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The Scottish King of Arms Lyon's Place in the Hierarchy of the Late-Medieval Scottish Elite

From the early fifteenth century, Lyon King of Arms was the principal herald of the Scottish royal household¹. His responsibilities were diverse and included at various times: the carrying of important royal letters; diplomatic duties; organising and participating in royal ceremonies, such as coronations, weddings, funerals and tournaments; acting as advocate for the king, as well as private clients; judging the allegations of misconduct amongst the officers of arms; and the recording of armorial bearings both granted and deprived². His title was derived from the association of the Scottish crown with the symbol of the lion, considered by contemporary medieval commentators to be the *king of bestes*³. While heralds had been active throughout Europe from as early as the twelfth century, they did not acquire named titles until the fourteenth century. Lyon first emerged in the historical record in 1377, as Lyon Herald. He was called Lyon King of Heralds by 1388 and Lyon King of Arms by 1412. Although Lyon was evidently the most senior officer of arms, he was not consistently styled king of arms until the latter part of the sixteenth century⁴. His titles of »Herald« and »King of Arms« were interchangeable during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and were not an indication of any rise or fall in his status. From 1412 he was, without question, the premier herald of the kingdom and, with no order of chivalry emerging in Scotland in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, his status was never usurped by another king of arms⁵. While a herald might be employed by an aristocratic family or a member of the

¹ I would like to thank Dr Gordon Pentland of the University of Edinburgh and Dr Jackson W. Armstrong of the University of Aberdeen for their help in preparing this essay.

² Katie STEVENSON, *The Officers of Arms of Late Medieval Scotland. A Reappraisal*, in: ID. (ed.), *The Herald in the Late Middle Ages. A European Perspective*, forthcoming.

³ Luuk A. J. R. HOUWEN (ed.), *The Deidis of Armorie. A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, vol. i, Edinburgh 1994, p. 20. The royal arms of Scotland are charged with a lion rampant, see for example London, BL, Add. 45133, fol. 46v. During the fifteenth century there were other instances where the lion was explicitly linked with royal authority. In the 1440s, the chronicler Walter Bower reported that James I had a huge brass bombard gun brought from Flanders in 1430, inscribed around its girth in gold lettering with the lines: *For the illustrious James, worthy prince of the Scots. / Magnificent king, when I sound off, I reduce castles. / I was made at his order; therefore I am called »Lion«*. Donald E. R. WATT (ed.), *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, vol. viii, Aberdeen 1993–1998, p. 263–265.

⁴ John STUART et al. (ed.), *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Edinburgh 1878–1908*, vol. ii, p. 553, vol. iii, p. 170, 191, 692.

⁵ In England and Burgundy upon the foundation of orders of chivalry, kings of arms connected with the order were created who had a higher status than the other kings of arms, Torsten HILTMANN, *Tournois et héraldie. Une avance bourguignonne?*, in: ID., Werner PARAVICINI,

royal family, the king of arms was the exclusive officer of the sovereign and acted as his representative⁶. However, whilst Scottish kings of arms bore the king's own armorial coat, so too did the heralds for whom he was responsible⁷. The king of arms, although wearing the royal arms so conspicuously on his tabard, used his own arms on his seal for both royal and personal business, demonstrating that while closely connected to the king, he was seen by contemporaries as an individual quite distinct from the monarch⁸.

This level of individual authority raises intriguing questions about his role as king of arms in a small kingdom on the fringes of Europe. Thus this essay seeks to determine what jurisdiction and authority he had in the kingdom and how this was reflected in his quasi-royal status. It will also assess the Lyon's status in the hierarchy of the Scottish administration and challenge the dominant thinking on the pre-eminence of the Scottish king of arms. In particular, this essay aims to determine just how far Lyon King of Arms can be deemed an 'other' king, who enjoyed authority or jurisdiction distinct from that of the crown.

There is little surviving Scottish evidence to demonstrate how a man was selected for the office of king of arms. However, it was common that Lyon had previously held a lesser heraldic office, indicating that some prior experience of heraldic duties was important. For example, Henry Thomson of Keillour had been Islay Herald before his investiture as Lyon in 1496, Sir William Cumming of Inverallachy had been Marchmont Herald before 1512, Thomas Pettigrew had been Angus Herald prior to 1519, Sir

Franck VILTART (ed.), *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe. Le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel* (forthcoming); Katie STEVENSON, *The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle. Was there an Order of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland?*, in: *Scottish Historical Review* 83 (2004), p. 3–22.

⁶ Anthony WAGNER, *Heralds of England. A History of the Office and College of Arms*, London 1967, p. 7.

⁷ John H. Stevenson wrote that Lyon «certainly wore the king's own armorial coat, which no other subject, not even the king's son and heir might do», but this is incorrect, as all heralds wore the royal arms. John H. STEVENSON, *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. ii, Glasgow 1914, p. 38. See for example Thomas DICKSON, Sir James Balfour PAUL (ed.), *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1877–1916, vol. i, p. cxciii, vol. ii, p. 188; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (as in n. 4), vol. xvii, p. 170, 283; and Edinburgh, NLS, Acc. 9309, *Seton Armorial* 1591. See also London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 134–139v which may have Scottish provenance and implies the right of a herald to wear his lord's arms all over his person, see HOUWEN (ed.), *Deidis of Armorie* (as in n. 3), vol. i, p. li.

⁸ See for example Sir William Cumming of Inverallachy's seal (Lyon, 1512–1519) showing three garbs with a bullet at fess point all within a bordure engrailed and Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie's personal seal (Lyon, 1555–1567), which was used on official documents, now in the Lyon Office, Edinburgh (official seal on two certificates of proclamation dated 22 September 1564). John H. STEVENSON, Marguerite WOOD (ed.), *Scottish Heraldic Seals. Royal, Official, Ecclesiastical, Collegiate, Burghal, Personal*, Glasgow 1940, vol. i, p. 7, vol. ii, p. 360, 307; James Balfour PAUL, *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art. Being the Rhind Lectures on Archaeology for 1898*, Edinburgh 1900, p. 81. This seems to have been standard practice on seals of all royal officers, see Thomas THOMSON, Cosmo INNES (ed.), *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1814–1875, vol. ii, p. 359 (hereafter *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*).

David Lindsay of the Mount had been Snowdon Herald prior to 1542, and Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie was Ross Herald prior to 1555⁹. Lyons held their office in perpetuity and, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, appear to have been unable to demit their commission. Thomas Pettigrew, Lyon King of Arms, for example, stayed in office long after he was deemed unfit to perform his duties. Instead, during his incapacity, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Snowdon Herald, regularly acted on his behalf, such as at the funeral of Queen Madeleine in 1537, where Lindsay was restyled *Lyoune herald*¹⁰. Here, the temporary taking of the name without the higher status of king of arms did indicate that James V felt it imperative to have the presence of Scotland's chief officer of arms, but yet was unable to grant Lindsay this status while Pettigrew was still principal herald. Holding the office in perpetuity was soon untenable and from the mid-sixteenth century, when Sir Robert Forman stepped down in 1567, Lyons were able to resign their posts. Lyons were now also able to be deprived of office, and after only six months Forman's successor, Sir William Stewart, was stripped of his status for necromancy and conspiracy to kill the regent¹¹.

The ceremony by which Lyon was granted his office is equally obscured by lack of surviving evidence. Indeed, it is not until 1494 that we have any Scottish evidence for how an investiture of any herald or pursuivant might occur, let alone for the king of arms¹². The spurious suggestion that Robert I created Lyon King of Arms in 1318 by »girding him with the belt of knighthood and assigning a salary of £100«, after which Lyon »took the oath of fidelity before the High Altar of Arbroath« is lacking in supporting evidence of contemporary authenticity¹³. Moreover, Lyon was never in receipt of such a vast salary and his annual income during the fifteenth century never peaked over £30 *per annum*¹⁴. By 1527, the records of the lords of council reveal that the investiture ceremony for a herald or pursuivant involved swearing an oath to the Lyon, whereupon he gave arms to them and presented the new officer to the king and the lords. He also registered their name with the clerks of the signet so that the new offi-

⁹ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (as in n. 4), vol. xii, p. 508; Sir Francis James GRANT (ed.), *Court of the Lord Lyon. List of His Majesty's Officers of Arms and Other Officials with Genealogical Notes, 1318–1945*, Edinburgh 1945, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (as in n. 7), vol. vi, p. 423; Carol EDINGTON, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486–1555)*, East Linton 1994, p. 27.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹² London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 134r–139v. This treatise first deals with the history of the office of arms, followed by sections on the creation and office of a pursuivant, the pursuivant's oath, the creation and office of a herald, the punishment of heralds and pursuivants in the case of misbehaviour, the colours in arms, and some common charges. The treatise ends rather abruptly with an explanation of the difference between officers of arms and minstrels.

¹³ GRANT, *Court of the Lord Lyon* (as in n. 9), p. i. For comparable legends about the history of the office of *Montjoie*, the highest king of arms in France, see Torsten HILTMANN, *Spätmittelalterliche Heroldskompendien. Referenzen adeliger Wissenskultur in Zeiten gesellschaftlichen Wandels* (Frankreich und Burgund, 15. Jahrhundert), Munich 2010, chap. 4.1.2.

¹⁴ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (as in n. 7), vol. i, p. excvii.

cers' titles could be inserted into the king's correspondence where appropriate¹⁵. Lyon's own investiture is far less clear. However, an indication has survived from evidence of the late-medieval Scottish coronation ceremony. As part of these proceedings the king of arms was ritually crowned and vested with his tabard and baton of office¹⁶. This was a ceremonial bond between king and principal herald which would serve to reinforce the quasi-royal status of the king of arms in carrying out his duties, both domestically and internationally.

This status was further strengthened by the crown that adorned his head. In the mid-fifteenth century this was most likely to have been a plain circlet crown, similar to James II's crown represented in the »Scots Roll of Arms« at folio 46v¹⁷. Lyon's crown was mostly likely a replica of this circlet but without the decorative gemstones. Imperial crown iconography was introduced to Scotland during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and cemented by James V with the refashioning of the king's crown in 1540 for the coronation of Mary of Guise¹⁸. It can be assumed that Lyon's crown soon mirrored the imperial crown of Scotland, as we know that when Sir Alexander Durham of Largo was invested as Lyon in 1660 he wore a gold imperial crown that echoed the crown of Scotland but without decorative jewels¹⁹. The use of a similar crown for Lyon was a deliberate design to reflect royal status, reinforced by its ceremonial wearing.

It is most probable that Lyon was admitted into his office by royal hands, an investiture hinted at by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant, in his late-fifteenth-century »Deidis of Armorie«. The »Deidis« states:

*as the auld histories sais, nan of quhat estait he be suld mak herauld bot he be king, duk or erll, prince, baroun, and of sa gret antiquitie that scantly is thar memour of the lignie quhar-of he descendit*²⁰.

As Lyon was the king's principal heraldic officer, it is most likely that the king personally invested the king of arms. In England, elite aristocrats might be given the au-

¹⁵ Robert Kerr HANNAY (ed.), *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501–1554*, vol. i, Edinburgh 1932, p. 260–261, 12 July 1527.

¹⁶ Roderick J. LYALL, *Medieval Scottish Coronation Service. Some Seventeenth-Century Evidence*, in: *Innes Review* 28 (1977), p. 7–10.

¹⁷ London, BL, Add. 45133, fol. 46v.

¹⁸ See for example the silver groat of James III from the 1480s, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, H.C2566; the beautiful illumination of a jewelled crown on the Scottish ratification of the marriage contract between Margaret Tudor and James IV in 1502, London, National Archives, E39/81; and the plate in a book of hours of James IV kneeling at prayer before an altar decorated by the Scottish royal coat of arms, Vienna, ÖNB, Codex Lat. 1897, fol. 24v. For more on imperial crown iconography see Roger A. MASON, *This Realm of Scotland is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland*, in: Barbara CRAWFORD (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland. Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, Edinburgh 1999, p. 73–91.

¹⁹ PAUL, *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art* (as in n. 8), p. 91.

²⁰ HOUWEN (ed.), *Deidis of Armorie* (as in n. 3), vol. i, p. 7.

thority to create heralds, although never kings of arms, which was the exclusive preserve of the king. For example, on his appointment to Captain of the Fleet in 1452, John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was given power to create by oath as many heralds and pursuivants as he pleased and to give them orders as he saw fit, but kings of arms were excluded from his authority²¹. Likewise, in 1398, Robert III of Scotland probably created Rothesay Herald as an officer of arms for his son, David, upon his receipt of the dukedom of Rothesay²². Although private officers of arms were common in the late Middle Ages, it was inconceivable that in Scotland a king of arms could operate outside of royal authority. But it was authority over the making of private and royal heralds, without first consulting the king of arms, which was raised as an issue in the late fifteenth century by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant in his »Deidis of Armorie«. He wrote:

*princis, lordis and barounys, knyghtis and squyeris, and ilkane be thaimselff wald mak officiaris of armes at thar will and pleasance, nocht knawand giff thai war men of gud fame and honour and haffand in thaim wit, prudens, discrecioun, lawte, and wisdom to keip and excers weil the said office to the honour of all gentilmen [...] becaus they call nocht the auld kingis of armes and herauldis that knawis thaim tharin and aucht to be present at the makyn of thaim*²³.

The good quality of the officers of arms was obviously a key issue and one which warranted stern rebuke from commentators. Thus the implication here was that the king of Scots was still very much in control of the choice and creation of heralds and kings of arms during the fifteenth century. It was thus most probably the normative case that Lyon was given his quasi-royal status of king of arms by the hands of the king of Scots himself.

THE QUASI-ROYAL STATUS OF LYON

Reflected in his version of the Scottish king's crown, was Lyon's status as a special officer of the kingdom. John H. Stevenson has suggested that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Lyon was on a much more equal footing with the other heralds than he was during later periods²⁴. However, he was patently of the highest status and this was expressed in the duties he carried out. These ranged from diplomacy to ceremonial functions; legal and advocacy work; and the collection of heraldic information²⁵.

²¹ A. R. WAGNER, H. S. LONDON, *Heralds of the Nobility*, in: George Edward COKAYNE (ed.), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, vol. xi, London 1910–1959, app. C, p. 43.

²² Stephen I. BOARDMAN, *The Early Stewart Kings. Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406*, East Linton 1996, p. 206–209; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (as in n. 7), vol. i, p. xciv.

²³ HOUWEN (ed.), *Deidis of Armorie* (as in n. 3), vol. i, p. 5.

²⁴ STEVENSON, *Heraldry in Scotland* (as in n. 6), vol. ii, p. 421.

²⁵ In »Heraldry in Scotland«, John H. Stevenson gives only three classes of duty »past and present« of the officers of arms of Scotland: the first, the carrying and delivering of royal messages; second, the directing and marshalling of royal and public ceremonies; and third, attending to the enforcement of the law of arms and making grants of arms. He does not identify the

The most commonly performed duty of any herald was the delivery of royal communications, and Lyon seems to have been chosen to represent Scotland on highly significant occasions, when only the premier officer of arms would suffice. From the late fourteenth century, Lyon was regularly sent to England, Flanders, Bruges, Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Rome, France, and Portugal²⁶. He was described in December 1478 as an ambassador, an orator and a commissioner for the king of Scots, a clear indication that it was Lyon, not the magnates and prelates present in many diplomatic corps, who was charged to act as the king's main spokesman²⁷. He carried letters under the Great Seal, renewed treaties and negotiated the royal family's marriages²⁸. There might also be a ceremonial element to these duties, such as in 1543 when Lyon returned to Henry VIII the garter, collar and other accoutrements of the Order of the Garter which had belonged to James V²⁹. His domestic duties mostly differed little from the other heralds, with orders including tax collection, delivering of the king's

fourth duty of procurator and royal advocate, STEVENSON, *Heraldry in Scotland* (as in n. 7), p. 52. The most sensible comment Innes of Learney made on this subject was that »Lyon was essentially a great officer of the court, much more than a mere recorder of arms and pedigrees«, Thomas INNES OF LEARNY, *The Style and Title of ›Lord Lyon King of Arms‹*, in: *Juridical Review* 64 (1931), p. 197–220, see p. 198.

²⁶ See for example, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (as in n. 4), vol. ii, p. 117, vol. vi, p. 308; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (as in n. 7), vol. i, p. 46, 50, 127, 279, 325, 388, vol. ii, p. 114, 122, 132, 352, 361, 427, 478, vol. iii, p. 278, vol. iv, p. 27, 417, 501; R. H. BRODIE (ed.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere*, London 1920, vol. i, no. 788, 789, 795, 1826, 2239, 5641; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (as in n. 8), vol. ii, p. 143; George NEILSON et al (ed.), *Acta Dominorum Concilii. Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*, vol. i, Edinburgh 1839–1993, p. 56, 77; J. BAIN (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland A.D. 1108–1526*, vol. iv, Edinburgh 1881–1888, no. 1421, 1501, 1505, 1697; Rawdon BROWN (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of North Italy*, vol. i, London 1864, no. 769; D. MACPHERSON et al. (ed.), *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensis Asservati*, vol. ii, London 1814–1819, p. 63, 227; London, BL, Cott. Caligula, B.I. 161: Antwerp 23 August 1531; *ibid.*, Royal, 18 B. VI 315: Holyrood 21 March 1543.

²⁷ *Rotuli Scotiae* (as in n. 26), vol. ii, p. 456.

²⁸ See for example the letter of Margaret Tudor to Henry VII in 1514, BRODIE (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (as in n. 26), no. 5614, p. 933; London, BL, Cott. Caligula, B.I. 161: Antwerp 23 August 1531; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (as in n. 8), vol. ii, p. 143, 207; *Calendar of Documents* (as in n. 26), vol. iv, no. 1501, 1505; John Younge, *Somerset Herald, The Fyancells of Margaret, Eldest Daughter of King Henry VIIth to James King of Scotland. Together with her Departure from England, Journey into Scotland, her Reception and Marriage There, and the Great Feasts Held on that Account*, in: Thomas HEARNE (ed.), *Joannis Leland Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, vol. iv, London 1774, p. 264. For more on the role of Lyon and, in particular, Snowdon Herald, in the negotiation of royal marriages, see Katie STEVENSON, *Royal Propaganda, Snowdon Herald and the Cult of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland*, in: Charles J. BURNETT (ed.), *Genealogica et Heraldica Sancta Andreae MMVI*, (forthcoming).

²⁹ London, BL, Royal 18 B.VI 315: Holyrood 21 March 1543.

letters and issuing summons to the lords of council³⁰. However, Lyon was often chosen to represent the king and meet important visitors to Scotland, such as when he was sent to meet and escort to Edinburgh the Englishmen who were carrying an instalment of Princess Cecilia's dower at Candlemas of 1477³¹.

Frequent travel and missions of diplomacy meant that Scottish kings of arms required certain skills, such as languages, and ideally should have been well acquainted with the customs and topography of the kingdom to which they were journeying³². The royal libraries provided Lyon with useful information, and contained, for instance, the »Travels of Sir John Mandeville«, which had been copied for James III in 1467³³. James III also received a copy of the travel diary of Anselm Adornes of Bruges, whom the king had encouraged to visit the Holy Land around 1470³⁴. Owners of private libraries might have freely lent books and manuscripts or consultation might have been allowed on site. Certainly these libraries held works of interest to Scottish heralds. For example, a work that contained long sections on heraldry, the »Law of Armys«, was translated rather liberally into Scots from Honoré Bouvet's »Tree of Battles« for Sir William Sinclair, earl of Orkney in 1456³⁵. Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy, Marchmont Herald (later Lyon), also had a collection of relevant works in his library. In 1494, at Cumming's request, Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant, copied and translated a large number of materials related to the function of heralds³⁶. In part of this manuscript, the »Deidis of Armorie«, Kintyre Pursuivant recorded that

*the herrauldis and pursewanthis suld knaw the salutacionis forsaid as pertenis thaim till do honour til al statis and tharby til knaw and wndirstand all otheris salutacionis quhilk pertenis to the stait of this world, and that is richt necessair to thar office*³⁷.

³⁰ Edinburgh, NAS, GD160/4/6, GD160/118/8, GD160/133/1, GD160/126/3, GD160/528/8; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (as in n. 8), vol. ii, p. 284; Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (as in n. 7), vol. i, p. 180; William FRASER, *The Douglas Book*, vol. ii, Edinburgh 1885, p. 91, n. 1; PAUL, *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art* (as in n. 8), p. 82.

³¹ Calendar of Documents (as in n. 26), vol. iv, no. 1445. Other heralds also performed tasks of this nature, such as Snowdon Herald, who met Spanish ambassadors on their arrival to Scotland in 1489 and conveyed them to James IV. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (as in n. 7), vol. i, p. xci, 117, 393; STEVENSON, *Royal Propaganda* (as in n. 28).

³² Pierre CHAPLAIS, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages*, New York 2003, p. 140.

³³ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (as in n. 4), vol. vii, p. 500.

³⁴ Jacques HEERS, Georgette DE GROER (ed.), *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–1471)*, Paris 1978.

³⁵ Jonathan A. GLENN (ed.), *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay*, vol. II: *The Buke of the Law of Armys*, Edinburgh 2005, p. cxxxvii–cxlv.

³⁶ There are four complete surviving Scots versions, London, BL, Harley MS 6149; Oxford, Queen's College, Ms. 161; Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 31.5.2; *ibid.*, Adv. MS 31.3.20. See also *ibid.*, Adv. MS 31.7.22 and London, College of Arms, MS 19. For a near contemporary manuscript worthy of comparison see Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 31.6.5 which is connected to John Meldrum, Marchmont Herald, c. 1515. For these kinds of heraldic text collections in France and Burgundy, which may constitute the origin of these Scots manuscripts, see HILTMANN, *Spätmittelalterliche Heroldskompendien* (as in n. 13).

³⁷ HOUWEN (ed.), *Deidis of Armorie* (as in n. 3), vol. i, p. 10.

Here Cumming and other heralds could read how to address the different ›estates‹ of Europe, including the emperor, the king of France and England, dukes, earls, barons and knights; the Pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots and abbesses; the colleges of priors, parliament, and high officials of state³⁸.

Lyon King of Arms also had essential language skills and could offer immediate translation services. For example, in a letter from Lord Dacre to the Lords of Council, he reported that Lyon King of Arms (Cumming of Inverallochy) met with Dacre at Harbottle in England on 7 August 1515, and showed him a letter from the duke of Albany, which was in French. Dacre, who must have been unable to read French, had Lyon translate this for him on the spot. Dacre then enclosed, in his letter to the Lords, both Albany's original letter and Lyon's translation of it³⁹. It was presumably essential for the Scottish officers of arms to be well versed in international customs and languages. The king of arms, evidently, was required to be a talented diplomat and linguist.

Alongside his diplomatic duties, Lyon had a prominent role in the ceremonies held by the king, such as feasts, funerals, parliaments, marriages, weddings, christenings, and coronations⁴⁰. At Scottish coronations, as suggested above, Lyon King of Arms played a significant role and the heralds had available to them numerous treatises on types of investiture and their duties at these events⁴¹. He also acted as a royal representative at foreign coronations, such as in 1399 when Henry Greve, king of the heralds of Scotland, attended the coronation of Henry IV of England⁴². At royal ceremonies it was the Lyon's duty to cry largesse. There was advice available on how to cry largesse, and the Loutfut manuscript contains several folios outlining this practice in order that *herrauldis ande pursuewantis suld knaw quhen thair ar with princes and gret lordis how thair suld cry thar largesse the quhilkis ar cryit at gret festis*⁴³. The crying of largesse was a regular feature also of Scottish ceremonies, and in 1503 Margaret Tudor's largesse was cried by Sir William Cumming, Marchmont Herald, at the banquet celebrating her marriage to James IV of Scotland⁴⁴. This duty would normally have been carried out by Lyon King of Arms, especially as it was such an important

³⁸ Ibid., p. xiv, 7–10.

³⁹ BRODIE (ed.), Letters and Papers of Henry VIII (as in n. 26), vol. ii, no. 788, p. 210: Dacre to the Lords of Council, 7 April 1515.

⁴⁰ Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (as in n. 7), vol. iv, p. 91, 112, 400, 407, vol. v, p. 97; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (as in n. 8), vol. iii, p. 444, 554.

⁴¹ London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 115v–124, 173v; Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. 31.7.22, fol. 34v–64v; LYALL, Medieval Scottish Coronation Service (as in n. 16), p. 7–10.

⁴² Calendar of Documents (as in n. 26), vol. iv, no. 540.

⁴³ London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 42r. For more on this see also HOUWEN (ed.), Deidis of Armorie (as in n. 3), vol. i, p. xxxix, xlii. For a French version of this text in the famous compendium of Sicily Herald, see Ferdinand ROLAND (ed.), Parties inédites de l'œuvre de Sicile, héraut d'Alphonse V roi d'Aragon, maréchal d'armes du pays de Hainaut, auteur de Blason des couleurs, Mons 1867, p. 200–203.

⁴⁴ Younge, The Fyancells of Margaret (as in n. 28), p. 295.

royal event. However, at this time Lyon was in Rome confirming a truce with England and so Cumming acted in his stead⁴⁵.

Perhaps the best known ceremonial functions of the king of arms were those he discharged at tournaments. At these events he, along with the other heralds, kept score sheets, judged blows, inspected arms and crests, and verified the heredity of participants⁴⁶. Scottish evidence, however, is not always very revealing on this matter. It is now clear, for example, that Sir Alexander Nairn of Sandford, Lyon King of Arms, was present at a tournament at Stirling in 1449, though there is no indication of what his role was at this event⁴⁷. In the late sixteenth century Pitscottie revealed something of the herald's duties at the tournament:

And everie man as he faught best gat his wapouns deliuerit to him be the king in this maner; he that ran the speir best, he gat ane speir witht gould deliuerit in to him witht gilt harnis thair to kepi in memorieall of his practick and ingyne thair to, and also the harrottis blasonitt him to be the best justar and rynnar of the speir in the realme amang his bretherine; and the battell axe deliuerit to him that faught best thariwitht, and in lykewyse the sword, hand bow and corse bow deliuerit be the heraldis the samin maner to them that wssit them best⁴⁸.

Lyon King of Arms, it seems, might have had a very prominent role in the tournament and by the sixteenth century there is evidence that he was in charge of organising and running the events. During James V's reign, for example, it was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount who planned the royal tournaments. This role informed his poetry and there are descriptions of the tournament for Queen Madeleine's entry in Scotland in 1537 in the »Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene«⁴⁹. Likewise, in the »Historie of Squyer Meldrum«, heralds are to be found supervising the jousting, marshalling the crowd and giving the signal to commence the fight⁵⁰. Kings of arms could draw upon a range of manuals to help in these tasks, such as the Loutfut manuscript of 1494. This contained a number of short tracts on the organisation and ceremonial of tournaments, discussing the *maner how turnais was wont to be maid*⁵¹. In the early sixteenth century, Peter Thomson, Islay Herald, also had a copy of tournament rules that were at-

⁴⁵ Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (as in n. 7), vol. ii, p. 361.

⁴⁶ Maurice KEEN, *Chivalry*, New Haven, London 1984, p. 137.

⁴⁷ J. M. THOMSON et al (ed.), *Registum Magni Sigili Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii, Edinburgh 1882–1914, p. 319; Katie STEVENSON, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513*, Woodbridge 2006, p. 73; ID., *Contesting Chivalry. James II and the control of chivalric culture in the 1450s*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), p. 197–214.

⁴⁸ Robert LINDSAY of PITSCOTTIE, *The Historie and Cronicle of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir*, vol. i, Edinburgh, London 1899–1911, p. 231–232.

⁴⁹ Douglas HAMER (ed.), *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490–1555*, vol. i, Edinburgh, London 1931, p. 110, line 137.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 157–158, lines 437–448; EDINGTON, *Court and Culture* (as in n. 10), p. 28–29.

⁵¹ London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 44r–49r, 109r–115v. For these kinds of manuscripts and the problems inherent in them, see HILTMANN, *Spätmittelalterliche Heroldskompendien* (as in n. 13).

tributed to Philip of France and a copy of an exposé of the arrangements for jousting at the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1501⁵².

Yet Lyon's activities were not restricted to the ceremonial or diplomatic. Charles Burnett has remarked that it was during James IV's reign that Lyon became involved with the legal administration of Scotland⁵³. While the lack of records prior to James IV's reign prohibit us from establishing if this was a long-standing function, from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, we find Lyon King of Arms acting as a procurator and advocate for the king⁵⁴. Indeed, Lyon protected this king's judicial authority in 1515 when before the lords of council the dean of Glasgow, Robert Forman, asked to be excused from judgement because he was a churchman and the lords of council were a temporal court. James Wishart and Lyon King of Arms, the king's advocates who were prosecuting Forman, considered this appeal and, insisting their response be recorded in the resulting instrument, stated that »the king's grace is judge to all persons breaking the privileges of his realm and right so all judges that has the king's authority are judges to all such breakers of his privilege«⁵⁵. Acting on behalf of the king in his legal matters was a natural extension of his quasi-royal authority.

Although in many domestic duties Lyon's role was similar to that of other heralds, the control of armorial bearings was an area which Lyon came to dominate as his role developed. The survival of early armorials shows that heralds must have been collecting armorial information from as early as the fourteenth century. There survives little evidence of visitations being carried out in Scotland in order to collect armorial information, although these were frequently executed in England⁵⁶. However, the existence of Scottish rolls of arms, and the inclusion of substantial numbers of Scottish coats in foreign armorials, such as the »Gelre Armorial«, the »Armorial de l'Europe« and the »Armorial de Berry«, indicates that visitations might have occurred during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The maintenance of records of Scottish armorial bearings which were granted or deprived seems to have occurred from the fifteenth century, although no formal register existed until the sixteenth century. By 1567 it is clear that there was an official »book of arms« or an armorial register from which parliament demanded that the arms of those forfeited for treason be deleted⁵⁷. In 1581 we find a royal charter which granted James Stewart of Bothwellmure with the previously forfeited earldom of Arran, and that the new earl's »name, style, title, insignia and motto shall be inserted in the book of insignia in that place in which the earl of Arran was formerly«⁵⁸. In a parliament of 1584 the name and arms of the deceased James Ross of Petthelvels were ordered to be deleted from the book of arms on his forfei-

⁵² Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 31.7.22, fol. 3r–34r, 65r–69r.

⁵³ Charles J. BURNETT, *Early Officers of Arms in Scotland*, in: *Review of Scottish Culture* 9 (1995–1996), p. 3–13, see p. 6.

⁵⁴ *Acts of the Lords of Council* (as in n. 15), p. 40, 42–43, 49.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵⁶ PAUL, *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art* (as in n. 8), p. 89.

⁵⁷ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (as in n. 8), vol. ii, p. 572.

⁵⁸ STEVENSON, *Heraldry in Scotland* (as in n. 7), p. 62–63.

ture⁵⁹. Although not yet under the jurisdictional authority of the king of arms, Lyon, like the other heralds, was probably involved in the collection, collation and maintenance of armorial information.

Francis Grant in the »Court of the Lord Lyon« made the rather bold claim that »since 1542 no grant of arms has been made by the king but by Lyon alone«⁶⁰. He thus attributes the armorial roll of Sir David Lindsay as the first register of arms in Scotland and that this implied control by the king of arms⁶¹. However, this is far from an accurate interpretation. In England, in comparison, kings of arms (of which there were normally three) did make grants of arms during the fifteenth century, and it seems that Scottish antiquarians and historians have assumed an analogous situation in Scotland. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that this was the case. Indeed, English kings of arms appear to be rather remarkable, as throughout late medieval Europe it was most common for grants of arms to be made by the crown or parliament. This was not the case in England where the kings of arms were responsible for such grants⁶². Indeed, ample evidence survives to suggest that the pattern in Scotland was similar to Continental Europe with both the king and parliament exercising control over the granting of arms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁶³. It is thus possible to suggest instead that the king was responsible for the issuing of armorial bearings in the fifteenth century, while officers of arms acted as record keepers. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as elsewhere in Europe, this power was gradually assumed by the king of arms⁶⁴.

HIERARCHY AND PRECEDENCE

During the fifteenth century heralds throughout Europe were becoming increasingly professionalised and, in some kingdoms, they gained collegiate incorporations. However, there is no indication that there was a desire on the part of the Scottish king or the officers of arms to move towards such incorporation. Indeed, this issue was not

⁵⁹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (as in n. 8), vol. iii, p. 346.

⁶⁰ GRANT, Court of the Lord Lyon (as in n. 9), p. i.

⁶¹ Edinburgh, NLS, Adv MSS 31.4.3; STEVENSON, Heraldry in Scotland (as in n. 7), p. 62; EDINGTON, Court and Culture (as in n. 10), p. 37. Edington suggests this armorial may have had a connection to a 1540 act of parliament which ordered that all sentences for treason passed in parliament or the justice courts should be authentically copied and gathered together in one book, in part because they may otherwise be destroyed, and in part because the memory of the traitors should remain to the shame and slander of their descendants, Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (as in n. 8), vol. ii, p. 361. David Lindsay included in his armorial the arms of the majority of traitors named in that statute, an unorthodox move given that forfeiture also meant forfeiture of arms. Lindsay justified his inclusion of these arms on the grounds that it honoured their noble predecessors, shamed the guilty, and set an example which may deter others from such heinous crimes, Edinburgh, NLS, Adv MSS 31.4.3, fol. 53r.

⁶² WAGNER, Heralds of England (as in n. 6), p. 67.

⁶³ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (as in n. 4), vol. vi, p. 264, 580; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (as in n. 8), vol. i, p. 482–483, vol. ii, p. 102, 506, vol. iii, p. 232.

⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. iii, p. 554.

brought before parliament until the end of the sixteenth century. Although not a formal college, the number of heralds in Scotland increased during the fifteenth century and the king of arms assumed responsibility for this burgeoning number of officers. This authority was implied as early as 1406, when the short-lived office of Rothesay King of Arms was referred to in an order by Henry IV of England. This order clearly recognised that Rothesay had some control over the Scottish heraldic collective, as it gave permission for goods seized from Scottish merchants at Scarborough to be returned to the deputies of the king of arms, implying any heraldic representative of Rothesay's choosing⁶⁵. During the rest of the century, records show that the king and parliament had firm jurisdiction over many matters that Lyon would eventually come to control, such as the granting of armorial bearings. But evidence also implies Lyon's hierarchical authority over the heralds: in 1488, for example, the full complement of the officers of arms served summons for treason on Lord Bothwell and, in this task, they were commanded by Lyon.

By 1517 there is more certain evidence that Lyon King was in charge of the officers of arms in a formal capacity. In a case before the lords of council, a messenger, John Adamson, was accused of failing to deliver important letters to Patrick Hepburn, sheriff of Berwick. He was found guilty of this crime and the lords ordered that Adamson was deprived of his arms by Lyon and punished in whichever way the king of arms felt expedient⁶⁶. This was reiterated ten years later in 1527 by the lords of council who ordained that when couriers and messengers (lesser officers of arms) were not executing their duties appropriately that Lyon King of Arms should discharge them from their office and remove their arms. In addition to this, the lords ordered that Lyon King was to choose twelve *honest vertuus trew men* [...] *that he will ansuer for apoun his honour to execut thar offices justlie so that our soverane lord and his trew leigis may be weile and trewlie servit in tyme tocum in the said office*. Should these twelve fail in the execution of their duties, the *Lyouin tak thar armies fra thame and punys thar persons according to thar faultis*⁶⁷.

By 1541 the officers of arms themselves saw their office as subordinate to Lyon and that his was the sole jurisdictional authority under which they operated. However, when this notion was put to the lords of council, they did not agree. Their minutes record that *the lords do not accept the contention of John Meldrum, Marchmont Herald, that be privilege of his office na schereffis nor officiaris hes jurisdiction of him in his actionis bot alanerlie Lyon king of armes and the lordis of consale*⁶⁸. In this case new ideas of Lyon's authority were being tested, and thus also the privileges of his subordinates. This, then, was not just about royal authority over the officers of arms, but also, much more significantly, about the authority and jurisdiction of other crown officers, in particular the regional sheriffs and senior household officials. The lords of

⁶⁵ Calendar of Documents (as in n. 26), vol. iv, no. 720.

⁶⁶ Acts of the Lords of Council (as in n. 15), p. 73, 3 January 1517. He was perhaps able to refer to the types of appropriate punishments as laid out in London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 134r–139v.

⁶⁷ Acts of the Lords of Council (as in n. 15), p. 260–261, 12 July 1527.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

council felt that the Scottish officers of arms could not act outside the authority of the king's representatives, as this would furnish them with privileges of immunity from certain officers. The quasi-royal status of Lyon made for difficult lines of demarcation of jurisdiction and authority.

However, later in the century steps towards Lyon's official autonomy were made. By 1567 parliament made provision for the reform of the office of arms, largely because the Lyon King at that time was wholly corrupt. Principally parliament's reform legislation dealt with capping the Lyon's fees when new officers were created⁶⁹. By 1587 his supremacy over the other heralds was further formalised by an act that restricted the number of officers of arms of the kingdom to two hundred in total, seventeen of which were named officers. This act also insisted that Lyon King of Arms held a court in Edinburgh bi-annually where he should be available to hear complaints against his officers of arms⁷⁰. This was followed in the 1590s by further reiteration of the earlier reforms and in 1592 parliament gave Lyon the task of ensuring that the numbers of officers and messengers of arms was kept within the prescribed limits⁷¹. The risk that Lyon might falsely declare or siphon off fines levied by his bi-annual court was recognised by parliament two years later. Parliament demanded to see the accounts of the Lyon and Lyon Clerk (the keeper of heraldic records from c. 1554) to ensure that the king was not being cheated of his due income from the penalties placed upon deprived officers of arms⁷². From this it is clear that although a premier royal officer, Lyon's power was subject to the careful scrutiny of parliament.

There remains one further issue of hierarchy and jurisdiction which needs to be clarified and that is whether the constable and marischal had authority over Lyon King of Arms and the heraldic officers subordinate to him. This was certainly the case in England, and a number of assumptions have been made about this situation in Scotland. John H. Stevenson in »Heraldry in Scotland« has argued that it was erroneously supposed, on an assumed analogy with the case of England, that Lyon was at one time subordinate to the marischal and constable of Scotland⁷³. However, W. Croft Dickinson has suggested that while, in theory, final authority over the officers of arms rested with the constable, in practice Lyon King of Arms seems to have been the key figure⁷⁴. It is unclear why writers on Scottish heralds have come to the conclusion that the marischal and constable had no authority over the officers of arms in Scotland, when the evidence does actually point to a relationship of this nature. The surviving description of a mid-fifteenth century coronation service (possibly James II's at Holyrood) sees in the early stage of the ceremony the marischal calling upon Lyon King of Arms and the heralds to sit down before the king. After this, the marischal swore in the Lyon and crowned him *with his auen Croune wich he is to wear at that Solenitie* [solemn-

⁶⁹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (as in n. 8), vol. iii, p. 44.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 449–450.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 555.

⁷² Ibid., vol. iv, p. 66; GRANT, Court of the Lord Lyon (as in n. 9), p. 2.

⁷³ STEVENSON, Heraldry in Scotland (as in n. 7), p. 41.

⁷⁴ W. Croft DICKINSON, Courts of Special Jurisdiction, in: Introduction to Scottish Legal History, Edinburgh 1958, p. 397.

nity]⁷⁵. The marischal and constable's status at the ceremony was clearly superior to the Lyon's throughout. The marischal made demands upon the Lyon, such as having him cry out the oaths which he read to him, but also during the anointing of the king Lyon carried two *pigges of oyle*, one of which he then gave to the constable, and the other to the marischal⁷⁶. They in turn handed these to the bishops who *poured it one the kinges head and vpounne one syde and the vther*⁷⁷. A hierarchical subordination of Lyon to these great officers of state was thus clearly implied in the ritual aspects of this coronation ceremony.

Kintyre Pursuivant, in the »Deidis of Armorie«, also laid out ideas of precedence and hierarchy. Perhaps taking its cue in part from the treatise of Sicily Herald, the opening passages deal with how the various offices of arms were first founded in Julius Caesar's time⁷⁸. Here the constable was given precedence, followed by the admiral, the marischal, the captains and then the heralds⁷⁹. He wrote: *Bot of al thir offices the constable had the prerogatiue for to iuge and wndirstand the debates, discordis, and querellis that mycht be movit in al dedis of armes*⁸⁰.

The marischal's role, according to this text, was very much restricted to military matters:

*the marschailis ar ane office quhilk pertenis til haue the knowlege of batalyes be land and the governance of the sammyn, for thai represent the counstable*⁸¹. *The heralds should be responsible for gangand and cumand betuix princis; mak gud and leil message of al thingis thai salbe chargit with and tharwithall leill and trew report*⁸².

Similarly the problematic manuscript of the Order of Combats, which may date to James I's reign but of which there is only a seventeenth-century copy, gave centre stage to the constable and marischal during judicial duels, whereas the king of arms and heralds were commanded by the constable during these events⁸³. Furthermore, in 1555, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount found a messenger guilty of malversation. Lindsay deprived the messenger of his arms and decreed that he should be delivered to the constable for punishment, a clear indication in this case that Lyon was acting as a subordinate officer⁸⁴. Combined, this seems to provide evidence of a court of chivalry, similar to that which had operated in England since 1348 under the constable and mar-

⁷⁵ LYALL, Medieval Scottish Coronation Service (as in n. 16), p. 7.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁸ HOUWEN (ed.), Deidis of Armorie (as in n. 3), vol. i, p. xiii.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸² Ibid., p. 4.

⁸³ The Order of Combats for Life in Scotland as they are anciently recorded in ane old Manuscript of the Law Arms and Offices of Scotland pertaining to James I King of Scots, in: The Miscellany of the Spalding Club II, Aberdeen 1842, p. 387.

⁸⁴ Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.6.24, fol. 139v, p. 277–278.

shal⁸⁵. Although antiquarians have denied that the constable and marischal had authority over Lyon, as late as 1592 we find Lyon and the Earl Marischal in charge of determining precedence in parliament: their co-work here suggests that the two offices were still very much associated with one another⁸⁶. Although further research will be illuminating, it is evident that, for some purposes, Lyon was subordinate to the constable and marischal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

There has been some confusion over the order of precedence (the internal hierarchy) of the officers of arms of Scotland, which warrants investigation as a final topic for consideration. Part of the difficulty comes from the heraldic officers not being a formally incorporated body until the end of the sixteenth century, thus keeping their organisation rather fluid until that time. However, in a status-conscious society such as late-medieval and early-renaissance Scotland there is no question that the rank and order of these men would have been well known and readily identifiable by indicators such as standard of dress and clear restrictions on permitted duties. Heralds, pursuivants, macers and messengers all fell under the authority of Lyon King of Arms. However, two Scottish antiquaries, Innes of Learny and Francis Grant, have suggested that macers took precedence over pursuivants⁸⁷. Innes cites a 1587 act of parliament which lists Lyon King of Arms followed by *the ordainer herauldis, massirs and pursevantis*⁸⁸. However, this is the only reference to this order of precedence and, in fact, there are dozens of other similar lists that place macers after pursuivants or fail to mention them at all. Earlier references, such as that of 3 September 1528, list the order of precedence as Lyon, the heralds and the pursuivants⁸⁹. Pursuivants themselves saw their place in the heraldic hierarchy quite specifically as subordinate to heralds and not macers. Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant, wrote around 1494 that he was the *obedient sone in the office of armes* to Marchmont Herald⁹⁰. A poem contained in the same manuscript ends with an explanation of the three orders of heralds: pursuivants, heralds and kings of arms⁹¹. So it is evident that contemporaries viewed the hierarchical structure in this way. A single reference to macers in between heralds and pursuivants is, in this case, inadequate evidence to suggest that they were of a higher status than pursuivants. Moreover, in terms of titular officers, it was only king of arms, heralds and pursuivants that were granted new names, proof, in itself, that macers had a lower status.

⁸⁵ George D. SQUIBB, *The High Court of Chivalry. A Study of the Civil Law in England*, Oxford 1959, p. 1–28; WAGNER, *Heralds of England* (as in n. 6), p. 125, 130.

⁸⁶ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (as in n. 8), vol. iii, p. 554.

⁸⁷ Thomas INNES OF LEARNY, *Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy. Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1512–1519*, in: *Juridical Review* 55 (1943), p. 24–38, p. 25; GRANT, *Court of the Lord Lyon* (as in n. 9), p. ii.

⁸⁸ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (as in n. 8), vol. ii, p. 449; INNES OF LEARNY, *Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy* (as in n. 87), p. 25.

⁸⁹ *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Fifth Report*, London 1870, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle*, p. 612.

⁹⁰ London, BL, Harley MS 6149, fol. 78r.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 155r.

Antiquarians interested in this subject have also suggested that, like England, Scotland was divided into provinces under the managements of deputies to the Lyon⁹². This appears, however, not to have been the case. There is no evidence to support this assertion and it seems that Lyon King of Arms managed Scotland and the king's heralds in entirety. There has also been something of an anachronistic assumption that, like today, there was a formal office of Lyon Depute⁹³. There are no contemporary records of the title and it appears to be an office created towards the end of the seventeenth century⁹⁴. Nor was there a marshal of arms who, as elsewhere in Europe, acted as a deputy to the king of arms⁹⁵. However, as we have seen, there was some kind of backup system in place, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where experienced and senior heralds might become effectively »Acting Lyons« in situations where the king of arms may have been out of the kingdom or incapacitated: for example, Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy, Marchmont Herald in the 1490s, and Snowdon Herald, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount in the 1530s. Indeed, as Marchmont, Cumming was *Pryncipall Herauld* at the marriage celebrations for Margaret Tudor and James IV in 1503, and cried largesse, a role normally reserved for Lyon⁹⁶. These cases seem to have been solely on merit and quality of the officer and were not formal positions of Lyon Depute. Instead, all heralds were seen as deputies of the king of arms, a natural extension of their role.

CONCLUSIONS

Lyon King of Arms is a difficult figure to trace in Scottish records and much that has been written about him, it now seems, has been rather misinformed. However, it is possible to establish with some certainty that he was the sole king of arms in Scotland after 1412. He was responsible for the increasing number of officers of arms during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and this included monitoring their activities and judging and punishing their misdemeanours. However, Lyon's responsibility was not independent of other members of the Scottish administration and he was directly answerable to the constable and marischal, to parliament and, ultimately, to the king. Therefore, Lyon did not operate as an »other« king, as there were clear lines of authority into which his role fell. As a king of arms he did not have the jurisdictional independence one would expect from a king and thus Lyon's place in the heraldic hierarchy did not mirror the king of Scots' as the apex of the Scottish elite. Although quasi-royal, he was not independent but had an evolving role within the hierarchical structure of royal administration.

⁹² STEVENSON, *Heraldry in Scotland* (as in n. 7), p. 45.

⁹³ INNES OF LEARNY, *Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy* (as in n. 87), p. 31.

⁹⁴ STEVENSON, *Heraldry in Scotland* (as in n. 7), p. 45.

⁹⁵ WAGNER, *Heralds and Heraldry* (as in n. 5), p. 43.

⁹⁶ Younge, *The Fyancells of Margaret* (as in n. 28), p. 295, 297, 300.