht quha gave battell to all thame that wald fect for their ladyis saik and specialle of the knichtis and gentilmen of France England and Denmark. The blak knicht sayit thame all bot their was nane that mycht war him at na tyme bot he wan the lady frome thame all for he was verie puissant and strenthie on horseback and faucht and iustit with kind of weaponis that usis thairunto that is to say with spear sword and mass bot their was nocht ane that incountart him that micht byd his straikis he was so strang and puissant in his armes thairfoir the iudge and harrauld gave him the degrie of that tournament that he vsed all kind of turnment maist manlie and knichtlyk of ony that was their at that tyme. (Pitscottie, I, 243–4)

It seems to me that just as the white rose knight from England represents a Yorkist version of Englishness, James IV uses 'blackness' to figure a version of Scottishness based on chivalric military power and strength: chromatic opposites are used to define a sense of nationhood in relief.<sup>13</sup> These connections

<sup>11</sup> *Receives de Choses Notables qui ont esté faites a Bayonne* (Paris, 1566); available as part of the British Library's *Renaissance Festival Books Collection*, <http://special1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0026> (accessed October 2016).

<sup>12</sup> *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for Scotland*, III, 258, 394, 471.

<sup>13</sup> The association of blackness with exotic, demonic others is demonstrated in the woodcut illustration of the 1620 edition of Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, where a black devil stares intently at the magician/scholar. Jonson's 1605 *Masque of Blackness*, uses the colour to signify the 'other': McManus, 11.

between blackness, wildness, and strength can be traced in the visual culture of the Highlands, particularly through the imagery of heraldry where depictions of Africans or wild men were often employed as supporters on the shields of aristocratic Highland families, although here the colour symbolism is less clear: wild men are typically green, and Picts were understood to have painted themselves blue. The juxtaposition of blue and black skin colouring is graphically represented in Inigo Jones's designs for *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) staged at Whitehall nearly a century later. The point here is that strangeness, 'otherness', is most obviously figured through difference in colour, and this is perhaps most often through 'blackness', although not exclusively so – a further example of the way in which symbolism in court display is multi-layered and complex.<sup>14</sup> Thomas Brochard suggests that the use of wild figures as supporters in the armature of Highland nobility was a way of establishing civility and distance from their wild guardians; nevertheless emphasis on martial achievements was also mediated through these heraldic signs, thus the physical power of the wild supporter metonymically underscores the clan chief's power as well as his civility, as he controls apparently uncheckable wildness, and paradoxically exhibits its power and strength while maintaining the codes of civility.<sup>15</sup> The use of liminal figures as supporters in heraldic arms fetishistically endows the holder of the arms with the strength of their supporters as well indicating the power of the nobleman in subduing such powerful and dangerous people. While the colour coding of such figures varies, it seems clear that the colouring of green wild men of the forest and black Africans has overlapping connotations of strength and danger. One of the more fascinating examples of the way in which heraldry fetishizes and subjects the other in a Highland context is seen in a

<sup>14</sup> John White's watercolours of ancient Picts emphasise their blue, warlike tattoos and are included in an appendix to Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Frankfurt, 1590). Inigo Jones's designs for *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) show blue sea nymphs as well as the black Daughters of Niger, as can be seen in Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, eds, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). Emily Bartels' essay on race and colour in Othello shows how colour as an indicator of otherness is unstable, 'Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello and Renaissance Refashionings of Race', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 41.4 (1990), 433–54.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Brochard, 'The Integration of the Elite and Wider Communities of the Northern Highlands, 1500–1700: Evidence from Visual Culture', *Northern Scotland*, 6, (2015), 1–23, 7. There are many examples of the visual and rhetorical connections between blackness, wildness and power in Scotland's folklore; the infamous Black Officer, or Domhnall Dubh, of Badenoch was styled with this title because of his swarthy colouring, which was read as a metonymic link to his evil nature: 'Am Fear Dub' or 'Domhnall Dubh' are terms frequently applied to the Evil Spirit with whom it was generally believed in Badenoch, the Black captain was in league', Iain Mac, *The Celtic Magazine*, 1 Jan 1878, vol. 3, 27, *British Periodicals*, 112. The origins of the name of the Highland peninsula, The Black Isle has long been a subject for speculation, linking an association with witchcraft, with its geographical wildness, being covered in trees in the winter, making it appear black: [www.scotlandmag.com/magazine/issue61](http://www.scotlandmag.com/magazine/issue61) (accessed March 2017). The title of the 'Black Watch' Highland regiment, raised in the eighteenth century, refers to the dark colour of the tartan, but again, the colour implies semantic connections with strength and ferocity – appropriate for a military force. I am grateful to Dr David Taylor for pointing me to the source of the title of his recent monograph, *The Wild Black Region: Badenoch 1750–1800* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2016); the quotation comes from John Leyden's *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland* (1800), 197, showing the continuing connection between wildness and blackness as a key Highland characteristic. The Gaelic place name 'Badenoch' means 'the drowned lands', and this waterlogging may account for the 'blackness' of the landscape evoked here.



depiction of the arms of the Lord of Lewis (1566) held by the court of the Lord Lyon in Edinburgh, where flaming wild men are pictured either side of a mount also in flames. These figures are intended to be read as Highlanders, as their long beards and naked upper torsos suggest, and the image alludes to a specific practice of highland land management, as I will discuss below. While they are not black, blue or green, their flaming quality is part of this signification of the wild ‘other’, and blackness itself is a quality often registered in the nomenclature of Highland landscapes as well as in the names of individual Highlanders.<sup>16</sup>

At the banquet following the tournament of *The Black/Wild Knight and the Black Lady* a great cloud appeared which ‘clekkit up the blak lady’ so that she disappeared – the result of ‘Igramancie’ according to Pitscottie, hinting that the King’s physical prowess, resulting in his claim on the Black Lady, was matched by his mastery of the natural and supernatural world (Bishop Andrew Foreman devised the special effects).<sup>17</sup> The online Dictionary of the Scots Language tells us that ‘Igramancie’ as a term means more than simply magic, as it is etymologically derived from ‘nigromancy’ – or more specifically, black magic.<sup>18</sup> The King’s power then, has a mysterious origin and potentially dangerous applications; these magical and spiritual attributes of kingship were carried through into the later Stuart court masques staged at Whitehall and harnessed to a narrative of divine right.<sup>19</sup> Returning to 1507, James IV deliberately invoked the interlinking ideas of wildness, blackness, strength and power as a boost to his personal and royal prestige. Appropriating wildness associated with the Gaelic-speaking Highlands and Islands was part of a political discourse consolidating territorial claims over the region: in 1497 the Lordship of the Isles was forfeited, with the title and estates going to the Scottish Crown, and the suppression of the revolt instigated by Donald Dubh MacDonald and his capture in 1505 is a major theme of the tournament. ‘Dubh’ or ‘black’ as part of a Gaelic patronymic can indicate colouring as well as power, and sometimes questionable morality. James’s adoption of the role of the ‘Black’ Knight signals his conquest of Donald ‘Dubh’, and appropriation of his power through the metonymy of naming. From a linguistic and cultural standpoint there is further significance in that the Gaelic descriptor ‘Dubh’ is smoothly transposed into the Scots ‘Black’ (with the connotation of ‘wild’ as indicated in the language used to describe the tournament in the Lord Treasurer’s accounts). Thus,

<sup>16</sup> I have not found a print copy of this image but it is in the records of Court of the Lord Lyon in Edinburgh, (LO, Forman-Workman’s Roll, MS17, Vol. 1, 37; Vol. 5, 248).

<sup>17</sup> Pitscottie, 1, 244.

<sup>18</sup> *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, [www.dsl.ac.uk/results/igramancie/fulltext](http://www.dsl.ac.uk/results/igramancie/fulltext) (accessed November 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Of particular interest here, is Jonson’s *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), the first masque that he co-invented for the Stuart court at Whitehall, where black nymphs are promised a colour change, that nevertheless remains unfulfilled by the end of the masque. This masque has been analysed in terms of race and gender but not yet in terms of Scottish identity politics; a seminal analysis of race and gender in this masque is Kim F. Hall, ‘The Masque of Blackness and Jacobean Nationalism’, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 128–40.



James IV's tournament enacts linguistic, visual, chivalric, and performative strategies to rewrite a narrative of Gaelic Highland otherness, producing a rhetoric of Scottish national identity to take its place.<sup>20</sup>

#### REWRITING CLASSICAL NARRATIVES OF THE NORTH

The association of wildness, blackness, and barbarism encompassing both the far north and south goes back to classical authors such as Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Aristotle, and was applied in Medieval and Early Modern visual and discursive narratives of the North.<sup>21</sup> John White's watercolours, for example, implicitly linked native American Indians and Picts, and were published together in Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588); Buchanan's masque for the 1566 festival at Stirling Castle celebrating the christening of Prince James (later VI/I) brings Indians to pay homage to the Scottish Queen. Arthur Williamson has described how the Scottish intellectual John Mair sought to protect Lowland Scottish culture from the pejorative associations with wildness, by firmly anchoring them to 'wild' Highland Scots in the North, differentiating them from civilised Lowland Scots, arguing that 'wild' Scots, like the Indians in Brazil, were naturally inclined to slavery.<sup>22</sup> This differentiation between Lowland and Highland Scots is reflected in visual representations of the time – Francois Desprez's *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits* (Paris 1562) and the 1662 print of Speed's map of Scotland contrast neatly these two categories of Scot. Desprez's work shows 'L'eccosys' wearing an outfit of wide legged tartan trews, a short mantle, with sword and buckler, walking barefoot, and glosses the image as, 'qui n'est par trop mondain ne curieux', confusingly, neither ordinary nor curious, gesturing towards the figure's liminal status. This Scot looks physically robust and may be a version of the Scots mercenaries who travelled through Europe, and is complemented by an image of a female Scot, swathed in warm mantles and this time wearing brogues. Both these images of the civilised and clothed Scot make a stark contrast with 'La Sauvage d'Ecosse' who is pictured without clothes and draped in wild animal skins to 'encontre la froidure'. The really telling visual echo in this work is that between the wild Highland woman and the illustration of 'La Femme Sauvage' a wild woman who has the same right facing profile and gait as the 'Sauvage d'Ecosse' and also wears animal skins, although in her case more of her naked body is exposed and the skins are not so practically

<sup>20</sup> Dawson.

<sup>21</sup> Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire: The Scottish Politics of Empire', *Past and Present* (1996), 150, 46–83; Andrew Hadfield, 'The Idea of the North', *The Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 1 (2009), [www.northernrenaissance.org/issues/issue-1](http://www.northernrenaissance.org/issues/issue-1) (last accessed November 2016); Inken Schmidt-Voges, 'Northernness in the Renaissance: Thoughts on the Constructivist Character of the North', *Polaris, Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, [www.northernrenaissance.org/polaris](http://www.northernrenaissance.org/polaris) (accessed November 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Williamson; these ideas are expressed by John Mair in his commentary on the sentences of Peter Lombard, *In Libros . . . commentarium*, (Paris, 1519); *Historia majoris Britanniae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (Paris, 1521).

arranged. Both these images derive from the same engraving and have been adapted accordingly. Comparing Desprez's images of civilised and wild Scots with that of the wild woman, we see that clothing, its amplitude and artfulness, is a signifier of civilisation and that nakedness and the absence of shoes indicates wildness, and potentially innocence – an ideological connection derived from classical writers and confirmed by Boece's *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (1527), countering Mair's Aristotelian-based reading of wildness.<sup>23</sup> The wild Scot sporting the very basic adaptation of animal skins into a cloak is placed just outside the border of civilisation and savagery, reflecting a perception of the liminal positioning of Highland culture, ensuring its continuing fascination for court theatricals of the period, including Mary Stuart's 1566 festival at Stirling, where the aesthetic of the strange prevailed.<sup>24</sup> The 1662 edition of Speed's map of Scotland replaces figures of the royal family in the framing cartouches of the 1610 edition with images of clothed, rather bourgeois-looking male and female Scots differentiated from Highlanders of both sexes: the Highlanders demonstrating their wildness through their semi-nakedness and lack of clothing or shoes. The Highland man wears what appears to be a tartan kilt and mantle, whereas the woman appears only to have a loosely gathered plaid mantle to cover her.<sup>25</sup> Yet as James IV's choice of tournament costume and identity in 1507 showed, there was more than one way of reading wildness and Northerness, and further attention to visual images of Highland Scots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows three persistent and simultaneous strands to the topos of the 'wild Highlander': firstly, physically strong and militarised and invoked in Mary Stuart's 1566 Stirling festival; secondly, the object of romantic and theatricalised nostalgia, as imaged by Lucas de Heere in his costume manuscript book commissioned by the Earl of Lincoln, c.1568, described in more detail below; and thirdly, the impoverished, bestial and physically abject, in keeping with Mair's analysis of Highland identity, and imaged by Desprez and Speed, despite the hundred years between them, and continuing in the public imagination despite various courtly attempts at revision through spectacle and ceremony.<sup>26</sup> Academic histories of Scotland written by Hector Boece (*Historia Gentis Scotorum*, 1527) and George Buchanan (*De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* 1579; *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* 1582) sought to promulgate the alternative, positive view of the stoical nature of the tough Highlander,

<sup>23</sup> The biblical precedent for the ideological connection between nakedness and innocence comes from the Book of Genesis in the Bible, where sin led Adam and Eve to cover themselves. Boece notes that the old Scots had a purer, more wholesome lifestyle, indicated by the habit of going 'bairfuttit', *History and Chronicles of Scotland*, translated by John Bellenden, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: W. & C. Tait, 1821), lvi.

<sup>24</sup> Francois Desprez's *Receuil de la Diversité des Habits* (Paris, 1562), <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/ accessed July 2017>.

<sup>25</sup> Speed, *The Kingdom of Scotland* (London: Roger Rea the Elder and Younger, 1662), <http://maps.nls.uk/scotland/rec/164> (accessed July 2017).

<sup>26</sup> Lucas de Heere produced a costume book for his patron, Edward Clinton, the Earl of Lincoln c. 1568: *Theatre de Tous les Peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornements divers ...* (c.1568). A digital copy is available online from Ghent University library, <http://lib.ugent.be> (accessed October 2016).

derived from Livy's analysis of the corruption endemic to the Roman empire contrasted with the virtue of the Republic, insisting that 'wild' or Highland Scottishness was synonymous with republican virtue, as reflected in the Highland practice of electing leaders. Nevertheless, Buchanan's attitude to the Highlands was also dismissive in many respects, not least with regard to the Gaelic language. But he boldly rejected Mair's totalising degradation of Highland culture, while adding his own nuances to its representation.<sup>27</sup>

JAMES V – 'ANE CURIEOUS PALACE', 1529

Pitscottie's picturesque account of the Highland hospitality shown by the Earl of Atholl to James V and the Papal ambassador visiting in 1529, shows a continuation of the royal revision of dominant narratives Highland or 'wild' Scottish culture begun under James IV. The Earl of Atholl constructed 'ane curieous palace' for their accommodation which combined metropolitan/European sophistication with Highland natural resources, and was located deep in the Highland landscape, 'qhair their was not toune be xx myle'. The use of fine glass and rich tapestries in the hunting lodge meant that the party were as honourably lodged as if they had been in 'England, France, Itallie and Spain ffor thaire hunting' (the geographical comparisons extending further south are a measure of the superlative quality of the hunting lodge, in keeping with the discursive equation of southernness and civilisation, that the rest of the account attempts to undo). At the same time, 'the fluir laid with greene cheirits, with sprattis medwartis and flouris. That no man knew quhairon he zeid but as he had bene in ane gardin'.<sup>28</sup> The Highland hunting lodge was a mixture of artificial sophistication and natural simplicity, and as we will see, acts as a concrete metaphor for the Highland character, evoking the pure, uncorrupted 'rustic simplicity' of the Highlands as the seat of 'stoic ethics' as championed by Buchanan. The Papal ambassador marvelled at the ingenuity and splendour of the hunting lodge as well as the plenty provided, particularly as Scotland 'was bot the erse of the warld be wther contries', and that 'their sould be sic honestie and pollecie in it and special in the hieland, qhair ther is bot wood and wilder-ness'. In the Aristotelian narrative of civilisation, wilderness is incompatible with honesty and policy, and this amusing anecdote relating some off the cuff remarks is important as a representative of Mediterranean civilisation, the Papal ambassador, officially recognised the Scottish Highlands as the seat of honesty (virtue) and policy (civilisation and order). The ambassador's racial, national, cultural prejudices were battered further when he expressed astonishment at the deliberate burning of the wonderful 'palace in the wild'. This is a demonstration of aristocratic largesse, in the best Renaissance fashion, but the

<sup>27</sup> Boece's history was inevitably influenced by patronage of James IV, and reflected his royal patron's fascination with the Highlands and project of national integration; Buchanan's ambivalence about Highland/Gaelic culture and language is described by Williamson.

<sup>28</sup> Pitscottie, 1, 337.

King also explained the act of apparently unwarranted destruction in terms of national custom and character: ‘it is the use of our hielandmen thocht they be newer so weill ludgit, to burne their ludging when they depart’. Sally Mapstone notes that Highlanders did indeed practice the routine burning of dwellings, and not always in keeping with noble motivations; nevertheless, James V highlighted this form of Highland burning as testament of the Highlanders’ detachment from material wealth, appropriating implicitly the association of wealth with moral corruption from Livy and Boece.<sup>29</sup> The use of the significant possessive pronoun ‘our hielandmen’ indicates a rhetorical inclusion of Highland culture into Scottish culture, a linguistic imperialism glossing over the difference in language and manners between Highlanders and Lowlanders that Mair so insisted on a few years earlier in his *Historia majoris Britanniae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (Paris, 1521). The royal recuperation of Highland culture was partial of course, appropriating the Stoical virtues that Buchanan would come to view as the root of constitutional monarchy, while maintaining the right to rule without republican endorsement: the people of the Highlands and Islands did not elect the Stuarts as their monarchs, but were subdued and incorporated into Scotland through a process of dynastic marriage, conquest and plantation.

#### BAYONNE, 1565 AND STUTTGART, 1616

This attempt to understand the role played by Highland cultural identity in courtly theatricals, and their part in state formation both at home and abroad has a wide geographical and chronological span, yet as I have argued, certain continuities in ideology and representation continue in parallel, albeit in apparent tension. When we look at the theatrical performance of Highland identity just after the mid-sixteenth century, important differences emerge in terms of a Scottish or European setting. In Mary Stuart’s 1566 Stirling triumph, the Highlanders who play a vital part in the firing of the mock fort are costumed in wild goat skins and display great physical strength and martial prowess; by contrast in Bayonne in 1565, which is acknowledged to have been a great influence in Mary’s conception of her triumph the following year, Highlanders are presented as the focus of sentimentalised nostalgia for a medieval warrior code. Both are theatricalised portrayals of Highland culture and identity and counter Mair’s reductive analysis, but the nostalgia and implied sense of loss accompanying European evocations of Highland culture are fuelled by an underlying recognition that it stems from an older Gaelic warrior code and way of life that was shrinking due to integration and centralisation with the rest of Scotland under the Stuart monarchy. This nostalgia has no place in Scottish courtly

<sup>29</sup> Sally Mapstone, ‘Introduction’, in L. A. Houwen, J. R. MacDonald and Sally Mapstone (eds.), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late Mediaeval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). Mapstone takes the phrase ‘a palace in the wild’ from R. L. Stevenson’s poem, ‘Home no more home to me’, *Songs of Travel and Other Verses* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1896), XVI.

evocations of Highland culture as integration of Highland and Lowland was crucial for the security of the dynasty and its territorial ambitions.<sup>30</sup>

In her analysis of Early Modern constructions of race in relation to Shakespeare's *Othello*, Emily Bartels notes that the 'Other' is marked by being both outside and inside the dominant discourse, and this is precisely its disturbing and fascinating quality, 'more "ours" than "theirs"'.<sup>31</sup> Close attention to the extravagant entries, outdoor entertainment and indoor mock battle making up the Bayonne entertainments staged for Charles IX in 1565 shows how the liminal status of the 'other' functioned in practice in royal spectacle. Groups of knights were contrasted; the first group to enter represented classical and Mediterranean civilisation as paired knights and their ladies were dressed in French, Spanish and Greek costumes – the King appeared as a Trojan. The second group of figures to enter are readily recognised as the usual types of Renaissance 'others', including on this occasion 'wild' Scots as part of this display of the exotic and savage; however, these distinctions are not so easy to apply on a second examination of the Bayonne festival book, as the European/classical group also features a Moorish knight and lady, and was closely followed by six cross-dressing knights before the 'wild' Scots made their entrance. Furthermore, the theatricalisation of the 'wild' Scots means that their costume is described in great detail. They do not present as a version of the barbaric, unevolved Highlander described by Mair, or pictured by Desprez and Speed, but wear white satin shirts, short yellow velvet jackets with the bottom section 'fort plissé, selon la coutume des sauvages'. Yellow satin breeches and a cloth of gold cap completed this rich outfit, which foreshadows de Heere's watercolour of a Highlander, where the short yellow doublet and close-fitting hose accentuate the Highlander's robust physique (*Theatre de Tous les Peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornements divers . . .*, c.1568).<sup>32</sup> In de Heere's illustration the doublet appears to be chequered or tartan, and draped by an ample mantle, accessorised by brogues, as well as a short sword and long heavy claymore. Here is a Highlander well clothed and shod, an important indicator of civility, bearing weapons of the kind used by mercenaries, but outdated by the time of the illustration. The Highlander's golden beard and hair are long but show signs of grooming and his posture faces towards the left with his arm stretched out as if in greeting. Here the image of the 'wild' or 'sauvage' Scot is filtered through the medium of court theatre, and glossed with affluence. At Bayonne the Scots are followed by six demons, but this is in keeping with the aesthetic of court theatre where the exotic and strange are mixed up with orthodox expressions of the status quo and presented for the wonder of the

<sup>30</sup> Dawson.

<sup>31</sup> Bartels, 435.

<sup>32</sup> *Receviles de Choses Notables qui ont este faites a Bayonne*, (Paris, 1566). This description of Highland dress matches the drawing by Lucas de Heere, referred to in n.17. De Heere's drawing is dated to 1569, but this is an approximate date – further work needs to be done on this version of Highland costume, and its date of composition.

spectators. At Bayonne and as figured by De Heere the ‘wild’ Highlander has become a Scot, and is now positioned inside the norms of society, albeit at the edges. The depiction of outdated weaponry alludes to the tradition of Gaelic mercenaries who are now understood as ‘our hielanders’, that is, part of the emerging Scottish nation state. These Scots are not Mair’s savages, neither are



Fig. 1 'Wild Highlander', Lucas de Heere *Theatre de Tous les Peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornements divers...* (c.1568). A digital copy is available online from Ghent University library, <http://lib.ugent.be> (last accessed 3.11.16).





Fig. 2 Triumphal Shewes Lately Set Forth at Stuttgart (1616); illustration from *Repraesentatio der fürstlichen Aufzug und Ritterspil* (Stuttgart: Hulslen, 1616; repr. B. Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*, Oxford, 2006).

they Buchanan's stoic republicans, but they are a theatrical expression of where different versions of Highland culture meet to produce a new discourse of Scottish nationhood.

Fifty years later in Stuttgart, Highlanders made another appearance in a European courtly setting, probably as a compliment to the Stuart Princess Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, who was present as a guest at the christening celebrations for the son of the Duke of Württemberg. At this rather strange masque four enormous heads appeared representing nations from all four compass points. After they had processed around the hall and curtsied, representatives of different nations crawled out of the heads' mouths, one after the other (three to each head) and performed a national dance to suitable music. Weckherlin, the author of the events, tells us in his account that, 'The first head was (as it were) a lodging of the three Westerne nations: the second of three Northerlie: the third of three Easterlie: and the last (and t'was a blacke moore) of the three Southerlie nations' and out of the first head climbed an Englishman, Scotsman, and Irishman. Weckherlin specifically identifies the Scot as a 'Wild Scottishman', and says that he danced 'to the sound of a drumme, another Scottishman played on'.<sup>33</sup> The Englishman was accompanied by a lute, and the Irishman by a harp. Unfortunately, there is no narrative description of the Scotsman's outfit, but the illustrations for the masque make

<sup>33</sup> *Triumphall Shewes Set Forth Lately at Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Hulslen, 1616; repr. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1979), A5.



the sartorial difference of the Scot clear through the wearing of plaid and the bonnet. The use of a drum in terms of musical accompaniment also emphasises the martial nature of Highlanders at home and abroad, where many of them were employed as mercenaries.<sup>34</sup> A choreographical motif running through the masque is the way in which, after performing their own national dance, all the performers join in with the following national dances, so that when the Irishman appeared he ‘caused the first two to imitate his sport too’. Weckherlin doesn’t gloss this choreography for the reader, but ultimately the Englishman, Scotsman and Irishman end up dancing to the same tune, and this process of transition is copied by all the performers. The Englishman’s attire, by comparison with the Scot, is rather courtly with the use of white silver cloth, but out of date, ‘as English Lords were wanted to use some twenty years ago’, and the Irishman’s costume alludes to the trope of the wild or green man. The dating of the English Lord’s outfit is very precise: twenty years ago Queen Elizabeth occupied the English throne, by 1616 however, a new Stuart dynasty prevailed, encompassing Scotland and England under one monarch and, from a German point of view, a valuable ally in the Protestant Union figured through the presence of Elizabeth Stuart with her husband Frederick the Elector Palatine as guests of honour at the masque.<sup>35</sup> Attention to the illustration of the national figures appearing from the grotesque heads affirms a new ordering of political and national alliances, entailing the integration of martial Highlanders into Stuart Scotland. In this instance, Highlanders have lost the pejorative associations of wildness, which have been displaced onto the Irish, and, while they retain the attributes of martial strength, they are now recognised as Scots. The emphatic association of ‘wildness’ with Irishness, signalled through the use of costume, is doubtless connected with the fact that a Scottish royal dynasty had been occupying the English throne for the past thirteen years, and was embroiled in the plantation of Ireland in attempt to pacify it.

#### CHRISTENING FOR PRINCE JAMES AT STIRLING CASTLE, 1566

The year following the triumphs at Bayonne, Mary Stuart staged her own magnificent spectacle at Stirling Castle to celebrate the christening of her son, James, in the presence of ambassadors from England, France and Savoy. The entertainment lasted three days, and amongst the ceremonies were a masque, banquet and mock fort siege. George Buchanan composed the masque for the occasion, *Pomphae Deorum Rusticorum*. It celebrates the varied topography of Scotland, and in such a landscape Nereids, or sea nymphs, favour the use of a compass, and are identified as Indians from the New World who come to pay homage to the Scottish Queen, bringing her ‘small native gifts’: ‘the strong power of this magnetic iron . . . turns the sharp needle towards the freezing

<sup>34</sup> David Worthington, *British and Irish Experience and Impressions of Central Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

<sup>35</sup> Klinge.

Great Bear . . . This secret power has brought us here from the Indian shore'.<sup>36</sup> Scotland was recognised as a source of magnetic iron, and its effect on the compass understood – this conflation of images and physical effects presents the monarchical state as an irresistible force. 'The Great Bear' is, of course, *Ursa Major*, the constellation most clearly seen in the Northern Hemisphere, and the Nereids' journey so far from the New World to Scotland indicates the powerful attraction exerted by Mary's 'virtue'. Their inability to resist the attraction of the North is richly significant on a number of levels, not least because the Indies were also a source of 'magnetic iron', the first of a series of similarities between the North and the New World deliberately evoked by Buchanan – but also, as we have seen, both regions were regarded as extremes of the known world. Buchanan seem deliberately to evoke parallels between Scotland and the New World, parallels that disturbed Mair, and rejected vehemently by James VI in his diatribe against tobacco as the vice pertaining to the 'wild, godless and slavish Indians'.<sup>37</sup> Whereas Mair sought to quarantine the potentially self-cancelling connection between Scots and Indians to the far North, Buchanan rewrote this narrative so that the rich natural resources of the New World are seen as a positive good shared by the Kingdom of Scotland as a whole.

In addition to Buchanan, another individual associated with creating the Stirling triumph is John Chisholm, 'comptrollar of the artailyerye' who provided the fire power for the fort siege. There has been some debate as to the ideological significance of the mock siege, either as a reproduction of Valois triumphalism culminating in an overwhelming statement of Stuart royal power, or as a deliberately equivocal spectacle intended to reconcile the political and religious factions troubling Mary's reign.<sup>38</sup> The scanty evidence of the firework display makes this event open to different readings, but we can say that the involvement of Chisholm, the military personnel and equipment involved and the efforts made to transport them secretly by night to Stirling, all suggest that this was to be a major statement of royal intent and an awe-inspiring close to the triumph. The Lord Treasurer's accounts give us a strong indication of the type of event planned, with Chisholm paid for forty days' hard work in advance of the final display. The fort itself was constructed of wood, a material allowing for speedy construction and suitably flammable. The records show that the participants' costumes were crucial to the entertainment, incurring significant cost and care in their construction. The soldiers drafted in to perform the siege were in groups of four, and quantities of buckram in red, blue, black and white were required to costume the four landsknechts, four moors, four horsemen

<sup>36</sup> [www.philological.bham.ac.uk/pomps/trans.html#4](http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/pomps/trans.html#4) (accessed July 2017). The original is found in T. Ruddiman (ed.), *Georgii Buchanani Scoti, Poetarum sui seculi facile principis, Opera Omnia* (Edinburgh: Freebairn, 1715).

<sup>37</sup> *A Counterblast to Tobacco* (London: RB, 1604).

<sup>38</sup> Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: The Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 69 (1990), 1–21; Peter Davison, 'The Entry of Mary Stuart into Edinburgh, 1561, and other ambiguities', *Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1995), 416–29.

and three devils. Additionally, Highlanders were present – as the account reads, ‘Item, for twenty aucht gait skynnis quhairof was made four hieland wyld mens cleithings from heid to fute’. Quite what this looked like is hard to imagine, but clearly something much stranger than the silk clad ‘wild’ Scots of Bayonne, perhaps closer to Desprez’s ‘La Sauvage D’Ecosse’ wrapped in the furs of wild animals. Were these Highlanders ‘real’ Highlanders or performers playing a part? The Moors were certainly not ‘real’ Africans as also in the account list is ‘thre lamis skynnis quhairof was made four bonnetis of fals hair to the mores’. The animal skins are a further fetishistic use of costume, transforming the wearer who takes on the qualities associated with the skins: endurance and hardiness; in this case either intensifying the hardiness of the Highlanders for theatrical effect, or even transforming ordinary soldiers into the Highlanders they impersonated.

The account describes the ‘fyftein soldiouris of the companies [...] quha combattit within & without the forth togidder with the forsaidis hieland men having the executioun of the fyre workis in their handis’.<sup>39</sup> Attention to this entry clears up a great deal of confusion about the role of the ‘Wild Scots’ at this event; Davison and Lynch suggest that the Scots are present as one of a group of stereotypical Renaissance ‘others’ often drawn on in triumphs of this type – the primitive highlanders demonised by Mair. Yet at Stirling these ‘others’ operate in a significantly different manner from the usual mode of European triumphs. At Bayonne, for example, the Scots, Turks, demons and nymphs were vanquished in a castle siege by members of the French royal family and court. At Stirling, by contrast, it is not clear who defended or attacked the fort, or who the demonised or celebrated characters were, as they all fought ‘within & without the forth togidder’. Mary’s gender dictated her role as spectator rather than participant and thus the monarch could not be integrated physically into the entertainment as military victor, as had been the case at Bayonne with the involvement of Charles IX and the future Henry III. The fact that Mary did not nominate any of her courtiers to take on this role, suggests that she was careful not to be seen to show favouritism to one group at the expense of another. The ‘wild’ Highlanders, however, had a specific function not shared by the other performers, for they had ‘the executioun of the fyre workis in their handis’. This comment is a vital clue in unravelling the cultural and national freight invested in the firing of the mock fort. This event is neither an expression of royal triumphalism, nor is it an equivocal, or bland recitation of the typical motifs of early modern triumphs, but it is a proud assertion of national culture and military prowess, evoking the longstanding Highland tradition of burning settlements when they were no longer required, as explained by James V to the Papal ambassador in 1529.

Returning to Stirling in 1566, the fact that it is the Highland men who throw the fireworks, igniting the fort into pyrotechnical magnificence takes on a

<sup>39</sup> *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for Scotland*, XII, 403–8.

much deeper significance. The Moors and Landsknechts do not have this function and presumably were engaged in more general mock fighting. Certainly, a fort is not exactly the same as a Highland encampment, yet the Stuart crown under Mary continued her father's disassociation of 'our hieland men' from Mair's 'wild Scots', and so precisely did not show them in aggressive, attacking mode, but rather chose to present their deep-seated culture and civic values for approval from a European audience. In contrast to the polished and romanticised 'wild' or Highland Scots represented in Bayonne and painted by de Heere, at Stirling wildness is emphasised through animal skin costumes to reiterate its associations with strength and hardiness: now a core strength of the Scottish Crown, rather than a bygone Gaelic warrior code in the process of extinction, as implied in the continental expressions of Highland culture examined here. In terms of the repositioning of Gaelic/Highland culture it is very significant that Mary, as well as her father, wore Highland dress; in 1563 she adopted this costume for her journey into Argyll, and had herself painted in it. This was more than a childish delight in dressing up: Mary had several Highland mantles in her wardrobe, and seems to have begun the practice of wearing Highland dress soon after her arrival in Scotland in 1561. Brantome reports that she dressed 'à la sauvage' and looked like 'une vraye déesse' and Bishop Lesley remarks that it was very becoming.<sup>40</sup> I have argued elsewhere that costume is not merely a frivolous accessory to courtly theatricals and entertainments but functions as an agent of transformation and as a vehicle for state ideology, so that Mary's adoption of Highland dress visually signals her firm intention to consolidate the integration of Highland Scotland with the Stuart Crown.<sup>41</sup> This policy of national inclusion was fundamental to Stuart imperial policy, an expansion of boundaries that went as far as the Orkney and Shetland islands.

The triumph's re-enactment of Highland tradition and practice for an international audience elucidates why there was no clear delineation of victors and losers, defenders and attackers. The mock fighting must have provided cover for the Highlanders as they were preparing to fire the fort, a piece of theatre business to flesh out the spectacle as a whole. Unfortunately, we do not possess any record of the spectators' reaction to this scene, but clearly the kind of wonder expressed by the Papal ambassador in 1529 was aimed at. The firing of the mock fort at Stirling did not demonise Highlanders to demonstrate the Stuart Crown's might, it was rather the presentation of a cohesive Scottish culture on an international stage, exhibiting the rustic and stoic values championed by Buchanan. Scotland might be 'the erse of the world' but its landscape and climate bred a native hardiness and nobility to be admired, attributes which readily translated into military prowess, with men who were physically

<sup>40</sup> *Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse Douairiere de France . . .*, ed. Joseph Robertson (Bannatyne Club: Edinburgh, 1863), lxviii.

<sup>41</sup> Lesley Mickel, 'Glorious Spangs and Rich Embroidery: Costume in the Masque of Blackness and Hymenaei', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 36 (2003), 41–59.

tough and skilled in the military arts – exactly the narrative of Highland identity displayed by James IV in *The Wild Knight and Black Lady* tournament at the start of the century. The 1616 Stuttgart masque demonstrates how pejorative associations with Highland identity were displaced onto Irish subjects, to suit the political agenda of the day. Mary's triumph at Stirling was the culmination of Stuart rhetorical appropriation of Highland identity fundamental to its imperial ambitions spanning from the far North to south of the border.

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